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THE VOLUNTARY PRINCIPLE IN EDUCATION:
THE CONTRIBUTION TO ENGLISH EDUCATION MADE
BY THE CLAPHAM SECT AND ITS ALLIES AND THE
CONTINUANCE OF EVANGELICAL ENDEAVOUR BY
LORD SHAFTESBURY.

A thesis for the degree of M.Ed.,

by

W. H. Wright, B.A.

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Errata

P.279 et seq. fn. For "Life and Work of. the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury" read "The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury".

Chapter 1

THE EVANGELICAL REVIVAL

Society in the first half of the eighteenth century was at some levels the most graceful and polished that England has known, but never far from the surface lay a host of vices which sprang from the lusty temper of a people as yet incompletely civilised. Many of the upper-classes were notably brutal, foul of speech and over-indulgent towards their appetites. The pattern was repeated among those members of the middle-class who aped their betters, while among the poor a prodigious consumption of beer and spirits was rivalled by an increase in urban squalor and a mounting crime-wave.

The Established Church did little to raise the low moral standards prevalent among the people. Indeed - whereas on the one hand it had lost contact with the people in many areas where the growth of population made parish areas completely unrealistic - on the other, it had absorbed only too well the worldly ideals of the society around about. The majority of the Episcopal body consisted of true sons of the world like Archbishop Cornwallis who "gave balls and routs at Lambeth Palace until the king himself interfered by letter and requested him to desist". (1) Pluralists and absentee incumbents were common; Bishop Watson of Llandaff alone held sixteen livings, taking the tithes of all and employing a curate in each, while he

(1) "Christian Leaders of the Last Century", by J. C. Ryle, pp. 16-17.

employed himself "as an improver of land and planter of trees". (1)

With such examples before them, the parochial clergy displayed little inclination to perform any duty beyond preaching, and baptising and burying their parishioners. Wordly and ignorant, they "neither did good themselves, nor liked anyone else to do it for them. They hunted, they shot, they farmed; they swore, they drank, they gambled. They seemed determined to know everything except Jesus Christ and him crucified And when they did preach, their sermons were so unspeakably bad, that it is comforting to reflect that they were generally preached to empty benches". (2)

It would, of course, be as unrealistic to present a picture of a clerical body wholly sunk in infamy as it would to suggest that all the members of the laity were libidinous boors. In all strata of the Church there existed men whose learning was profound, whose mode of life was blameless, and who did their duty, as they understood it, to the best of their several abilities. Unfortunately, few of them were fitted by temperament or belief to produce the violent impact which would produce a new spirit in the Church. The necessary reaction came eventually from a mere handful of evangelical clergymen who countered the Socinianism, Arianism and other prevalent doctrines of the day by a strenuous re-affirmation of

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- (1) "History of the Church Missionary Society", by E. Stock, Vol. I, p. 33.
(2) "Christian Leaders of the Last Century", p. 17.

the ideals of the Reformation. Essentially this was a revival of interest in the spiritual in religion and the personal aspects of man's relationship with God. As a result, personal conversion of the individual by God and at a time chosen by Him became the keystone of the Evangelical's faith.

The message of the first Evangelical clergymen was quickly spread by the agency of sincere and fervent preaching which was the complete antithesis of the dull, cold and formalized deliveries which had made sermons a byword for dreariness. Sustained by their belief in the sufficiency of the Holy Scripture, the Word of God was their law and the World all too often (1) their parish. Henry Venn, William Romaine, John Berridge, William Grimshaw, John Fletcher - all were willing to publish the Word in the face of the ignorance and violence of the laity, the prejudice and hostility of their fellows, and the rebukes of their superiors. However, if some of them were censured for extra-parochial preaching, (2) they nevertheless showed no serious desire to flout the accepted organisation of the Church. It was the determined and consistent itinerancy of Whitefield and Wesley which created the open breach with the Establishment and compelled the evangelical clergy to chose whether to remain within the Church or follow them into the ranks of the Dissenters. To men whose ideal was a

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- (1) E.g. Grimshaw, Rowlands, Berridge (Ryle: p. 120 et seq., 180 et seq., 216 et seq.).
(2) Ibid. pp. 261-6.

disciplined piety within the organisation of the Church there could be only one choice. (1)

Identification with the Anglican resistance to Wesley's incursions did not bring recognition to the Evangelicals, whose very designation was a term of abuse. To the world they remained Methodists, tarred with the same brush of "enthusiasm" as the men who had left the Church. Nor was the obscurity lightened by the very real bonds of affection and conviction which remained between Evangelicals and Methodists of the older school. The rift was nevertheless irrevocable and as the century progressed so it widened until the attitude of the new generation of Evangelicals could be epitomized in William Wilberforce's comment on the work of the Methodists: "Its individual benefits are no compensation for the general evils of dissent. The increase of dissenters is highly injurious to the interests of religion in the long run." (2)

The adherence of Wilberforce to the Evangelical cause indicates another distinction which was becoming apparent between the reformers within the Church and those without. While Methodism was becoming increasingly a lower-class movement, Evangelicalism assuredly was

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- (1) For example Hervey of Weston, Favell, Walker of Truro and Adams of Wintringham were all in almost complete agreement with Methodist doctrines yet thoroughly disapproved of the itinerancy of the ministers which they regarded as an impossible breach of Church order. (cf. "Simeon and Church Order", by C. Smyth, p. 255)
- (2) "Life of William Wilberforce", by R. I. & S. Wilberforce. Vol. 1, p. 248.

not. It drew many of its supporters from the middle and higher ranks of society and aimed its persuasive shafts at Royalty itself. (1) Yet if the two criteria of social position and membership of the Anglican Church are set aside it is difficult to know with any certainty whether a man was a Methodist or an Evangelical. For though the Evangelicals knew their own through an almost mystical freemasonry, they displayed little uniformity or definition of religious belief to outsiders.

Wesley's conception of a Methodist was true of the Evangelical: one who had "the love of God shed abroad in his heart by the Holy Ghost given" and who loved the Lord his God "with all his heart, with all his soul, and with all his mind, and with all his strength". (2) Like the pastor in "Coelebs" the Evangelical's attitude was one of zeal without innovation. Although he expended much energy and thought on individual worthiness he was not given to an excess of metaphysical enquiry and disputation - a valuable characteristic in a group of people to whom Wesley and Whitefield had bequeathed more than a missionary fervour and a personalised religion.

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- (1) Hannah More was a close correspondent of Sophia, Duchess of Gloucester. In addition, she produced the reputedly influential "Hints on forming the Character of a Young Princess".
 - (2) "John Wesley", by J. Lunn, pp. 323-4.

The theories of Calvin which had caused the unfortunate rift between the two great Methodist leaders were active in the Evangelical movement in its turn and engendered a bitterness which must not be under-estimated. Although the concepts of Predestination and Election were falling into disrepute the alliance of Arminian and Calvinist remained distinctly uneasy. On the one hand there existed a considerable number of men whose attitude was as strongly Calvinistic as that of Romaine, Newton, Hawker and Toplady (1); on the other those who abhorred the whole "poison of Antinomian teaching". (2) Between the two factions lay an indeterminate mass of devout Christians whose overlapping and contradictory beliefs would have proved completely satisfactory to neither side.

- (1) Author of "The Historic Proof of the Doctrinal Calvinism of the Church of England", 1774, of whom it was said: "Arminianism seems to have precisely the same effect on him that a scarlet cloak has on a bull." (Ryle, p. 380.)
- (2) Wilberforce, who, though he refrained from forcing his children's feelings in all else, zealously guarded them from all manifestations of Calvinistic dogma. Yet he was represented as a Calvinist by "The Scotsman" whose comment: "Mr. Wilberforce is a man of rigid Calvinistic principles", moved him to scribble "False" against it in a spontaneous expression of his private exasperation. ("Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. 3, p. 473.)
There is a similar misconception in Overton's "The Evangelical Revival", p. 90, where he gives a further airing to the myth in comparing Wilberforce's principles with those of the Milners, Newton, Scott, and John Venn: "It may be that his Calvinism was not so marked as any of theirs was."
John Fletcher of Madeley was another staunch Arminian. Author of "Checks to Antinomianism" (1770), his writings included many controversial tracts in opposition to Calvinism.

The difficulty of attempting to establish concord in such a group was experienced by the organ of the Evangelical party, "The Christian Observer", which for the sake of unity disclaimed all desire to enter into controversy over Calvinism and Arminianism, but offered the hand of friendship to all who sank their differences in the description "Bible Christians" and who regarded "SALVATION AS ORIGINATING WHOLLY IN GRACE, APPLIED THROUGH THE INSTRUMENTALITY OF THAT FAITH WHICH IS THE GIFT OF THE HOLY SPIRIT, AND WHICH BRINGS THE BELIEVER INTO A STATE OF ACCEPTANCE WITH GOD, BY MAKING HIM PARTAKER OF THE MERITS OF CHRIST, AND PREPARING HIM FOR HEAVEN BY MATURING HIM IN LOVE AND OBEDIENCE". (1) The road to compromise was stony, and the periodical was attacked by friend and foe alike. "I wish I could find some one to relieve me of the Editorship of the "CHRISTIAN OBSERVER," complained Zachary Macaulay. "On one side it is attacked as Calvinistic, while even our ally Scott stigmatises it as Arminian. The Dissenters make a violent clamour against it as being High-Church, while the High-Church party abuse it as favourable to Methodists. The sale, however, is prospering." (2)

(It is hardly surprising that the editor of a mere periodical publication should have encountered such dangers for Simeon has suggested that a much more eminent authority was only saved from the

(1) Preamble, Vol. 1, p. 10, 1802.

(2) "Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", by M. J. Holland, p. 265.

temerity of the controversialists by the passage of time:

"The Scripture system is of a broader and more comprehensive character than some very exact and dogmatical Theologians are inclined to allow there is not a decided Calvinist or Arminian in the world; who, if he had been in the company of St. Paul, whilst he was writing his different Epistles, would not have recommended him to alter one or other of his expressions.") (1)

The absurdities which could result from controversy were wittily pointed by Charles Simeon in an account of a meeting with John Wesley which illustrated how blurred the lines of demarcation could become.

"A young minister ... had the opportunity of conversing familiarly with the great and venerable leader of the Arminians in this kingdom, and, wishing to improve the occasion, he addressed him nearly in the following words: 'Sir, I understand that you are called an Arminian; and I have been called a Calvinist; and therefore I suppose we are to draw daggers. But before I consent to begin the combat, with your permission I will ask you a few questions.' Permission being very readily and kindly granted, the young minister proceeded to ask; 'Pray, Sir, do you feel yourself a depraved creature, so depraved that you would never have thought of turning to God, if God had not first put it into your heart?' 'Yes;' says the veteran, 'I do indeed.' 'And do you utterly despair of recommending yourself to God by anything you can do; and look for salvation solely through the blood and righteousness of Christ?' 'Yes, solely through Christ.' 'But, Sir, supposing you were first saved by Christ, are you not somehow or other to save yourself afterwards by your own works?' 'No, I must be saved by Christ from first to last.' 'Allowing, then, that you were first turned by the grace of God, are you not in some way or other to keep yourself by your own power?' 'No,' 'What then, are you to be upheld every hour and every moment by God, as much as an infant in its mother's arms?' 'Yes, altogether.'

(1) "Horae Homoelecticae", by C. Simeon, pp. 5 - 6.

'And is all your hope in the grace and mercy of God to preserve you unto His heavenly kingdom?' 'Yes, I have no hope but in Him.' 'Then, Sir, with your leave I will put up my dagger again; for this is all my Calvinism; this my election, my justification by faith; my final perseverance; it is in substance all that I hold and as I hold it; and therefore, if you please, instead of searching out terms and phrases to be a ground of contention between us, we will cordially unite in those things wherein we agree.'" (1)

It was fortunate that the love of the common task before them prevented the Evangelicals from making too much of their differences. John Berridge, a man of fiery temperament, nevertheless subordinated his personal feelings to the common good: "..... I shall not rise up and fight with him," he wrote of Fletcher, "but will be a dead man before he kills me. I further told him, I was afraid that Mr. Toplady and himself were setting the christian (sic) world on fire, and the carnal world in laughter, and wished they could both desist from controversy." (2) In like spirit, the revered spiritual father of Clapham, Henry Venn, reduced the argument to its proper proportions. "I really do not know," he said in answer to a query relating to a young minister's opinions, "he is a sincere disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ, and that is of infinitely more importance than his being a disciple of Calvin or Arminius." (3)

The great asset of the Evangelical party which bound its members to their task and submerged philosophical niceties was the evangel-

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- (1) Quoted in "Charles Simeon", by H. C. G. Moule, pp. 100 - 1.
(2) Quoted in "Simeon and Church Order", by C. Smyth, pp. 186 - 7.
(3) "A History of the English Church", Vol. 7, p. 178.

izing urge common to all its members and fundamental to their way of life. The insistence on the importance of personal conversion induced a feeling of responsibility for bringing the word of God to others that they might in their turn be saved. Whether or not it wished to be saved, Society was faced with a crusade from a young and vigorous movement which regarded its religion not as one essential of life but as its very sine qua non. Despite itself, the uninspiring dough around the Evangelicals was leavened by the morsel of yeast in its midst.

So great was the impact of the Evangelicals that historians tended to exaggerate the size of their party. Writing in 1899, Stock found it necessary to take them to task: "The Church Histories of the period affirm, with the most extraordinary inaccuracy that the Evangelical School was dominant in the Church during the first forty years of the nineteenth century." (1) Indeed, it always remained in a clear minority. Even in the parts of the country where they were strongest, in the North and South-West, the Evangelical clergy were never so numerous as to amount to more than one minister in every ten parishes by the close of the eighteenth century. At so late a date as 1832, when he arrived in Islington, Daniel Wilson (the younger) observed that "the Evangelical body was represented in London by men few in number and holding for the most part subordinate positions". (2) This picture was true in England as a whole: Ryder,

(1) "History of the Church Missionary Society", Vol. 1, Preface, p. ix.
(2) "History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England",
by G. R. Balleine, p. 166.

who had the support of Perceval until his assassination in 1812 and further possessed the advantage of a brother in the Cabinet, attained the see of Gloucester in 1815, but the vast majority of the Evangelical clergy was to be found amongst the rank and file. Despite their handicaps, the enthusiasm of the pioneers fired a completely disproportionate number of the laity with the desire to adopt the evangelical way of life. Most important of all was the effect made on a powerful group of eminent men which came to be known as the Clapham Sect. Forming a closely-knit society in the village, they centred their daily lives on the worship of God and in particular on His church in Clapham. Thither had come in 1754 that "son of thunder", Henry Venn, (1) the first London preacher to revive extempore preaching and the friend of those other giants of the revival: Grimshaw, Romaine and Berridge. He remained as Curate to Sir James Stonehouse until 1759, when he departed for Huddersfield and afterwards Yelling before returning to end his days with the incumbent John Venn, who had been born in Clapham and given the living by the trustees of old John Thornton. (2) The succession of "serious men" was continued with the advent of Dealtry in 1813 so that the spiritual guidance provided remained always of the accepted Evangelical flavour.

Eminent amongst the residents at Clapham were the Grants;

(1) Attributed to Whitehead. (Ryle, op. cit., p. 266.)

(2) "Marianne Thornton 1797 - 1887", by E. M. Forster, p. 39.

Charles, Chairman of the Directors of the East India Company from 1805, and his two sons: Charles, who became Lord Glenelg, Secretary of State for Ireland and Secretary for the colonies, and Robert, the former Governor of Bombay. Close by lived the advocate James Stephen, who in 1800 married Mrs. Clarke, the sister of another Claphamite, William Wilberforce; and Sir Hugh Inglis, Chairman of the East India Company in 1813, and his son Robert, M.P. for Oxford in 1829. A further Indian connection was provided by the presence of John Shore, Lord Teignmouth, who was Viceroy of India from 1793 to 1798. Zachary Macaulay and his wife Selina lived in the village from 1802 until 1810, whilst at Broomfield resided the Thorntons who boasted a Director of the Bank of England of their number in the person of John Thornton, whose solid worth was equalled by his sons, both Members of Parliament, (one of whom, (Robert), became Governor of the Bank) and their cousin Henry, yet another M.P., who became Chairman of the Sierra Leone Company and first President of the Sunday Schools Society. (1)

Just as the first wave of Evangelical clergymen had supplied an ideal and a fervour with which to propagate it, so the wealth, the wordly associations and the organised effort which translated their hopes into facts were provided by the Clapham Sect. As will become obvious, their connections in Society, Industry, the

(1) "Marianne Thornton 1797 - 1887", p. 23.

Church and the political world were legion.

By their willingness to expend almost unlimited time, energy and money on their projects they rapidly extended their influence until they soon became essential to the success of the Evangelical cause. They provided the Presidents, the Chairmen, the Treasurers, the Secretaries and other committeemen for the ever-increasing number of evangelistic and philanthropic societies founded by others of their persuasion, and to the task they brought a determination and professional expertise which smoothed the way for their zealous though frequently inexperienced brethren. Although it would be unnecessary and inappropriate to attempt to pursue in detail their work in all the societies in which they took an interest, it is instructive to see examples of their technique in two of the great schemes dear to their hearts. One of these was the British and Foreign Bible Society.

If the Evangelicals had a platform, one of the planks was that the Bible should be made available to all men and that all men should be enabled to read it. (1) At the turn of the century the timid policies of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had resulted in a failure to keep pace with the demand for Welsh Bibles and the work of evangelising Wales had been frustrated in

(1) The other "planks" which will become obvious were Christian philanthropy, sabbatarianism, and that which included and inspired the rest: evangelism.

consequence. At a meeting of the Religious Tract Society, (1) the Reverend Thomas Charles of Bala suggested a plan to remedy this particular situation, but in the ensuing discussion his idea was expanded into a suggestion to "stir up the public mind to a GENERAL dispersion of the Scriptures". (2) The experience of Charles Grant and William Wilberforce was solicited and an address drawn up, the signatories of which were headed by Granville Sharp, calling on all interested parties to meet at the London Tavern on Wednesday, 7th March, 1804. The meeting was duly held with Sharp in the Chair and £700 was subscribed immediately for the new Society then established.

During the two months which followed, the constitution of the Society was drafted by Josiah Pratt and his colleagues, and on 2nd May the regulations were put to a meeting of the Society at which Sharp again took the Chair. Wilberforce made a speech urging zeal allied to mature consideration and caution so that premature and injudicious publicity might be avoided. The meeting then appointed a committee including such powerful examples of zeal and mature consideration as Charles Grant, Wilberforce, Stephen, Joseph Wilson, Zachary Macaulay and Thomas Babington. A prospectus was then published, stating the intention of the Society to diffuse the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures and drawing attention to the

(1) See further, *infra*, p. 144.

(2) "The History of the Origin and first Ten Years of the British and Foreign Bible Society", by J. Owen, Vol. 1, p. 17.

demand for them which already existed: "in consequence of the enlarged means of instruction which the lower classes of this country have enjoyed of late years." (1)

The next and vital problem which faced the promoters of the young Society was the acquisition of a President of eminence and quality. At the suggestion of Beilby Porteus whose benevolent interest had been attracted from the first, Owen nominated Lord Teignmouth, Rowland Hill seconded the suggestion, and so "the affairs of the Institution were placed under the supreme direction of a nobleman so peculiarly qualified in all respects to preside in its councils, guide its operations, and promote its success". (2)

On the day after Teignmouth's nomination subscriptions came in from the Bishops of Durham and London, who then each accepted the position of Vice-President in the company of Charles Grant, William Wilberforce, and Henry Thornton, who also served the Society as Treasurer until his death in 1815 (when he was succeeded by his nephew, John Thornton, who shouldered the burden until 1861). Sharp, Bernard, and Babington, all good friends of Clapham, (3) together with Charles Grant the Elder, soon followed the lead given and became Vice-Presidents. Quietly and unobtrusively the serious men "filled up those stations, which, next to that of President,

(1) Owen, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 65.

(2) Ibid, Vol. 1, p. 66.

(3) Granville Sharp was a resident of Clapham, and Babington, who introduced his brother-in-law, Zachary Macaulay, to the coterie, one of the Claphamites' "country allies". ("Hannah More", by M. G. Jones, p. 95.)

determined the character and fixed the respectability of the Institution". (1)

There is no need to elaborate on the strides made from the first carefully prepared footholds, for the bare facts of the Bible Society's achievements are impressive enough. In the first eleven years of its life, 534 branches and auxiliaries were set up in Great Britain and the Channel Islands and 559 in the British Empire. 114,000 Bibles and 188,600 testaments were issued in Europe, and 641,364 Bibles and 1,485,270 testaments elsewhere. Starting from a humble £366:10:0d in its first year, the Society expended in grants, Bibles and Testaments £108,247: 8: 5d over the same eleven years, reaching a figure of £28,703:13: 0d in the year 1816. (2)

Another great evangelist society sponsored by the Evangelicals was the Church Missionary Society. Its origins were closely linked with the proceedings of the Eclectic Society which had been founded in 1783 to promote religious intercourse and improvement, and which owed its existence largely to the efforts of Eli Bates, the Reverend A. Cecil, the Reverend H. Forster and the Reverend John Newton, formerly the Captain of a slaver, but by that date one of the main-springs of the Evangelical Revival in the Church of England. The Society maintained a considerable interest in the work of the missions

(1) Owen, op. cit., Vol. 1., p. 71.
(2) Ibid, Vol. 2. pp. 588 - 92.

but was unable to make a significant contribution to their advancement until 1795 when the Reverend Pugh of Rauceby revealed to Simeon, Knight and Robinson the details of a legacy of £4,000 "to be laid out to the best advantage of the interests of true religion." The matter was laid before the Society by Simeon who proposed the question: "With what propriety, and in what mode, can a Mission be attempted to the Heathen from the Established Church?"

(1) Opinions were conflicting and enthusiasm was consequently limited, but around the nucleus of Simeon, Woodd and Scott the progressives elaborated the plan. The Elland Society and the Rauceby Society (2) were consulted, and on 9th November, 1797, Simeon met with Wilberforce, Charles Grant and John Venn to draft final proposals for the new society. In February of the following year the Missionary Society for Africa and the East was proposed by Venn from the Chair at a meeting of the Eclectic Society, and in April a committee was formed to control its affairs which included Venn himself (3), Elliott (4), Wilson, Woodd, Cecil, Newton, and Scott, who became Secretary until he was succeeded by Pratt in 1802. An expansion of the committee to twenty-six brought in

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- (1) "History of the Church Missionary Society", Vol. 1, p. 63.
(2) *Infra.* pp. 253-255.
(3) Venn was mainly responsible for framing the original regulations of the Society. Only members of the Church of England were eligible for the committee which was to be composed equally of clerics and laymen.
(4) Elliott married Henry Venn's daughter. His own daughter, Charlotte Elliott, was born in Clapham and lived there until 1823.

Simeon, Richardson and Robinson; (1) Charles Grant, Samuel Thornton, Zachary Macaulay and Wilberforce (2) became Vice-Presidents, and Henry Thornton accepted office as Treasurer. Without the perseverance and skill of the Claphamites the project might not have matured from the uncertainties at its birth, and their determination was essential for its later development, (3) for the Evangelicals,

(1) "History of the Church Missionary Society", Vol. 1, pp. 69 - 70.

(2) Wilberforce was approached in the hope that he would be President of the Society, but he refused the honour.

(3) To take only one example, the experience of Zachary Macaulay in Sierra Leone and other foreign countries was invaluable to the Church Missionary Society. He continually counselled a caution in the appointment of missionaries which chafed against the zeal of some of the inexperienced members of the Society. He was determined that the aim of the founders of the Society, that the missions should be united to the Church of England, should be fulfilled and that only carefully vetted men should be appointed to the missions.

Macaulay's fears were justified. Anxiety became more general as a result of such instances as Hartwig's defection. Married to Venn's former governess, he went to Africa as a missionary and became a slave-trader. His subsequent repentance did little to restore confidence. In addition to incidents of this type, there was cause for concern in the fact that many of the early missionaries were Lutheran Germans. In 1806, the Society began to study ways of improving the supply of competent, orthodox, Anglican missionaries. Eventually it was decided that a seminary should be set up and that Nathaniel Gilbert should accommodate candidates at Bledlow and that Thomas Scott and William Dawes together with two governors of Sierra Leone should teach them. Scott took over the task of accommodating the candidates himself and continued the work until 1815 when his health broke down. At one time, when over sixty, he even set himself to learn Susoo and Arabic that he might better aid his students. The usual difficulties were experienced when Scott produced ordinands because his Calvinism made them unwelcome in "orthodox" circles, but his persistence enabled them to find spheres of work.

("History of the Church Missionary Society", Vol. I, pp. 89 - 90.)

though benevolently inclined towards the Society, needed strong leadership to press them forward and convert their desire to evangelise into action. Quarter of a century after its foundation it was still in need of more widespread support: "the great bulk of the clergy still held aloof; and many even of decidedly Evangelical views merely supported the Society because it was Evangelical, but showed no real zeal in the missionary cause". (1)

The foundation and development of the Bible Society and the Church Missionary Society illustrate the importance to the Evangelical cause of the Claphamite tradition of service, but the foundation of two major societies was not sufficient to absorb the energies of such men. Their evangelizing zeal led them to aid Simeon's pet project, the Society for the Conversion of Jews, and they became involved in the affairs of the African Society. When Zachary Macaulay resigned after five years as Secretary of the African Institution, he was able to do so with a clear conscience, for there, once again, the familiar pattern of domination had been repeated. The tried friend of the Evangelicals, the Duke of Gloucester was President, Clarkson and Sharp were on the governing body, and so,

(1) "History of the Church Missionary Society", Vol. 1, p. 243. As long as Wilberforce lived the fervour and optimism of the early Evangelicals had a voice. At a meeting in 1820 when a Mr. Harrington had made gloomy forecasts on the proposals for further work in India, Wilberforce leapt up crying, "We know nothing of despondency here, we proceed as the Word of God directs us, we must, we can, we will, we ought, we shall prosper." ("Marianne Thornton, 1797 - 1887", p. 126).

inevitably were Wilberforce, Charles Grant, James Stephen and four of the ubiquitous Thorntons. (1)

The hatred of slavery among the Claphamites resulted in a further African venture: the foundation of the Sierra Leone Company in 1792. The key figure in the enterprise was Henry Thornton, the Chairman, who devised the plan, formed the company, collected the money, framed the constitution and chose and equipped the settlers. Once the liberated slaves had reached Africa, the task of settling them and educating them in Christian citizenship fell to Zachary Macaulay, who successfully weathered the trials created by the French Navy, native tribesmen and recalcitrant whites until he returned to England in 1799 to marry Selina Mills (2). He remained attached to

(1) "History of the Church Missionary Society", Vol. 1, p. 95.

(2) When Macaulay returned in 1799 he brought with him, at the suggestion of Robert Haldane, twenty-five African children who were to be educated in England and eventually sent out to Africa as missionaries. Finding that he could not agree with Haldane's religious views, Macaulay refused to despatch the children to Edinburgh to face contamination, but offered Haldane the privilege of paying for their education in England, which Haldane not unnaturally refused. Wilberforce and Henry Thornton stepped into the breach and rallied their friends to provide capital for the education of the children. John Venn and Thornton selected William Greaves as their schoolmaster, but his efforts were doomed to failure as the children succumbed to the English weather. Only six remained alive in 1805.

the Company as permanent Secretary until the Crown took over the administration of the colony in 1808 and retained some of his influence even after that date as an experienced adviser whose opinions were frequently sought.

As one might expect, the great Evangelical protagonist of the negro slave, William Wilberforce, was a Director of the Company. In his opinion, religious education for the slaves in preparation for liberty was one of the "grand measures" (1) which should shape the future. At the same time he was preparing to put forward a long cherished scheme to the House of Commons upon the occasion of the renewal of the East India Company's charter. In May, 1793, he proposed that schoolmasters (2) and chaplains should be sent to India, not to force Christianity upon the native population, but "gravely, silently, and systematically to prepare the way for the gradual diffusion of religious truth". (3) Owing to a late change of face by Dundas and the failure of the bishops to provide solid support, the general apathy towards Wilberforce's proposals prevailed, and all his practical clauses were thrown out, leaving to be recorded only a pious assertion of the duty of attempting to evangelize the East.

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- (1) "Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. 5, p. 163: Letter to Zachary Macaulay, 1823.
 - (2) (Suitably equipped with testimonials from the S.P.C.K., the Bishop of London, or the Archbishop of Canterbury.)
"Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. 2, p. 26. "Journal" for 1793.
 - (3) Ibid. Porteus, meanwhile, introduced similar clauses in the Lords.

Having lost the battle, Wilberforce set about the task of winning the campaign. While Charles Simeon prepared and sent out a steady supply of young clergymen, Wilberforce exerted an unrelenting pressure to gain his ends before the next renewal of the Charter in 1813. Throughout 1811 and 1812 he was in a flurry of activity attempting to whip up support for his proposals. In 1812 he put before the committee of the S.P.C.K. Dr. Buchanan's scheme for ecclesiastical establishment in India, and had the satisfaction of witnessing its embodiment in the resolution which was the first great step towards the foundation of the Indian bishoprics. (1) In 1813, with increased help from Macaulay (2), Grant, Henry Thornton and Babington (3), he reached the peak of his exertions in a "multitude of letters" (4) to enlist enough support to sway the balance in the Commons, whilst his opponents dourly marshalled their forces to defeat his resolution and leave the regulation of missions to the East India Company for another twenty years, in the earnest hope that even Mr. Wilberforce could not go

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- (1) Buchanan made a profound impression on the Commons which ordered the printing of his, "A Plea for the Toleration of Missionary and Educational Work in the East". ("Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", p. 295.)
 - (2) Macaulay's biographer reduces Wilberforce's contribution: "the real agent upon whom the whole business depended was Macaulay".
 - (3) (Who prepared the petitions.) Ibid. p. 294. See Appendix 2.
 - (4) "Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. 4, p. 102.

on for ever. Nevertheless on 12th July, 1813, his persistence was rewarded by the success of his efforts when the Bill was at long last passed.

At home the evangelizing urge of the Claphamites found as many outlets as it did abroad, but here the enemy was more sophisticated and resistant to the attack of Christianity. The work of conversion was accompanied by a continual struggle to contain the forces of evil which threatened to dominate Society. It was this struggle which gave the Evangelical effort so much its appearance of a narrow and Puritanical insistence on the maintenance of conventions and taboos.

The most serious inroads into the Christian position had been made by the pursuit of such sinful pastimes as card-playing, dicing, theatre-going, wine-bibbing, the consumption of light and obscene literature, and the almost universal desecration of the Sabbath when religion was either ignored in the main or made the butt of every would-be wit who cared to display his talents at the Promenades and so-called "Christian Societies". Following the decline of the London Society for the Reformation of Manners, little was attempted until 1781, when the Bishop of London secured the passage of "An Act for preventing certain Abuses and Profanation on the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday". (1) This was a ready-made vehicle for Evangelical ideals and Porteus received considerable help and

(1) "Life of Porteus", by R. Hodgson, p. 82.

encouragement, which he in his turn repaid by his championship of Wilberforce's wider and more influential Society for the Suppression of Vice. (1) Rallying to his standard a committee consisting of six dukes, one marquis, two archbishops, seventeen bishops and sundry members of the nobility and commons, Wilberforce created an organisation of such prestige that it was feared that it might come to wield a power great enough "to supersede law-courts, clergy and police". (2) Far from restricting its activities to the defence of the Christian Sunday, the new society went over onto the attack against all forms of immorality, particularly where they took the form of the written word and might thus endanger the minds of a large section of the Public. To be classified as "immoral" or "blasphemous" a work had only to question the accepted tenets of Christianity and the accepted order of life. Inevitably the Radical authors of the time were castigated and even persecuted. Tom Paine's "Age of Reason" was the cause of one of the Society's first prosecutions and resulted in the reduction of the publisher to near penury. His plight so touched the Prosecuting Counsel that he pleaded with the committee of the Society to offer Williams some assistance. The upright morals of the members were proof against the emotions which sway lesser men and they were able to stand firm and witness the further ruin of their

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- (1) The Society was formed in 1787, following upon the Proclamation against Vice in that year, from which it derives the frequently used title: The Proclamation Society. Porteus became the third President of the Society, at a time of which it was said that "Fulham Palace became a headquarters of the open conspiracy". ("Before Victoria", M. Jaeger, p. 37.)
- (2) Sydney Smith. ("Before Victoria", pp. 51 - 2.)

victim, whereupon Erskine resigned his brief in disgust, complaining that the Society "loved justice rather than mercy". (1) (In similar fashion, at a later date, when Joseph Hume attacked the Society in the Commons for the tyranny and bigotry evidenced in its prosecution of Mary Carlile for distributing a tract questioning the divine origin of Christianity, charity was so stifled within Wilberforce's breast that, whilst expressing a hope for divine mercy for the culprit, he allowed that he would hope for none human lest others be encouraged to transgress.) Although such narrowness and obstinacy were in many ways distasteful, they ensured that the ends of the Society were pursued with the vigour and persistence necessary for their success. It undoubtedly checked the flow of "obscene" publications and provided a centre from which other defenders of morality were to prepare the climate of opinion for the advent of Victorianism. (2)

The leaders of the Evangelical party were not so short-sighted that they thought that vice could be defeated by repression alone. To explain and disseminate their point of view was founded in 1802 the periodical which became their principal propaganda organ in the nineteenth century: "The Christian Observer". After considerable

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- (1) "The Life and Influence of Shute Barrington", by G.G. Armstrong, p. 353.
 - (2) The Society "obtained many valuable acts of parliament, (sic) and greatly checked the spread of blasphemous and indecent publications. It afforded also a centre from which many other useful schemes proceeded, and was the first example of those various associations, which soon succeeded to the apathy of former years". ("Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. I, p. 138.)

correspondence (1) and discussion involving Wilberforce, Babington, Henry Thornton, William Hey, Dr. Pearson (2) and John Venn, the Reverend Josiah Pratt put before a meeting of the Eclectic Society on 4th February, 1799 the motion: "How far might a Periodical Publication be rendered subservient to the interests of Religion?" The committee formed to forge this instrument of truth was predominantly Claphamite, consisting of Charles Grant the Elder, Henry Thornton, William Wilberforce, John Venn, Pratt, Pearson and Macaulay, who was to become the editor. With cheerful optimism they accepted the self-imposed task of defending Virtue and attacking Vice in an unlimited field:

"At a period like this, when Dramatic Compositions, Novels, Tales, Newspapers, Magazines, and Reviews, are disseminating doctrines subversive of all morality, and propagating tenets the most hostile to piety, order, and general happiness, some friends of civil government and revealed religion, have felt it incumbent on them openly to oppose the progress of lawless opinions, to strip scepticism and imposture of their artful disguise, and, by displaying the true features of libertinism and impiety, to expose them to deserved contempt and abhorrence." (3)

The contents of the publication were divided into ten sections. The first, entitled "Religious Communications", included a serialised history of the Church and the lives of the reformers together with letters and commentaries on the Scriptures and religious topics of interest. Having absorbed such weighty fare the reader then

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- (1) Notably by William Hey.
 - (2) Afterwards Dean of Salisbury.
 - (3) Prospectus to "The Christian Observer", 1802.

passed on to a miscellaneous section to enjoy Henry Thornton's "Modern Characters" and follow arguments on such provocative subjects as field sports and cruelty to animals in general. The two sections which followed were to become two of the most interesting in the paper and the clearest indications of Evangelical reaction to the opinions of the day: the "Review of New Publications" and "The Review of Reviews", which latter section gradually expanded to combat the venom of the "Edinburgh Review" as the mutual hostility of the two organs increased. The remaining six sections continued the education of the reader and kept him in touch with the everyday happenings of the serious world: Literary and Philosophical Intelligence, List of New Publications (1), Religious Intelligence, View of Public Affairs, Obituary and Answers to Correspondents.

"The Christian Observer" was fortunate in its first editor, for not only did Macaulay take his responsibility most seriously so that he rigorously scrutinised every item before its inclusion but he also contributed many articles and sermons of his own (2) and encouraged his friends at Clapham to do likewise (3). As a prominent member of the coterie he was able to call on its members

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- (1) This section even included a considerable list of foreign publications.
 - (2) He continued to contribute even after his resignation in favour of the Reverend Samuel Wilkes in 1816. ("Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", p. 255.)
 - (3) Henry Thornton is said to have contributed over eighty articles. ("These Remarkable Men", p. 73.) Thomas Scott, the Biblical commentator, who had been considered for the editorship at the same time as Macaulay, and John Bowdler were also contributors. ("Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", pp. 255, 265.)

for help in times of difficulty and to carry out his day to day work with the confidence engendered by that same consistent and powerful support which made the Clapham Sect vital as a nucleus for Evangelical effort. So wide and varied were their interests, so intangible the long-term results of their obvious achievements, that it is impossible to define the results of their work. "The truth is that from that little knot of men emanated all the Bible Societies, and almost all the missionary societies, in the world. The whole organisation of the Evangelical party was their own work. The share which they had in providing means for the education of the people was great." (1) What Macaulay said was true but, as will be seen, it was as completely the truth as the visible part of an iceberg is the whole.

As the Clapham Sect provided at once the impetus and the stability so necessary to the Evangelicals, so, even within so small a group of such eminent men, the centre was occupied by William Wilberforce and his relatives by marriage, the Thorntons. (2) Old John Thornton set a worthy example in evangelising zeal:

"He purchased advowsons and presentations with a view to place (sic) in parishes the most enlightened, active and useful ministers. He employed the extensive commerce in which he was engaged as a powerful instrument for conveying immense quantities of Bibles, Prayer-Books, and the useful publications, to every place visited by our trade. He printed, at his own sole expense

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- (1) T. B. Macaulay, 1843. ("A Sect that Moved the World", by J. Telford, p. 225.)
(2) See Appendix 3.

large editions of the latter for that purpose, and it may be safely affirmed, that there is scarcely a part of the known world, where such books could be introduced, which did not feel the salutary influence of this single individual." (1)

Old John's nephew, Henry, gave away six-sevenths of his annual income until his marriage in 1796 (2), and is recorded as having spent over £9,000 on charity in one year alone. (3) A man of wealth and position, a Member of Parliament and a personal friend of Pitt, he was possessed of the weighty virtues which caused Zachary Macaulay, who knew both men well, to give him the palm over Wilberforce:

"In point of talents there is doubtless a splendour about Wilberforce which quite eclipses the other; but then the soundness of Thornton's judgement, and the extreme considerateness and painful scrutiny with which he is accustomed to view every subject that requires his decision, serves as a counterbalance. Wilberforce's benevolence may be more ardent, and the style of his devotion more elevated and fervent; but in the practice of self-denying duties, and in the habitual enforcement of that suggestion not to confer with flesh and blood, I must think Henry Thornton his superior. Wilberforce has stronger and more lively views of the beauties of holiness and of the Saviour's love; but Thornton has a more uniform and abiding impression of his accountableness to God for every moment of his time and for every word he utters. Wilberforce's active love flies immediately to the relief of an object in distress, and gives almost instinctively. Thornton's consideration leads him to weigh the best mode of imparting relief so as to raise no false hopes, and to produce no future unhappiness, and to join if possible, the interests of eternity to those of time." (4)

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- (1) "Memoirs of the Reverend John Newton", by R. Cecil, pp. 56 - 8.
 - (2) "A History of the English Church", Vol. 7, p. 199.
 - (3) "The Evangelical Revival", by S. Baring-Gould, p. 82.
 - (4) "Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", p. 202.

Comparison of Wilberforce and Thornton would be inappropriate, for what Macaulay's judgment reveals is that the virtues they possessed were not competing but complementary, and that Wilberforce had the attributes which made him . . . pre-eminent amongst the men of Clapham. Fervent in his beliefs, yet with "as much wit as if he had no piety" (1), he avoided the more obvious traps of Puritanism (2) and, whatever his personal strivings, cast aside gloom and Pharisaism so that he "lived in perpetual sunshine". (3) His powers of oratory, prodigious energy and unshakable persistence allied to his material wealth and social standing made him the greatest single earthly asset the Evangelical party possessed.

The power of his influence is suggested by such instances as the occasion when the Duchess of Gloucester, wishing to secure a regiment of dragoons for her son, Lord Waldegrave, appealed to Wilberforce to secure the boon from Pitt. (4) The extent of his influence is obvious in the pages of his biographies and correspondence which teem with the names of famous people of many different spheres of life and of many differing shades of opinion: William Pitt,

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- (1) "Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More", by W. Roberts, Vol. 2, p. 115.
 - (2) Dr. Jones has pointed out that in their attitude to religion and morals the Evangelicals were the successors of the Puritans, whose approach to life was maintained elsewhere within the Church so that allies for the majority of Evangelical projects were to hand. ("The Charity School Movement", pp. 9 - 12.)
 - (3) "Collections and Recollections by One who has kept a Diary", from the "Manchester Guardian", 1898.
 - (4) "Private Papers of William Wilberforce", by A. M. Wilberforce, pp. 105 - 6.

Castlereagh, Perceval, Bernard, Allen, Fox, Elizabeth Fry (1), the Duke of Gloucester, Shute Barrington, Prince Czartorowski, Robert Raikes, Owen, Christophe of Hayti, Sydney Smith (2), Andrew Bell, the Duchess of Beaufort, Eldon, Cowper, Kirke White, Blücher, Wellington, Hannah More, Bishop Middleton, Porteus, the members of the Clapham Sect and so many others that the amazing thing is that he found time to do anything beyond conduct a voluminous correspondence and pass the time of day with his friends and acquaintances. His anteroom was often in a state of complete chaos, like Noah's Ark:

"full of beasts clean and unclean. (3) On one chair sat a Yorkshire constituent, manufacturing or agricultural; on another a Wesleyan preacher; on another a petitioner for charity, or a House of Commons client; while side by side with a negro, a foreign missionary, or a Haytian professor, sat some man of rank who sought a private interview. Pitt, and his other parliamentary friends, might be found there at dinner before the House. Indeed so constant was their resort, that it was asserted, not a little to his disadvantage in Yorkshire, that he received a pension for entertaining the partisans of the minister". (4)

Parliament knew and respected Wilberforce as a man whose talents were second to none, but the members frequently received his ideas

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- (1) "When thou hast leisure advise with me as with a child if thou hast any hint to give me in my new circumstances. I look before long once more to entering the prisons. The cause is near my heart, and I do not see that my husband, having lost his property, should, when he and my family do not want me, prevent my attending to these duties; in this I should like to have thy advice." ("Private Papers of William Wilberforce", p. 109.)
- (2) No friend of the Evangelicals, he nevertheless wrote to offer his vote for Wilberforce if he could make the journey to Yorkshire. "I hope to God," he concluded, "you will stir in this great business, and then we will vote you the consulship for life, and you shall be perpetual member for Yorkshire." (Ibid, p. 120.)
- (3) Hannah More ("Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", p. 91.)
- (4) "Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", p. 91.

with bitter opposition or with the apathy which so disgusted him at the time of the East India Company business that he turned, "as a poor substitute, to the voluntary associations". (1) The gain was entirely that of the societies, for his adherence was of considerable value to their cause. The Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, the British and Foreign Bible Society, the S.P.C.K., the City Bible Society, the Prayer Book and Homily Society, the National Society and the British and Foreign Schools Society: these and other ill-assorted bedfellows received his support and demonstrated the catholicity of his benevolence if not of his taste.

As if all else were not enough, Wilberforce decided to follow up the work of his Proclamation Society by entering the lists as an author. In 1797, he produced a "Practical View of the Prevailing Religious Systems of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes in this Country, contrasted with Real Christianity". The public was willing to be instructed in "Real Christianity" and in six months had absorbed 7,500 copies of the work. By 1824, it had run through fifteen editions in England and twenty-five in the United States. (2) "The Christian Observer" exultantly directed its readers to that "celebrated book on religion", which, it claimed, had perhaps done more than any other "to rouse the insensibility

(1) "Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. 2, p. 28.

(2) "A History of the English Church", Vol. 7, p. 233.

and augment the piety of the age". (1) The influence of books is another of the great intangibles: Wilberforce is said to have owed his conversion to Doddridge's "Rise and Progress of Religion"; Thomas Chalmers his to the "Practical View" (2), but it cannot be claimed with any certainty that without Doddridge there would have been no Wilberforce as we know of him, or that without Wilberforce there would have been no Chalmers. Nevertheless, Doddridge did reach Wilberforce through his pen and Wilberforce reached Chalmers as he reached thousands of other readers and affected them in some degree or other by his argument.

As the influence of a man's books cannot be weighed precisely so it is impossible neatly to catalogue the extent of his personal influence. Wilberforce and his friends at Clapham cannot be assessed by the number of Presidencies, Secretaryships and Committee memberships they acquired, nor by the number of societies to which they contributed. These are merely indications of the time and energy they expended and the directions in which they expended them. Wherever the desire to evangelise led, the Clapham Sect was in the van. As has been seen, this desire inevitably led them to accompany their work by education. Step by step they became more involved, for the work of conversion in itself is education in a new set of

(1) "The Christian Observer", February, 1804.
(2) "These Remarkable Men", pp. 39 - 40.

concepts - for the heathen to wish to come to God it was essential that he should know of God. To teach their subjects to read, the missionaries took with them teachers: the teachers established schools: education in the basic skill of reading became extended by the desire to inculcate much more so that the converts might be made fit for Christian citizenship.

With the heathen at home the process was twofold: a cleansing and purging, followed by the moral regeneration of society. To accomplish this regeneration the subject was moulded by the restriction of his intake and a concentrated indoctrination into the Evangelical way of life. Although the dominant theme in the approach to the upper and middle classes was necessarily that of guidance, a direct assault was made on the brutish masses. Here conversion was sometimes possible because the rudiments of education existed, but where it did not exist it became essential to precede the work of conversion by education to give the tool of reading without which the work would have proceeded at a snail's pace.

Chapter 2.

THE SUNDAY SCHOOLS: the part played by the Evangelicals in the early efforts to educate the poor.

The task of educating the poor for Christian citizenship belonged by tradition to the Established Church, but the general apathy which prevailed in its ranks during the first half of the eighteenth century had resulted in the neglect of its educational responsibilities. The small minority of the clergy which took its charge seriously was insufficient to provide education for the members of the lower classes who desired it and the vacuum which remained could not be filled by the private adventure and endowed schools nor by the early efforts to provide schools from local rates. (1) An answer, limited and inadequate, was provided by the growth of voluntary effort.

As surplus wealth made in commerce became available, groups of charitably-inclined men and women were formed who adapted the successful method of the Joint Stock Company to financing schools for the education of the poor. Within them education was carried

(1) The Grammar Schools had become increasingly biased towards the fee-paying student. As endowments failed to keep pace with prices, the endowed schools had either to charge fees and exclude poor children or deteriorate into poorly maintained elementary schools. ("Education and Social Movements", by A. E. Dobbs pp. 82.- 8.) Efforts to provide education from the rates had been made since 1561. ("State Intervention in English Education", by J. E. G. De Montmorency, pp. 67, 191 - 2.)

out in the vernacular and the children acquired the plain accomplishments which would fit them for their station in life. The bulk of the instruction given was in the "Three R's", and more often than not in the two "R's" - writing and reading, the tools for the inculcation of good standards of social and religious behaviour. The task of co-ordinating, popularising and defending this more or less spontaneous movement was undertaken by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Despite opposition on social, economic and political grounds (1) the expansion of the Charity Schools under the auspices of the S.P.C.K. was "widespread and continuous" (2) and firmly riveted the voluntary system onto English education. Yet it was not through the Charity Schools that the great advance of voluntary work was eventually made, for, despite impressive achievements in the early days, the tide gradually turned against them. Money was plentiful in London and the big towns and it was possible to provide attractive salaries and demand in return good standards in teaching staff, but in country districts, where solid opposition from the farming community was encountered, money was at a premium and the S.P.C.K. was forced to fall back on the existing material: the private schoolmaster and the religious poor woman. The collapse of

(1) "The Charity School Movement", pp. 113 - 4.
(2) Ibid, p. 24.

the circulating schools in Wales (1) showed the danger of relying solely on charity, and the constant pressure of the opposition that of associating a cause entirely with the Church of England. Yet the movement which succeeded the Charity School movement was equally narrow in its aims, relied just as strongly on philanthropy and feelings of religious and social duty and aroused at least as much opposition in its course. Nevertheless, the Sunday Schools overshadowed their predecessors and provided instruction for great numbers of the lower classes who had been untouched by the Charity Schools. (2)

No one reason can be given for the success of the Sunday Schools, but some indications can be seen in the ways in which they differed from the Charity Schools. One of the most significant differences lay in the use of Sunday for the purpose of instructing the young. (3) Parents were able to indulge in the luxury of

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- (1) By 1760, Griffith Jones had established circulating schools to educate 10,000 children. On his death, in 1761, Mrs. Bevan took over the work, which she continued until her death in 1779, when she left the schools apparently well endowed. The Trust was disputed, and remained in Chancery until 1807, by which time incalculable harm had resulted. ("State Intervention in English Education", pp. 203 - 4.)
 - (2) The report of the Commissioners of Enquiry into Charities shows that there existed before 1780, 1,475 Non-Classical Endowed Schools and 960 charities not attached to Non-Classical Endowed Schools, making a total of 2,435. ("The Charity School Movement", Appendices I and II, pp. 351 - 2.)
 - (3) The aims of Hearne's schools in Canterbury included that of furnishing "opportunities of instruction to the children of the poorer part of the parish, without interfering with any industry of the week-days". ("Robert Raikes", by A. Gregory, p. 155.)

sending their children to school without having to forfeit a proportion of the family earning power to achieve it, whilst some of the opposition from the employer class weakened though it did not disappear. (1) The middle-classes were happy to combine self-interest with the feeling of virtue which arose from the defence of the Sabbath: "The machines could not spare the children on weekdays, but on Sundays the children took their revenge, disturbing the Sabbath peace of respectable citizens in the towns and of farmers in the country-side. An organisation which would sweep the children off the lanes and streets into school was welcomed by the rural and urban middle-class adults with enthusiasm." (2)

The main reasons for the success of the Sunday Schools were religious. Firstly, whereas the Charity School movement coincided broadly with a period of clerical indifference, the Sunday Schools came into prominence when the Evangelical Revival was awaking Church and Dissent alike. Secondly, the movement did not labour under the handicap of being aggressively Anglican nor was it tied to any

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- (1) In the course of time some manufacturers made the schools subservient to their love of gain. Such perversion of the aims of the Sunday Schools resulted that Southey came to complain bitterly to Shaftesbury: ".... (They knew) that a cry would be raised against them if their little white slaves received no instruction; and so they have converted Sunday into a SCHOOL-DAY, with what effect may be seen in the evidences! the Sunday School of the factories is an abomination; it is an additional cruelty - a compromise between covetousness and hypocrisy." ("The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", by E. Hodder, (1887) Vol. I, pp. 156 - 7.)
- (2) "The Charity School Movement", p. 146.

exclusive body such as the S.P.C.K. The development of the Sunday Schools was very much a co-operative endeavour in which the members of the Established Church not only forgot some of their suspicions of one another, but even, on occasion, worked for their mutual advantage with Dissenters. (1)

The Sunday Schools were not an invention of the last quarter of the eighteenth century. John Wesley had pioneered Sunday classes at as early a date as 1737 (2), but the transformation of the schools from a "fortuitous rarity into a universal system" (3) did not take place until the intervention of a young Evangelical layman: Robert Raikes. On the death of his father in 1757 he had taken over the "Gloucester Journal". The demands of his trade soon brought him into contact with many of the less savoury members of the community and caused him to seek the reasons for the prevalence of crime amongst the poor. He soon became well-known as a visitor to the local prisons where he was amazed both by the bestiality of the occupants and the failure of the authorities to provide employment for hand or mind. Neither did he consider that the indiscriminate lumping together at Gloucester Castle of debtors and hardened criminals, of men, women and children, could be conducive to the present morality

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- (1) For example, in 1784 the schools in Stockport were run by a committee which included an Episcopalian treasurer, a Unitarian secretary and a Wesleyan librarian. ("Robert Raikes", p. 159.)
 - (2) Both Wesley and Whitefield displayed an early interest in schools. Wesley visited Hermann Franke's son at Halle in 1723, and planned the orphan house at Newcastle in its likeness. In 1736, Whitefield took charge of some two or three small charity schools in Oxford. ("The Charity School Movement", p. 136.)
 - (3) "Robert Raikes", p. 45.

or future improvement of the inmates. Like Kay Shuttleworth at a later date, Raikes recognised the link between ignorance and crime and made his first venture into education by offering payment to those prisoners who could read if they would instruct their less fortunate fellows. It was soon brought home to him that such efforts were too small and came too late and that the only hope of reform lay in the children. This conclusion was strengthened by the evidence before him of the way in which hordes of children roamed the streets every Sunday and the "deplorable profanity of the Sabbath" (1) which ensued. With the help of a kindred spirit, the Reverend Thomas Stock, the curate of the Church of St. John the Baptist, he procured the names of some ninety children and appointed four women to instruct them in reading and the catechism. Stock himself undertook to act as Superintendent of the schools and to bear one-third of the expense of their upkeep.

The pattern which Raikes set for the Sunday Schools illustrates how the ideal of a remedial religious education, so strong in the minds of the pious, was carried on in practice. The early schools began in a humble enough fashion when the four women were employed to teach the catechism and reading. As the schools developed, a flat rate of payment for teachers was fixed at one shilling a week, but provision was made in the regulations for an additional sum of

(1) "The Story of Sunday Schools: Robert Raikes and after",
by C. R. Newby, p. 6.

sixpence a week to be paid to those who showed diligence. (1) School was opened at eight o'clock each morning and continued in the afternoon and evening with two breaks, one when the children were taken to Church by a clergyman, and the other for lunch. On the second Sunday of every month at six o'clock, the children were taught the Catechism in Church by a minister and had the answers explained. Children of Dissenters were encouraged to attend their own places of worship and bring back accounts of the texts delivered there.

The schools catered for children aged between six and twelve or fourteen years of age. They were encouraged to come to school clean in body; the Tetbury schools in Gloucester showed an early interest in child health by ruling that all children with cutaneous disorders must be examined before entry. Within the schools the boys and girls were separated into different classes of twenty pupils, which were in turn split up under a sort of monitorial system into four groups, each with a leader, or monitor, who taught the other children their letters and the basic skills of reading. The youngest children were brought up on Dr. Watts' prayers and the elder proceeded to those of Bishop Wilson and Bishop Gibson. The

(1) When the Sunday Schools in general were forced to employ volunteer teachers, it was estimated that a school of two hundred children could be run at a yearly cost of £15 for rent and maintenance and £5 for books and lessons. Thus a child could be "educated" on one day a week for only two shillings per annum.

more advanced readers studied the New Testament and learnt portions of the Catechism and Watts' hymns. The teacher was instructed to read between three and four chapters of the Bible in succession, that the pupils might have "connected ideas of the history and consistency of the scriptures". (1) Rewards were given to the children for good work. Swearing was very much frowned upon, and quarrels were made up by order, the aggressor "compelled to ask pardon, and the offended ... enjoined to forgive". (2) Weak scholars attended evening classes during the week and adults were urged to attend on Sundays.

The expansion of this simple venture into a nation-wide system was ensured by the happy accident of Raikes's career. He did not hesitate to use the "Gloucester Journal" to publicise the schools, whilst by correspondence with other periodicals and journals (3) he spread the news abroad still further, arousing and retaining the interest of the charitably inclined. In this lay his claim to fame, whatever the truth of the arguments of his detractors that because of "excessive vanity" he deliberately stole the glory from Stock.(4). (It has been suggested that it was Stock who drew up the rules for the schools and carried out their inspection whilst Raikes, by withdrawing his subscriptions from the schools in St. Catherine's when

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- (1) Rules of Robert Raikes, 1784.
 - (2) "Robert Raikes", p. 124.
 - (3) E.g., "Gentleman's Magazine", June 1784; "Arminian Magazine", June 1785.
 - (4) It is interesting to note that Gregory mentions a Sunday School established in Berkshire by Stock in 1778. Op. cit., p.46.

opening new ones at St. Mary-de-Crypt, placed the whole weight of the expense of the earlier schools on the shoulders of Stock who was ill-equipped to bear such a burden. Yet it seems obvious that in his capacity as Superintendent it would indeed be Stock's task to draw up rules and carry out inspections while Raikes performed wider and more diverse duties. Certainly Stock, a much younger man, made no claim to recognition as founder of the Sunday School movement, nor did he bear Raikes any ill-will for the St. Catherine's incident, but justly attributed the wide success of their ideas to his partner's constant representations on their behalf in print.)

As the schools spread, their needs were met by new devices. For instance, Leeds had developed so far by 1784 that the city had to be organised into seven divisions (1) and "Inquisitors" appointed to seek out absentees. In Leicester, while paid teachers were still the rule, males were paid twice as much as in Gloucester and females received one shilling and sixpence a week by the side of their colleagues' two shillings. Schools of industry arose (2) and were frequently developed during the week for the Sunday School children

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- (1) There were in all twenty-six schools, forty-six masters, and two thousand pupils. Raikes' ideal pupil-teacher ratio was obviously difficult to maintain universally.
 - (2) Such schools were known in the eighteenth century, but owed their popularity to Mrs. Trimmer's exposition of their merits in the "Oeconomy of Charity". Hannah More had such a school, and revealed her sound common sense by suggesting a switch from teaching the traditional linen-making and substituting a school for worsteds, as linen was becoming a starvation industry.

thus complementing Raikes' work. Such a scheme is described by one of his biographers. (1) Opening in Bath, it provided for one hundred and eighty children, sixty of whom learnt to knit stockings and garters, sixty to spin wool, whilst the remaining sixty, all girls, learnt either to spin flax for linen or to sew clothes. The aim was to fit them to be good domestic servants in accordance with their lowly station in life.

In the changing situation Raikes remained the hub of much of the endeavour to establish Sunday Schools. He was visited both by John Wesley and the ubiquitous Wilberforce, a relative by marriage, and a good friend of Raikes' brother Thomas. (2) In April 1789, he in turn visited a personal friend of the family in Hannah More, shortly before the trip to Cheddar which resulted in her resolve to provide schools in the Mendips. (3) Previous to this, William Fox had begun a long correspondence with Raikes in which he mooted the idea of forming a central body to co-ordinate the efforts of Sunday School promoters throughout the country. In 1785 he translated his ideas into the "Society for the Establishment and Support of Sunday Schools throughout the Kingdom of Great Britain". Between 1786 and 1800, the young society expended £4,000 on teachers' pay in an effort

(1) Gregory.

(2) Thirty years after the establishment of the first Gloucester schools, Joseph Lancaster called on Raikes for advice. Thomas Raikes, a Governor of the Bank of England, was also a friend of Pitt.

(3) "Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More", Vol. 2. p. 151.

to spread the schools, but the cost was too great. (1) The movement might have lost its impetus and perished had not the Nonconformists come to the rescue with their introduction of the use of voluntary, unpaid teachers. Within four more years the Sunday Schools Society was reported as having given help in its short lifetime to 2,232 schools catering for 200,787 children. 184,248 spelling books, 42,680 testaments, 6,583 Bibles and £4,112: 6: 5d in cash had been distributed. (2)

In 1803, further impetus was given to the movement by the establishment of the Sunday School Union. Its avowed aims were to stimulate teachers to greater efforts and to help them to improve teaching methods, to enlarge existing schools and introduce new ones where needed, to supply books and stationary as cheaply as possible, and to give advice and grants of money to clergy without interfering in the private affairs of the Sunday Schools.

Consolidation and expansion, backed by a central organisation were now possible, and the spread of the work was rapid and country-wide. In 1788, 250,000 children were under instruction; in 1831, ten thousand schools staffed by one hundred thousand unpaid teachers were giving rudimentary instruction to an estimated one-seventeenth of the child population of Great Britain. By the latter date, it was claimed that one and a quarter million children had passed through

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- (1) At the normal rate of pay of between one and two shillings per teacher per Sunday, this sum would probably provide a labour force of less than three hundred teachers.
 - (2) "The Christian Observer", February, 1804.

the Sunday Schools. (1)

From the first the Sunday Schools were blessed with the sort of support which is essential to the success of voluntary endeavour. Raikes was called before the Queen in 1787 to explain his work and as a consequence Sarah Trimmer was summoned to assist in the establishment of Sunday Schools in Windsor. The King visited the Schools of Industry at Brentford where Mrs. Trimmer was active, and proclaimed that he hoped that every child in his kingdom would learn to read the Bible. Thomas Charles of Bala carried forth the schools to Wales in 1789, from which ultimately followed the foundation of the Bible Society. (2) Two of the great allies of the Clapham Sect amongst the higher clergy, the Bishops of London and Salisbury, were prominent in the early work. While Bishop of Chester, Porteus exhorted the clergy of the diocese to set up schools, and other members of the "orthodox" clergy followed his example by providing Sunday Schools within their benefices and undertaking the catechising of children in hundreds of parishes where the canons of the Church had for years been a dead letter. As the French Revolution pursued its ungodly way the fear of atheism caused the clergy to redouble their efforts. "When we know," proclaimed Porteus, "that in other countries schools of irreligion have actually been established, and children regularly trained up, almost from their infancy, in the alphabet and grammar of

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- (1) "Gentleman's Magazine", 1838, Vol. 101, ii, pp. 132 - 3.
(2) "The History of the Origin and first Ten Years of the British and Foreign Bible Society", Vol. 1, p. 15 et. seq.

infidelity surely it behoves us to counteract and to guard against these attempts by every means in our power; and more especially by diffusing as widely as possible among the children of the poor opportunities afforded by Sunday schools of acquiring the soundest principles and the earliest habits of morality and religion."

(1)

Among the Evangelicals the Sunday School movement attracted its due support. With its aims of defending the Sabbath, attacking irreligion and spreading the Word of God, it might have been conceived with them in mind. Within two years of Raikes' first experiment John Fletcher had established six schools, three for boys and three for girls, at Madeley, Madeley Wood and Coalbrook. "It was not long," said John Wesley, "before he (Fletcher) observed that a general reformation had taken place in the parish, and it was not only an outward reformation, even of many that had been notorious for all manner of wickedness, but an inward also; many, both young and old, having learnt to worship God in Spirit and in truth." (2)

Other ministers and laymen who were soon in the field were Wilson, who began a school at Staithwaite, Bayley, who opened schools in Manchester, and Atkinson, (himself headmaster of a school at Drightlington), who together with William Hey, President of the Leeds Bible Association, promoted and supervised many of the first Sunday Schools

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- (1) Porteus' Charge to the London clergy. "A History of the English Church", Vol. 7, p. 223.
Paradoxically, other Churchmen laid the charge of Jacobinism against the schools and their founders. Infra, pp. 204-6.
- (2) "Robert Raikes. The Man and His Work", by Josiah Harris, p. 78.

in the area. Thomas Jones had a school at Clifton, and the efforts of Richardson and Stillingfleet led to the foundation in York of ten more, catering for five hundred children. Charles Grant the Elder introduced the schools into Scotland and Farish began two schools in Cambridge. Daniel Wilson used the London Clerical Society to institute fifteen schools in the metropolis: an early example of the care exercised over educational matters by such bodies. John Newton, with practical therapy, put Cowper to work after his own translation to Otley, and set him to teaching in Sunday School. The result was another convert to the cause, for after Newton had gone Cowper was one of the prime movers in establishing a further Sunday School. (1) The Sunday Schools were wonderfully consistent with his idea of the Sabbath, the maintenance of which he believed must be the "sine qua non of the Christian character." "Upon this head," he continued, "I should guard against being misunderstood to mean no more than two attendances upon public worship, which is a form complied with by thousands who never kept a Sabbath in their lives. Consistency is necessary, to give substance and solidarity to the whole. To sanctify the day at Church, and to trifle it away

(1) "The Stricken Deer or the Life of Cowper", by D. Cecil, pp. 122 and 164.

out of Church, is profanation, and vitiates all." (1)

At a time when they could boast of no high Church dignitaries of their own the Evangelicals were fortunate to be able to rely on the High Priest of Sabbath observance for support. With the assistance of Henry Thornton, first President of the Sunday School Society, William Wilberforce created and maintained among his friends at Clapham and elsewhere a high level of interest in the doings of the schools. Neither Thornton nor Wilberforce had the time to spare to establish schools of their own and had they done so the greater part of their value to the movement would have been lost. The talents of both men were better employed in directing, encouraging and co-ordinating the efforts of individual teachers and managers. The importance of their help and the extent of their commitment to such work is clearly shown in the attempt to establish Sunday Schools in the Mendips.

In 1789 the famous Blue Stocking, Miss Hannah More, and her formidable sisters, Elizabeth, Martha, Mary and Sally, had directed their attention to the problem of the poor of Cheddar. Investigation of the district revealed "a set of wretched people sunk in heathen

(1) "Letters of William Cowper", p. 162.

The Elland Society, too, expressed interest in the work of Sunday Schools. In 1802, one of the appointed topics for a paper before the Society was: "What have been the Effects of Sunday Schools on the Interests of Society, of Religion at large, and of the Church of England in particular?" In 1826, a topic was: "How far have Sunday Schools produced the beneficial effects which were expected of them? and what are the best means of rendering them still more Efficient?" ("Journals of the Elland Society", July, 1802 and October, 1826).

darkness" (1) neglected by priest and employer alike. Existing in squalid conditions ideally fitted for the production of brutishness and vice, the lower classes presented a challenge which the Mores found hard to resist. A sight-seeing tour of the district in Wilberforce's company produced in him a similar frame of mind for he found his pleasure in the beauties of nature entirely marred by the sharp contrast presented by the miseries of humanity all around him. Upon returning to the More household the problem of assisting the natives was discussed until a late hour; "it was at length decided in a few words, by Mr. W's exclaiming, 'If you will be at the trouble I will be at the expense!'" (2)

Fortified by the promise of financial assistance, the Mores descended on the Cheddar villages determined to stiffen the moral fibre and uplift the souls of the inhabitants. Their conception of the problem of poverty was straightforward. The usual limit of their ambition was to teach the poor to bear with their lot, to inculcate habits of industry and virtue, to teach the principles of Christianity and prepare their pupils in "coarse works" to fit them for employment as servants. (3)

(1) "Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. I, p. 238.

(2) Ibid, Vol. I, p. 240.

(3) "My object has not been to teach dogmas and opinions, but to form the lower class to habits of industry and virtue. I know no way of teaching morals but by infusing principles of Christianity, nor of teaching Christianity without a thorough knowledge of Scripture To make good members of society (and this can only be done by making good Christians) has been my aim Principles not opinions are what I labour to give them."
("Hannah More", by M. G. Jones, p. 152.)

From the first the good ladies experienced opposition to their efforts. Albeit that the people of the area were well-known for their savagery they presented fewer problems than the masters of the demesne. At Draycott the "great lady" was so strongly opposed to the idea of Sunday Schools that she bribed the scholars to stay away by offering them gin. "The gin was firmly rejected at first," wrote Miss More, "but we fear has had some influence since." (1)

At a village near Bridgewater, the "despot of the village" (2) would have turned the sisters off with the assertion that as religion made the poor "lazy and useless" he would have none of the Sunday Schools. Hannah More was swift to counter with an argument close to his own heart, that the scholars would become "more industrious as they were better principled". (3) For all their earnestness the Mores were no mean diplomats and Hannah's letter to Wilberforce recounting the difficulties they encountered could have been taken from the account of the campaign of many a prospective Parliamentary candidate: "Miss Wilberforce would have been shocked had she seen the petty tyrants whose insolence we stroked and tamed, the ugly children we fondled, the pointers and spaniels we caressed, the cider we commended, and the wine we swallowed." (4)

(1) "Mendip Annals", by Martha More, p. 17.

(2) "Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More", Vol. 2, p. 208.

(3) Ibid.

(4) "Mendip Annals", p. 17. (Cf. "Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More", Vol. 2, p. 207, letter to William Wilberforce, 1789.)

The clergy were of the district but rarely in it. The Vicarage of Cheddar was held, wrote Hannah, by a "Mr. R. : who has something to do, but I cannot here find out what, in the University of Oxford, where he resides. The curate lives at Wells, twelve miles distant. They have only service once a week, and there is scarcely an instance of a poor person being visited, or prayed with. The living of Axbridge belongs to the Prebendary of Winelismombe, in the cathedral of Wells. ... Mr. G. is intoxicated about six times a week, and very frequently is prevented from preaching by two black eyes, honestly earned by fighting." (1)

Despite indifference and hostility within the area the More sisters patiently continued their task, secure in the knowledge of the existence of the firm support of their friends. Wilberforce fully lived up to his promise to foot the bill for the Mendips venture. In August, 1789, he followed up his offer with a draft for £40. This was "only meant for beginning with" for Hannah was enjoined thereafter to call upon him "for money without reserve". (2) In October there followed a further letter, urging Hannah to speak freely when the money was exhausted and containing news of his efforts to equip her with a sufficient number of books. As more schools became established, he became a frequent visitor to Cowslip Green, as did Zachary Macaulay, whose particular interest was perhaps more matrimonial than educational. In 1791, Wilberforce made a tour of

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- (1) "Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More",
Vol. 2, p. 207.
- (2) "Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. 1, p. 246 et seq.

the schools at Shipham, Hounswick, Axbridge and Cheddar and accompanied John Venn, who also became a frequent visitor, to the district in 1793 to demonstrate the progress which had been made. His return home was followed by another letter offering cash gratuities to teachers and any of the young people whom the Mores might "think it useful to distinguish". (1) Even the excitement of the election of 1796 did not divert his mind from the Cheddar project. A jubilant letter to Hannah More announced that, as the election had cost less than had been expected, she might draw upon him the more freely.

In the following autumn Wilberforce again visited Cheddar, and within a year he offered to find a regular £400 per annum for the Somerset work, £200 to come from the gift of Mrs. Bouverie in the hands of Henry Thornton, and the remainder to be provided half by Thornton himself and half by Wilberforce. In financial terms Thornton was of even more importance to the schools than Wilberforce himself. Upon his death, Hannah More mourned the loss of the work's "principal support for twenty-five years". (2)

Without the financial and moral support of their friends the Mores could not have achieved the success that they did, but without the personal qualities of the sisters it is doubtful whether the schools would have ever become more than a happy fancy. The very

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- (1) "Life of William Wilberforce", Letter to Hannah More, 3rd August, 1793. Vol. 2, p. 33.
(2) "Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More", Vol. 3, p. 451.

"main-spring of the machine" (1) was the intelligent and versatile Hannah More who shared with her aides a tenacity of purpose which was almost unshakeable, and who, like Patty (Martha) in particular, had the ability to meet people of all conditions and yet achieve a happy rapport with all. In dealing with the unlettered folk of Cheddar, (2) such a gift was essential. "I chiefly recollect," wrote Marianne Thornton, "Mrs. Hannah's or Mrs. Patty's eloquent exhortations made to the whole school in the most familiar homely language, full of anecdotes of the people round them, as well as of the good people who lived in old times, and full of practical piety brought down to such minute details one never hears now. I particularly remember how she explained that the fifth commandment enjoined us to 'do errands for mother not saucily or lazily and stupidly' amongst many other small duties that she enumerated." (3)

Patty's kindness and loving care was such that Dr. Winterbottom wryly recounted: "... every person must be benefited by it, and teachers might become scholars and profit by it. How can the men have been so blind to Patty More's merits? It ought to have been a

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- (1) "Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. 2, p. 302. 19th July, 1798.
(2) In their ignorance, the people of the area feared that the Mores might sell their children into slavery. Hannah wrote to Wilberforce in 1791 specifically mentioning the danger to the success of the venture created by villagers who hesitated to send their children to school, "being apprehensive that at the end of seven years, if they attended so long, I should acquire a power over them, and send them beyond the sea." ("The Letters of Hannah More", ed. by R. Brinsley Johnson, p. 168.)
(3) "Marianne Thornton 1797-1887", by E. M. Forster, p. 47.

national concern, and so much goodness should have been married, even though it had been enforced by Act of Parliament." (1)

Even such paragons as the Mores could not be in every place at once. With "Great Schools" established at Cheddar, Shipham and Nailsea and "lesser schools" at Sandford, Yatton, Banwell, Congresbury, Chew Magna, Axbridge, Wedmore and Blagdon, the problem of staffing assumed major proportions. Teachers of the calibre and sound religious principles of Mrs. Baber at Cheddar were difficult to find. The sisters attempted to guide their recruits by issuing "Burkitt's Exposition" and their own "Mendips Schools Questions and Catechisms", but written instruction and personal example were not enough to ensure success. (2) At Nailsea, a married couple from Bath, the Younges, were installed with high hopes of success, only to be driven forth by the opposition of the local farmers. The day school was closed, and a young miner acted as relief teacher in the Sunday School. Such was his success that the farmers asked the Mores to re-open the day-school under his care. Their request granted, they gave to

(1) "Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", p. 142.

(2) Hannah's conception of the importance of her own role and that of her teachers is reflected in the following passage from "The Sunday School": "It is something gained to rescue children from idling away their Sabbath in the fields or the streets. It is no small thing to keep them from those tricks to which a day of leisure tempts the idle and the ignorant. It is something for them to be taught to read; it is much to be taught to read the Bible; and much, indeed, to be carried regularly to church. But all this is not enough. To bring these institutions to answer their highest end, can only be effected by God's blessing on the best directed means, the choice of able teachers, and a diligent attention in some pious gentry to visit and inspect the schools."
("Works", (1818), Vol. 4, pp. 361 - 2.)

the novice all the co-operation they had denied to the experts and the schools flourished. At Congresbury, a paying school run by a stony-hearted couple was taken over by the Mores *faute de mieux*, but such was the poor quality of the teaching that they had eventually to close it. At Yatton the teachers again failed the sisters and the schools were closed, at Shipham the two mistresses within a few months of their arrival had planned "a new situation for themselves" (1) and had become engaged to be married, while at Axbridge the teachers were dismissed and a Mrs. Carrol, who appears to have been dangerously tainted with Methodism, was substituted. At Wedmore, the outcry against Harvard's Methodism caused his replacement by a schoolmistress under whose tender care the school declined almost to extinction. Finally Younge's conduct at Blagdon resulted in the cause célèbre which brought down the system about his ears. (2)

The lack of accommodation created another problem. Although the Vicar of Shipham was prevailed upon to repair the old vicarage, the almost universal coldness shown by the upper and middle-classes towards the schools precluded any other offers. Consequently, a large proportion of the largesse which the Mores had received from their friends was spent in building schools.

Despite the handicaps they encountered, the work of the Mores was rewarded by considerable success. Under the redoubtable Mrs.

(1) "Mendip Annals", p. 135. From the "Journal".
(2) *Infra*, pp. 60-62.

Baber, Cheddar flourished. Opening in 1791 with one hundred pupils, it had doubled the number within four years and was accompanied by a weekday school of industry and regular evening classes for reading. At Nailsea, a day-school was organised, with an evening class for the youths of the village, and at Shipham the third of the "Great Schools" flourished despite a discouraging succession of dull boys.

The "lesser schools" were organised to provide Sunday instruction and evening readings, with the exception of Blagdon which provided also the "three R's" for the children of the "superior" poor, to fit them for employment as overseers, constables, tradesmen and the like. Hannah More bitterly regretted that she was forced to "turn adrift" (1) two hundred children, one hundred adults and the school-master at the time of the controversy, so it would appear that its lifetime must have been vigorous beyond the normal.

For the greater part of the year the sisters taught in or inspected the schools, "bribing" the children with pennies to learn parts of the Scriptures, and rewarding them for effort with gingerbread, Bibles, prayer books and Cheap Repository Tracts. In writing to Wilberforce, Hannah described their procedure:

"In the morning I open School with one of the Sunday School Prayers from the Cheap Repository Tracts. I have a Bible Class-Testament Class-Psalter Class. Those who cannot read at all, are questioned out of the first little question book for the Mendip Schools. In instructing the Bible or Testament class, I always begin with the Parables, which we explain to them in the most familiar manner, one at a time, till they understand that one so perfectly that they are well able to give me the full sense of it.

(1) "Letters of Hannah More to Zachary Macaulay", ed. by W. Roberts, p. 163.

We begin with the three parables in the fifteenth chapter of St. Luke, first fixing in their minds the literal sense, and then teaching them to make the practical application. When their understandings are a little exercised, we dwell for a long time on the three first chapters of Genesis, endeavouring from these to establish them in the doctrine of the fall of man. We keep them for a good while close to the same subject, making them read the same part so often, that the most important texts shall adhere to their memories; because on this knowledge only can I ground my general conversation with them so as to be intelligible. I also encourage them by little bribes of a penny a chapter, to get by heart certain fundamental parts of Scripture, for instance the promises, and prophecies, and confession of sin - such as the 9th of Isaiah, 53rd of Isaiah, and 51st Psalm - the Beatitudes, and indeed the whole Sermon on the Mount - together with the most striking parts of our Saviour's discourses in the Gospel of St. John. It is my grand endeavour to make everything as entertaining as I can, and to try to engage their affections; to excite in them the love of God; and particularly, to awaken their gratitude to their Redeemer." (1)

Although the work of conversion continued steadily and produced occasional gratifying effects on the adult population, the Mores were not slow to realise that their work was being hampered by the environment of their pupils. (2) In Cheddar they saw "but one Bible

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- (1) Hints in a letter to Wilberforce. ("Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More", Vol. 3, pp. 150 - 2. Cf. Jones' "Hannah More", pp. 259 - 60: "prayers" for "Prayers" "Instructing" for "In instructing", "until" for "till", "Luke" for "St. Luke", "on" for "upon", "prophecies" for "and prophecies", "confessions" for "confession", "50th. of Isaiah" for "53rd of Isaiah", etc. throughout. .Attributed to Vol. 2. of this work.)
- (2) "Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. I. pp. 367 - 8. An entry in his "Journal" dated 26th August, 1791, records that his visit to Shipham, Hounswick, Axbridge and Cheddar had revealed that God seemed indeed to prosper their work: "both amongst young and old are those who are turning to Him. Near a thousand children in all. One mere child had brought all his father's household to family prayers."

in all the parish, and that was used to prop a flower-pot!" (1)
Within a year of the start of their enterprise Hannah wrote to Martha to suggest that parents should be encouraged to attend the schools in the evening for instruction, particularly in religious matters, as they were "so ignorant that they needed to be taught the very elements of Christianity". (2)

The main force of this new effort was directed at the women of the district. To complement the simple instruction given there came into being women's benefit societies the aim of which was to foster cleanliness and morality and to reward the manifestation of those virtues with financial largesse. A provident scheme was developed whereby the women paid 1½d a week to ensure a benefit of 3s 6d a week for sickness or 7s 6d for lying-in. School feast days and club days were great events when the lesson of the Christian life was constantly driven home:

"One rule is, that any girl bred in the school, who continues when grown up to attend its instructions, and has married in the past year with a fair character, is presented on this day with five shillings, a pair of white stockings, and a new Bible; and several very good girls have received this public testimony to their virtuous conduct." (3)

It was unfortunate that the success of these simple extensions of the Sunday School idea was jeopardised by the Blagdon controversy.

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- (1) "The Letters of Hannah More", p. 167.
 - (2) "Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More", Vol. 2, pp. 218 - 9.
 - (3) "The Letters of Hannah More", p. 171.

In 1795 the Mores had received a deputation from the parish, whose curate, Bere, was most eager, said Martha, "to get us into the parish." (1) The charge accepted, the work proceeded in an atmosphere of great goodwill, and Martha recorded in her Journal the extension of their efforts: "We have been extremely anxious, and Mrs. Bere still more so, that our Sunday evening reading might be introduced at Blagdon." (2)

Within five years of their entry into Blagdon the storm burst about the heads of the Mores. For some time, Bere and his wife had been perturbed by the state of affairs at the school-house, where Younge was holding meetings of a distinctly Methodistical flavour. Warnings to the Mores were brushed aside until the curate and Justice "no longer concealed the cloven hoof" (3) and initiated a vigorous campaign against the schoolmaster. The motives governing his action have become obscured by the storm of abuse raised by both the defenders and detractors of Hannah More. Bere was accused of pursuing a personal vendetta against Younge and his sponsors and of producing false witnesses to prove his case. Although some of the Justice's methods were distinctly questionable, the Mores themselves were hardly as innocent as they would have wished to appear. Because of the scarcity of first-class teachers, Hannah seems to have adopted a double set of

(1) "Mendip Annals", pp. 166 - 7 et seq.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid. p. 227.

values towards those "avowed enemies of my schools", (1) as she called the Methodists. Mrs. Easterbrook was an acknowledged Methodist, and other teachers were clearly of the same stamp. That her schools should occasionally have become converted into Nonconformist assemblies would have been anathema to Miss More, but she nevertheless courted danger by deliberately fostering psalm-singing to fight Methodism with its own weapons and allowing evening readings for adults, where, because of the predilections of some of her teachers and the lack of adequate inspection, there became manifested all the stigmata of Methodism - interrogation, extempore prayer, the singing of hymns outside the Church's hymnal and the teaching of Calvinistic doctrine.

Both sides in the dispute were plentifully supplied with ammunition and the fracas soon grew beyond the power of the principals to control it. Hannah More's powerful friends went to work behind the scenes and brought about the removal of the curate, a discredited and unhappy man. Unfortunately the victory was not without cost, for Hannah was so discouraged by the scandal that she withdrew from active participation in any further Sunday School work.

(2) If Bere can be believed such a result was both unfortunate and

(1) "Mendip Annals", p. 21. Even Wilberforce would seem to have stepped out of character in advising her: "Send for a comet. Whiston had them at his command and John Wesley is not unprovided." ("Hannah More", p. 180.)

(2) The wider implications of Blagdon as I see them are discussed infra, Chapter 6, pp. 203-6.

unnecessary. He had welcomed the Mores into his parish and had endeavoured to secure their co-operation when Younge gave him cause for alarm, only to have his appeals rejected. In such circumstances his letter to Dr. Crossman has a ring of sincerity about it: "I love the Sunday Schools," he wrote, "But it does not necessarily follow, that therefore I MUST SUPPORT UNLICENSED CONVENTICLES Mrs. H. More, to PROTECT HER TEACHER, attaches her establishment to the man: I want to detach the man from her establishment. THIS END, THIS ONLY, IS THE POINT AT ISSUE." (1)

Hannah More's personal withdrawal from the work did not result in the end of the Mendips venture, although the Blagdon affair constantly rankled in her mind and she was wont to refer to it as the time of one of the "heaviest trials" of her life. (2) Miss Frowd, her chaplain, was given command of all the schools though the teachers were still Hannah's responsibility: "pious and prudent, of my own forming." (3) Nor were the friendly societies for women forgotten, for in March, 1816, she claimed that they remained in fine health, over £1,200 having been given away in twenty years. (4)

The work of the Mores at Cheddar extended the Sunday School system as far as the limits of its ethos. Their attitude was maternal: they superimposed their ideals on the inhabitants by means

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- (1) "An Appeal to the Public on the controversy between Hannah More, The Curate of Blagdon, and the Rev. Sir A. Elton", 1801.
 - (2) "Letters of Hannah More to Zachary Macaulay", pp. 163 - 4.
 - (3) Ibid, p. 156.
 - (4) "Mendip Annals", pp. 245 - 6. At that time 700 children remained in the schools.

of simple education and practical aids to Christian piety: thrift, cleanliness and virtue. Few of the honest Churchmen who pioneered the movement saw further than they did, nor would they have wished to progress had they done so. The lower classes were not so diffident. The demand rose for weekday night classes to continue their instruction in the "three R's" and beyond. (1) In 1789, the Sunday School teachers of Birmingham formed a society to continue the education of their former scholars which eventually amalgamated with a local scientific association and developed along the lines of a Mechanics' Institute. (2) Another example is provided by the Roby Day and Sunday Schools in Manchester which ran evening classes for mill-hands over the age of thirteen at which the lure of Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, Grammar and Drawing brought men and boys from factory to schoolroom. The thirst for knowledge was difficult to quench and was stronger than the discomforts of cold and fatigue or the restrictions imposed by the educators. Herein lay the Evangelicals' dilemma: their pupils were frequently left unsatisfied by the education provided, but the religious ideals to which even such a rudimentary form of instruction owed its existence circumscribed the content and inhibited the interpretation of the syllabus.

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- (1) Raikes had seen the need for the extension of the work of Sunday Schools through evening classes and industrial schools. ("Robert Raikes. The Man and His Work", p. 88). The Eclectic Society, too, wished to see the institution of classes on the evenings of weekdays, but for a different motive: to prevent the desecration of the Sabbath by the extension of the Sunday School syllabus. ("Eclectic Notes", p. 525.)
- (2) "Education and Social Movements", 1700-1850; pp. 140-1.

Chapter 3

THE EVANGELICAL VIEW OF EDUCATION

The impulse to evangelise which motivated Evangelical participation in the work of the Missionary societies and the Sunday Schools was fundamental to their attitude towards education. As a group they held firmly to the idea that religious instruction could save the souls of the unenlightened. Zachary Macaulay, a close friend of the author, began to use Thomas Chalmers' system of Sunday instruction among the poor of London: "that at least there may not be any of them who shall not have heard of God and Christ, and Heaven and Hell, and who shall not have had the call sounded in his ears to turn to God, and to flee from the wrath to come." (1)

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- (1) "Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", p. 369.
Cf. Hannah More ("The Sunday School"): "Would not that mother be thought an unnatural monster who should stand by and snatch out of her child's mouth the bread which a kind friend had just put into it? But such a mother would be merciful, compared with her who should rob her children of the opportunity of learning to read the word of God when it is held out to them. Remember, that if you slight the present offer, or if, after having sent your children a few times, you should afterwards keep them at home under vain pretences, you will have to answer for it at the day of judgment. Let not your poor children, then, have cause to say, 'My fond mother was my worst enemy For an idle holiday, I am now brought to the gates of hell!'" ("Works", (1818), Vol. 4, pp. 370 - 1.)

William Wilberforce developed the basic proposition further so that his thinking became characterized by a rigidity and narrowness which affected his whole approach to the subject: "To inculcate and enforce Christian principles and Christian practice, should be the grand object, in comparison with which all other knowledge is contemptible." (1) With such a conception of the purpose of education in his mind, it was difficult for Wilberforce to give support to many otherwise laudable ventures of the day. He was critical of Robert Owen because his system had no religious foundation and could even be construed as hostile to Christianity in that it attempted to promote goodness without the aid of religion: to render "manufactures and morals compatible". (2) His dissatisfaction with the Mechanics' Institutes and the infant London University arose from the same outlook. In the face of considerable opposition, he pressed for the integration into the university course of some measure of religious education. After protracted arguments, the founders of the new institution attempted to retain his support and silence his objections by the promise of the addition to the

(1) "Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. 5, p. 47.
(2) Ibid, Vol. 5, p. 47.

course of an optional lecture on Christian evidence. To one who "dreaded education if it was not based upon religion", (1) such an offer could be little more than derisory, and Wilberforce forthwith removed his name from the scheme. (2)

The influence of the laity in education was a further source of worry to Wilberforce. He urged that children should be taught Christianity as a precaution against the time when there would be more lay teachers and a resultant diminution of Christian influence. He viewed with concern the state of affairs in Scotland which was becoming a centre for youngmen of fashion, cheated of the Grand Tour by the war, who rounded off their education instead with a course of study under Dugald Stewart of Edinburgh or Professor Millar of Glasgow. In Scotland there were no rich livings, because the scions of wealthy families did not take up the Church as a career as did their counterparts in England. As a result the upper classes were even less under the sway of the Church than were their fellows south of the border. Wilberforce maintained that the spread of corruption could only be halted by a tremendous increase in religious instruction. As early as 1798, he had described his answer for England in a letter to

(1) "Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. 5, p. 257.

(2) Zachary Macaulay had placed Wilberforce's name amongst those of the supporters of the scheme without his prior consent.

William Hey of Leeds in which he proposed that every parish or small district should have its own school under the management of the clergy for the religious instruction of those children whose parents chose to send them:

"While a nation preserves a general reverence for the opinions and institutions of its forefathers, even though the bulk of the people are not under any deep impressions of piety, the rising generation is always educated with a prejudice in favour of the religion of the country, and with a disposition to befriend and maintain it ... I fear, if we leave it to the lower orders in general to educate their own children, they will receive little or no education at all - little prepossession in favour of Christianity, or disposition to stand up for it; and when these no longer exist, the vantage ground of our clergy is taken away from them." (1)

As has been seen, Hannah More was as firmly convinced of the prime importance of religious instruction as Wilberforce. On one occasion she returned bristling with righteous indignation from an encounter with a small child who, despite her initiation into the mysteries of science and syntax, thought Abraham was "an Exeter man".

(2) To Miss More there was no point to education if the priorities were neglected. The supposed omission (3) of the Catechism from

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- (1) "Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. 2, pp. 308 - 9.
(2) "Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More", Vol. 4, p. 217.
(3) Cornish, too, "A History of the English Church", Vol. 8, p. 98, refers to this omission, but Hansard for 28th June, 1820, gives Brougham: "there should be a school-meeting every Sunday evening, for teaching the Church Catechism." The meeting was to be attended by all except the children of such Dissenters as objected.

Brougham's proposals of 1820 assumed great importance in her eyes, for here were the very "articles of faith" ignored. In the Mendips venture, the educator was always subordinated to the evangelist. Thus though the sisters chafed at the succession of dull boys at Shipham, the work was justified: "Still they have immortal souls"

(1) Hannah was convinced that religion must be taught, and well taught, for it was "the great animating spring of human conduct.". She saw no hope of a Christian world without a Christian education. "Shall we expect," she wrote, "that they shall become Christians by mere chance? The great secret of religious education, which seems banished from the present practice, consists in training young men to an habitual interior restraint, an early government of the affections, and a course of self control over those tyrannizing inclinations, which have so natural a tendency to enslave the human heart. Without this habit of moral restraint ... though men may, from natural temper, often do good, yet it is impossible that they should ever BE good." (2) Nor was goodness of the slightest value unless it was Christian. Like Wilberforce, the Mores denied that without being Christian, one could accomplish anything more by using

(1) "Mendip Annals", p. 103.

(2) "An Estimate of the Religion of the Fashionable World", Hannah More, 1791. "Works" of Hannah More, (1818 edition), Vol. 6, pp. 142 - 156.

Christian morals than to exhibit a surface goodness and thus form a spurious morality. "The gospel proves," observed Hannah, "that morality is not the whole of religion. (1) It is but an empty name, if it be destitute of the principle and power of Christianity." (2) Shute Barrington regarded Sunday Schools as one of the best means for gaining "the moral and religious improvement of our labouring poor." (3) In "The Barrington School" his attitude was further defined: "The great Object of all the Business was that every individual should have free and unrestrained access to the Sacred Book." (4) There, by the well-judged manoeuvre of linking the Charity Schools to the Sunday Schools, he ensured that the children were given the maximum of religious instruction, for admission to the Charity Schools was granted only to those who had made the necessary number of attendances at Sunday School.

A letter to "The Christian Observer" in September, 1804, by an admirer of Hannah More's work, reiterated the view that it was the parson's duty to train the children of the parish in Christianity, for it was the ancient right and custom of the Church to carry out the catechising of the young. In a scheme which was drawn up quite

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- (1) "An Estimate of the Religion of the Fashionable World", Hannah More, 1791. "Works" of Hannah More, (1818 edition), Vol. 6, p. 264.
 - (2) Ibid, Vol. 4, p. 65 ("The History of Mr. Fantom")
 - (3) From his "Charge" to the Clergy, 1797. Similarly Brougham saw in the education of the poor "the best security for the morals, the subordination, and the peace of countries." ("The British Working Class Reader, 1790-1848" by R. K. Webb, p. 15.)
 - (4) Op. cit, p. 93.

openly for the indoctrination of youth and the formation of the obedient and Christian character, the writer suggested that the parson should first of all consider the exact nature of the character he hoped to form in his pupils and then proceed to draw up an educational plan to achieve it.

Two examples from the next generation of Evangelicals illustrate the permanence of the ideal of religious education before all and above all. Hugh Stowell of Salford, the sponsor of many Sunday Schools, found the spectre of secular education at his door. A meeting was called by the Lancashire Public School Association to agitate for the provision of education without any religious basis. Stowell not only went bravely into the enemy camp, but he addressed those present for two hours and so dominated his hearers that an amendment to the motion was carried praying the House of Commons not to sanction any system of general education, of which the Christian religion was not the basis. The amazing Hugh McNeile, of whom it was said that he "made and unmade mayors as easily as Warwick made Kings", (1) reacted strongly when faced with a similar problem in Liverpool where the Corporation opened schools in which no prayers were said, only Scripture extracts, taken mainly from the Douai version, being read to the children. McNeile forthwith began the erection of his own schools, filled them with the children who had

(1) "History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England", by G. R. Balleine, p. 152.

attended the Corporation establishments, and crushed the opposition of the Council.

In the Sunday Schools, anything which was not germane to the great object of fitting people to read the Bible was regarded with suspicion. The rules of the school at Tetbury in Gloucester provided that nothing should be taught except "what is suited immediately to the design of the Sabbath, and preserving young people from idleness, immorality and ignorance". (1) A further rule requested subscribers, visitors and church-wardens to prevent, as far as possible, idling and playing on the Lord's Day. Both rules are completely in the spirit of the undertaking of Robert Raikes, whose disgust at the way in which the young savages of Gloucester had defiled the Sabbath had been a prime motive underlying his desire to remove them from the streets and educate them in the Christian virtues. Hannah More was definite about the instruction which could be given on Sunday: the learning of writing and accounts was "a regular apprenticeship to sin". (2) In her eyes it was a logical consequence that one who learned accounts on Sunday in his youth would have no scruples about conducting a business on the Sabbath in later life. (3) William Hey held similar views of which the clearest expression was his letter to the Methodist Conference on

(1) "Robert Raikes", p. 154.

(2) "Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More", Vol. 4, p. 217.

(3) Robert Raikes printed his newspaper on Sundays and apparently felt no sense of sin. ("Robert Raikes. The Man and His Work", pp. 113 - 125.)

Sunday Schools in 1807. Unlike many Evangelicals he was a firm friend of the Methodists, so his letter can be accepted as having been written in an unbiased and helpful manner. He took the Conference to task on the subjects which were considered permissible for the schools. In his opinion, even learning to write on Sunday was morally indefensible. Firstly, it does not promote salvation. Secondly, it is a worldly accomplishment. Thirdly, it prevents the pupil from employing himself with matters tending towards his own salvation. Fourthly, it lessens the reverence of both teacher and pupil for the Sabbath. Finally - and here recurs the familiar argument - "even reading itself is but preparatory to the great business of RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION". (1)

Religious instruction as the Evangelicals understood it was true to the tenets of the Established Church. The members of sect were firm upholders of the Church, the established social order, and the Government. Church and Government were the complementary pillars supporting a pre-ordained society; the Government supported the Christian religion by maintaining the order in which the Church flourished, whilst the Church in its turn produced God-fearing, worthy citizens who accepted the established order of society and the authority of their betters. Wilberforce made the order of seniority clear in a letter to Lady Olivia Sparrow: "Civil government is mainly intended to keep society together in peace, and therefore to enable

(1) "Life of William Hey", by J. Pearson, p. 217.

the religious and moral interests of the world to be promoted." (1)

In their defence of Church and State the Evangelicals were more Tory than many of those who accused them of Jacobinism. Pitt distrusted the group, yet Robinson of Leicester was so staunch in his support that he considered the Prime Minister to be almost Heaven-sent. When Pitt fought his duel with Tierney, Robinson noted gravely that the Minister's opponent had declined from his former vigour and success as if under the evident marks of Divine displeasure for that "heinous sin". (2) Charles Simeon was usually opposed to the interference of parsons in politics, but himself helped to set on foot the "Anti-Jacobin". (3) Miles Atkinson of Leeds went even further - "It was a strange thing to bid his audience 'Read the ANTI-JACOBIN REVIEW', and that I heard him say from the pulpit, last summer, myself." (4) The writer, Isaac Milner, was a High Tory himself, true to the Apostolic precept, "Fear God, Honour the King". (5) Although he might register surprise at Atkinson's procedure, his own opinions were almost identical. So worried was he by the growth of the "pestilent" spirit of democracy in Carlisle that he published "A Caution" against popular discontent which suppressed (so his niece suggests) the "actual symptoms of turbulence and disaffection". To continue the education of the people of the area

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- (1) "Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. 5, p. 100.
 - (2) "Simeon and Church Order", by C. Smythe, p. 298.
 - (3) Ibid. p. 298.
 - (4) "Life of Isaac Milner", by Mary Milner, p. 215.
 - (5) Ibid, p. 613.

he rallied support from those of like principles in a design for a publication to disseminate sound religious and political ideas. As a result there was established in April, 1815 "The Patriot, or Cumberland and Carlisle Advertiser". Milner himself wrote the prospectus, and from time to time contributed essays in the form of letters to the Editor. (1)

The Reverend Thomas Scott, like Hannah More, played a part in the dissemination of wholesome principles at a small cost through the medium of his "Essays on the most important subjects in religion". Published in penny numbers once a fortnight, the essays had considerable sales and many editions were printed in America. Scott further took the initiative in countering the "infidelity and recklessness of the times" (2) by reaching agreement among his kindred spirits in the Eclectic Society, "that a Sermon should be preached weekly, on the usual lecture-day and hour, in our several churches and chapels by rotation, on the Signs and Duties of the Times, by some other of the company than the stated pastor, and that other ministers of the Established Church should be invited to join us, by giving their pulpits and employing their labours in the same cause." (3) The lectures lasted from 1798 until 1802 when Mr. Scott felt the time to be appropriate for a thanksgiving sermon for the "merciful interposition of the Almighty in behalf of our country." (4)

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- (1) "Life of Isaac Milner", by Mary Milner, p. 612.
 - (2) "Eclectic Notes", edited by John H. Pratt, p. 14.
 - (3) Ibid, p. 16.
 - (4) Ibid, p. 16.

While such opinions prevailed among Evangelical leaders it is hardly surprising to find that the religious education they advocated was undertaken with the subsidiary motive of helping to maintain civil order. At a time when the doctrines of the French Revolution seemed to be everywhere about them, many honest citizens thought revolution itself to be the almost inevitable consequence. Many people felt with Bernard that the doctrines which were undermining the loyalties of the working-classes must be fought if the country was to be saved. Their hopes lay in education, "formed on the general principles of Christianity connected in amity with our civil and religious establishment." (1) A letter to "The Christian Observer" in 1804, made a desperate plea to the schools to inculcate some knowledge, however small in degree, so that the ideas of the Jacobins might be refuted.(2) Rudimentary efforts to educate adults in correct principles were undertaken partly from political motives to conquer "that nonsensical wicked notion about equality". (3)

With such principles underlying their work it would not have been surprising if the Evangelicals had failed to produce anything more than the most limited educational ideas. Nevertheless, although their work was tightly enclosed within the bounds decided by the ends it was designed to meet, education proved to be too absorbing

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- (1) "On the Education of the Poor", by Sir Thomas Bernard, p. 52.
(2) Letter of "B.T." to "The Christian Observer", December, 1804.
(3) "The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain", ("Works" of Hannah More, 1818, Vol. 6, p. 26)

a subject not to attract interest in its own right. It was unfortunate that so much of the thought which resulted was restricted by the narrow moral attitude of the philanthropists who initiated the work.

Preoccupation with the ideals of the Christian religion focused the attention of the educator upon the development of character in the young. Given the proposition of human depravity as the Evangelicals understood it, children must be born wicked. This belief is fundamental to much of the educational thought of the Evangelicals and explains many aspects of their work which otherwise seem to be bigoted, harsh and unreasonable. In order fully to understand Evangelical thought on this subject it is necessary to look at it in its proper context so that the logical progression from first principles is witnessed as it develops. One of the clearest and most concise expressions of this attitude of mind is displayed in the chapter on Education in Henry Venn's "The Complete Duty of Man". (1)

Venn initially laid on parents the Christian duty of caring for the spiritual welfare of their children: "they have the charge of educating and forming them into men, whilst their dispositions are tender and pliant, and fittest to receive impressions." (2) Nevertheless, the task would at all stages be made the more difficult

(1) "The Complete Duty of Man: or, A System of Doctrinal and Practical Christianity", pp. 357 - 385.

(2) Ibid, p. 359.

by the child's innate corruption. "Are you not conscious," he wrote, "what latent seeds of lusts of various kinds are to be found in their hearts, sure to be ripened by time and occasions to a terrible harvest of corruption, unless preventive methods are seasonably applied by you?" (1)

In outlining the preventive methods necessary to prevent the garnering of the harvest of corruption, Venn clearly differentiated between the poor and their more fortunate fellows. The poor, he felt, must concentrate on setting their children a sound personal example and on speaking to them of God, so leading them to behave and speak well. The middle-classes, with more leisure and a better education, had the opportunity of extending these simple tenets. They should use everything in their power to make learning a pleasure, without losing sight of the great aim of exhibiting the love of God. Thus God's goodness might be revealed through the lesson of Spring, His glory through the lesson of Winter, and His power through thunder and lightning, until the parents had made "the creation a school of instruction to them". (2) Health and strength should be shown to be gifts of God and sickness cited as evidence that it is "God who maketh sick, and maketh well".(3) Logically, the next stage would be to speak to the children of Death, to demonstrate "the removal of an immortal soul out of a corruptible

(1) "The Complete Duty of Man", p. 362.
(2) Ibid. p. 369.
(3) Ibid. p. 370.

body" (1) and the inefficacy of medicines, doctors and sorrows - God alone is the arbiter.

Venn considered that the groundwork of children's education should have been completed before the age of fourteen was reached. After that, some facility in reasoning having been attained, argument should be used to show them, through their recurrent urges to do wrong, that their nature was corrupt. Secondly, they should be made to see that there could be no strength other than in God - a lesson that should be driven home by giving examples of the downfall of the wicked: the fornicator, the thief, the assassin and the gamer. Thirdly, the contrast between the wicked man and the real Christian should be made clear, not only by the happiness of the Christian in health, but also by his behaviour in affliction:

"And if an opportunity could be found of bringing your son or daughter to the bed-side of a departing saint, it will infinitely exceed the force of all instruction, to let them see with their own eyes, and hear with their own ears, the dear child of God speaking good of his name, declaring how true the Lord his strength is, the great peace of his own mind under the pains of approaching dissolution, whilst he is looking for the mercy of God through our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life." (2)

The interest of the Evangelicals in the death-bed has been criticised for many of the wrong reasons. Seen in its proper context, whatever one may think of the practice of introducing children into the presence of Death, the desire to draw a lesson for

(1) "The Complete Duty of Man", p. 371.

(2) Ibid. p. 378..

the benefit of the soul fits into a certain reasonable pattern. As Josiah Pratt said, "A death-bed is of vast importance to us as ministers to demonstrate the whole work of God." (1)

Whatever the lessons given to children, the responsibility of the Christian parent did not end there. Venn concluded his chapter by tracing the hard path of duty that still lay before the Christian: he should not waste his own time on amusements when it could be better spent on the children; he should always set a good example lest his advice should be ignored; he should accustom the children to industry and teach them to abhor idleness and sloth as the enemies of everything good and the inlet of every vice - the poor child should be encouraged to labour so that he might avoid temptation and the rich child should be taught to develop his talents so that he should have no time to waste with evil companions. The fear of corruption was ever-present in Venn's mind - even in providing for his children he suggested that the parent should take care not to leave too much money lest it should corrupt. Finally, as one would expect, the cardinal duty was laid on the parent to pray for his children so that God might give the help without which all efforts would be of no avail.

Venn's determination to save the souls of the young is reflected in the strivings of the other members of the Clapham Sect and their

(1) "Eclectic Notes", p. 321.

friends. Unfortunately, like many other parents, they were not free from a tendency to make too much use of religious instruction as a panacea for defects of character and the stomachs of the young were often curdled by massive doses of piety. Even Zachary Macaulay was eventually faced by a reaction from his illustrious son. William Wilberforce was perhaps more successful, although a certain reaction against the Evangelical way of thought took place later in his children. He realised the difficulties inherent in education (1) and was always prepared to seek advice when he could not himself supply an answer. The results appear to have been sound. Although he was even more concerned than most parents with the development of Christian character in his sons, he was always on guard never to force their religious feelings. (2) He realised that guidance is more important than monolithic prohibition. When his sons left for boarding school, they were not furnished with a list of "do's" and "don'ts". Wilberforce tried instead to show them

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- (1) Some of the leading Evangelicals were enthusiastic amateur educationalists - all recognised the value of the subject. Thomas Babington wrote a book based on his own experience as a parent, which went into several editions.
 - (2) Isaac Milner was successful in his treatment of religious instruction at Cambridge and, like Wilberforce, took care not to press his opinions on those who were not ready for them. A former student at Queen's expressed considerable surprise at first when he found that Milner made so few allusions to religion. He later came to understand that Milner knew that to guide "where there was no predisposition to be led" was to do more harm than good. Once Milner realised that the student was trying to change his ways he sought his confidence and gave help.
("The Life of Isaac Milner", by Mary Milner, p. 675.)

the bases of conduct so that they might have a firm grounding on which to build character and understand the reasons behind the codes of school and society. His biography breathes filial piety and reverence on every page, which would suggest considerable success for his methods.

Having given his children a sound background, Wilberforce logically thereafter placed his trust in their honesty and self-reliance to ensure that the dictates of conscience were heeded. The recognition of the value of self-discipline and self-reliance was likewise common to Raikes and the Mores. The habitual inner restraint advocated by Hannah was the bedrock upon which to build a character which would make the individual truly free because discipline was voluntary and internal rather than compulsory and external. Raikes' system of rewards in his schools was a practical adventure in character-building based on a similar desire to develop the child from within himself rather than present ready-made answers from the adult world. He gave charity to the urchins of Gloucester, but encouraged them to achieve something for themselves by giving rewards for work in Sunday School. This was not new, but as his schools spread, so did the recognition that children could, by their own efforts, provide themselves with such items as shoes and other articles of clothing. Raikes himself gave the example of a clothing club at Painswick, near Gloucester, to which the children subscribed every week a penny which was then augmented by local subscription. There was thus none of the supineness and indolence resulting among

adults from the system of Poor Relief. Without determination and perseverance the children could gain nothing, for without their personal contribution no benefits were granted.

It was unfortunate that concentration on character formation should be accompanied by a widespread belief that training makes the man. All too often the schools were regarded with approval because of the discipline they imposed. Hannah More's concept of an inner restraint was more often than not perverted, and even replaced by an attempt to repress all passions. Training was acclaimed regardless of the differing needs of each trainee. The child was to be moulded in the educator's conception of the Christian image. The assumption of righteous omniscience is one of the most unpleasant characteristics of the enthusiast; Hannah did not escape untainted herself. In "An Estimate of the Religion of the Fashionable World", she was at pains to point out that the minds of children could best be moulded when they were yet young and undiscerning: "This is the religion with which the ingenuous hearts of youth should be warmed, and by which their minds, while pliant, should be directed." (1) In so far as the adults of the time were themselves ignorant and childlike, she endeavoured to make them tractable by such works as "Village Politics".

Miss More's work among the adult population was not entirely the result of evangelising zeal nor of the desire to mould its

(1) "Works", (1818), Vol. 6, p. 177. Venn, too, hoped to instruct the young while their minds were still pliant. (Cf. supra, p. 76.)

thoughts into the correct political pattern, for, as has been seen, (1) she had grasped the importance of environment and parental influence in the lives of the children she taught. It was for this reason that she first allowed adults to attend school, for she realised that if they remained ignorant and irreligious themselves they could at best fail to support her work and at worst entirely undo it. Thus the Mendips venture was accompanied by a rash of benefit societies, club days, school feast days and the like, whilst the mothers, like the children, received the due rewards of diligence: in their case for the careful maintenance of cleanliness and good morals.

When Zachary Macaulay approached Hannah for advice on the education of his son he was strongly advised to keep him at home, so much did she value a good environment and good parents. Macaulay agreed with her advice as far as girls were concerned. In a letter to his wife he maintained:

"I have always been disposed to prefer private education for girls. Among the advantages, they enjoy a greater range of intellectual conversation and of varied reading. A library such as ours is of itself an immense advantage, an advantage perhaps which scarcely admits of calculation. Then consider the exercise which their faculties enjoy from merely listening to what passes around them in a family like ours, with the succession of well-informed and intelligent persons that is to be seen there I value the course of regular and consistent discipline, applying chiefly to the state and temper of the mind, which it is in the power of parents to pursue, the affectionate but decisive check imposed upon bad dispositions; the vigilance exercised as to all indications of bad humour shown by pouting, harsh tones, and quick and unkind replies." (2)

(1) Supra, pp. 58-59.

(2) "Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", pp. 364 - 5.

Macaulay's letter is that of a conscientious parent on guard for his children's welfare. Ironically enough, he had cause to fear the influence of the professors themselves on Thomas. After Selina had written to tell him of the praises showered on the boy during a visit to the Mores' home, he wrote: "I really trust that the old ladies reserved their exclamations of wonder at least until Tom's back was turned Let me entreat you seriously to discourage, by every possible means, everything both in the language and manner of those around you which may tend to exalt Tom in his own esteem." (1)

William Cowper, the great critic of the Public Schools, was another who stressed the value of the home. Good parents must, he wrote:

".... exert a prudent care
To feed our infant minds with proper fare;
And wisely store the nursery by degrees
With wholesome learning, yet acquired with ease."

Ideally, the parent should educate the child, but should he be unable to do so, he should not send him away to school and thus destroy the essential links in the relationship of father and son, but rather employ an able tutor of good character. Even then, the parent's

(1) "Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", p. 279.

The evidence of Macaulay's biographer is that his father and mother were, in fact, most careful of his upbringing. "They never handed his productions about, or encouraged him to parade his powers of conversation or memory. They abstained from any word or act which might foster in him a perception of his own genius with as much care as a wise millionaire expends on keeping his son ignorant of the fact that he is destined to be richer than his comrades."

("Life and Letters of Macaulay", by G.O. Trevelyan, Vol. 1, p. 33.)

responsibilities would not be over. The boy must be guarded from the bad influence of the servants, and his tutor must be backed at all times by the visible signs of the parents' respect so that the full effects might be experienced of the "force of discipline when back'd by love". (1)

Robert Raikes, too, was a firm believer in the importance of parental influence, although his problem more often took the form of finding a means of counteracting the influence of bad parents than encouraging the good. He tried to instil some conception of cleanliness into the minds of the children, but showed a realistic understanding of what was possible and what was not in that while he attacked slovenliness and insisted on bodily cleanliness, he did not insist on clean clothing as that was outside the child's province. Where it was possible to bring the pressure to bear on parents, he did so. A set of rules for 1784 laid down that the subscribers to his schools should keep a list of parents who, "having need of these helps" neglected to send their children to Sunday School, or to attend, and of those who behaved improperly when they attended, that they might be excluded from further benevolence. (2) It will be remembered that Shute Barrington did not hesitate to direct pressure against parents to ensure their co-operation in his schemes. Such pressure was regarded as admissible by the educator who placed heavy emphasis

(1) "Poetical Works" of William Cowper, Vol. 1, pp. 346 - 63.
(2) "Robert Raikes", p. 151.

on character-building as an antidote to social ills. Barrington himself argued that a new Poor Law was unnecessary, for the remedy was to hand. Instead of abolishing the old system Society should try to diminish its evils and: "by a universal system of education for their children, by complete provision for their religious duties, by assistance IN THEIR MEANS OF LIFE, by the supply of regular occupation and by the promotion of prudence and industry TO BETTER THEIR CONDITION AND RAISE THE GREAT PORTION OF THE LABOURING CLASS ABOVE THE NECESSITY OF APPLYING FOR PAROCHIAL RELIEF." (1)

The Bishop's thinking on this problem was well in advance of that of many of his contemporaries. He fully understood that no permanent good could be achieved by the provision of relief without helping to equip the pauper and the generation which followed him so that they would be better fitted to meet difficulty and hardship when they arose. In any attempt to eradicate the causes of social evil, education was expected to play a big part. The success of Raikes' work caused similar thinking among the Public. Commenting on the establishment of schools in Leeds on his plan, the "Gentleman's Magazine" concluded that were the scheme to be adopted generally, it: "would do more towards lessening the increase in felons than all the schemes that have been proposed. Strictness in keeping the Lord's day gives an early bias in the mind to virtue, and establishes an abhorrence to vice." (2)

(1) "The Life and Influence of Shute Barrington", p. 468.
(2) 1784, Vol. 54, 1, p. 377.

The Gloucester magistrates who had the first opportunity of assessing the effects of the Sunday Schools on a community were swift to recognise their value. So convinced were they that some, when acting as their own clerks, gave their fees to the movement. At the Easter Quarter session of 1786 they recorded their unanimous opinion: "the benefit of Sunday Schools to the morals of the rising generation is too evident not to merit the recognition of the Bench and the thanks of the community to the gentleman instrumental in promoting them." (1)

The concept of education as a means of prevention - almost as a social service - was obscured and its development confined by the concentration on religious ends. The political and social attitudes of the leaders of the Evangelical party restricted even further the type of education which they bestowed. With certain notable exceptions (2) there was no desire to educate children beyond the needs of their station. Indeed, such a proceeding would have been regarded as futile and cruel. One writer pointed out that too much education would produce the same sort of "turbulent, ungovernable rabble" that cursed ancient Athens. (3) The course of the teacher of the poor was confined, she suggested, between "the Scylla of brutal ignorance and the Charybdis of a literary education. The one

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- (1) "Robert Raikes", p. 81.
(2) *Infra*, pp. 90-91, 216 et. seq.
(3) Hannah More. "Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More", Vol. 4, p. 180.

is cruel, the other preposterous." (1) Sir Thomas Bernard argued the problem in "Of the Education of the Poor". He recognised that in fine arts and the higher branches of learning knowledge would be as different as the conditions and talents of mankind, but suggested that in the elements of knowledge - the means of attainment - the poor had equal rights with the rich. It was the duty of those with means to help the poor in the attainment of education, the only earthly blessing which could be "universally diffused and enjoyed with an exemption from all inconvenient consequences." (2) However, he was at pains to assure his readers, that he referred to a genuine and well-directed education which would fit the pupils for their "allotted station in life" (3), and which would form the correct "stable and permanent principles of conduct" (4) in the heart. Children should be taught what was practically useful to them, along with habits of prudence and industry, virtue and cleanliness which would be "beneficial to them and to the country". (5) In practice, like his Evangelical friends, he was eager to fill the empty mind, open to all manner of wrong ideas, with a sound Christian education which would make clear the virtue of the established order in Church and State. In theory, the contradiction remained. If the poor were given the tools for further advancement and if they were capable of it, was it not also right to grant further help?

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- (1) Hannah More. "Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More", Vol. 4, p. 180.
(2) "Of the Education of the Poor", p. 58.
(3) Ibid. p. 65.
(4) Ibid. p. 65.
(5) Ibid, p. 58.

The problem of providing an education fitted to a certain station in life bedevilled even the forthright and outwardly dogmatic Hannah More. As has been seen (1), the curriculum for her Sunday Schools was deliberately confined to the Bible and catechism and such "coarse works" (industrial skills) as would fit the children for employment as servants. A visitor to the schools bore witness to the success of her religious and social aims. The children, well-grounded in their Faith, were modest, attentive, "exemplary in their conduct at home, dutiful children, and qualified to become faithful servants." (2) Yet the course of the educator is not easily confined, and Miss More found temptation enough to stray from the narrow path she had defined. The ignorance of the farmers of Cheddar caused her to set up a weekday school where, for a small fee, their children were taught the "Three R's" in addition to the usual religious instruction. She found that the parents "liked very well to have religion into the bargain". (3) The aim of the school was to fit the sons of tradesmen and farmers for the tasks which would normally fall to their lot - as overseers, constables, jurymen, and churchwardens - and to enable them to understand the oaths they would be called upon to take. Although she could by no means be accused of educating children beyond the condition wherein they

(1) Supra, p. 50.

(2) Letter to "The Christian Observer", September, 1804.

(3) "Letters of Hannah More to Zachary Macaulay", p. 163. (See also a letter to W. Pepys dated October, 1821: "Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More", Vol. 4, pp. 178. - 9.)

were born, she had expanded her undertaking and acknowledged the standing of secular subjects in relation to religious instruction. (1)

The difficulties inherent in her conception of education were becoming obvious at the height of Miss More's fame among the "Bas Bleu" coterie, when her attention was directed to the verses of the poverty-stricken and almost unlettered Bristol milkwoman, Ann Yearsley. There followed thirteen months of fund-raising and devoted tuition at the end of which resulted a volume of verse and a trust fund of £360, duly invested and administered on Ann's behalf. The fierce pride of the milkwoman then led to a bitter altercation over the control of the money (2), whereupon her benefactress retired from the scene, bewildered by the poetess's ingratitude and her failure to retain the attitudes proper to the station in life from which she herself had raised her. Despite this disappointment, her realisation that the aristocracy of intellect in some way transcended the barriers of class was to affect her views in the future. On one occasion, in the same letter, she complained of the dangers of too much education, criticised the broadening of knowledge in the young, and at the same time expounded an idea whereby the gifted should be

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- (1) The phrase "into the bargain" may be the result of careless wording, but the whole context would seem to point to the failure to grant religious instruction its usual elevated position. (While in no way denying its essentiality to education, Babington insisted that religion should be treated like any other subject. ("These Remarkable Men", p. 116.))
- (2) A full account of the controversy is given in "Hannah More", pp. 73 - 6.

separated from the average and their advancement assisted whatever their station. If among one hundred children she could find ten good ones, she considered it reasonable to give them a little writing and accounts. She further confessed to having paid for a "sharp boy" to have evening lessons in Writing while the rest "drudged on, perhaps better without it". (1) Assistance to the "sharp boy" led logically to the patronage of such poor scholars as the carpenter Lee, who became Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge after a protracted effort by Hannah and her friends to raise him above the sphere of life in which he plied his normal trade. Similarly, one of her battery of bishops, Shute Barrington, opened a school in his diocese from which came a considerable number of young men to take up posts as teachers. Clerical societies in the North, West, and in London enabled young men to enter the ministry and even to benefit from a University education. Members of the wealthy crust of the party gave privately to help deserving individuals to progress further than they would otherwise have hoped. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that such examples were exceptional. In general no effort was made to improve the lowly status of the children of the poor.

The low standards of children's education were perhaps only equalled by those applied to the education of women. Even Hannah More considered that women could not equal men save in religion, that

(1) "Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More", Vol. 4, pp. 214 - 8.

they must be trained while men were educated, and that their particular task must be the moral regeneration of society, a work no less than that of "preserving the Ark of the Lord". (1)

The power to influence society against corruption and infidelity obviously lay in the hands of the more well-to-do women and it was to their education that Hannah turned her attention in her forthright "Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education". She rapidly established that the prevailing system produced all the errors it should have corrected. Women were confirmed in vanity, selfishness and inconsideration - a process accentuated by the excessive cultivation of the Arts. However, she was no prude, attacking all that was not sombre:

"Piety maintains no natural war with elegance, and Christianity would be no gainer by making her disciples unamiable. Religion does not forbid that the exterior be made to a certain degree the object of attention. But the admiration bestowed, the sums expended, and the time lavished on arts, which add little to the intrinsic value of life, should have limitations. While these arts should be admired, let them not be admired above their just value: while they are practised, let it not be to the exclusion of higher employments: while they are cultivated, let it be to amuse leisure, not to engross life." (2)

Miss More went on to deplore the way in which genuine inner improvement and the care of the soul was neglected for the sake of external improvement such as was produced by the employment of a coterie of governesses and masters of the petty arts and graces, and the maintenance of such institutions as the Baby-Ball - "a sort of

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- (1) "Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education", ("Works", Vol. 7, p. 66).
(2) Ibid, Vol. 7., pp. 94 - 95.

triple conspiracy against the innocence, the health, and the happiness of children". (1) She felt that the aims of education had become perverted, that women were being turned into "dancers, singers, players, painters, actresses, sculptors, gilders, varnishers, engravers, and embroiders" (2) whereas the real need was for daughters, wives, mothers and mistresses of families.

The author's early suggestions for the achievement of her aims are very similar to those of Venn. She warned parents to be on guard against over-indulgence and to be prepared to attack any manifestation of selfishness and worldliness, and to teach their children to consecrate their talents to God in order to prevent idleness and the consequent misuse of spare time. While their minds were yet pliant, the children should be confirmed in the ways of humility, sobriety, meekness, industry and attention, from which virtues other benefits would inevitably flow. However, she recognised that filial obedience was not in the character of the age and suggested that mere education could not remedy such a moral climate - the only answer lay in Christianity. Here she sounded a note of warning to those parents who believed that as only God could change the heart so there was no need for any effort on their part other than to pray earnestly for help. (3)

Before beginning a section setting forth the best means of

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- (1) "Works", Vol. vii, p. 100.
 - (2) Ibid, Vol. vii, p. 111.
 - (3) Cf. infra, Appendix I, p. vi.

initiating children into knowledge, Hannah asked parents and teachers to remember the moderate children and to avoid the trap of spending too much time with the best. Indeed, as might be expected from one who followed a highly personal form of the Christian religion, she stressed the need to remember the individual needs of all children. Should a scheme of education fail to accomplish its object, the fault could well lie in the scheme and not the children. Having made this plea, she entered upon her proposals by condemning the cultivation of the imagination to the neglect of the judgment. She made it clear that although she welcomed novel and ingenious teaching aids, she perceived a considerable danger that they might lead to an opinion that learning could be acquired without diligence, that children could be "cheated" or "played" into learning. She maintained that a rapid, superficial development would result, but that advancement would cease thereafter. She therefore prescribed in place of a diet exclusively made up of novels, abridgements and extracts, a few works of "taste and imagination" (1) and a staple food of "dry, tough reading" (2) to form the basis for future struggles with difficult works. Therefore, after due preparation, she recommended that the pupil be introduced to such works on reasoning as Watts' or Duncan's books on logic, parts of Locke's "Essay on Human Understanding" and Butler's "Analogy". Further

(1) "Works", Vol. 7, pp. 214 - 5.
(2) Ibid, Vol. 7, p. 215.

discipline and moral benefit would be provided by a training in the use of definitions for, like Locke, she believed that without a proper understanding of words one could not hope to understand ideas, particularly moral concepts.

A firm basis for instruction having been established, the educator was then free to employ further aids. Hannah More suggested the introduction of History and Geography into the scheme: History, that the child might see the workings of Providence and the failings of human beings like herself, and Geography, that she might see the goodness of Providence which produced all manner of adaptations all over the world to meet the needs of its inhabitants. Such teaching of other subjects for a particular moral end was to be accompanied by an intensive programme of religious instruction. Hannah considered an early grounding in religion to be essential, for without it the child would have no point of reference in later life nor would anyone who wished to help her. It was the parents' duty to ensure that their children had the opportunity of coming to Jesus and they must work deliberately to that end: "Do young persons then become musicians, and painters, and linguists, and mathematicians by early study and regular labour; and shall they become Christians by accident?" (1)

The systematic approach to Christianity should above all be enjoyable and interesting - "Do not fancy," warned Hannah, "that a

(1) "Works", Vol. 7, p. 277.

thing is good merely because it is dull." (1) She rejected rote-learning out of hand and begged the teacher instead to use imagery, surrounding objects, events and analogy (2) to make the lesson alive and vital. Unlike some educators she did not feel that the Bible was too difficult to employ as it stood, and she advocated its regular use in a scheme to present religion as part of the weft and warp of life. Finally, as the child and his tutor could accomplish nothing without supernatural aid, she devoted a section to a scheme of prayer which, clearly explained to the child, would form an essential part of her spiritual armory.

The second part of the "Strictures" consisted of a guide to enable women to make the best use of their knowledge for the good of Society and gave a sketch of Christian doctrine, Christian character, and the duty and efficacy of prayer. The whole work was written with very definite limits in mind, and the training suggested must therefore appear to the modern eye to be somewhat narrow and unemancipated. Be that as it may, it contained much that was of value and served a double purpose in exposing the absurdities of the prevailing system and suggesting in its place a scheme of education which had a definite and not impossible aim.

Evangelicals other than Hannah More were interested in the provision of education for women. Protracted arguments persisted

(1) "Works", Vol. 7, p. 288.

(2) Raikes too, made frequent use of illustrations and analogies in his efforts to "botanize human nature". ("Robert Raikes, The Man and His Work," pp. 82 - 4.)

in the pages of "The Christian Observer" between those who considered that education could be of value to all women, and the upholders of the kitchen-drudge attitude who considered it to be completely unnecessary. The most general opinion was more moderate, and contained something of both views, suggesting that married women would not have time, because of their duties, to reap the benefits of a full education, but that single women could well benefit. It was in fact suggested that single women could hold their own with men, which heresy was supported by the examples of Mrs. Barbauld, Fanny Burney, and, ironically enough, Hannah More. (1) That the arguments raged almost entirely among men merely illustrates that it was as yet a man's world and that women were necessarily kept in the background, to use their energies in those clearly defined spheres opened to them by masculine approval.

The Universities were, of course, a male preserve. As many of the next generation of Evangelical clergy would pass through Oxford or Cambridge in preparation for the ministry, considerable attention was focused on the environment into which the young men would be thrust and the studies which they would undertake. Despite the work of Farish and his successors at Cambridge, and Crouch and Dixon at Oxford, the atmosphere was far from ideal for theological students.(2)

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- (1) In fairness to Hannah More, it should be pointed out that she clearly stated in the second volume of her "Strictures" that it could not be established that women were inherently inferior to men until they had received the same education as men. ("Works", Vol. 8, pp. 32 - 33.)
- (2) Infra, Chapter 7.

It was felt that the authorities should be much stricter with clerical students so as to implant a stability of Christian conduct which would form (somewhat late?) the foundation of character. As all students were far from good, it was suggested that the authorities should insist on more attendances at chapel and better standards of behaviour, and should, as a final deterrent, make it plain that they would withhold testimonials for ordination if they considered such a step to be necessary. Even within a group such as the Evangelical party, agreement on such points was difficult to reach and it is interesting to note at this stage the divergence of opinion which arose over policy at the college established at Islington in 1825 by the Church Missionary Society. Mr. Pearson's methods were questioned by an investigating Committee which recommended sweeping changes. "The Institution was to be less of a College and more of a Home, and the academical element was to be strictly subordinate to the spiritual element." (1)

Criticism of Oxford and Cambridge was not restricted to the Evangelicals and their friends. As Porteus attacked the inadequacy of the arrangements for theological studies, so did the doughty foe of "serious" men, Herbert Marsh, who was disturbed by the lack of a curriculum or any genuine preparation for orders. It was said that it was easy enough to find lectures, syllabuses and tutors if one

(1) "The History of the Church Missionary Society", Vol. 1, p. 266.

wished to study Science, but that if one wished to study Theology it was difficult even to find out how to provide oneself with a tutor. (1) Those studies which were provided were looked upon by Evangelicals with a jaundiced eye. It was frequently pointed out that the teaching of mathematics to non-mathematicians could be justified on the grounds that it helped to develop logical habits of thought, but that it was unnecessary for tutors to carry the process too far. Too great a love of reasoning, induced by too much consideration of the higher realms of mathematics, produced sermons on points too abstruse for the Evangelical layman. It was suggested that soaring pulpit oratory might come more readily from a familiarity with that vexed subject of study: the classics. However, lectures were frequently uninteresting; the subjects of attention more often Tacitus than Quintillian, Sophocles than Demosthenes. Isaac Milner's preference was Xenophon for prose, then Demosthenes and Longinus according to the difficulty of the passages. For verse, he used Euripides and Sophocles, and for Latin, Livy. In the study of Morals he considered Locke's essay to be "indispensable". "In general, I always found it better to begin the term with the easier books, so as to sweep in as many of the pupils as possible. Nothing can be more disagreeable as to have one's youths sitting by one, and doing nothing." (2)

(1) "Simeon and Church Order", pp. 100 - 1.
(2) "The Life of Isaac Milner", p. 364.

An Evangelical himself, with a strong sense of the value of religion, Milner had a ready answer for those who claimed that too much time was wasted at Cambridge on Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. Lectures in those subjects were: "indirectly at least, subservient to the cause of religion; for that we endeavoured, not only to fix in the minds of young students the most important truths, but also to habituate them to reason justly on all questions, and particularly to be upon their guard against the delusions of fanciful hypotheses in every species of philosophy ... a judicious prosecution of the science of mathematics and natural philosophy is among the very best preparatives to the study of theology in general and Christianity in particular." (1)

Like many men of his time, Milner perhaps placed too much hope in the transfer of training, but at least he was not affected by the bogies which frightened so many men of his religious persuasion away from subjects which could have been of great value to students of theology.(2) It was in other ways that his beliefs affected his attitude to what should be taught. For example, in the study of Divinity he was opposed to placing too much stress on the niceties of Biblical criticism. This did not mean that he undervalued the work of the scholars who clarified the meaning of the Scriptures by their work, but rather that he thought that too many people spent time on

(1) "The Life of Isaac Milner", p. 545.

(2) Cf. John Newton's scheme for his "college in Utopia" ("Works", Vol. 5, pp. 59-100).

Biblical criticism while being unremarkable for faith, understanding or zeal: qualities which appealed much more to the Evangelical mind. The course of study he advocated for theological students would have begun with a foundation in the learned languages, including Hebrew, and a study of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. These would have been followed by a general account of Biblical criticism, designed to draw attention to the evidence of Revelation to show that the canonical books of Scripture were the products of writers who had genuine authority to teach the Christian religion. (In this, unlike some of his fellows, he placed great value on the work of Paley.) Ignoring the minutiae of criticism, the student would then have passed on to a study of the doctrines, Articles and Liturgy of the Anglican Church and their practical applications. As a valuable background he recommended the study of ecclesiastical history. (1)

Although the influence of his religious feelings was strong, Isaac Milner's ideas frequently coincided with those of colleagues who were not of his sect, in the alliance of the initiate against the ignorant outsider. Unfortunately, other Evangelicals allowed their prejudices too much sway. An example can be seen in the attitude taken towards the study of Classics. "The Christian Observer" took

(1) His method of examination was also somewhat affected by his religious views. Sir Edward Alderson, who was First Smith's Prize-Man in 1809 recalled that Milner favoured the ready and quick over the deeply-read and learned students. Alderson thought that this was as it should be, that the Universities should not aim to turn out great philosophers in particular branches of study, but those who, in the language of the "bidding prayer", would "do God service both in Church and state". ("The Life of Isaac Milner", p. 369).

a balanced view, giving two main arguments in favour of the subject. It was reasoned that education should be continuous from school to university and therefore the study of Classics should be continued, especially by theological students who would otherwise be unfitted to study properly the sources of their religion and as a consequence would be unable to refute the arguments of sceptics. On the other hand, a powerful body of opposition existed, particularly among Evangelicals of the older school, which considered the subject unsuitable because most classical authors were pagan, and because of the attacks made by William Law, the forerunner of the Evangelical Revival, who had set the fashion for condemning "human learning" and maintaining the lack of profit in dealing with any study not directly concerned with religion. This argument was taken up and used indiscriminately by many of the more unintelligent Evangelicals, to the rage and frustration of their detractors and the annoyance of their brethren who shared the contempt which they aroused. However the argument was applied, its poison went deep. Even so well-educated and intelligent a man as William Romaine, an eminent astronomer and Minister of the Church, echoed the cry:

"Were dying sinners ever converted by the spots on the moon? Was ever miser reclaimed from avarice by Jupiter's Belt? or did Saturn's Ring ever make lascivious female chaste? The modern divinity brings you no nearer than 121,000,000 of miles short of heaven." (1)

(1) "The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century", by J. H. Overton, p. 66.

From an attitude of mind which questioned the usefulness of secular knowledge it was but a short step to one which suggested that it could be harmful. Thus the Evangelicals spent much time in trying to shield the young and ignorant from the effects of broad studies. Human nature being essentially corrupt, it followed that, given a choice between good and bad, the reader would choose what was bad. In a society in which all had felt the advantages of a religious education, goodness would be in the mind and such a choice would not be made, but as things were, the remedy seemed to lie in supplying good literature in place of the bad. The giving away of good books was one of the "Means of Doing Good Spiritually" outlined in Doddridge's influential "Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul". It was a remedy attempted by the Cheap Repository Tract movement, and its successor, the Religious Tract Society of 1799. The problem worried the Elland Society, which itself had hopes of countering the effects of "blasphemous and rebellious publications" by the circulation of "cheap useful tracts". (1) Hannah More hoped to supply children's books in good taste, and works such as "Coelebs" at circulating library level for adults. Referring to the songs and stories purveyed by the hawkers, she said, "It is indeed far better that they should never know how to tell a letter; unless you keep such trash as this out of their way, and provide them with what

(1) "Journals of the Elland Society", 13th, 14th October, 1796; 23rd August, 1798.

is good, or at least what is harmless. Still this is not the fault of reading, but the abuse of it. Wine is still a good cordial, though it is too often abused to the purpose of drunkenness." (1)

The positive action of providing what was good in reading had its reverse side. For example, the members of the Elland Society were urged to find some "vigorous measures" for suppressing the publications they distrusted. (2) Wilberforce, who clearly understood the impossibility of attempting to alter the nature of man by restrictions, nevertheless held that outward manifestations could be controlled, and that if some possibilities were cut off from children they might never be thought of in the normal course of events. His Proclamation Society performed a useful service in that way by blocking channels through which children's books full of "infidel and licentious tenets" were becoming available. The Society warned all the schools about town, particularly concerning French and German translations of unsuitable literature, and by March 1802, had instituted proceedings which resulted in seven convictions. "It is hardly possible", stated a public address on behalf of the Society, "to conceive a crime so malignant in its nature, and so widely mischievous in its effects." (3)

That worthy and much misunderstood Christian, Thomas Bowdler, brought out his version of Shakespeare in 1804. Following the strains of prudery and piety he intended to make the plays fit for family

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- (1) "The Sunday School" ("Works", Vol. 4, p. 385).
 - (2) "Journals of the Elland Society", meeting of 13th, 14th October, 1796.
 - (3) "The Christian Observer", March, 1804.

reading, for he considered, with reason, that some of Shakespeare's work was not fit for the ears of children. The "Edinburgh Review" itself passed favourable comment on his work and his success emboldened him to adopt the same procedure with Gibbon. Hannah More favoured the "Bowdlerising" of books. Her "Hints towards Forming the Character of a Young Princess" laid down that the use of the masters of English literature should only be permitted when they had been expurgated of "vulgarity", "indecent levity", and "gross descriptions". (1) Unfortunately, her opinions of decency affected her judgment. She was possessed of a remarkable hostility for Gibbon, for, despite the attempts she detected to conceal the "cloven hoof", she was convinced that his works were basically anti-Christian. She mistrusted pagan authors as much as Bowdler, who saw in their works all "the dangerous poison of impure ideas adorned with all the charms of elegance and harmony". (2) She was for most of her life convinced of the danger of the writings of the Romantics, and once said of Byron that no-one should read his work nor that of his compeers in sin and infamy. Yet it is to her credit that she was open-minded enough to accept Wordsworth's work on its merits, despite the general opinion amongst Evangelicals that he was anti-Christian. As De Quincey wrote to Dorothy Wordsworth, William had "made a conquest of

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- (1) "Works", (1818), Vol. 10, p. 183. Despite her admiration for Shakespeare, she deemed his work to be full of "so much that is vulgar, so much that is absurd, and so much that is impure". (Ibid, p. 183.)
- (2) "Public Schools and British Opinion", by E. G. Mack, p. 167.
- (3) "Hannah More", p. 225.

Holy Hannah". (1)

Hannah More's experience as a playwright illustrates the problems facing the author who tried to remain true to the ideals of the Evangelical. In the world of the theatre, which was regarded in any case as a hot bed of vice, (2) she undoubtedly struggled to make her works the vehicles of proper sentiment. For example, "The Fatal Falsehood" illustrated the criminal consequences of unscrupulous love, "Percy" the effects of vengeance on the avenger, and the Ballard of "Sir Eldred of the Bower", the lesson summed up in the following four lines taken from the text:

"The deadliest wounds with which we bleed
Our crimes inflict alone;
Man's mercies from God's hands proceed
His miserics from his own."

Despite and as the result of her own standards, Hannah reached a point when she could no longer continue her work as a dramatist. The ideals of the theatre were opposed to her own. The "religion of tragedy" was honour, not Christianity; the virtues were romantic love, pride, ambition, jealousy and revenge.

Cecil was troubled even more by the oratorio than by the play. At a meeting of the Eclectic Society he burst out:

"Some pious people will not go to a play, but they will go to an oratorio at the play-house; this is bad. So Jesus Christ is to be the amusement of the night! A much more profane business is this than a play!" (3)

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- (1) "Hannah More", p. 225.
 - (2) For example, Wilberforce described the opera and the play in the very words, "Hotbeds of vice". ("Private Papers of William Wilberforce", by A.M. Wilberforce, p. 234.)
 - (3) "Eclectic Notes", p. 161.

A further danger to the untutored mind was the newspaper. In a sad commentary on the standards of the people, Wilberforce drew attention to the need to educate the lower-classes "up to the newspapers": "We must so much enlighten them that they may be armed against those delusions of which they are otherwise likely to become the victims." (1) Even fairy tales did not escape the serious consideration of the educationalist. In 1817, Mrs. Sherwood produced what must have been the final inanity. Having set herself the task of re-editing Sarah Fielding's "The Governess", she produced a version with all the fairy stories left out (2), even if they seemed to be justified by pointing a moral, because fairy-lore could not be reconciled with Christian practice.

The Evangelical attitude of mind led some members of the party to attack writers who were defending the Christian faith. For example, although Dean Milner and Shute Barrington approved highly of Paley and his work, "Evidences of Christianity", both Mrs. Sherwood and William Wilberforce censured him for attempting to prove the truth of Christianity by rational argument. Although it might seem sound to the expert to fight fire with fire, to confound the rationalist with reason; it was a weakening of the position of revealed religion as many Evangelicals understood it to make it the centre of argument and counter-argument, of sceptical wit as well

(1) "Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. 5, p. 48.

(2) Save one, which was retained to show the children what had amused (and, presumably, corrupted) their grandparents.

as honest exposition. Where was the value of faith if reason was the final arbiter?

The religious approach to literature gave rise to a subsidiary problem. Many worthy people became so obsessed with the question of piety that not only did they attack everything which did not measure up to their stringent standards, but they also lauded everything that was pious merely because it was pious. With solid common sense, Zachary Macaulay drew attention to the absurdity of such an attitude:

"I confess that I am a little disposed to question the justice of those rules of criticism which would measure the excellence of works of imagination merely by the moral, and which would therefore place LALLA ROOKH in disadvantageous contrast as a poetical work with ESSAYS IN RHYME (1). How could such a mode of judging answer in the case of painting or sculpture, sister arts? Place a painting of the Last Judgment, which was a mere daub, side by side with some voluptuous piece of one of the great masters of the Italian School. You might turn from the latter with disgust, but you would never recommend the former to the notice of amateurs." (2)

As will have become obvious, one of the main dangers of Evangelical thought when applied to education was that it tended to produce negative attitudes. Although they were not always free from this restriction, some of the teachers and educational amateurs in the group produced positive ideas of which a number were relatively advanced. Contradictions appear, as one would expect among people sincerely reaching for truth, largely through their own experience,

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- (1) ("Essays in Rhyme on Morals and Manners", by Jane Taylor.)
(2) "Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", p. 335.

who were members of a sect indoctrinated with the concept of the supreme importance of the religious motive in education.

In line with the thinking of Rousseau, stress was laid on the importance of natural development among children. Like Emile and Sophie, pupils were to be brought up without fairy tales, not for the reason Mrs. Sherwood advanced, but because they were at variance with another ideal: what was natural. It was hoped to bring up children at a natural pace and in natural conditions; a laudable desire which brought the Evangelicals into conflict with the current habit of cramming child prodigies. Mrs. Sherwood, herself influenced by the death of Thomas Mallein at the ripe age of seven years, introduced into one of her stories the intentionally pathetic figure of a girl at school dying from overwork. Cowper ridiculed the habit of teaching enormous quantities of Latin and Greek to the young child to pander to the parent's vanity, so that the child's attention began to wander and he began to hate the subject. That he was, in fact, speaking of a very early age is made clear by his suggestion that the fare should be varied in the early stages and that the child should be kept from Latin and Greek until the age of six, seven, eight and "even nine years"! (1)

Cowper had some idea of the place of play in the educational development of the very young child. He was impressed by the example

(1) "Letters of William Cowper", p. 151.

of Lord Spencer's son, who, at four years of age, knew the name, so Cowper claimed, of every city, country, river, kingdom and remarkable mountain in the world as the result of playing with a sort of jigsaw map. (1) There was also some understanding of the need to lead the child by a natural process of development from the easy to the difficult in gradual stages. However awkward to the modern eye, the attempt was made in schools such as those run by Raikes, the Mores, Barrington, the Wilsons, Wilderspin and Close. In addition, it was realised by the best of the teachers that provision must be made for the naturally uneven progress among the pupils of the same age group. As has been pointed out, Hannah More removed bright boys from the herd. Barrington, following Bell's system, divided the boys into pupil and teacher pairs and then divided the class into two parts, the master, as was appropriate, taking the weaker half and the head boy the stronger. Raikes divided his classes into four groups, each with a leader, so that the better children were not held back, nor the weaker pressed forward at an unreasonable pace. He further arranged that backward children should have additional lessons at the teacher's house on several evenings during the week.

Raikes realised that example was a finer teacher than repression. He achieved great things among his ragamuffins by setting them a fine

(1) "Letters of William Cowper", pp. 149 - 51.

example in cleanliness and, by noticing their own progress and commending it, won their affections and spurred them on to greater efforts. Hannah More, too, was determined to achieve as much through her own personality as possible in engaging the affections of the children and making everything as entertaining as she could. She had no use for the "system of terror". Visitors to the schools found the children to be perfectly amenable to discipline through reproof and admonition: "The discipline of school and home was tempered by the infusion of mercy and reason." (1) She believed in reward rather than punishment, even if many of the rewards were rather sober and remedial in character, like Robert Raikes' gifts of clothes, Bibles, New Testaments, volumes of Dr. Stonehouse's Prayers, "Admonitions against swearing, Sabbath-breaking, and Drunkenness", catechisms and papers of hymns. The Bishop of Durham rewarded effort in similar fashion, and for a time issued tickets at the rate of six to a penny for good work. He was determined to mete out punishment when necessary; his school at Bishop Auckland knew detention, entry in the Black Book, the notification of the parents when girls had offended, and even solitary confinement for boys who erred persistently. Robert Raikes himself could be harsh when his principles were flouted if the story is to be believed, for it was reported that upon one occasion, when confronted with a liar, he

(1) "Collections and Recollections by One who has Kept a Diary", p. 121.

punished him by "pressing the tips of his fingers on the bars of the fireplace so that he was blistered a bit. Mr. Raikes would take care," said one of his former pupils, "that he was not much injured; but he did hate liars! Look at my book. This is what he printed for us to learn: "A thief is better than a man who is accustomed to lie.'" (1)

On other occasions it is reported that Raikes would either cane boys over the back of a chair or march them home and wait while their parents carried out the beating. Such methods may well have been necessary, for it appears that some of his pupils were so bad that they were brought to school by their parents with fourteen pound weights or logs of wood attached to their legs to prevent them from running away. Nevertheless, it would appear that Stock, (2) a professional pedagogue, succeeded with the same material without going to extremes and that the majority of Evangelical educators attempted to avoid relying on punishment as a means of upholding discipline, adhering rather to the sentiments expressed by Woodd in his advice to parents: "If indulgence has slain its thousands, severity has slain its ten thousands." (3)

The use of emulation as an aid to education was severely criticised by most Evangelicals. Some of them used their own example to

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- (1) "Robert Raikes. The Man and His Work", p. 41.
(2) Ibid., p. 167.
(3) "Eclectic Notes", p. 73.

encourage the children, but this was stimulating emulation in the best sense of the word. The pet aversion of the Evangelicals was emulation in the sense of ambition or rivalry, accompanied by the desire to outstrip or defeat. As Scott said at a meeting of the Eclectic Society in 1798, "Emulation is Envy in its better-day clothes". (1) The pages of "The Christian Observer" became alive with controversy when the few hardy souls who pointed out its value in practice were assailed with the argument that it was contrary to God's laws.

On educational grounds alone there was much to cause alarm. When the topic was again aired in the Eclectic Society in 1807, Venn suggested that instead of pricking children on by the use of emulation, a love of excellence should be implanted so that children might be taught to love knowledge for itself and not because of a desire to excel others. For many years William Wilberforce, who held similar views to those of Venn, refused to become a vice-president of Lancaster's Society because in his opinion "emulation and vanity were the vital breath of the system".

(2) Cowper vigorously attacked that

"..... gross compound, justly tried,
Of envy, hatred, jealousy and pride -
.....
And Emulation is its specious name.

(1) "Eclectic Notes", p. 65.

(2) "Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. 3, p. 478.

The spur is powerful, and I grant its force;
It pricks the genius forward in its course,
Allows short time for play, and none for sloth;
And, felt alike by each, advances both:
But judge, where so much evil intervenes,
The end, though plausible, not worth the means." (1)

However, Charles Simeon maintained the value of emulation in that at least it was better than idleness, and brought the best pupils to the top, although it was liable to make them petulant and impudent in the process. Applying Cowper's criterion, no doubt many Evangelicals would consider Simeon's argument to defeat itself.

Both Wilberforce and Hannah More (2) expressed their doubts over another item in the technique of teaching: learning by rote. Instead of rote-learning, Hannah advocated that pupil and teacher should indulge in conversation designed to promote a spirit of enquiry. Of Wilberforce it was said by those who knew best that in the education of his children all his efforts "were aimed at opening the mind, creating a spirit of inquiry, and strengthening the powers; while he was jealous of such acquirements as yielded an immediate return, and so afforded opportunities for gratifying vanity". Of Feinagle's plans he said:

"A foreigner is in town who teaches the art of memory so as to render children capable of surprising feats ... such mere technical plans are dangerous, especially for young people, as are schemes which flatter vanity and indolence, give the power of shining at a cheap rate, and of exhibiting a show of knowledge where there is really none." (3)

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- (1) "Tirocinium". ("Poetical Works" of William Cowper, Vol. 1, p.357.)
(2) Supra, p. 96.
(3) "Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. 3, pp. 471 - 2.

The extensions to the syllabus which were made by the pioneers of the Infant School movement were not so acceptable to the teachers in Sunday and day schools. In 1808, one die-hard schoolmaster wrote to "The Christian Observer" to complain that people were producing spelling books which drew their examples from sources other than the Scriptures. Barrington, however, included music as a subject for study at Bishop Auckland in case his monitors should become choir masters. Hannah More used drama in her classes at Park Street and remained convinced of its value when the plays were moral. As has been seen, she found history of value, and saw in its unfolding all the crimes of the human race and their consequences; religion teaching by example a lesson of infinite value. There is an echo of Pestalozzi in her plea to teachers to be topical, to use surrounding events and objects, to "call in all creation, animate and inanimate" to their aid to illustrate teaching points. (1) Unfortunately this broad syllabus was for the education of children of wealthy parents. The children in the Mendips would not normally be considered eligible for such instruction nor able to benefit from it.

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- (1) "Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education with a View to the Principles and Conduct of Women of Rank and Fortune", 1799. 'Works', 1818, vii, p. 289. (See, for example, Pestalozzi's "Seventh Letter", in which he suggests that the educator must use "the whole realm of Nature, everything animate and inanimate, everything which appeals to the child's senses". (Pestalozzi's Educational Writings", edited by J. A. Green, p. 170))

One of the greatest problems faced by the philanthropist was the supply of suitable teachers. (1) The problem was increased if the philanthropist was an Evangelical. In principle he required teachers of high moral character, possessed of vital religion of the Anglican persuasion and capable of passing on their convictions. In fact, much of the material used was not of the best quality and sometimes not even of the right religious shade. (2) That the conception of the best quality was not high was shown by the rapturous applause which was the lot of Barrington's training establishment and the tremendous demand for his teenage masters who went forth in all innocence to "educate" classes of up to two hundred pupils. The fact that they were earnest, Christian youngsters was of prime importance in Evangelical eyes. The same could not be said of many of the teachers in more sophisticated spheres.

(1) Cowper realised the need for intelligent teachers (and parents) who would welcome new methods:

"To follow foolish precedents, and wink
With both our eyes, is easier than to think."
("Poetical Works", Vol. 1, p. 350)

Too often teachers were happy to follow old traditions and, should a child's intelligence be high, accept credit for their pedagogy. Should the child fail, the fault would, of course, be his own. Such teachers are portrayed in unflattering terms:

"Much zeal in virtue's cause all teachers boast,
Though motives of mere lucre sway the most;
Therefore in towns and cities they abound,
For there the game they seek is easiest found."
(Ibid, Vol. 1, p. 358.)

(2) Cf. Supra, p. 55-56.

Isaac Milner, who frequently assisted his brother Joseph in the Grammar School, would have set high standards for the conduct of such establishments. He considered that masters should be able to cater for the peculiar dispositions of their scholars and their differing prospects in life. A common basis of education should be provided with the addition of a deeper instruction in Classics, some Geometry and Natural Philosophy for university entrants; more General Science, Modern Geography, Modern History, English Composition and some Natural Philosophy for gentlemen and commercial gentlemen; and a considerable amount of General History, to enable all higher classes to relate facts in order of time and place. Milner's standards were higher than most, but many teachers were capable of fulfilling his specifications for the education of the older pupils. This was also true of the Public Schools, but in Evangelical eyes intellectual calibre was insufficient indication of a teacher's worth. Nowhere was their concern over the religious and moral welfare of children so evident as in their attitude towards the Public Schools.

Several prominent Evangelicals had themselves attended Public Schools. Charles Simeon was at Eton, a place so profligate that he expressed himself tempted to murder his own son rather than allow him to see what he himself had seen. Scarcely ever was the name of the Saviour heard amongst all the poets and philosophers of

heathen antiquity. (1) Cowper related that his life at his first school was an absolute misery. He recognised his chief tormentor only "by his buckled shoes; he had never dared to lift his eyes to his face". (2) He liked Westminster by comparison, but never became reconciled to the Public School as a satisfactory environment for the young. Shaftesbury had similar experiences. He compared his first school at Chiswick to Dotheboys Hall (3), but enjoyed Harrow despite the eccentricities of a master who suffered from insomnia and was prepared to share his wakefulness with his unfortunate pupils by rousing them for a lesson at four o'clock in the morning. (4)

Whatever the balance of experience, few Evangelical parents were willing to send their children away to school. William Wilberforce and John Venn were notable exceptions. Southey claimed: "where they are beneficial to one they are ruinous to twenty." (5) Isaac Milner exceedingly disapproved of boarding schools in general, "unless under very particular and favourable circumstances". (6)

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- (1) The situation was undoubtedly serious, but Simeon had a tendency towards making emotional and sweeping statements. (Cf. *infra*, chapter 7, p. 241.) Rowland Hill succeeded in making some converts when a boy there and founded a religious society.
 - (2) "The Stricken Deer", by D. Cecil, p. 20.
 - (3) "The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887) Vol. 1, pp. 44 - 5.
 - (4) *Ibid*, p. 51.
 - (5) "Simeon and Church Order", p. 47.
 - (6) "Life of Isaac Milner", p. 462.

Hannah More described them as "nurseries of vice" and warned Zachary Macaulay not to throw the "pure and uncorrupted mind" of Thomas "into such a scene of danger." (1) She became enamoured of a pretty turn of phrase and more than once compared the act of entering a boy for Public School with that of the Scythian mothers who threw their children into the sea: most were drowned, but the survivors were vigorous. Nevertheless, she exempted Westminster from her sterner criticisms and suggested that young Macaulay might even benefit from the disciplined studies of the place and the society of boys who might prove to be his intellectual equals or near equals. (2) Cowper too, praised Westminster at times, and advised Joseph Hill to follow its method of teaching Greek, which he considered to be the best he had seen. Like Miss More, his real preference was to keep a child at home with a good tutor of sound character so that he should grow up with all the advantages of mixing in a polite society which would otherwise be lost to him from the age of eight years throughout the rest of childhood and adolescence.

No more damning indictment of Public Schools than Cowper's "Tirocinium" has been written. Although his religious attitude was

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- (1) "Letters of Zachary Macaulay to Hannah More", pp. 46 - 7. Her idea of his "uncorrupted mind" is strangely at variance with her conception of innate corruption.
 - (2) Despite her recommendation, Miss More stressed that the boy should live at home so that he might be protected against evil influences and should attend Westminster only as a day-boy. Her advice was not taken and Thomas was sent to a small private school at Shelford run by the Rev. Mr. Preston where he read to his heart's content and had the good fortune to meet some of the eminent men from Cambridge.

not always stable, the work reflects the fears which sprang from an Evangelical concept of education. Whilst the nature of the man must always be borne in mind, his criticisms, taken in conjunction with other evidence, make a sad picture of the schools. Much of the blame was the parents' lot. Cowper savagely attacked the idiot parent who glorified the follies of his youth as frolics and determined to set his son's feet on the same path. Advancement for the child would then be gained, not through scholarship, but through connections made with wealthy contemporaries. The results of such a policy, where successful, were contemptible:

"Behold your Bishop! well he plays his part,
Christian in name, and Infidel in heart,
Ghostly in office, earthly in his plan,
A slave at court, elsewhere a lady's man.
Dumb as a senator, and as a priest
A piece of mere church furniture at best;
To have estranged from God his total scope,
And his end sure, without one gleam of hope." (1)

School friendships being transient, the child was debased for an unlikely reward:

"'Twere wiser sure to inspire a little heart
With just abhorrence of so mean a part,
Than set your son to work at a vile trade
For wages so unlikely to be paid." (2)

In his school life bad examples for the boy to follow would abound, particularly among those who were most influential:

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- (1) "Poetical Works", Vol. 1, pp. 355 -6.
(2) Ibid, -p. 356.

"The stout tall captain, whose superior size
The minor heroes view with envious eyes,
Becomes their pattern, upon whom they fix
Their whole attention, and ape all his tricks." (1)

The pupil would face even greater dangers from the masters than the boys. The obstacles he would encounter, lauded by the staff as producing self-reliance and manliness, would breed arrogance, pride and effrontery. He would meet teachers who were not only mistaken in their views but incompetent and insincere in the performance of their duties, happy to gain employment through patronage and caring little for their charges. At the close of his school career, the pupil would run up against the blank wall of the incomprehension of men who failed to understand the problems of adolescence:

"Schools, unless discipline were doubly strong,
Detain their adolescent charge too long.
The management of tyros of eighteen
Is difficult, their punishment obscene." (2)

The main charge which the Evangelicals levelled against the running of the Public Schools was that they failed to make religion the rule of life and brought up the young in an immoral or even heathen atmosphere. Francis Hodgson, who became Provost of Eton in 1840 and helped Hawtrey in his work of reform, attacked the immorality he saw at both Eton and Harrow. Vicesimus Knox suggested that one of the great dangers was that opinion at the Public Schools was such that virtue was ridiculed on all sides and made to appear ridiculous.

(1) "Poetical Works", Vol. 1, p. 349.
(2) Ibid, p. 349.

Cowper claimed that the boys were debauched the moment they were capable of being so, so negligent were the teachers of their morals:

"For such is all the mental food purvey'd
By public hackneys in the schooling trade;
Who feed a pupil's intellect with store
Of syntax truly, but with little more;
Dismiss their cares when they dismiss their flock,
Machines themselves, and governed by a clock." (1)

Considerable alarm was justified: Eton, Westminster, St. Paul's and Rugby were all at a low ebb at the turn of the century. At Eton there was much learning of prayers in Greek and Latin and Church attendances were required, but there was nothing of value in the way of religious education to still fears for the moral welfare of the boys. At Winchester, although there was considerable observation of outward form, the same criticism could be made. (2) It was hardly surprising that the old bogy of heathen education should bestir itself and dance before the eyes of the horrified spectators. In his letters to William Unwin, Cowper emphasised that not one boy in fifty at Eton or Westminster could speak English with any fluency: "The same lad that is often commended for Latin, frequently would deserve to be whipped for his English if the fault were not more his master's than his own." (3) The pupil had little guidance in his own religion: "If he can catch the

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- (1) "Poetical Works", Vol. 1, p. 361.
(2) "Simeon and Church Order", pp. 46, 77, 82.
(3) "Letters of William Cowper", p. 154.

love of virtue from the fine things that are spoken of it in the classics, and the love of holiness from a customary attendance upon such preaching as he is likely to hear, it will be well; but I am sure you have had too many opportunities to observe the inefficiency of such means, to expect any such advantage from them." (1)

The whole question was thoroughly discussed in public when Jones of Nayland addressed an open letter to Dr. Vincent entitled "Consideration on the Religious Worship of the Heathens as bearing unanswerable testimony to the Principles of Christianity." It was hinted that the study of heathen authors turned children into budding libertines or fully-fledged Jacobins. (2) In 1799, the attack was taken up from outside Evangelical circles when Dr. Rennell preached a sermon (later published by the S.P.C.K.) in which Jones' points were supported. With the French Revolution in mind, Rennell particularly feared the danger of Jacobinism. "There is scarcely an INTERNAL danger which we fear," he said, "but what is to be ascribed to a PAGAN education, under CHRISTIAN ESTABLISHMENTS, in a CHRISTIAN country." (3)

Two years later the Bishop of Meath continued the attack at the occasion of the Charity Schools Sermon. Dr. Vincent at last replied to his tormentors, pointing out that heathen authors did not create heathens, that boys did not believe myths, and that he

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- (1) "Letters of William Cowper", p. 152.
(2) "Simeon and Church Order", p. 55.
(3) Ibid, p. 58.

exercised unceasing care over the religious education of his boys at Westminster and held regular services and confirmations. A review of his "Defence of Public Education" in "The Christian Observer" gently rectified his misconceptions. It was pointed out that care over religion was not enough. The essential difference lay between forbearing to commit wrong because of restraint and being truly religious. Vincent's thesis: "Education can no more extinguish vice than law" caused regret. In the view of "The Christian Observer" it was obvious that such a statement revealed the inadequacy of the education. The article went on to attack over-liberality by parents which made boys "sensuous", the failure to suppress their evil tendencies in their leisure hours, and the habit of acting plays such as those from Terence which could not lead to "pure and undefiled religion". The review suggested that Vincent had not proved his case and summarised its arguments in a truly Evangelical fashion: "Our education", as Mr. Law justly observes, "should imitate our guardian angels, suggest nothing to our minds but what is wise and holy; help us to discover, and subdue, every vain passion of our hearts, and every false judgment of our minds." (1)

The obsession with religious education is encountered again. As it is the starting-point of any study of Evangelical thought on

(1) "The Christian Observer", January, 1803.

education, so it is also the constant accompaniment and inevitable end. In this the group was not unique. There existed many members of the Anglican Church who had the interests of its conception of religion as much at heart as any Evangelical. In their educational ideas and methods of attaining their ends they differed little from the Evangelicals. In their desire to censor and exclude they were equally vigorous and narrow-minded. The S.P.C.K. would not publish the works of Bunyan, Doddridge or Watts because they were Dissenters. The National Society exercised a strict control over its subordinate member-societies and forbade the use of any literature in their schools other than that which appeared in the catalogue at Bartlett's Buildings. A censorship of children's reading material was maintained by Mrs. Trimmer, editor of the "Guardian of Education". Anything which did not match up to the most rigorous standards was criticised in a forthright and vigorous manner. She was reproved for allowing "Cinderella" to slip past her watchful eye, and submitted meekly to correction, for it had been pointed out to her that the heroine of the tale had exhibited envy and active dislike towards her sisters and had yet triumphed. Plays she admitted as reading matter, but denied them their true purpose by refusing to allow children to act them lest they suffer ill-effects "on the mind" from assuming fictitious characters. (1)

(1) She provided safe reading for the poor through "The Family Magazine", designed to convey instructive lessons. ("The British Working Class Reader 1790 - 1848", p. 25.)

As has been seen, distrust of the Public Schools on moral grounds was not restricted to the Evangelical party. A hardy spirit who defended them in a letter to "The Christian Observer" in 1804 (1) commented on how "very unfashionable" his views had become. The problem of supplying teachers for elementary schools also revealed that the work of the Evangelicals was acceptable to other churchmen for the National Society itself copied Barrington's scheme and produced its own teachers on a moral plan. So moral was it that on one occasion (2), for so heinous a crime as attending a dance and water-party, several trainee teachers were severely reprimanded and faced with the threat of dismissal.

In their desire to promote charitable works the Evangelicals had willing allies within the Church. Although philanthropy owed as much to French Rationalism as to Christianity, the motives of the Anglicans were entirely religious. Christian charity meant charity within the existing framework of society; there was no desire to alter the social hierarchy nor to provide an education beyond the station of the poor. (3) It was the duty of the recipients to accept

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- (1) March Issue. Sidney Smith spoke scathingly of the Public Schools, where "every boy is alternately tyrant and slave": "A man gets well pummelled at a public school: is subject to every misery and every indignity which seventeen years of age can inflict on nine or ten, has his eye knocked out and his clothes stolen and cut to pieces."
("Sydney Smith and the Education of his Day", "Researches and Studies", pp. 35 - 36.)
 - (2) 2nd October, 1816. Minutes of the General Committee of the National Society.
 - (3) Even Patrick Colquhoun dismissed schemes which would raise the poor above their station as Utopian, injurious and absurd. ("The British Working Class Reader 1790 - 1848", p. 14)

the benefits conferred on them with appropriate gratitude. Bernard proclaimed this view in his advice to the Foundling Children: "Most unhappy, most ungrateful, will you prove, if, with those advantages, you do not bring forth the genuine fruits of Christian education, - PIETY, - VIRTUE, - and INDUSTRY." (1)

The limited outlook of the philanthropist was a criticism of the age as much as the individual. Hannah More's frustration at the difficulties she encountered in assisting Lee burst forth in an indictment of the collector: "It is such men as Lords Grenville and Spencer, the avowed patrons of learning, who give a thousand pounds for a few black-letter fragments, that should stand forth in such a case as this." (2) Private philanthropy was so much the rule that the majority of people looked no further. Nevertheless, dissatisfaction with the prevailing "system" was growing. Different groups were reaching towards a national system of education. The Evangelicals were in the main stream of development towards a national education for religious ends. Wilberforce's scheme for instruction under the management of the clergy has already been mentioned. (3) Zachary Macaulay, with the example of the National Society before him, suggested a more elaborate scheme:

"The National Society being an instrument of mighty power, and having among its members the whole bench of bishops, should go at once to the legislature with a plan for educating the poor; - a plan which shall embrace every parish in the

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- (1) "Of the Education of the Poor", 1809, p. 296.
 - (2) "Letters of Hannah More to Zachary Macaulay", p. 59.
 - (3) Supra, pp. 66-67.

kingdom, We had almost said in the empire; and which shall enact that wherever there do not already exist sufficient means of educating the poor in the principles of the established Church, such means shall be provided by a parish or other rate." (1)

Other Anglicans such as Daubeny, Marsh and Bell were thinking along the same lines. So was Wilberforce's great ally, Sir Thomas Bernard. His "Proposed Inquiry as to Schools" of 1804 included five proposals to transform the existing chaos into a national system at an attractive rate. They were:

- (i) to open the Charity Schools to all the original objects of the founders;
- (ii) to engraft day schools on them for poor children, on limited terms of payment;
- (iii) to provide parochial schools where necessary;
- (iv) to apply to the Lord Chancellor when abuses to Charity Schools were found to continue;
- (v) to empower magistrates to pay the weekly 3d. necessary for schooling as parish relief if the parent was unable to pay.

"The whole system of education in this country may be thus completed with a trifling alteration of the mode, and with very little if any increase in the parochial charges." (2)

The facile criticisms which can be levelled at the Evangelicals for the narrowness of their outlook and the quality of their thought can be modified in the light of the knowledge that people with the interest of the same Church at heart were possessed of the same

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- (1) "Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", pp. 304 - 5. In 1807, Samuel Whitbread proposed a Bill in the Commons for the establishment of parochial schools on a national system.
 - (2) "Of the Education of the Poor", pp. 306 - 9.

defects. The demands of religion produced similar timidities, suspicions and excesses in the pious, whether they were "orthodox" Anglican or Evangelical. The great contribution of the "serious" social workers lay not in any intricacies or novelties of thought, but in the application to their philanthropic work of the piety awakened by the first generation of Evangelical clergymen whose single-minded enthusiasm had set an example which affected the whole moral climate of the country and caused a renewed interest in the education of the poor. The translation of that interest into action was vitally affected by the work of the Claphamites and their allies who penetrated the ranks of the educators of the poor to the same sort of effect as in their guidance of the work of the missionary societies. The great impetus was provided by the leaders in their ranks who made the particular field of education their own, but the influence of the group as a whole was both deep and extensive.

CHAPTER 4.

THE CLAPHAMITES AND OTHER EDUCATORS OF THE POOR.

The affiliations of the Clapham Sect which are so obvious in their general philanthropic work are equally clear in the particular field of the education of the poor. The ubiquitous Wilberforce was the co-ordinator of their efforts to attack the misery and paganism of the poor and alleviate those ills by the means of education.

Because of the evangelising zeal which was so much a part of his character, much of Wilberforce's attention was focused on philanthropic educational work overseas. An example of this was his interest in India which involved him in one of the most vigorous conflicts of his life. (1) During the course of the dispute he was drawn into the storm raised in 1808 by a decision of the Government, made on grounds of economy, to dismiss all the schoolmasters of Ceylon. In a bitter attack on the measure, Wilberforce clearly displayed his alarm over its religious aspects: "We are to save only £1,500 by what is the moral and religious ruin of the island." (2) In a letter to Babington he claimed that 200,000 children would suffer in the saving of so insignificant a sum. The outcry was considerable and within a few months the Government gave ground; the

(1) Supra, pp. 21-23.

(2) "Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. 3, pp. 378 - 9.

old schools were, in part, restored and new ones were begun to replace the others. (Private manoeuvres are often more valuable than public agitation, therefore there may be some significance in a note in Wilberforce's diary for 11th September of that year:

"I have had some intercourse with Lord Castlereagh about it." (1)

In 1819, Wilberforce was approached for help by Christophe of Hayti, an enlightened monarch who desired to further the education of his people on English lines. To Wilberforce and Zachary Macaulay was entrusted the task of finding initially seven schoolmasters, a tutor for Christophe's son, and seven professors for the Royal College which he proposed to establish. The work proceeded with such despatch that on 4th October Wilberforce wrote that he was about to send out his "fifth schoolmaster, and a number of recent publications for both the literary and moral instruction of youth". (2) Reports of great progress began to come in from the schoolmasters, whilst the correspondence of Christophe bulked so large that it was said that Wilberforce permanently damaged his eyesight in poring over the monarch's cramped French script. (3) Wilberforce's persevering care demonstrates the wisdom of Christophe's choice of helper whilst the choice itself illustrates the stature which he

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- (1) "Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. 3, p. 379.
(2) Ibid, Vol. 4, p. 356. Letter to Francis Wraugham.
(3) Ibid, Vol. 4, p. 361.

had attained abroad. (1)

The experiment in Hayti came to an unfortunate end before it could show what could be achieved over a reasonable period of time. Christophe's troops mutinied and his consequent suicide was followed by the flight (2) of his wife and children to England where Thomas Clarkson, albeit unwillingly, shouldered the burden of their accommodation for the first five months of their exile out of pity for their melancholy situation.

His interest in foreign work was the deciding factor in Wilberforce's otherwise slightly surprising decision to yield to the earnest pleas of the members to join the non-denominational British and Foreign Schools Society as a vice-president in 1814. Since his dismissal of its emissaries Allen and Fox four years earlier, the Committee had maintained a steady pressure which was augmented by the influence of the Leeds Evangelical, William Hey. In acknowledging the importance of Hey's advice, Wilberforce nevertheless made abundantly clear his preference for the schools of Dr. Bell,

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- (1) A further illustration is provided by the formation on 2nd October, 1809, in New York, of a society of free Africans, descendants of Africans and people of colour, named "The Wilberforce Philanthropic Association, instituted for the Promotion of Virtue and the Diffusion of Science", the object of which was to unite all in bonds of brotherly love, to instruct the youth, to aid the distressed, and spread the benign influence of virtue, science, and industry. ("The Christian Observer", November, 1812.)
At home, the Yorkshire School for the Blind was founded as a memorial to Wilberforce. ("Evangelicals in Action", by K. Heasman, p. 190.)
- (2) Wilberforce made over to them the remainder of the money given to him by Christophe to commission teachers.

which, had they extended their work abroad, would have precluded any interest on his part in the rival organisation. (1)

At home there was much to interest Wilberforce in the educational work of the time. His lively mind probed and questioned wherever he went and found many objects for his busy philanthropy. In 1798, having fixed on such self-denial at the beginning of the year, he set aside for charity one quarter of his income, a sum which amounted to £2,000. (2) From this Mr. Charles' schools in Wales benefited by £21 annually, St. Anne's School received £31-10-0d a year, and the Reverend Mr. Scott, intriguingly enough, half a year of his son's college allowance of £15. He was one of the first to come to the aid of Kirke White, and many clerical students and clerics owed their education and livings to his generosity. (3)

The Michael Angelo Taylor affair provides a further example of Wilberforce's influence in high places. Taylor, a magistrate, found an applicant for a licence as a dissenting teacher to be abysmally ignorant, but was compelled under the law to grant his request upon receipt of the required fee. Dismayed by the manifest absurdity of such toleration, Taylor suggested that the law could well be changed. Under pressure from his Dissenting constituents

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- (1) "Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. 4, p. 197.
(2) By 1800 the figure had risen to £3,173 per annum. "Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. 3, p. 4.
(3) Infra, Chapter 7.

and motivated by a very down-to-earth distrust of martyrdom, (1) Wilberforce used his friendship (2) with Pitt to secure a private discussion which would seem to have been instrumental in preventing the matter from ever reaching the House. Agreement was reached on a far less incendiary proposal that the sects should certificate by testimonial their teachers and so prevent "raw ignorant lads going out on preaching parties every Sunday". (3)

In 1814 Wilberforce's interest in India brought Bishop Middleton into his circle. Favourable to "schools and a public library - a college with discipline" (4), the Bishop naturally found common ground with the champion of the schools in the domain of the East India Company, just as Prince Czartorowski's desire to improve the education of his people brought him to Wilberforce in the same year. Wilberforce's incessant care for the causes he espoused is demonstrated in his journal for 30th June of that year, as he painstakingly followed

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- (1) Cf. his letter to Hey, "Life of William Wilberforce", 29th March, 1800. He maintained that all efforts to curtail the liberties granted by the Toleration Act must be opposed, for "the prevalence of the persecuted opinions and the popularity of the persecuted teachers would be the sure result".
 - (2) The value of this friendship was of great importance to the Claphamites because Pitt was openly and deeply prejudiced against "the class of clergy to whom he knew me (Wilberforce) to be attached." (Ibid, Vol. 2, p. 364). A friendly gesture of considerable value to his friends was made in 1799 when, completely unsolicited, Pitt announced to the House his intention of proposing a sum of money annually to assist the Sierra Leone project. ("Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", p.227.)
 - (3) "Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. 2. p. 361. Letter to Babington, 2nd April, 1800.
 - (4) "Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. 4, p. 200. Bishop Middleton founded the Bishop's College to train native clergy in 1820. £5,000 was donated by each of the C.M.S., the S.P.G., the S.P.C.K. and the British and Foreign Bible Society. ("History of the English Church", Vol. 8, i, p. 61.)

up his interview: "writing about the Bible Society for Czartorowski, and getting for him some Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor". (1)

Interest in education took Wilberforce to the home of Robert Raikes and into the society of Robert Owen, a man, in the eyes of the Evangelical, full of "strange, fanciful speculations, and practical success amongst Dr. Dale's children". (2) A visit to Sandgate in 1814 resulted in his intercession in a bad case of child cruelty and whole-hearted labouring in the schools and other institutions around to help to relieve the want and ignorance exhibited. An adult school was there, with a room and teachers provided, where could be seen the confidant of the Prime Minister reading extracts from Pole's "History of the Adult Schools" and sitting by old ladies "fairly teaching them their letters". (3) In July, 1818 he was to be found escorting the Duchess of Beaufort to the National and British and Foreign Schools, but in September he was visiting a Dame's school and a cottage school in Langdale far from fashionable society. There he donated £2 to help a Sunday School run by a shop-keeper's daughters in Keswick. One of his last campaigns, undertaken to inject some Christianity into the neutral constitution of the new London University was interrupted by a visit to the little infant school at Ampton. To the end of

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- (1) "Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. 4, p. 199.
(2) Ibid, Journal, 30th December, 1812. Vol. 4, pp. 90-1.
(3) Ibid, Vol. 4, p. 219.

his life his interest did not flag and high and low alike felt the impact of his personality. One of the most influential of these people was his close friend Hannah More.

The check to her work in the Mendips because of the Blagdon affair resulted directly in an increase in work for Hannah's prolific pen. Despite the variety of her personal contacts, it was through her writings that she wielded most influence. The importance of such a claim is demonstrated by the scope of her friendships amongst the great, for she was the intimate of the Clapham Sect, an accepted dramatist and close friend of the Garricks, a well-known Blue-Stocking, a friend of Royalty, a noted educationalist and a lion-huntress whose battery of tame bishops affords passing speculation about the penetration of Evangelicalism into the upper reaches of the Anglican Church. With "a Walpole, or a Montagu, or a Porteus, or a Barrington every day" (1) her social standing was secure. It was this wealth of goodwill amongst people who mattered which smoothed her path in the literary world and assured her work of a rapturous acclaim which it scarcely merits. It also assured her of the essential financial backing and the expertise necessary to launch her formidable weapon in the war against infidelity: the Cheap Repository Tracts.

(1) "Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More",
Vol. 2, p. 99.

The political motives behind the tracts have too often been emphasised to the exclusion of all else. In fact, the evidence was only too clear that in educating the masses in the essentials of reading and writing the Sunday Schools had done them something of a disservice. For, in addition to the Bible which their betters had intended them to study, the poor had discovered the existence of a mass of literature which was cheap, vulgar, sometimes indecent and frequently revolutionary in character. The chap-book was their favourite, drawing its material from any source which offered. Sold at a farthing or a halfpenny a copy it consisted of sheets folded into sixteen or twenty-four pages, rendered more attractive by the addition of rough wood-cuts as illustrations. The greatest problem Miss More faced was the simple economic difficulty of providing the message of virtue in as attractive a form and at as cheap a rate as the sans-culotte literature it was to displace. Once again she had the good fortune to receive help from Wilberforce and his friends.

As a first step Henry Thornton set about learning the mystique of the trade. At that time much of the literary need of the country districts was satisfied by the pedlars, for whom the chap-book was a valuable stock-in-trade. In the early days of the venture, while Macaulay was yet in Sierra Leone, Hannah More informed him wonderingly of his friends' thoroughness: "Mr. Henry Thornton and two or three others have condescended to spend hours with the hawkers to learn the mysteries of their trade, and next month we hope to meet

the hawkers on their own ground." (1)

The Claphamites then apportioned the duties necessary for the smooth running of the enterprise: Thornton undertook to act as Treasurer, Babington to deal with the publishers, Grant to publicise and explain it; Macaulay, upon his return to England (2) became its agent, and Wilberforce (3) provided some of the financial backing. Porteus gave his episcopal blessing and John Bowdler (4) followed the example of Thornton, Venn and Macaulay and contributed a tract of his own: "Reform or Ruin", a call to political reformers to reform themselves. The bulk of the writing, however, fell to Hannah More who had become the accepted champion of law and order

(1) "Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", p. 129.

(2) He was able to assist the cause even before his return. When a vessel loaded with slaves bound for Barbados called at Sierra Leone he made use of even such an unpromising messenger to send: "by it to governor Ricketts some suggestions with respect to the best plan of circulating the Cheap Repository Tracts through his island. I also sent specimens of the Tracts to friends in Barbados and St. Kitts, with letters pointing out their object, and the best mode of circulating them." (Ibid, p. 139.)

(3) Wilberforce was a keen supporter of the work in other ways. On a visit to Yorkshire in 1795 he extolled the virtues of the tracts to the local clergy and arranged for supplies to be sent to them on his return to London.

(4) John Bowdler was a loved and respected intimate of the Claphamites. He further extended their influence by introducing to the circle Alexander Knox and John Jebb (later Bishop of Limerick), whom he took to Battersea Rise in 1809.
("Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", p. 264.)

through "Village Politics" (1) and had succeeded in finding a level at which she could affect the minds of her working-class public. Amusing, simple and cheap, (2) the tracts flooded the British Isles and even crossed the sea to France and Paris itself. On the one hand wholesome literature (3) was provided for the masses and on the other the link between religion and civil government was so strongly forged that before such critics as Cobbett could proceed with their arguments against the society of the day they were constrained to dissociate the two and attempt to break down the conceptions created by the formidable Hannah, not the least successful of which was that of herself: a "Christian heroine, armed in the panoply of truth" striking at the evil-doer through

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- (1) "Village Politics" enjoyed great popularity. It was re-issued in the post-war period and in the crisis of the early thirties. It was also published by the Association for Preserving Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers. ("The British Working Class Reader 1790-1848", p. 42.)
 - (2) Sydney Smith used the Tracts in the Sunday School at Nether Avon: "Miss Hannah More's Books I think you will like very much if you look at them. They are 5s per 100; if you will send me down 100 of them, I think I can distribute them with effect." (Sydney Smith and the Education of his Day", by K. Charlton. "Researches and Studies", p.30.)
 - (3) The literature was wholesome and pointed a moral. Among the tracts ascribed to her appeared such titles as:
 - "The Carpenter; or the Danger of Evil Company."
 - "The Market Woman, a true tale, or Honesty is the Best Policy."
 - "The Roguish Miller; or Nothing Got by Cheating."
 - "The Gin Shop; or a Peep into Prison."("Hannah More", p. 272.)

"tracts ... confirming the wavering, and appalling the evil mind". (1)

(1) 1853 edition of her "Works" - Publisher's Address by H. Bohn. Hannah More also wrote songs for the "Anti-Cobbett" (Webb, op. cit. p. 56) and contributed a new series of pamphlets in his honour at Government request in 1817. She was seventy-two.

In the light of her antipathy towards Cobbett the following extract from a letter to Macaulay in 1797 is amusing and perhaps of some importance: "I lately had a large order from Philadelphia for Tracts from a Mr. Cobbett. He says that among the clubs, societies, and institutions, which have abounded in America, not one has been attempted for the instruction of the common people. He is resolved to make this trial if he can get support." ("Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", pp. 177-8.) In 1800 she received a very civil letter from Pall Mall in which Cobbett told her of the uncommon success in America of the Tracts and assured her of his intention to pay her a visit at Bath. This surprising friendship was never to mature, for "this flatterer," as Hannah indignantly scrawled on back of his letter, "on coming to England joined Mr. Bere's party and became my mortal enemy." (Ibid, p. 177)

Webb ("The British Working Class Reader, 1790-1848") points out that the success of the Tracts may have been smaller than has been thought, suggesting that the Religious Tract Society for example found its market mainly among the worthy middle-classes whilst the workers enjoyed more unsavoury works, which returned a profit of 42% whilst religious tracts returned only 25%. He sees the effort of the middle-classes to spread knowledge as doomed on two main counts: they were trying to make over the workers in their own image without realising that they were dealing with a completely alien type which, "like the great part of any class, were not actively interested in learning; they wanted to be amused, and were so in one way or another." (pp. 28, 160.)

The truth seems to lie somewhere between the over-ready praise of such as Bohn and Roberts, and Webb's natural scepticism. Whilst it is true that the Evangelicals and their allies attempted to introduce to the working classes the standards of morality in which they themselves believed (and is not this the basis of all missionary work?) they continually stressed the dangers of educating people to a standard outside their station. In their role of patronising philanthropists they endeavoured to teach the poor to be happy with their lot and educate them to be as well-fitted for their station in life as possible. They had no desire to form an imitation middle-class. Large numbers of the working classes did attain upright standards of morality and rally eagerly to the support of the voluntary organisations for education and produce from their own ranks new ventures for their further education. It does not seem accurate to suggest that they formed an alien type. The desire to learn, though it needed to be awakened, was as classless as the apathy which was its counterpart.

Hannah's writings in the narrower field of formal education had begun even before her work in the Mendips. As a youthful pedagogue she had kept school in Bristol with her sisters Mary, Sally, Martha and Betty. Opened in Trinity Street in 1757, the school enjoyed such popularity that the sisters were constrained to take more commodious quarters in Park Street. After the removal in 1767, they remained in their changed premises until 1790. Hannah soon found employment for her facile pen in the production of nursery rhymes and fairy tales for the diversion of the younger pupils. She wrote short plays for the children to enact until her "Sacred Dramas" took shape and were published in 1782. These plays would appear to have been of remarkable quality, for their effect on the devout Mrs. Trimmer was, she claimed, to "excite in my mind the same kind of DEVOTIONAL feeling as the Scriptures themselves." (1) Hannah's concern over the low standards prevailing in the dramas considered suitable for teenage schoolgirls had already led to the publication in 1773 of her pastoral drama "The Search after Happiness" which conformed to the highest standards of purity and sold ten thousand copies in the fourteen years following its publication.

Her interest in drama diverted Hannah More's pen to the adult theatre, and it was not until 1799 that education benefited again from her ideas. This time she produced her famous "Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education with a view to the Principles

(1) Letter to Hannah More. "Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More", Vol. 2, p. 59. May 10th, 1787.

and Conduct of Women of Rank and Fortune". In 1805 she aimed even higher in writing "Hints towards forming the Character of a Young Princess", which proffered advice on the upbringing of Charlotte, daughter of the Prince Regent, and resulted in the introduction of Hannah to the Royal circle to meet the Queen.

The popularity of Hannah More's books and the example of her voluntary work in the Mendips helped to create an ideal of charitable endeavour which influenced the women of the day. Both directly and indirectly she was responsible for much of the religious work and care of the poor which became so marked a feature of the life of the English female of the more well-to-do classes. Her friends ensured that her merits did not lack public recognition; her enemies ensured that she did not pass into oblivion. Such authorities as Sir Thomas Bernard quoted her work in print; (1) women such as Mrs. King followed in her footsteps, organising schools and welfare services, distributing tracts and medicines and firing others (2) with the desire to follow suit. A Russian Princess so valued her ideas that she translated some of Hannah's books into the vernacular. (3) From her novel "Coelebs" came

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- (1) Bernard was turning his efforts towards a ladies' Committee for the Female Poor and endeavouring to gain support for the project of a seminary for the education of women teachers and governesses. ("Of the Education of the Poor", pp. 240 and 248.)
- (2) In her case the Butts.
- (3) Princess Metschersky. Letter to Hannah More, 22nd October, 1817. ("Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More", Vol. 4, pp. 43-5.)

the influential ideal of the English lady: modest and pleasing in appearance, the essence of propriety, who made the care of the poor her profession; and from the essays which followed (1) came the advice necessary for its fulfilment. Yet this was the woman who refused membership of the Royal Society of Literature on the grounds of feminine modesty; the devoted follower of William Wilberforce who would allow women no part in the campaign against slavery lest it should lead to political intrusions unsuited to the delineation of womankind in the Scriptures; (2) and above all the admirer and apologist of St. Paul (3) who yet commanded that a woman "learn in silence and with all subjection", and continued, "I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over a man but to be in silence." (4) The opponents who felt the weight of the hand of the "bishop in petticoats" (5) must have wished for a closer attention to this particular instruction of her mentor.

Much, but not all, of the work of the central core of the Evangelical party at Clapham was linked with the projects of Wilberforce and Hannah More. The success of the Cheap Repository Tract movement

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- (1) "Practical Piety: or the Influence of the Religion of the Heart on the Conduct of Life", 1811; "Christian Morals", 1812.
 - (2) Despite the urgings of Zachary Macaulay and Henry Brougham he adhered to this view. ("Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", p. 433.)
 - (3) "Character and Practical Writings of St. Paul", 1815.
 - (4) I Timothy, II, Verses 11, 12.
 - (5) Attributed to Cobbett. ("Hannah More", pp. 204, 267.)

resulted in a more catholic successor: the Religious Tract Society. Founded in 1799, the Society was governed and supported by all manners of men, including Baptists and Quakers, but a watchful representative of Clapham was in their midst from the very first in the person of Zachary Macaulay. (1) A request for help to the Committee of the Society resulted in turn in the formation of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Expertise was provided by the doyens of committee-men - Wilberforce, Granville Sharp, Macaulay, Teignmouth and Henry Thornton. Leigh Richmond became one of the Secretaries, believing that "he might promote the interests of his own Church by preventing the circulation of tracts hostile to her opinions, as well as advance the common cause of true religion". (2)

At a time when the subject was in the main ignored, Henry Thornton and Wilberforce did much to awaken the conscience of the nation to the needs of the deaf among the poor. In 1792, Thornton and the Reverend Henry Cox Mason helped to form a society to educate the "indigent deaf" in Bermondsey. A house was rented, six deaf mutes were installed, and Joseph Watson was appointed as their teacher. From this humble beginning developed the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb Poor, established in 1807 in the Old Kent Road with residential accommodation, continuous tuition and, on Wilberforce's

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- (1) The Rules provided for a Committee of Management consisting of equal numbers of Anglicans and Nonconformists. Macaulay was appointed to correspond with Protestants on the Continent and to extend the work abroad. ("Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", p. 237.)
 - (2) "The History of the Church Missionary Society", Vol. 1, p. 154.

advice, instruction in tailoring and shoemaking for the boys and needlework, knitting and housework for the girls. Employment was found for the pupils when they left. The Asylum was the basis for the expansion of the work later in the nineteenth century by Armitage, Moon, Elizabeth Gilbert, Thomas Arnold, Staines and the rest.

The earliest Sunday School movements attracted the attention of the Claphamites and their allies, and both the Sunday Schools Society and the Sunday School Union numbered them amongst their subscribers. The London City Mission (to which the Ragged Schools owed such a debt) was fortunate enough to gain the support of the redoubtable Henry Thornton. The foundation of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor resulted in the establishment of a subsidiary at Clapham in 1797, whilst the Infant Schools which were only beginning to receive some of the attention due to them attracted the interest of Joseph Wilson whose assistance and aptitude for the role of middleman was of considerable value in the early years. (1) At a higher level of education, the foundation of King's College, London was, in part, due directly to the efforts of the "Saints" to Christianize some portion of Broughamite territory. (2) The two great schools societies attracted interest and subscriptions but their activities were regarded with mixed feelings at Clapham where agreement on Dissent was never reached.

(1) Infra, Chapter 5.

(2) Infra, Chapter 8.

The Anglican society was the natural beneficiary of the efforts of the Claphamites, yet they never penetrated its upper ranks as they did in other societies. The National Society remained a High Church preserve, and Evangelicals of any sort found it difficult to make their influence felt. Nevertheless the National Society received considerable support from the Evangelicals in general and from Clapham in particular. The names of Teignmouth, Thornton, Wilberforce, Macaulay and the rest appeared frequently in its acknowledgements to subscribers. Unfortunately the seeds of contention which had been sown at the Society's birth vitiated much goodwill and robbed it of much of the support which would have seemed to have been its due. (1)

The Evangelical party itself lost one of its natural supporters when the Countess of Huntingdon drifted into the ranks of the Dissenters in 1782. The Evangelical clergy deserted her lest they too should become tainted with Methodism, but the importance of her patronage to the early leaders of the movement such as William Romaine should not be overlooked. Of considerable importance too was the President of the Board of Trade, Lord Dartmouth, who appears to have owed his conversion to the Countess. He supported Bills for the group in the House, and outside it secured many a benefice for Clergymen of his persuasion, of whom the most famous was the

(1) Infra, Chapter 6.

redeemed slaver, John Newton. Newton himself was the mentor of many prominent Evangelicals and the spiritual director of the poet William ~~John~~ Cowper who introduced the ideals of true religion to large numbers of readers. Jane Austen, whose own influence was not negligible, conceived a great admiration for his work. Illustrations of connections such as this could be developed until they became unprofitable, but the ease with which they can be developed demonstrates the extent of the possible ramifications of the influence of the Evangelical group. Of its close allies two of particular interest were the Bishop of Durham and the Bishop of London.

Beilby Porteus, Bishop of London, was a close friend of Clapham, and of Wilberforce and his ally Hannah More in particular. His involvement in Wilberforce's defence of the Sabbath and in the Cheap Repository Tract movement has already been mentioned. His interest in education was constant and sincere. One of the first to acknowledge the value of Raikes' work, he charged his clergy in Chester and then in London to further the work of Sunday Schools to the best of their ability. (1) Nor was his help restricted to the support of the worthy causes which came to his notice as a Prince of the Church. When the occasion arose he acted in the high tradition of philanthropy, as in the case of Usko, a Prussian cleric to whom he donated £700 annually that he might remain in England

(1) Supra, p. 46.

to revive Oriental literature and elucidate and illustrate the sacred writings. (1)

Shute Barrington, in turn Bishop of Llandaff, Salisbury and finally Durham, was the friend of many of the Evangelicals of his day and may even have been of that persuasion himself. (2) Certainly he was closely associated with much of their educational endeavour and turned to them for help and advice when he became a creator of schools in his own right. He was a frequent visitor to Hannah More and her loyal correspondent. He was completely in sympathy with her over the unfortunate affair at Blagdon and obviously gave no credence to the charges of Methodism against her, for he firmly opposed the Methodists whenever they encroached upon the sphere of influence appertaining to the Church of England. Wilberforce was another old friend and a collaborator in the foundation of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor. When the Bishop was considering the best means of establishing schools in his see at Durham in 1798, Wilberforce gave practical illustration of his regard by urging (3) Hannah More to visit the Bishop at Auckland to assist him in his work and himself offered to foot the bill. Although nothing appears to have come of the

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- (1) "Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. 3. p. 366. In a letter to Wilberforce dated 10th June, 1808, he recorded his opinion that Usko was the "greatest Oriental scholar in Europe", worth retaining in England "at any price".
 - (2) A strenuous effort has been made to prove that Barrington was an Evangelical. See Appendix 1.
 - (3) With the backing of Henry Thornton.

project the close amity of the Bishop and the leading Evangelicals is clear.

Barrington's connection with the Proclamation Society has already been mentioned. After playing his part in the briefing of the attack on Williams, the publisher of "The Rights of Man", he gave Paley a living at Bishopwearmouth and supported his arguments against Paine by a series of attacks on the Radical author delivered within the diocese. He furthered the work of Hannah More in publicising her especial counterblast to irreligion and revolution: the Cheap Repository Tract movement. (Through his recommendation "The Newcastle Collier" appeared in the North-East.)

His support of the established order did not deter the Bishop of Durham from deviations from the norm within the broad outline of orthodoxy in thought and behaviour. His friendship with the Evangelicals is evidence of a certain disregard for convention. In his dealings with the National Society he soon became irked by its strict control over its schools. In February, 1812, Wilberforce recorded that a visit to the Bishop found him fulminating against the regulation that all books and tracts used in such schools should come from the catalogue in Bartlett's Buildings. He openly opposed the ruling and sought to change it, but when he failed in his efforts he flouted the Society in the area of his own diocese. In the regulations for his schools in Weardale he laid down that books must be taken from the S.P.C.K. list, but that the Visitor was empowered to

approve for use such religious and moral tracts as he saw fit. Clearly the door was deliberately left open for literature which the Bishop (the Visitor) might wish to introduce whether the National Society liked it or not. This attitude of the Bishop is obviously the key to the difficulties experienced by the Durham Society when applying to the parent body for recognition. The minutes of the General Committee of the National Society for 14th October, 1812 contain the application for union of the "Society for the encouragement of Parochial Schools in the Diocese of Durham and Hexhamshire". The Secretary noted that such an application would be allowed as the Durham Society had promised to mend its ways: "they mean in future to conform to the following Rule in the said Society, namely, that no religious tracts be admitted into any School but which are or shall be contained in the Catalogue of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge". Despite this promise, the Secretary had to write again to the Diocesan Committee in Durham in February, 1813 asking that they reconsider a further and unacceptable proposal made in a letter of 20th January, and it was not until December, 1813 that the recalcitrant youngster was brought under the wing of the parent body. (1)

Barrington's attitude towards the National Society indicates independence of mind but not an antipathy towards the Society or

(1) MSS of the Minutes of the General Committee of the National Society.

the S.P.C.K. He was a regular subscriber to the S.P.C.K. and was a member of the revived committee for East India Mission affairs from 1787 until 1805. In 1801 he reported to the Society that he had formed a branch in Durham for the distribution of books on its list. As for the National Society, he was present at the early committee meetings which followed on its foundation, from October 1811 until June 1812, and paid frequent visits to London to attend meetings after that date.

In January 1799, Barrington had conferred with Sir Thomas Bernard, the Earl of Winchelsea, Count Rumford and others with a view to the establishment of an institution for the advancement of taste and science, the betterment of arts and manufactures, and the improvement of the means of industry and the domestic comfort of the poor. The result was the Royal Institution which, during its lifetime, gave a platform to such pioneers as Davy and Dalton. A visit by Sir Thomas Bernard to an "Asylum for the Blind" in Liverpool resulted in the publication of an account of its work in the Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor. (1) This caught the attention of Houlston, whose proposal to follow suit in London resulted in the foundation in 1800 of the "School for the Indigent Blind". The school's first President was Shute Barrington.

(1) To give it its full title: "The Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor."

Following his translation to the see of Durham in 1791, most of Barrington's work was centred on his diocese. His "Charges" to the clergy breathed a fierce determination to come to grips with ignorance and vice. It is to his credit that the clergy supported his efforts with ventures of their own so that many of the deficiencies in the education of the poor in the district were remedied by the introduction of schools into the big towns between 1800 and 1810. Of particular importance were the new schools in Sunderland and the surrounding area which were directly subsidised by the Bishop and the teachers of which were advised by his protégé, Andrew Bell; and those in Stockton, where Barrington's former chaplain, the Reverend Thomas Baker had caught the infection from his master and re-organised the schools in the town. The Bishop's own nephew, the Honourable George Barrington was given the parish of Sedgefield where he created Sunday Schools and a Friendly Society and was in consequence promptly charged with Methodism!

In 1801 Barrington created Bernard his spiritual chancellor and gave Bell the sinecure of the Mastership of Christ's Hospital, Sherburn in 1809. Fortified by the support of such doughty educationalists and cured of an early "strong predilection" for the schemes of Lancaster, (1) he now pressed on with a scheme which he had drawn up in 1808 with Bell's help for a collegiate school at Bishop Auckland. Endowed with an annual income of £436, the school was

(1) "The Life of the Reverend Dr. Andrew Bell", Southey, R. and C.C., Vol. 2, p. 254.

opened in 1810 under the mastership of the Reverend Birkett, formerly headmaster of the Grammar School at Bishop Auckland.

The Barrington school itself was typically monitorial. Boys were admitted at the age of four or five years and remained until the age of fourteen, by which time they were to have been trained as teachers or ready to begin training. The school was opened at eight a.m. and continued until four o'clock in the winter, or seven o'clock in summer. Of this, only the hours between two and five in the afternoon (one until four in winter) were spent in actual teaching, the rest of the time being made available for private study.

The school was planned for one hundred and twenty pupils who were to be divided up into six classes, each with a teacher and his assistant. In fact, between one hundred and seventy and two hundred pupils was the more normal population of the school. There were three adult members of the staff who had their number augmented by boys appointed as ushers at one shilling a week, teachers at sixpence, and assistants at threepence. The syllabus consisted in the main of the "Three R's". Sand-writing and slates were used, there was much rote-learning, and use was made of the better pupils to help the less able by pairing off the boys into pupils and teachers. The master would often drive his lesson home by splitting the class into two parts, one taken by himself, and the other, the better half, by the head boy. Much emphasis was placed on religious texts and the Bible was in constant use. Young pupils were given three or four lessons an hour, but the older boys were expected to concentrate for

half an hour at a time. Examinations were held regularly, and children were promoted or demoted at intervals of as little as a week.

The very restricted success of the plan to produce teachers caused Barrington to bring in "grown up persons" of fourteen and above to undergo a six weeks period of teaching instruction. As an inducement to his pupils, a gratuity of two pounds was paid to those who could produce a certificate of good conduct relating to the first three years they spent in teaching after leaving the "training college". The results of the training-scheme certainly made nonsense of Bernard's claim that a large school conducted on the lines laid down by Bell would produce an almost "indefinite number of masters". (1)

The restricted curriculum and unimaginative methods employed in the school did nothing to mitigate the joy felt by the three principals in what, by the standards of the day, they considered to be a considerable success. Bell frequently showed off the school to foreign visitors, and there can be no doubt that Barrington's patronage and provision of a sphere of operations in which to work out his ideas had much to do with Bell's subsequent eminence and the spread of schools on the Madras plan. Bernard publicised the School's methods in "The New School" of 1809 and "The Barrington School" of 1812. Like the schools of Hannah More, its glowing

(1) "Of the Education of the Poor", p. 20 et seq.

example was set forth in the pages of the Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor, and the Bishop was accorded pre-eminence in the country in that he alone had any arrangement "to extend generally to all the poor the benefits of a religious and moral education" (1). Wilberforce and Bell corresponded on terms of mutual esteem, and Christian educators everywhere bestowed on the establishment the accolade of their esteem. (2)

(1) "Of the Education of the Poor", p. 20 et. seq.

(2) If we are to believe his biographers, (i) Bell was even successful in convincing Hannah More of the superiority of his methods over her own. In 1814, the Reverend Mr. Johnson set out to visit schools throughout England and to expound the merits of Bell's system. He visited the Mores who professed themselves anxious to copy Dr. Bell's "wonderful system", and confessed to having made an attempt already by introducing the thirteen year old daughter of the master of the Bristol National School into one of their schools. They prevailed upon Johnson to visit the school, but were swiftly cast down for he lost no time in telling them that their efforts were "much worse than nothing", and (in the manner of demonstrators the world over), forming a class of the best children he could find, proceeded to show how the system should be operated. The Mores expressed themselves delighted and Patty signified her firm intention of going to London to learn for herself how to teach following the Bell system. Johnson left in triumph after advising the sisters to unite their schools and twelve hundred children to the National Society.

I have seen no other account of this meeting, but there seems no reason to doubt that it occurred. However, even if it is granted that the Mores must have been in a parlous state for teachers to employ a thirteen-year-old girl (and we know that they did have such difficulties) it is hard to believe that such experienced teachers should allow an experiment in which they were keenly interested to reach a state of being "worse than nothing". Some gilding of the lily seems to have taken place. It seems probable that Dr. Jones has not seen the account of this exchange, otherwise she might have modified her argument in "Hannah More", pp. 211-2, in the course of which she refers to Hannah's "vehement disapproval" of the National Society's educational programme and her fear of its "dangerous" and "revolutionary" tendencies.

(i) "The Life of the Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell", Vol. 3, p. 16.

The Durham School was eventually separated from the girls' department, which developed into a School of Industry for girls, instituted by the Bishop. From 1819 onwards he was responsible for the establishment of seven schools in Weardale, all conducted on the lines of the Madras system and under the control of the Church of England. In an effort to perpetuate his work he provided £3,000 in his will in 1825 for the endowment of "Bishop Barrington's Charity for Schools on the Madras System in the diocese of Durham". By 1830, £700 had been spent, but as the years passed the decay of the schools was accelerated and the charity proved insufficient of itself to halt the process.

Sir Thomas Bernard's work in Durham was not his only exercise as a practical educationalist. In 1808 he purchased a house and garden in High Street, Marylebourne to convert into a school for the general education of the poor. This was incorporated with a School of Industry and the whole placed under the direction of the Governors of the united schools. (1) Nevertheless his main value to educational work lay in his position at the centre of the "Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor", where he could co-ordinate the work being done by charities up and down the country and publicise instances of sound work and new ideas which would otherwise have taken much longer to filter through both

(1) "Life of Sir Thomas Bernard", by the Rev. J. Baker, p. 87.

to other educational workers and to the general public. The Society was formed after preliminary discussion in November, 1796, between Barrington and Bernard, the Treasurer of the Foundling Hospital. A further meeting was held at Wilberforce's home in December when the three friends drafted the broad outlines of the scheme. The Society was soon a success and was followed by the formation of branch societies at Cork, Wendover, Dublin, Edinburgh, Winiston and, of course, Clapham. As its ramifications expanded and work of directing and reporting its efforts grew, the Society became Bernard's main project and his chief claim to fame.

Neither Bernard nor Andrew Bell was Evangelical in outlook, but both were influenced by the group. Bernard was able to work amicably with the Evangelicals from the beginning; (1) Bell owed his first opportunity to one of the firmest friends of the group and his second to those who, because of a distrust of enthusiasm and Dissent (two words which they saw as synonymous), reacted against them. Whatever the reason - whether through attraction or reaction - like the majority of their contemporaries both Bell and Bernard would have found it almost impossible to undertake any work at all involved with elementary education without being exposed to the influence of the Evangelical Revival. Not only had it stimulated

(1) The "true Christian spirit of toleration" which his biographer claimed is evidenced by his service on the Committee of the rival of the S.P.C.K. : the British and Foreign Bible Society.
"Life of Sir Thomas Bernard". p. 130.

the charity workers; it had created a new climate of opinion in which their work could flourish. (1)

The Evangelicals were themselves to become involved in work which took them into the company of new and strange allies and in which, although the initiative was not theirs, their special talents could be used to the full. Such was the task of spreading the Infant Schools.

(1) Infra, Chapter 8.

CHAPTER 5.

THE INFANT SCHOOLS

The conservatism which was apparent in the efforts of the educators of the poor was strongly marked in the attitude of many of the Evangelicals and their allies to the Infant Schools which developed after the Sunday Schools and the monitorial schools had become established. Indeed, many people were not merely conservative; they were backward. Dr. Watts' "Divine and Moral Songs" influenced many of the theological ideas served raw to children of tender age in the first half of the nineteenth century and summed up all that was most terrifying in the Evangelical ethos. Like Mrs. Sherwood, Watts represented the child's own heart as his worst foe, and fostered an attitude in the young leading to introspection and self-examination. Agnes Ward, in a lecture in the Education section of the Cambridge University Extension Summer meeting in the summer of 1900, recalled the reaction of a correspondent to Mrs. Sherwood's "Fairchild Family":

"The Fairchild Family used to send me to bed when I was a little child, to dream of an angry God and a torturing Hell before I knew what wickedness was'."

She continued with an anecdote from her own experience:

"A loving and gentle father told his only child, a contemporary and friend of my own, that he clearly remembered that at the age of six or so (which takes us back to about 1815) he used to contemplate his arms and legs and reflect on the probability of their burning in hell. So late as the year 1868 his daughter remembers hearing him exhort his Infant School children (he was a Scotch minister) to do the same. This sort of teaching, with the

unlimited and indiscriminate reading of the Bible, no doubt strongly influenced children of an imaginative or sensitive turn." (1)

Fortunately, due to the efforts of three pioneering spirits, a more advanced outlook developed which won the support of the Claphamites. James Buchanan was appointed master of a school in London which followed the ideas of Robert Owen. Its success attracted the attention of Joseph Wilson, a prominent Evangelical (2), who installed Samuel Wilderspin and his wife in a school at Spitalfields in 1820. Wilderspin, unlike Buchanan, was a determined publicist, and was at great pains to secure the credit for his ideas and "inventions". Although he denied the influence of Pestalozzi, much of his work followed similar lines in reaction to the stereotyped methods of the monitorial system, and showed evidence of the influence of Robert Owen. Charles Mayo, on the other hand, was an avowed disciple of Pestalozzi and, like Wilderspin, exerted considerable influence on those interested in the early Infant Schools.

Wilderspin's views were particularly acceptable to the Evangelicals because of the stress he laid upon moral education. He considered the "ennobling of the heart and disposition" (3) to be of primary importance. Only if this could be achieved could there be

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- (1) "Education in the Nineteenth Century", edited by R.D. Roberts, p. 24.
 - (2) Burgess refers to him as: "Joseph Wilson, a member of the Clapham Sect." ("Enterprise in Education", p. 65.)
 - (3) "A System for the Education of the Young Applied to all the Faculties", by Samuel Wilderspin, p. 13.

any value in the training of the intellect. In such training Wilderspin suggested that the education of the day suffered too much from theorizing. Abstract ideas should be replaced by a natural form of instruction whereby children would be led through natural objects to the knowledge of God. He deplored extremes of any kind because of their stultifying effect on the mind. As he visualized it, the teacher's task was to make the good appear beautiful and evil odious. In achieving his end, the teacher should endeavour to win the affection of his pupils, and avoid the use of anger and fear for such servants as often as not would betray their master.

Wilderspin considered the curriculum of the monitorial school to be too narrow to produce the sort of results he desired. He pleaded for the inclusion of subjects such as Botany, Zoology, Scripture, Music, Geography, Grammar, History, Astronomy, Writing, Arithmetic and Physical Training. For the best religious reasons he attacked the current practice of using the Bible as a textbook for reading exercises: "I WOULD NOT HAVE THE BIBLE PROSTITUTED TO THE PURPOSE OF TEACHING CHILDREN TO READ, AND THEREBY RENDERING IT DISGUSTING." (1) Without being spiritually minded the learner should not attempt to read the Bible. In taking up this attitude he was at variance with many Evangelicals, and not only those of the older

(1) "A System for the Education of the Young Applied to all the Faculties", p. 319.

school. Francis Close, for instance, hoped to blend religion into everything that was taught in school. Milner Gibson quoted his example and that of people of his persuasion in a speech to the House: "What they sought, was to interweave Church of England evangelical principles with all their instruction, and to diffuse them throughout the school room all day long." (1) This conception of education led to such determined efforts as the scriptural arithmetic of the Reverend Wigram which included such gems as:

"The children of Israel were sadly given to idolatry, notwithstanding all they knew of God. Moses was obliged to have three thousand men put to death for this grievous sin. What digits would you use to express this number?" (2)

Wilderspin was very conscious of the abuses prevalent in the

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- (1) "History of the Elementary School Contest in England", by F. Adams, pp. 101-2.
 - (2) Ibid, p. 102. A further though less startling example was provided by the Reverend Hearné of Boughton who produced a scholars' guide which illustrates the results of the universal preoccupation with religion among the Sunday School teachers. "The Sunday Scholar's Companion" was a work four inches square, of one hundred and twenty pages: "consisting of Scripture sentences, disposed in such order as will quickly ground Young Learners in the fundamental doctrines of our most Holy Religion, and at the same time lead them pleasantly on from simple and easy to compound and difficult words." (a) The first part of the book consisted of alphabet tables, lists of short words, and sentences building up from those employing one syllable words. The more difficult sentences which followed were taken mainly from Church sources. Many of the examples given were notably uninspired, such as: "The talk of him that swears much makes the hair stand up", and: "The man that is accustomed to opprobrious words will never be reformed all the days of his life". Duly grounded in such moral principles, the scholar then proceeded to extracts from Watts' "Advice to Children respecting Prayer" and a section comprising prayers, catechisms and hymns.
(a) "Robert Raikes", p. 156.)

practice of education in general. He stressed the folly of attempting to teach anything in crowded rooms, with big classes, no playground or physical education - so "essential to health, a healthy brain, and even life itself". (1) He was quick to point out that even if the other necessities for education were provided they would be valueless without good teachers, for whom no salary could be too high. Such general principles are generally acknowledged today, at least in theory, but they were rarely given their proper emphasis in the early nineteenth century.

Wilderspin began to specialize in the education of infants because he realised that the dominant systems of Bell and Lancaster neglected the age group up to seven years. He met Buchanan, who was teaching children from two to eleven years and thereafter decided to concentrate on the younger children of between two and seven years of age. "Early Discipline", "Hints for the Improvement of Early Education" and "Infant Education" dealt specifically with this aspect of his work. They developed ideas which reflected his advanced work and his ability to progress beyond the basic principles which satisfied his contemporaries. In "Early Discipline" he emphasised that the teacher must be able to come down to the child's level of understanding. He suggested that comprehension could not always be secured through the traditional vehicle of

(1) "A System for the Education of the Young Applied to all the Faculties", p. 319.

ideas: speech. Whereas most children could be instructed aurally, others must be approached by engaging the sense of sight. Thus lessons should include, where appropriate, music and rhythm for the ear, whilst the eyes could be approached in object lessons by the use of pictures and by the employment of apparatus such as the Arithmeticon which used wires and coloured balls to aid the teaching of arithmetic. (1)

Wilderspin's "Hints for the Improvement of Early Education" illustrated the trend of thought which led him to attack "form without the essence" - the disproportionate emphasis on products instead of fundamental truths. He pointed out the importance of prevention rather than cure, example rather than precept, the formation of habits rather than the inculcation of rules and of fixing the attention always on that which would achieve good results in character-building in the end rather than that which would give an immediate though short-term satisfaction. His advice to teachers includes the essence of much practical wisdom and has lost nothing of its validity through the passing of time:-

- (1) Never correct a child in anger.
- (2) Never deprive a child of anything without returning it.
- (3) Never break a promise.
- (4) Never overlook a fault.
- (5) Always set a good example.

(1) "A System for the Education of the Young Applied to all the Faculties", p. 320.

The limitations of his time affected Wilderspin's work and produced inconsistencies to the modern eye. For example, much of the material he used appears now to have been remarkably unsuitable for infants. Furthermore the standards of instruction he was prepared to accept appear to have been lower than his books would have led the reader to believe: "... I was not only the FIRST person to invent and develop the system, but I was the first practically to show to a disbelieving public the possibility of one man and one woman managing two hundred and forty infants, for many years together, without any assistance whatsoever". (1) Such limitations must be accepted. It is easy to criticise retrospectively; innovation is more difficult.

The other great figure with whom the Evangelicals were connected in their work was Charles Mayo. Headmaster of a Grammar School in Bridgenorth, Shropshire from 1816 to 1818, he then became Chaplain and Master of Classics and Divinity at Yverdon from 1819 to 1822. On his return to England he opened a school at Epsom and moved from there to Cheam when the need for larger premises became apparent. There he applied the Pestalozzian theories to the education of boys from upper-class homes. In collaboration with his sister he then spread his ideas to a wider public. In 1831 there appeared "Lessons on Objects", in 1832, "Lessons on

(1) "A System for the Education of the Young Applied to all the Faculties", p. 95.

Shells", and in 1838, "Model Lessons for Infant School Teachers and Nursery Governesses". However, before the publication of the last work the general apathy of the public towards new methods had become obvious. In combatting this apathy Mayo became involved in the foundation of the Home and Colonial Training College for teachers in Infant Schools. Under Elizabeth Mayo a model school was established, whilst Charles interested himself in the training college where the poor quality of the applicants caused him to lengthen the course and demand from them some familiarity with the usual branches of knowledge.

The aims of the new Home and Colonial Infant School Society were clear and simple. It hoped to combat the unfortunate methods which had been adopted in some Infant Schools and substitute a sound scheme of Christian education based on four cardinal points:

"First, a simple course of religious instruction, in which the great aim should be, to teach the elementary truths of the gospel, and to cultivate religious feelings and impressions. Secondly, a careful moral training on the standard of the word of God: Christ held forth as the example; and the Holy Spirit earnestly sought as the only and all-sufficient help. Thirdly, the cultivation of habits of accurate observation, correct description, and right judgment upon the things of nature and art, by which we are surrounded. Lastly, the improvement of the bodily organs and the health by varied exercise." (1)

With such a concept of Infant School education, the Society attracted support from and formed a rallying-point for those who

(1) "Practical Remarks on Infant Education", by C. H. and E. Mayo, Preface, pp. 3 - 4.

placed their faith in religious instruction. Two other important results were achieved. Firstly, through the Society's publication of the works of Mayo and his sister the ideas of Pestalozzi were given greater prominence and their application to the field of elementary school education was explained. Secondly, the efforts of the Society provided much of the impetus which caused the National Society to extend its plan to include Infant Schools.

Mayo was a man of great earnestness of purpose and simple piety "which was tinged with the principles of the evangelical revival, while at the same time he was a consistent and loyal son of the Church of England". (1) Like the members of the Evangelical party whose influence he felt, he placed primary emphasis on the development of moral and religious sentiments in children. The Pestalozzian method he considered to be particularly suitable to achieve such ends, for he saw it as being in its essence the application of Christianity to the business of Education.

Mayo considered that what was taught to an infant was of supreme importance, for habits inculcated at an early age would imperceptibly and unconsciously form the basis of character. Whilst the mother was the ideal tutor, circumstances frequently made such a role impossible, consequently the Infant School must take her place, wherein the children would become "fit subjects for that mild parental disci-

(1) Dictionary of National Biography.

pline which it best befits the Christian teacher to exercise, and would fall more readily under the influence of those simple evangelical motives, which alone can with any consistency be addressed to a Christian learner". (1) Secondary to moral education was the development of the intellect, and of least importance he esteemed the improvement of physical powers. Where there was no moral end as the primary motive, and where other means were used than the moral influence of master on child, and thence of child on child, the Infant School system was, in Mayo's eyes, abandoned.

Having stated his principles, Mayo did not forget the practical side of teaching. Like Wilderspin, he emphasised the need for airy buildings, spacious playgrounds and trained teachers of fine character. Five points laid down for the teaching process show the harmony of his ideas with those of Pestalozzi and Wilderspin. Firstly, obedience must be won through sympathy and the child should be led by example and not driven. Secondly, the master should make clear his surprise at oaths and moral lapses: "Soon what shocks the master shocks the school." Thirdly and fourthly, the master must foster mutual kindness and respect for the property of others. Finally, he must abjure "intellectual vivacity" among his charges until moral influence was achieved, for "moral sentiment" must "precede step by step intellectual development". (2)

(1) "Observations on Infant Schools", 1827, C. H. Mayo, pp. 12-13.
(2) Ibid. p. 17 et seq.

In the particular application of their methods both Mayo and his sister further displayed the firm religious principles which endeared them to so many members of the Evangelical group. Mayo's stern sense of purpose led him to emphasise that the Infant School must not be made a plaything - "ingenious machinery, amusing pictures, well-combined evolutions, and half-ludicrous movements, may have a certain subordinate use, but they are not the essentials of the system." (1) Nevertheless, his principles did not blind him to the fact that the presentation of the Bible to young children could not be achieved without aid and he stressed the value of the temperate use of pictures, rhyme and simple language in introducing children to its message. He was alive, too, to the need to lead children to knowledge through their curiosity, to progress from the concrete to the abstract and to care for the body through an insistence on cleanliness, the use of exercises and the encouragement of singing, which his sister described as "a physical exercise ... a great moral engine." (2)

The influence exerted on the Evangelicals by Wilderspin and Mayo was considerable. In this sphere, the task of the philanthropists was to put into practice the theories of the innovators and to help the spread of the schools, for, although Mayo was strongly influenced by Evangelical beliefs, the flow of ideas ran towards the

(1) "Practical Remarks on Infant Education", p. 6.
(2) Ibid, p. 97.

Evangelical group and not from it. The importance of the party's contribution lay in the assistance it was able to give to a form of education the establishment of which was long overdue and which became the most advanced of its time in both theory and practice.

Their association with the Infant Schools workers did not restrict the Claphamites to the company of Mayo and Wilderspin, for they were inevitably drawn into contact with Henry Brougham. Worried by the lack of moral discipline he detected in the monitorial schools, Brougham had taken his problem to De Fellenberg, who suggested that both Bell and Lancaster were trying to teach too quickly. (1) Brougham concluded that if children were allowed to reach the age of admission for the monitorial schools without a firm basis to their moral education, they would never make up the gap. As he conceived it, the answer lay in some form of infant instruction. He turned for inspiration to Robert Owen's schools at New Lanark and as a result became a prime mover in the formation of the school at Westminster in 1819. Among the founders were Joseph Wilson, Thomas Babington, and Brougham's firm friend and ally in the cause against slavery, Zachary Macaulay; James Mill,

(1) Shaftesbury, too, was worried by the tendency to teach too quickly, though for a different reason. Near the end of his life he wrote: "Education may be, instead of a great blessing, a great curse. We are training boys and girls too rapidly. We have a thousand candidates for one place. The 999 live, then, by their wits, and the wits are turned to fraud and sensationalism. This is not an argument against education, but a warning. 'Make it healthy and safe'." ("The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887), Vol. 3, p. 453.)

John Smith, the Marquis of Landsdowne, Lord Dacre, Henry Hase, Sir Thomas Baring, William Leake, Benjamin Smith and John Walker.

It was also in 1819 that William Wilson opened the first Church Infant School in his parish in Walthamstow, which event was followed in the course of the next year by the establishment of his brother's school at Spitalfields. The ideas of the supporters of Wilderspin and Robert Owen (1) were more closely bound together when the Infant Schools Society was founded in 1824 to create an Infant School wherever a National Society school existed in order that the work of moral redemption might be carried out from the age of two years continuously until the end of the National Society's scheme of training. Joseph Wilson and Macaulay were on the committee of the Society, and it was Wilson's school which was chosen to serve as a training college for masters on the Society's plan. The problems of training and the provision of teachers led to Evangelical collaboration with Dissenters in the creation of the Home and Colonial Schools Society (2) in 1836 and its training college for teachers.

William and Joseph Wilson had placed themselves in the van of infant education. In his dedication of "Infant Education" to them,

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- (1) Like Wilberforce, Macaulay always mistrusted Owen's ideals. He maintained that all that was good at New Lanark was "in spite of his system, not in consequence of it." ("Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", p. 481.)
 - (2) Despite the cooperation of the Dissenters, the aims of the society were set out as being for "the improvement and general extension of the Infant-School system on Christian principles as such principles are set forth and embodied in the doctrinal articles of the Church of England". ("Enterprise in Education", p. 66.)

Wilderspin stated, "I could not find the names of any two persons, whose time, talents, and money had been more devoted to the cause than the gentlemen I am now addressing." The impulse towards conversion motivated other Evangelicals so that the Wilsons were swiftly joined in their work. Marianne Thornton was always interested in the "Baby Schools", as she called them, and with the help of her sisters organised two "settlements" in Clapham, of which a feature was the provision of a mattress in the corner so that the little ones should have the opportunity to rest, sung to sleep by the bigger children. A charge of twopence a head for sixty "babies" paid a good salary for the mistress. Lady Olivia Sparrow opened a school at Huntingdon under a pupil of Wilderspin. Babington supported the movement in a speech. Farish and his friends at Cambridge opened a school which Wilderspin visited. Daniel Wilson, William's brother-in-law and Lord Bishop of Calcutta, translated the schools to India - the perfect field "for the operations of the moral steam engine of infant schools". (1)

Infant Schools had been feebly and unsuccessfully tried out in India before Wilson's time. He secured the patronage of the Governor-General and himself became president of a society to promote the schools. He then wrote to William Wilson in 1833 for staff "to be chosen with extraordinary care from the best schools; mild,

(1) "Life of the Right Reverend Daniel Wilson", by Josiah Bateman, 1860, Vol. 1, p. 344.

gentle, with a genius for infant teaching; well experienced already; tempers tried, and known not to fail; good sense, humility, sound heart-felt piety, MILD (1) adherence to the Church of England; in a word, missionaries". (2) These two paragons, a master and mistress, produced amazing results on a hundred native children. After four months of tuition, the editor of the "Gyananeshun" commented:

"The postures they put themselves into, at the command of their master, were pretty and amusing. They sang several English Songs, and kept clapping the time in good order. They astonished the audience by the expertness with which they answered questions put to them in numeration, addition, the tables of currency in this country, &c. All this was done, in English, by the Hindoo children." (3)

However, a small society could not cover India, and the frequent enforced absences of the Bishop on visitations and the lack of support from official circles caused the attempt to fail.

A further missionary venture of the Wilsons, in England, met with greater success. In 1826, Joseph and William Wilson met Francis Close, the Evangelical clergyman of Cheltenham who was endeavouring to raise funds for a new Sunday School. The Wilsons used the opportunity thus offered by donating £20 each on condition that Close would guarantee to use the building as an Infant School throughout the week. Convinced by their arguments, and by a book of Wilderspin's, (presumably "Infant Education"), Close agreed, and opened the school at Alstone. The ubiquitous Wilderspin who was

(1) My italics.

(2) "Life of the Right Reverend Daniel Wilson", by Josiah Bateman, 1860, Vol. 1, p. 344.

(3) Ibid.

constantly on the move, setting up schools and dispensing good advice, appeared on the scene and spent six weeks in organising and teaching until the school was on its feet.

Close's interest in elementary education at this time is illustrated by the fact that out of his collections during his first ten years at Cheltenham he provided £863 for the support of the National Schools, £655 for Infant Schools, and £274 for the S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G. In 1828 he followed up the school at Alstone with one in Cheltenham itself, which in 1830 expanded into a new building which could accommodate three hundred children. Aged between sixteen months and seven years, they attended school between nine o'clock in the morning and noon, and between two and five p.m. between Monday and Friday. Three teachers coped with the numbers. At Alstone, two women dealt with one hundred children, and public examinations had to be held to raise money. Close struggled on determinedly, convinced of the value of the schools. He pointed out the moral value of the work and praised the instruction which was going on: the oral work - the learning of the Scriptures, texts, hymns, rhymes and tables, the swings and gymnastic sports in the playground, and the master's use of music. (1) In 1831, the Grand Duchess Helena of Russia visited Cheltenham and forthwith decided to

(1) He played the clarinet whilst the children marched around to the music, exhibiting signs of lively enjoyment.

introduce Infant Schools to St. Petersburg. (1)

Close, like Wilderspin, was a good publicist, but despite the help attracted to it by such men the Infant School movement was always bedevilled in the early years by lack of funds. Thus, despite the realisation of the need for small classes, well-paid teachers of good quality, and spacious buildings and playgrounds, the innovators were handicapped from the beginning. Therefore there came about the apparent contradiction of advanced theory and backward practice. (2) The struggle for recognition was only beginning with the attempt to harness the machine of the National Society to the movement. The whole conception of the Infant Schools was so new that a great deal of time would elapse before results could be seen on a significant scale. In 1861, the Newcastle Commission reported that only ten per cent of children of three and four years of age attended school. Nevertheless, viewed against the background of education as a whole in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, the figures should be taken as a compliment to the pioneers and not a criticism. (3)

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- (1) It is interesting to note that Close was continuing his efforts on behalf of the older children. In 1828 he had opened a second National School in Cheltenham, and Dr. Bell was at hand to explain its workings to the Grand Duchess.
 - (2) Wilderspin's peculiar pupil-teacher ratio may have been the natural consequence of accepting a situation where the ideal was pre-restricted by financial considerations.
 - (3) It will be remembered that the Sunday Schools only drew one-seventeenth of the child population into their orbit in the first fifty-one years of their existence.

In one respect the pioneers of the Infant Schools were fortunate: co-operation amongst the differing groups was a feature of the work from the beginning. Such amity was not always easy, and was by no means readily extended to other areas of charitable endeavour. Even the schools for the older range of the children of the poor, which seemed to be so uncontroversial a sphere among members of the same Church, became a field of conflict among the sects. In such a conflict, a group holding to such firm ideals as the Evangelicals was a natural target for hostility from all sides.

CHAPTER 6.

THE GROWTH OF CONFLICT - THE EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL ANTAGONISMS OF THE EVANGELICAL GROUP

The tragedy of education at the dawn of the nineteenth century was that controversy divided effort at a time when collaboration to utilise fully the slender resources available was essential. When the intentions of all parties were good it was unfortunate that different angles of approach created tensions which produced disharmony and ill-will.

While the Evangelicals were frequently attacked as if they represented a solid body of opinion, they were in fact divided among themselves in their attitudes towards their opponents. In consequence, it is often impossible to define the Evangelical or even the Claphamite view of a particular group of educationalists or a particular event. Problems arose in connection with three main groups: the Radicals, the Dissenters, and the "orthodox" (1) members of the Church of England. Towards each of these, although the fundamental cause of conflict was the same, the members of the sect reacted in a different way.

At a time when the Radicals were exhibiting considerable interest in education it was inevitable that they should be brought

(1) The Evangelicals were not unorthodox, but other members of the Church considered themselves alone to be faithful to the true teachings of the Church.

into contact with the Evangelical workers in the same field. Instances have already been mentioned, to which should be added the example of the foundation of the Lancasterian Society. On 14th December, 1810, a committee was formed to raise funds. With the "Old Guard" of Henry Thornton and William Wilberforce were their friends Clarkson and Buxton; the Quakers David and Gurney Barclay; James Mill, Joseph Fox, Samuel Whitbread and the ubiquitous Henry Brougham. Support came from Ricardo, Bentham, Hume and Owen as well as from Evangelicals. Wilberforce joined Bentham, Hobhouse, Mill, Gilchrist and Grote in financing the Mechanics' Institute set up in London in 1824. On another occasion he met some of Bentham's debts. Althorp and Macaulay supported the "Godless institution" on Gower Street despite Wilberforce's defection. Examples such as these were not numerous and involved mainly the sort of men who were in the public eye and therefore open to solicitants who hoped to recommend their own causes to a wide section of the community. Nevertheless genuine mutual interests such as the Infant Schools, the monitorial system and further education, were common to the leaders of Evangelical and Radical thought. The distrust which became evident was mainly due to two important elements in the Evangelical party's ethos: its attitudes towards politics and religion.

The High Tory attitude of the Evangelical leaders debarred them from any sympathy with the political ideals of the Radicals. Their fear of revolution, of alteration in the established order of society, was mingled with their semi-religious conception of government.

Tom Paine's "Rights of Man", in which he ridiculed the Settlement of 1688 which Burke saw as the lynch-pin of the Constitution, was regarded as little short of blasphemy. (1) The problem of poverty was neither economic nor political in the eyes of such as Hannah More. The duty of the poor was to accept their lot in a truly Christian spirit and ignore the evil suggestions of those who preached a new order. "Duties are fixed", pronounced Miss More, "...- Laws are settled; a Christian can't pick and choose whether he will obey or let it alone." (2)

The dangerous concepts of Paine questioned the whole ideal of the world of philanthropy. Consistent to his other theories, he rejected the charitable ideals so beloved by the Evangelicals, and demanded relief and education as inalienable rights, not the manifestations of grace from the upper-classes. He looked to education to create good republicans after his beliefs. Although his confrères were not so outspoken, they certainly cared little for the religious foundations of education. Their suggestions were based on other motives entirely and were viewed with suspicion by men and women whose great aim was to create a God-fearing society. A limitless, Godless education was to them a crime against society: any good results which might emerge must of necessity be purely secondary and completely without intrinsic

(1) It is hardly surprising that Hannah More wrote of: "Thomas Paine, whose pestilent doctrines have gone about seeking whom they may destroy." ("The History of Mr. Fantom", "Works", (1818) Vol. 4, p.3.) Cf. 1, Peter, 5, viii: "...the devil...walketh about, seeking whom he may devour."

(2) "Village Politics". "Works", (1818) Vol. 1, p. 356.

value because of the lack of a pattern of behaviour based on a religious ethos in which they would have significance.

As has already been seen, fear of the political aspirations of the Radicals caused Evangelical action employing two main methods. The first was the spreading of propaganda to strengthen the poor against the blandishments of the foe. The second method was the employment of the law to bring about the suppression of such works as offended the defenders of Church and State. Radical reaction was predictable. They saw themselves as the victims of a conspiracy whose members were endeavouring to perpetuate the existence of an outworn system of government and a bigoted Church so that the poor were denied their birthright. When the National Society was formed and won the support of many of the Evangelical group, it exposed them with their fellow-Churchmen as targets for the barbs of Radical critics. Men like Mill and Bentham regarded a wide, unsectarian education as the right of every child. James Mill willingly took on the role of political polemicist of the Lancasterian institution and accused the Anglican Church, that corporation of priests to which political powers had been granted, of an intolerance which surpassed that for which it had previously attacked the sects. He argued that the Church was causing considerable wastage of money to gratify its own ends in that it caused two schools to be built where one would suffice. He treated with contempt the argument of "The Church in danger": to suggest that the Church was endangered if all children were brought up in nondenominational schools was to

admit that its inferiority to other creeds was proved when all were placed on an equal footing.

Within the British and Foreign Schools Society, Francis Place was fighting a bitter battle to suppress the rule that children should attend a place of worship on Sundays, and to modify the rule that reading lessons should be taken only from the Bible. His efforts were unavailing. Lancaster himself denounced his proposals and by 1814 Place had been forced to leave the West London Lancastrian Society. By 1815 the Evangelicals who remained in the Society had used their supremacy to force him out of the main society itself.

The clash between the Evangelicals and the Radicals placed the former in a weak position and attracted sympathy for their opponents. Particularly vulnerable to attack were the activities of Wilberforce's Proclamation Society. Sydney Smith suggested that its members were in danger of collaborating in a denial of justice because of the social eminence they held. The machinery of the Law was not denied to their opponents but, wrote Smith:

"He must be no common defendant ... who does not contend against such a society with very fearful odds; - the best counsel engaged for his opponents, - great practice in the particular court and particular species of cause, - witnesses thoroughly hackneyed in a court of justice, - and an unlimited command of money. Lord Dartmouth, Lord Radstock, and the Bishop of Durham, VERSUS a Whitechapel butcher or a publican! Is this a fair contest before a jury?" (1)

(1) From the "Edinburgh Review", 1809. ("Works", of Sydney Smith, p. 150.)

The prosecution of Richard Carlile in 1818 aroused particular bitterness among the Radicals. Ricardo, Mill and the rest rallied to the support of Paine's publisher in a flurry of anti-clericalism which further offended Evangelical sentiments. In fact, so severe was the reaction that liberal opinion condemned the methods of the Society; "a corporation of informers .. a voluntary magistracy which creates so much disgust, that it almost renders vice popular". (1) Henry Brougham was particularly disturbed by such attacks on the liberty of the subject and as a result consistently defended the Radical cause, both inside and outside the House of Commons.

While the Radicals were permanently open to suspicion in the Evangelical world, their ally Brougham was a horse of a different colour. An experienced politician, he was able to co-operate with religious men of all sects while reaching towards his own goal. Lancaster was cleverly out-maneuvred and realised too late that his society was being taken away from him. (2) The Established Church was wooed and temporarily won, and even the leading Evangelicals were for a time well-disposed towards him. In 1816 he set up his Select Committee to investigate the condition of education for the lower orders in London. Members were Sir James Mackintosh, Sir Samuel Romilly, Francis Horner, Sir Francis Burdett and William Wilberforce. His investigations showed that 120,000 children in

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- (1) Sydney Smith. "Works", pp. 150-1. Carlile was first prosecuted in 1818; by October, 1819 he had collected six indictments and was sentenced in November to a fine of £1,500 and a three-year prison sentence. ("Dictionary of National Biography".)
- (2) Brougham himself became President of the British and Foreign Schools Society in 1813.

London were without any means of education. (1) The extension of his field of operations revealed inadequacies and abuses in the conduct of schools throughout England, Scotland and Wales. In 1820, influenced by his friend Zachary Macaulay, he produced the scheme referred to in an earlier chapter for the establishment of a school in every parish. He professed to believe that education must have a religious basis and that the clergy must be in control, for just as schoolmasters could be called lay parsons, so could they be looked upon as clerical schoolmasters.

A system for the extension of religious education such as Brougham had suggested could not fail to win Evangelical approval. Hannah More rejoiced in his "comprehensive mind" and noted: "... by keeping Dissenters in the background, he may be more likely to stimulate the regular troops." (2) Wilberforce's own ideas were similar to those outlined in the scheme which he pronounced would be "productive of the greatest benefits". (3)

Brougham's "comprehensive mind" was apt to range beyond the limits within which the Evangelicals could remain content. He was aware of the value of moral education just as they were, but his

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- (1) "Lord Brougham", by G. T. Garrett, p. 154.
 - (2) "Letters of Hannah More to Zachary Macaulay", pp. 163-5.
Brougham was on good terms with Hannah at this time. Her donation to the new Infant School in July, 1820, was acknowledged by Zachary Macaulay: "Your donation to our infant asylum I gave to Brougham, who is our treasurer, and who felt personally gratified by the gift." ("Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", p. 356.)
 - (3) Hansard, 28th June, 1820.

approach was from a much wider base and along a much less straitened path. His determination to "diffuse useful information; to further intellectual refinement, sure forerunner of moral improvement" (1) led to collaboration with the Hills and others to form the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in 1827. (2) The Society was eventually bankrupted by its own offspring, the "Penny Cyclopaedia" which continued to pour out knowledge for the poor and set the supporters of the Sunday Schools wondering what dreadful thing they had begun in teaching the poor to read.

Opposition to Brougham began to grow, which he countered by such means as the exposure of abuses in educational trusts, a hare which had been started during the investigations of the Select Committee on the education of the London poor. He further alarmed the sober-minded by assisting Birkbeck in establishing Mechanics' Institutes, the London Mechanics' Institution and similar societies. He assisted in the creation of London University, known because of his influence and the happy accident of its motto (3) as "Brougham's Patent Omnibus". Here once again co-operation foundered on the rock of sectarian difference. The Cox-Campbellite controversy over religion presented a deadlock which Brougham attempted to solve by putting forward a compromise proposal that religion should be admitted to the University in two forms: Anglicanism for the orthodox

(1) "Before Victoria", by M. Jaeger, p. 96.

(2) The Society held its first committee meeting in 1825 and published its first work in 1827.

(3) "Patens Omnibus Scientia".

and Presbyterianism for the Nonconformists. The suggestion drew down on his head the wrath of the Established Church. The Evangelicals, with few exceptions, lined up with the rest of the Church to present a united front against dualism. In the face of Anglican determination to secede unless its own concept of religion predominated if any Church influence at all was allowed, the Jews, Secularists and Benthamites united to oppose the introduction of any theology whatsoever. The power of the Anglican group remained an insurmountable obstacle to an agreed solution, with the result that the negative view was accepted that the University should proceed without religious discipline and that the religious education of the students should be entrusted to the tender care of their landladies. Parents were informed by the University Council of the advantages they were offered in being able to choose lodgings for their sons in the homes of people of religious convictions similar to their own.

Disgusted with the results of their policy, the Evangelicals in the main withdrew from the scheme and turned to the formation of a more godly institution. (1) King's College received its charter in 1829, and provided for the union of sacred and secular knowledge for the faithful through the policy of the "half-open door". Students were designated either as "members", who attended Chapel and received

(1) Shaftesbury recorded in his diary the payment of £100, "rightly laid out in creating an embankment against the overflow of irreligion". ("The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887), Vol. I, pp. 102-3.)

a course of Religious Instruction, or as "occasional students" who attended neither and presumably went to damnation after their own fashion.

One prominent member of the Clapham Sect did not take his appointed place in the van which was leading the Evangelicals away from Gower Street. The governing body specified in the deed of association for the University included in the company of Brougham, Grote, Birkbeck, Hume and James Mill the name of Zachary Macaulay. He remained with the University for many years, and became a member of the Senate appointed by the Government in 1836 to rule the new University of London. His action appears in retrospect to be more far-sighted than that of his friends. His motives were twofold:

"It appealed to the intellectual side of his nature; and also, in furthering it, he was influenced by the strong opinion which it may have been observed he had consistently entertained and put into practice, that the friends of religion and of the Church should endeavour to keep a guiding hand upon educational and philanthropic movements, so as to be able to avail themselves of any opportunity that might arise of attaining their objects in part at any rate if they could not do so altogether."
(1)

Macaulay disagreed with many of his fellows in holding the view that "no real sacrifice to the principle of religious education" (2) was made by attendance at the University during the day when students returned home to family or friends in the evening. He considered that there was no difference between that procedure and the atten-

(1) "Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", p. 434.

(2) Ibid, p. 466.

dance of doctors at the hospital or lawyers at the Inns of Court. He did not, of course, neglect the needs of religion, and it was chiefly due to his exertions that three Professors (1) who were members of the Church, opened a Chapel for Sunday worship and gave weekday lectures on the evidence of Christianity. That Macaulay was sure of his ground was made evident by the fact of his sending one of his own sons to the University. He further defied the general Evangelical opinion by remaining on terms of close friendship with Brougham. They had been allies in the campaign against slavery, and since the early days of his power, Brougham had helped Macaulay whenever he could. In 1827, for example, he wrote to Lord Lyndhurst urging that "an early token of favour" (2) be granted to young Thomas. (There seems to have developed some jealousy of Thomas' powers after this, but Brougham carefully restrained his feelings in Zachary's presence so as not to offend his old friend.) (3) In 1830, when Lord Chancellor, he wrote to Macaulay telling him that he had set aside a living worth £300 to £400 for another son, the Reverend John Macaulay. (4) Macaulay was perhaps better qualified to judge his friend than the general public which saw only his actions and made their own interpretations, based on second-hand and frequently inaccurate knowledge, upon what they saw. In 1835,

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- (1) From 1828 to 1830, the Professor of English was another Evangelical, Thomas Dale.
(2) "Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", p. 442.
(3) Ibid, p. 450.
(4) Ibid, p. 458.

when writing to Wilks, the current editor of "The Christian Observer", asking for information to help him in the establishment of the new Paris Infant School, he referred to the previous edition of the periodical, and took Wilks to task in no uncertain terms:

"I was a little hurt by your note about Brougham, and which he does not quite merit. I think you are bound in common justice to give a fair analysis of his attack on the infidels in his discourse on Natural Theology. Ought we, too, to forget that he is in part the founder in England of the Infant School system; or can we forget the use we made not unfrequently of his ecclesiastical patronage? Never, I think had any individual more just reason to complain of the unchristian bearing towards him than he of the world calling itself Christian." (1)

Brougham may have been more generous to the Evangelicals than they were in return. Certainly he does not appear to have harboured petty bitternesses. In 1832, Wilberforce wrote to Manning, mentioning that his son Robert was comfortably settled "by the perfectly spontaneous kindness of Lord Brougham". (2) Nevertheless, the party as a whole was wise to be wary of Henry Brougham. In 1839, Francis Close was forced to spend a great deal of his time in stiffening opposition to the admirer of "clerical schoolmasters", who was then supporting a measure to create elected school boards to take control away from the clergy. (3)

If Evangelical reaction to Brougham and his Radical allies was not always consistent, it was much more straightforward than the

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- (1) "Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", p. 481.
 - (2) "Private Papers of William Wilberforce", p. 159.
 - (3) See, for example, "Cheltenham Journal", 20th May, 3rd June, 1839.

attitude adopted towards Dissent and in particular Methodism. Although clear distinctions existed because of social and religious differences, the common spiritual heritage shared by Evangelical and Methodist made the position complicated. The Evangelicals feared the name of "enthusiast", and the tendency of the public to equate them with Methodists frequently drove them to violent reaction to make the demarcation the more obvious. Thus occurred such dissertations as those of the elder Roberts upon which his son laid the accolade of his smug approval, drawing the attention of the world to the difference between his own party's "rational piety" and the Methodists' "raving zeal", between "a religious life" and a "shallow pretence of religion". (1) When publishing the works of Joseph Milner, William Richardson wrote to Isaac Milner requesting that he be allowed to re-title "An Essay on Methodism" as "An Essay on the Evangelical Revival", for he suggested, "... though we ought patiently to bear the stigma of Methodism, we ought not to legitimate the term when applied to us, or embody ourselves, who act in an orderly way, with the proper Methodists." (2)

Despite Evangelical fears, examples of collaboration are numerous. The members of the Clapham Sect (some of whom themselves "sat rather loose to dogma"), (3) frequently worked with all manner of Dissenters in the furtherance of their educational enterprises. Such was

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- (1) "Letters of Hannah More to Zachary Macaulay", pp. 39-41. (Edited by W. Roberts.)
 - (2) Milner agreed. ("The Life of Isaac Milner", p. 373.)
 - (3) John Venn. "Annals of a Clerical Family", p. 145.

Wilberforce, despite his avowed distrust of Dissenters, an attitude which was flatly opposed by old John Thornton in whose eyes the soundness of their intentions made them "doughty auxiliaries" in the war against vice.(1) Newton and Berridge worked openly with both Methodists and Baptists and extended their co-operation in religious matters beyond what most Evangelicals thought was proper. Charles Simeon fell for a while under Berridge's influence, but was saved for Church order and discipline by Henry Venn. (2) When Robert Raikes took his first batch of scholars to an Anglican Church it was a Methodist, Mrs. Sophia Cooke, who accompanied him. Hannah More, despite her statement that she deemed them "the avowed enemies" of her schools, (3) nevertheless openly employed Methodist teachers. It was at her house that Wilberforce first met John Wesley. (4) Evangelical supporters of Wilderspin found their enthusiasm shared by Dissenters. William Hey worked with Methodists in the Leeds area for many years. Shaftesbury championed the cause of the factory children after observing the work of two Methodists, Richard Oastler and Michael Thomas Sadler.

Even in Sierra Leone the Methodist connection continued, for out of the first shipload to the colony in 1792, two hundred and

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- (1) "A Sect that moved the World", pp. 65-6.
 (2) Simeon himself said: "There is in Dissent a spirit of disunion. Dissent is an Evil." Nevertheless, he felt it incumbent upon himself to add: "But where the Gospel truth is not declared in the Church pulpit, I dare not blame a man for going where he thinks or feels that his soul can be fed." ("Charles Simeon (1759-1836)", p. 163.)
 (3) "Mendip Annals", p. 21.
 (4) Wilberforce arranged for a pension for Charles Wesley's widow.

twenty-three people were Methodists. The early efforts made to help the education of the colonists proved to be inadequate so some of the Methodists took the initiative into their own hands. Before long much of the educational work in the colony was being carried out by their sect - a not unmixed blessing for the Governor, Zachary Macaulay, who always found them something of a thorn in his side and preferred the Baptists as allies. (1) (On his return from Africa, Macaulay was pressed by the Claphamites to visit the schools of a Baptist lady, Miss Wilkinson, which gave rise to an amusing example of discrimination which Macaulay described afterwards: "Last year she gave a feast not only to her own scholars, but invited, as she also had done this year, the children of a Charity School of the Establishment to partake of it. But while she gave her own children beef and pudding in overflowing abundance, she would allow the children of the Charity School only plain pudding. She avoided this fault, however, yesterday.") (2)

Macaulay's view of his duty as a "guiding hand" is remarkably similar to Isaac Milner's common sense view of the problem of Dissent. He advised that the Churchman should go along with Dissenters where

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- (1) Macaulay himself was not idle. He laboured to achieve universal education and established schools which catered for 300 children in all, and successful night schools for adults. One of his Sunday Schools is described in his biography. Each master attended with his own scholars, one of them beginning and ending the meeting with a prayer. Mr. Clarke superintended all, and, after hearing the children recite their tasks, addressed them in a simple, homely way. ("Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", p. 130.)
- (2) "Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", p. 222.

he could find agreement: "... at the same time exercising over them a jealous attention in the points where we separate from each other... the dangers of dissent, and even dissent itself, are best encountered by conciliation; whereas, both dissent and its dangers are strengthened by irritation, opposition, and exclusion." (1) It was unfortunate that the prevailing fear of Dissent prevented his words from having more effect, for the Dissenters often appeared to be most willing to share in Evangelical enterprises. For example, through its determination to spread the ideals of the Church of England, the Church Missionary Society cut itself off from the Dissenters, and as a result faced the keenest rivalry from the non-denominational London Missionary Society. Nevertheless, when Richmond, Stewart or Daniel Wilson went forth to preach in the parish churches, they frequently discovered that the Independent, Baptist and Methodist ministers had shut up their chapels and brought their people to hear the visitor. Stock recalled that at Stoke on Trent, on one such occasion, "the Methodists enlivened the service by their loud amens".(2)

The rejection of Methodism and Dissent in general was not as complete as many of the Evangelicals would have wished, and as they feared, the party's associations with Dissent gave their opponents within the Church the grounds for many of their attacks, inaccurate and exaggerated though they became. With spurious logic, Sydney

(1) "Life of Isaac Milner", p. 478.

(2) "The History of the Church Missionary Society", Vol. 1, p. 135.

Smith followed the line the Evangelicals feared most, lumping together "Arminian and Calvinistic Methodists and the EVANGELICAL clergymen of the Church of England We shall use," he wrote, "the general term of Methodism to designate those three classes of fanatics, not troubling ourselves to point out the finer shades and nicer discriminations of lunacy, but treating all as in one general conspiracy against common sense and rational orthodox Christianity." (1)

When Wilberforce went on his travels to Europe as a young man in Isaac Milner's company, his grandfather proclaimed his ignorance and intolerance in threatening to cut off William from benefiting from his will: "Billy shall travel with Milner as he is of age; but if Billy turns METHODIST, he shall not have a penny of mine." (2)

Misconceptions were so common that several Evangelicals considered it necessary to spend time refuting them. John Forster produced a series of essays in 1851 entitled "On Some of the causes by which Evangelical Religion has been rendered unacceptable to persons of cultivated taste". He drew attention to the way in which a legend of intellectual inferiority had grown up, caused by the Evangelicals' fondness of laying stress on experience rather than theory, a habit which rendered their views unacceptable to men of culture and left the sect open to ridicule. Burlesque had proved to be a most potent weapon and had exaggerated wrong impressions. Too often had the

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- (1) "Edinburgh Review", 1808. ("Works" of Sydney Smith, p. 97.)
(2) "Life of Isaac Milner", pp. 20-1. The occasion was the visit to Nice in 1784 which resulted in William's conversion to the Evangelical cause.

faith been confused with the practitioners, weak mortals whose individual language and weird turns of expression were regarded as "barbarous" by outsiders.

The opposition was based on more than a mere fastidiousness of taste. There existed among many honest Christians a fear of the possible consequences of the spread of education among the poor, chiefly because of the prevalence of revolutionary doctrines. Thus there is some clue to the accusations of Jacobinism made against Miss More, which otherwise seem as ridiculous as those of Jacobitism made against John Wesley in 1744. Zachary Macaulay suffered in similar fashion when his examination before the Lords on Slavery became due. In a letter to his wife Selina (1) he complained of the campaign against the emancipists in which the usual arguments against the Evangelical party had arisen:

"It seems to be a main object with the Royal Duke to prove us visionaries, Dissenters, and Democrats. I think when it comes to my turn to be questioned, I shall not only be able to lay these notions to sleep, but to retort the charge on those whose cause he advocates. I think I might refer to you for proof of my loyalty, and of my preference of the English Church." (2)

The exaggerations and misconceptions which arose are hardly to be wondered at, so thick was the fog created by argument and counter, by half-truth or outright falsehood. Such mistaken views

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- (1) Selina Mills, a former pupil and then governess at the Mores' school in Park Street, married Macaulay despite difficulties with her mentors, and eventually took up her abode with her husband at Clapham in 1802, where the couple remained until 1810.
 - (2) "Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", p. 226.

have been perpetuated into the twentieth century. For example, Cecil, in a work containing several rash generalizations about Evangelicalism (1), produces the following passage:

"The Evangelical movement stands out in violent contrast to the prevailing thought of its time - a black, melodramatic silhouette against the precise, freshly hued colour print of eighteenth century England. Where the prevailing thought believed that religious feeling should be disciplined by common sense or refined by sensibility, it believed that only at its rawest and most violent was it sincere." (2)

It is less difficult to blame those whose vision was necessarily obscured by their proximity with the events of the Revival for their errors, when such a picture is developed from the evidence after a hundred and fifty years.

Certain criticisms by other Anglicans reveal genuine enough dangers in the Evangelical creed. The bigotry of the group became magnified among the less intelligent members who lacked the ability to reason out their prejudices or justify them to their foes. There also existed a real danger of pharisaism, the vice of the Puritan. Milner wrote to Wilberforce pointing out the "danger of living together at Clapham, - danger of conceit and spiritual pride, and a cold, critical spirit". (3) The line between Puritan and fanatic was narrow. Although the Evangelicals themselves were ever on their guard against fanaticism, and though the vice existed more often in

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- (1) "The Stricken Deer".
(2) Ibid, p. 76. See further pp. 77-9.
(3) "The Life of Isaac Milner", p. 366.

the minds of their opponents than in fact, the taint was not completely absent. The strict régime of the home and the emphasis on Godliness and the observation of religious forms had the unhappy result of turning some of the younger generation away from the cause. Thomas Babington Macaulay was affected in such a way, while the younger Wilberforces, sickened by the zeal of some of the "low class professors" with whom their mother associated, turned "to a more gentlemanly School in the Tractarians at Oxford". (1)

Whatever the truth of the accusations made against the Evangelicals by their fellow Anglicans, their real importance lies in the fear for the welfare of the Church which they reflected. For in the wake of the revival stirred up by the "serious" clergy, their opponents detected a weakening of the Church's position. The Reverend James Bean complained:

".... under their preaching there has arisen an unfavourable opinion of the body of the clergy ... (among the more illiterate of their followers,) as men who do not preach the Gospel; an imputation which, in their account, implies the forfeiture of all that reverence and support which is due to Christian instructors." (2)

There was considerable truth in this complaint. The Evangelicals themselves became increasingly worried by the defection to Dissent of parishioners who had experienced an Evangelical ministry and had then been left to the care of an orthodox member of the Anglican clergy. (3) The growth of the monster of Dissent was serious enough,

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- (1) "Marianne Thornton", p. 138.
(2) "Simeon and Church Order", p. 352.
(3) *Infra*, p. 216.

but to the average member of the Church the Evangelicals appeared to be co-operating further in its growth by assisting in the establishment of Bible societies and educational institutions which denied the Church's supremacy.

The apparent treachery of the Evangelicals was largely the result of their rejection by the Church. The early clergy had been regarded with horror and contempt. Henry Venn was much disturbed to find that the people of the parish were about to build a new chapel because he did not "preach the gospel". (1) Romaine was driven from many lectureships and pulpits. At St. Dunstan's, in Fleet Street, the churchwardens would not open the Church a minute before seven o'clock in the evening when he was due to begin his lecture, and would not light the church. Martyn was refused many pulpits point blank. As Stock wryly remarked, the report "that one of 'the serious clergy' (as they were called) was appointed to a parish was in many cases the signal for an outcry as great as if a pestilence were coming". (2) When Ryder became Bishop of Gloucester the furore was alarming. Dr. Herbert Marsh, Bishop of Peterborough, so resented such Evangelical successes that he determined to play his part in keeping the party out of his own diocese. He invented a "trap" of eighty-seven questions on such topics as Justification, Regeneration and Predestination that he might discover and exclude

(1) "Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. 2, p. 306. From his Journal for 29th July, 1798.

(2) "The History of the Church Missionary Society", Vol. 1, p. 38.

Evangelical ministers. So nice were they that Milner suggested that even adepts in divinity might find them, in many instances, "captious and ensnaring". (1) Complaint by the defender of the faithful, "The Christian Observer" drew from the Dean, Dr. Kipling, the reply that the periodical had the "design of overturning the Established Church and plunging the nation into anarchy and blood"! (2) This was going too far. Even the "Edinburgh Review" agreed that Marsh's conduct was open to criticism. Sydney Smith wrote bluntly:

".... his conduct upon the points in dispute has been singularly injudicious, extremely harsh, and, in its effects (though not in its intentions), very oppressive and vexatious to the clergy. by this new system of interrogation, a man may be admitted into orders at Barnet, rejected at Stevenage, readmitted at Brogden, kicked out as a Calvinist at Witham Common, and hailed as an ardent Arminian on his arrival at York". (3)

Isaac Milner received a letter from a minister who had been converted to the Evangelical cause after reading the works of the Dean and his brother which provides a clear example of the sort of vicious opposition the humble members of the sect had to face:

"My doctrine creates great enmity. Scarcely a farmer attends my ministry. The Squire of the parish, who was my friend, and who, previous to my change, regularly attended church, now quite deserts it. Yet the Lord is pleased to honour me with the attention of the poor. The Squire's son, whom I had befriended and prepared for Cambridge, raised such reports against the enthusiasm of myself and my family, that the Fellows of --- were about to recal (sic) the testimonials which they had given to my eldest son."

Fortunately the testimonials were saved and his son went on to "a

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- (1) "The Life of Isaac Milner", p. 695.
 - (2) "Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", p. 253.
 - (3) "Works", pp. 416-7. From the "Edinburgh Review", 1822.

remarkable opening made for him", only for the second boy to receive his share of the family Cross: "... if persecution be a mark of a disciple, he has had as much of it last year at ----, for attending Mr. Simeon's Church, as would have upset an ordinary professor." (1)

The opposition to the Evangelical clergy received its impetus from above. It was well known that the unholy alliance of Eldon and Manners-Sutton had blocked the way to preference to numerous "serious" clergymen. They found formidable allies in the Bishop of Peterborough and the Bishop of London. Upon Randolph's death, Milner wrote a sharp obituary to Macaulay:

"His removal, I hope, cannot well fail to be favourable to the Church. He was most abominably tyrannical and prejudiced up to the ears. His enmity to the Bible Society has been excessive and unreasonable in the highest degree. I understand that poor Owen is at length ousted from his useful situation at Fulham by means of his Rector, supported no doubt by the Bishop of London now deceased." (2)

As late as December, 1830, "The Christian Observer" felt it necessary to address an open letter to Earl Grey to make a plea for fair dealing. It made four main points. Firstly, it claimed that Evangelical clergymen had been systematically opposed for reasons of "ignorance, prejudice, and party spirit". Secondly it

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- (1) "The Life of Isaac Milner", p. 624 et seq. The third son became an officer in the East India Company and was regularly entrusted with missives for Thompson and Thomason, and with business for the Church Missionary Society.
 - (2) "Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", p. 306. John Owen, Secretary of the Bible Society, was requested to leave London for the living in Essex granted him by Porteus.

pointed out that in fact the churches of Evangelical ministers compared favourably with the empty churches of many orthodox clergymen. The absurdity of the terms used to describe Evangelicals was made clear: the very name was used as a term of abuse when other descriptions such as "Methodist", "Calvinist" or "Enthusiast" were not employed. Finally, the opposition of the Archbishop and Eldon to Ryder's nomination for Lichfield was used to illustrate the particular prejudice of those in positions to do grievous harm to the party's cause.

Not only were the Evangelical clergy persecuted as individuals, but the schemes of the group were frequently heavily criticised. Its brainchild, the Church Missionary Society, was, according to its historian, hated by most Churchmen, and the men who created it "utterly despised and altogether excluded from the Counsels of the Church". (1) Stock further claimed that in 1820 and 1824 Simeon

(1) "The History of the Church Missionary Society", Vol. 1, preface, xi.

was blackballed on being proposed for the S.P.C.K. (1) and Balleine avers that neither the S.P.G. nor the S.P.C.K. would "have anything to do with an Evangelical." (2) This is perhaps an exaggeration, for Isaac Milner was a member of the British and Foreign Society and the S.P.C.K. and would have given the S.P.C.K. annual sermon to the Charity School children in 1818 had it not been for illness.

(1) "The History of the Church Missionary Society", Vol. 1, p. 66, footnote. His subsequent admittance was secured only after the direct intervention of Blomfield, Bishop of London.

A contrary viewpoint is given by Lowther Clarke: "This did not imply that the Society was hostile to Evangelicalism, but merely that a method, appropriate to the little group of friends who founded the Society, was continued too long." ("A History of the S.P.C.K." p. 150) This opinion does not appear to be valid in the light of the events of the early part of the nineteenth century involving the S.P.C.K. and the Evangelicals.

Carus states that Simeon was a member in his early days: "I soon became a member of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, because I thought that the books of that society would be the most useful of any that I could procure, and that I might do good to others by the circulation of them. (Simeon's memoir, "Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Charles Simeon", p. 7.)

In 1826, Simeon supplied further details of his past dealings with the Society. He remembered that in 1812, having originally entered the Society "above twenty years" previously and then left it for his own reasons, he decided to apply for re-election. Dr. Cooke, Dean of Ely, was prepared to propose him but, finding that he might be blackballed, Simeon withdrew his name. In April, 1826, when he was again proposed, the fear that he might be blackballed was again evident, but "there went a host of Bishops and other Dignitaries of the Church, with their friends (about 90 or 100 in all), to beat down opposition, and to vote me in with a high hand. I understand there were but three opponents..." ("Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Charles Simeon, (1848), pp. 423-4.)

(2) "History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England", p. 143.

Nevertheless the opposition was intense. In 1762 a new section was added to the S.P.C.K. catalogue entitled "Tracts against Enthusiasm". Three of these, by the Reverend Thomas Sikes, included in the section on Justification and Divine Grace, were outright attacks on the Evangelical clergy. One in particular, "A Dialogue between a Minister of the Church and his Parishioner concerning those who are called Evangelical Ministers", referred to the subjects of its attack as "hypocrites" and "rebellious preachers", and so exactly reflected public opinion within the Church that it circulated for twenty-six years. The Bible Society, existing for what was in the opinion of one of its supporters, "one of the grandest considerations that was ever contemplated by the human intellect, viz., the dispersion of the Bible by the voluntary and united efforts of all ranks and orders of Christians", (1) came under continual fire from the moment of its birth. An example was "A Word of Advice to Churchmen, on the Manner of the Promotion of Christianity, by a Christian of the Old School", produced in 1812. A comparison between the Bible Society and the S.P.C.K., it poured scorn on the nondenominational society: "Never was Society less select, or more selectly what it should not be."

The cheap hits made against the Evangelicals were completely overshadowed by the efforts of Phelan in 1817. He accused them of

(1) Isaac Milner. Like the Radicals he attacked the proposition of "the Church in danger". ("The Life of Isaac Milner", p. 547.)

siding with the enemies of the Church in accepting the view that it was infected with "corruptions of Popery". He then went on to point out the "mutual attraction" and "gravitation" of the Evangelicals and Socinians, which ludicrous claim he endeavoured to justify by quoting examples of Evangelical language, "terms, from which every rational Christian must revolt with shuddering apprehension".

In conclusion he laid bare the Church's fear of unsectarian education. He bitterly attacked the Evangelicals for uniting with outsiders in the Bible Society, in Missionary Societies, and in schools societies where "every child is taught the Bible, and none THE CREED". (1)

The fears of the Church party that unsectarian education might damage its cause were, ironically enough, the same as those of the most influential members of the Evangelical party which it attacked so bitterly for association with Dissenters. As has been seen (2) nothing would have pleased Clapham and its allies more than a national system of education through which the ideals of the Anglican Church could be propagated. Despite this the attacks against them continued in all their virulence. The well-meant educational project

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- (1) "The Bible, not the Bible Society", by the Reverend William Phelan, 1817. Other attacks on the Bible Society, its policy, supporters and very *raison d'être*, can be consulted in, for example: "A Comparative View of the merits of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and the Bible Society", Anon., 1817; and "An Examination of Mr. Dealtry's Review of Norris on the British and Foreign Bible Society", by a Clergyman of the Diocese of London, 1816.
- (2) *Supra*, pp. 66-67, 127-28.

in the Mendips caused the biggest scandal of all. In 1801, a pamphlet in the form of an open letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, was circulated by the Reverend William Shaw. It was a scurrilous attack on the Evangelical party as a result of the Blagdon controversy. (1) Whilst claiming a righteous spirit of toleration towards Methodists and Catholics, Shaw berated the "non-descript Methodist", distinguished by "a certain manner of deportment, mode of dress, and a peculiar phraseology common to them with other professors of Puritanism", and "a restless anxiety to propagate Sunday Schools". (2) He then took up the lead of Bishop Horsley who had suggested that "sedition and atheism were the real objects of some of these institutions", (3) and proposed parochial schools to supplant the Sunday Schools and thus protect the nation from the "secret machinations" of those behind them for "political mischief". He argued that if the education of the poor was to be entrusted to a committee of pious but "religiously weak persons" the country might awake at some future date to find it in the hands of a Committee of Public Safety. The Evangelicals were a revolutionary force: "They declare themselves Churchmen yet deny her doctrines; Conformists, yet in their meetings reject her

(1) Supra, pp. 59-62.

(2) "Suggestions Respecting a plan of National Education" by the Reverend William Shaw, Chelvy, Somerset, 1801.

(3) "Charge", quoted p. 112 of Balleine's "History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England". During the Blagdon controversy, the Mores went before the Dean "for TEACHING FRENCH PRINCIPLES". ("Mendip Annals", p. 232.)

liturgy". They were ready to overthrow Bishops, tithes and other established institutions and practices. They had shown their hand at Blagdon in their machinations there: "They have begun with Mr. BERE; none can say where they will end." (1)

Shaw's attacks would be laughable but for their effect on the Mores and the fact that they represented only a fraction of the abuse poured out by the Church party. By 1803 Hannah More could name no fewer than twenty-three books published either for or against her in the dispute, in addition to a stream of invective by such publications as the "Anti-Jacobin", naming her Methodist, Jacobin or fanatic. In 1802, she wrote to Wilberforce telling him that Shaw's men were everywhere in the village picking up stories: "his object being to destroy my remaining schools." (2) Six years later she mentioned to Pepys some of the charges brought against her:

".... that I hired two men to assassinate one of these clergymen; - that I was actually taken up for seditious practices; - that I was with Hadfield in his attack on the king's life: one of them strongly insinuated this from the pulpit, and then caused the newspaper, which related the attack to be read at the church door. At the same time, mark the consistency! they declared that I was in the pay of Mr. Pitt, and the grand instigator (poor I) of the war, by mischievous pamphlets; and to crown the whole, that I was concerned with Charlotte Corday in the murder of Marat!!!" (3)

"I am only a petty victim", wrote Miss More with much truth, "Could such a man as B -- (4), with principles equally hostile to the Church and State, be supported by men professing themselves warm friends to both, if they were not judicially blinded, and

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- (1) A reference to Bere's removal. Supra, p. 61.
(2) "Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More", Vol. 3, p. 181.
(3) "The Letters of Hannah More", pp. 191-2.
(4) Bere.

if a general hostility to serious religion were not a common rallying point to two descriptions of men opposite enough in all other respects?" (1)

The revival of interest which the Evangelicals had done so much to create coupled with the fear of what unsectarian education might achieve was the motivating force for the formation of the National Society. Sir Thomas Bernard had pointed out the work done by the Methodists and had urged the Church to counter-act their successes. In 1804, he had suggested the foundation of a seminary to train women teachers and governesses so that Church principles might be spread. In later years he added his support to Bell's system and made a plea for the defence of the Church against the preponderance of Dissenting schools, by: "the adoption, on our part, of the same extended and general system of EDUCATION, regulated according to the rites and doctrines of the Church of England." (2)

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- (1) "Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More", Vol. 3, p. 180.
- (2) "Of the Education of the Poor", pp. 100-1. In one account of the origins of the National Society, the revival of public notice in education is pointed out accompanied by some dubious inferences about the Evangelicals: "Education was attracting public notice; apathy gave place to a reaction against the narrow theology of the Clapham coterie, who had harnessed philanthropy to their chariot, and were threatening Church citadels; and Joshua Watson and his friends, including the sagacious Archbishop (i), made good use of the advantage of the prestige of the Church in founding the National Society, and captured the majority." "A History of the English Church", Vol. 8, pt. 1, p. 95. (i) Manners-Sutton.

Although the monster of Dissent caused fears and attracted abuse, it was only when it became personified as the ogre Lancaster (1) that it galvanised the Church party into positive action. Sarah Trimmer, "a lady of respectable notions, and very ordinary talents; defending what is right without judgement, and believing what is holy without charity", (2) was the agent of the attack. She harshly reviewed Lancaster's system and called upon the Church to exercise the ancient rights granted it by the Act of Uniformity which gave education into its hands. At the yearly meetings of children educated in Church schools in London and Westminster, three sermons, all printed and distributed by the S.P.C.K., followed Mrs. Trimmer's lead. In 1807, the Reverend Owen Cambridge made a strong plea for adherence to Church doctrines in the education of the nation and teachers "free from the taint of fanaticism, or of infidelity". (3) Daubney's sermon of 1809 (4) kept up an oblique attack on Lancaster's organisation because of its inclusion of all types of opinion, for, he argued, if all were equally true then they were also all demonstrably false. Finally came Marsh's famous call to arms delivered at St. Paul's on 13th June, 1811. He demanded

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- (1) Lancaster's part was summed up in a tract of 1812 which suggested that Lancaster might be compared with Satan, and that he might lay claim to the leadership of the National Society and Satan to that of the Church, for in each case: "it is all because of him." ("A Word of Advice to Churchmen, on the Manner of the Promotion of Christianity, by a Christian of the Old School".)
- (2) Sydney Smith. "Works", p. 88. From the "Edinburgh Review", 1806.
- (3) 28th May, 1807, at St. Paul's.
- (4) 1st June, 1809, at St. Paul's.

the enforcement of denominational education and revealed Lancaster's system as a threat to the Church. Children needed the creed, not his soporific neutrality, and those parents who were unwilling to accept Church teaching must learn that the Church would not compromise: they must submit or send their children elsewhere. He then drew attention to Bell's system, the precursor of Lancaster's and to its practical success in Durham, and suggested that there existed, ready-made, the vehicle for the Church's attack.

In the same year as Marsh's sermon the National Society was constituted. It asserted that it was the duty of all Church people to support Bell's scheme and resolved in committee (1) to intimate to the S.P.C.K. that the initial progress would be accelerated if Marsh's sermon were to be distributed to the Irish Bishops. In its preamble, the Society closely followed the line of the militants:

"That the National Religion should be made the Foundation of the National Education, and should be the first and chief thing taught to the Poor, according to the excellent Liturgy and Catechism provided by our Church for that purpose, must be admitted by all friends to the Establishment; for if the great body of the Nation be educated in other principles than those of the Established Church, the natural consequence must be to alienate the minds of the People from it, or render them indifferent to it, which may, in succeeding generations, prove fatal to the Church, and to the State itself." (2)

Exhorted by Marsh to give up their attachment to such organisations as the Bible Society and join instead the S.P.C.K. and the

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- (1) Minutes of the General Committee of the National Society, MSS, for 26th December, 1811.
 - (2) Ibid, for 16th October, 1811.

S.P.G. and informed of their duty to the Church by the founders of the National Society, the Evangelicals faced the moment of decision. As was to be expected, their reactions varied. There was too much bitterness festering in their relationship with the Church for the choice offered them to be as clear-cut and as welcome as it would appear from a study of the proposals of the Church party alone. Marsh, for example, was hardly being realistic in suggesting the transfer of Evangelical support from the party's own love to societies which had consistently spurned it. Thus, when "The Christian Observer" welcomed the National Society's formation, it devoted at the same time an eighteen page review defending the British and Foreign Society from his attacks.

In giving a lead to Evangelical opinion, "The Christian Observer" commended the schemes of both Bell and Lancaster to its readers, and appealed to them to give equal support to both, despite certain reservations expressed in the issue for March, 1804, when it strongly criticised the "very objectionable proposition" on page twenty-five of the second edition of Lancaster's "Improvements" - the clause which contained in essence all that the Church was fighting:

"Let the friends of youth, among every denomination of Christians, exalt the standard of education, and rally round it for their preservation, laying aside all religious differences of opinion; and pursue two grand objects - the promotion of good morals, and the instruction of youth in useful learning, adapted to their respective situations."

If the rank and file could gain little guidance from the Evangelical monthly, neither were the members of the Clapham Sect or

their influential friends of much more help. Wilberforce gave his support to both societies, but undoubtedly preferred the National Society's schools because of their superior method, staffing and their very *raison d'être*. As has been mentioned above, he supported the Lancasterian body (which he frequently compared to its detriment with the National Society) only because its work abroad commended itself to his proselyting soul. He was always willing to aid the Church society, and, after appearing on the subscription list with Macaulay, Teignmouth, Henry Thornton, Simeon, Milner and Hannah More, he responded generously to such appeals to "replenish the treasury" (1) as that in 1817, when he doubled his subscription and gave a further donation of fifty pounds. Zachary Macaulay, like Barrington, overcame an early infatuation with the scheme of Lancaster, and transferred his support to Bell. In attacking Lancaster's proposal for "a Society established on general Christian principles", he aligned himself with the Church party. "By Mr. Lancaster's scheme", he wrote, "religious bigotry may be avoided; but there is another evil which is the greatest that can befall a nation - irreligion; ignorance of the true God, and of Jesus Christ whom He hath sent." (2) In general however, the Claphamites gave support to both societies and "Bell and Lancaster were both their welcome guests." (3)

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- (1) "Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. 4, p. 379. Wilberforce initially gave ten guineas, Isaac Milner, fifteen guineas, and Thornton, twenty pounds.
 - (2) "Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", pp. 303-4.
 - (3) "Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography", 4th Edition, p. 566.

Hannah More gave less than whole-hearted support to the National Society, and criticised some of the methods it employed, particularly in the teaching of the "Three R's" (1). However, her attitude towards Dissenters was, on the face of it (2) all that could be desired. A query from Wilberforce about a schoolmaster in Bristol whose work aroused his interest elicited a forthright reply:

"The boasted liberality on which they pride themselves in the conduct of the Bristol schools is that relaxing toleration, which enables them to combine Quakers and Presbyterians, 'THE SPRINKLED AND THE DIPPED', by insisting on no peculiar form of worship or religious instruction; so that I fear in this accommodating and comprehensive plan, Christianity slips through their fingers. I hope and believe they inculcate industry, but I never went to see them myself, because I think they are carried on in a way I could not commend, and which it might not be right to censure. The manager is a man who will torment you to death if you give him the entrée... he is sober, temperate, laborious, and charitable; but one with whom I never, and you never, could coalesce, with views and motives so dissimilar." (3)

Part of the difficulty experienced by the Evangelicals lay in trying to discover what were exactly the true feelings and intentions of those at the helm of the National Society. Those who did support it and had valuable experience to offer were nevertheless frozen out of the executive positions. Only because they were bishops, and as such ex-officio members, did Ryder, the Sumners, and the allies of the party, Barrington and Porteus, have

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- (1) Although she appears to have changed her opinion in later life. *Supra*, p. 155.
 - (2) However, she knowingly used Methodist teachers in her schools.
 - (3) "Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. 2, pp. 239-40, letter of 26th December, 1797.

any footing at all on the Committee. (1) Not only was the membership of the Committee limited, but so was its outlook. In the interpretation of the rules the bigots seemed to be able to impose the narrowest possible limits. Isaac Milner in fact suggested that the wishes of the heads of the Church were being flouted. Two interesting instances occur in his biography which illustrate this view. Shortly after the National Society had been founded, Milner began a lengthy argument with his Bishop (2) over a school which the Bishop proposed to open on the Society's plan. The Bishop's somewhat rigid views led Milner to quote the opinions of both Archbishops, (whom he had visited), that Walmsley's celebrated footnote to the proposals of the Society should be understood to mean that the children of Dissenters might absent themselves from Church attendance provided they produced evidence of attendance at a place of worship approved by their parents. The Bishop remained adamant even in the face of this interpretation which the Dean thought would bring more people to Church in the long run, and insisted that in his school children should be instructed in the Liturgy and the Catechism of the Established Church, attend prayers in school and go with the Master to Church on Sundays. (3)

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- (1) Ryder became an ex-officio member in this way in 1815, Charles Sumner in 1826 and John Sumner in 1828.
- (2) Carlisle. See pp. 487-496 of Mary Milner's biography.
- (3) Milner could not agree with the Bishop's view. He expressed his intention of supporting the school, because of his approval of it on general principles, but maintained that on the point in dispute, the Bishop was urging "a greater exclusion of the children of dissenters, than that which is recommended by the practice of the Great Central School in London". ("The Life of Isaac Milner", p. 574.)

The second example in Mary Milner's book is of more importance. Milner and his friends at Cambridge had established: "what may be called an improved Lancasterian School, we have not a single dissenter, who has stumbled at the catechism; but we allow the children of dissenters to go to their own place of worship, if their parents desire, that they may not go to ours". (1) This, re-iterated Milner, was in keeping with the ideas of the Archbishop of Canterbury on the National Society's constitution. In a letter to the Archbishop he made the significant comment that it was much to be regretted that Canterbury's "candid and moderate sentiments" were not more widely known. If the Archbishop's sentiments were not widely known, it could only be because the Princes of the Church were guilty of duplicity, or because, as Milner clearly feared, such knowledge was being suppressed. (2)

Although the majority of the Evangelical party wrestled with its perplexities and tried to support the National Society as best it could, there existed, apart from the waverers and the half-hearted, a number of steadfast supporters of the British and Foreign Bible Society. A good example of this group was William Hey of Leeds, an early disciple of Henry Venn (3) and a friend of Wilberforce.

(1) "The Life of Isaac Milner", pp. 532-3.

(2) Ibid. pp. 532-3.

(3) He regularly went to hear Venn preach at Huddersfield, and on one occasion walked back with a friend for fourteen out of fifteen miles without speaking, so great was the effect of the sermon on their minds. ("Annals of a Clerical Family", p. 81.)

He took particular exception to the way in which the "fundamental doctrines" of faith were "slightly touched upon" (1) by the teachers in the National Society's schools. When Lancaster visited Leeds in 1811, a public meeting was held and Hey was appointed Chairman of a committee established to set up schools on Lancaster's plan. All denominations were taught in the schools, the Bible was read without comment, and each denomination attended its own Sunday School. Happily engrossed in the work and himself undertaking the instruction of Church of England pupils on Sundays, Hey was rudely awakened by the efforts of the National Society to open a school. He vigorously attacked the proposal, using an argument parallel to that of James Mill by pointing out that the creation of a National Society School was not only superfluous but actually wasteful and contrasted the co-operative spirit of the Bible Society and the Lancasterian schools with the exclusiveness and hostility created by the S.P.C.K. and the National Society. His attitude reflects that of many honest Christians who objected to the intrusion of sectarian prejudice into the field of their charitable endeavour.

In their relationships with each of the three main groups interested in education the Evangelicals found that friction always

(1) "Life of William Hey", p. 332. At a much later date (1838), members of the Matlock Bath Clerical Society found the National Society system "too Mechanical whilst Moral and Religious Principles are wanting". ("Evangelical Parish Clergy 1820-1840", by A. Pollard, p. 393, "Church Quarterly Review", 1958.)

occurred. The cause was fundamentally religious, for even the powerful antipathy exhibited towards the Radicals was more religious than political in origin. Conflict was increased by the formation of the National Society which forced a clear choice on the Evangelical party: to be for or against the Church. The event emphasised the peculiar position of the Evangelicals: of the Church, in the Church, yet in so many subtle ways outside it. They attracted abuse from all quarters, even from some which would have seemed to have contained their natural allies had it not been for the nice distinctions upon which the groups placed so much importance. Such minimal variations could easily be dismissed as petty, were it not that they were concerned with the education of the young, which, because of its importance in moulding the future generation of citizens of the State, has always been jealously guarded by the representatives of the prevailing system of government.

As the hostility of the Established Church solidified against the group within it, the very existence of the Evangelical party became endangered. For the Church had it within its power to hamper the education of a further generation of "serious" clergymen and to rob those who obtained orders of the opportunity to find a sphere in which to carry out their work. It was fortunate that the Evangelicals were possessed of an inner strength and singleness of purpose to override petty differences within their own group and breach the defences erected by reaction and prejudice.

Chapter 7

THE EVANGELICALS AND THE UNIVERSITIES - RECRUITMENT FOR SURVIVAL

The Evangelical clergy faced two main problems in their efforts to maintain the succession in the parishes. On the one hand the attitude of many of the members of the upper hierarchy of the Church meant that preferment was very difficult to obtain, while on the other, the lack of continuity caused by that attitude meant that the Church ran the risk of losing its followers to Dissent. Too often, after religious fervour had been aroused by an Evangelical ministry, the parishioners would turn to Methodism rather than suffer the care of an "orthodox" Anglican clergyman. At Huddersfield, Venn's ministry was followed by the defection of thirteen men to become Dissenting ministers; Grimshaw lost five in like manner, and Jones of Creaton, seven. (1) Without a supply of right-minded men to the parishes the evangelising work of the sect was doomed to extinction or perversion. (2)

(1) "The Magdalene Evangelicals", by J. D. Walsh, "Church Quarterly Review", 1958, p. 500.

(2) Henry Venn became so perturbed by the fate of the flock he had left at Huddersfield that he gave them sanction to build a chapel, so unsympathetic to his ideals was his successor. Venn raised £170 towards the chapel and recommended a personal friend as its minister: William Moorhouse, a thoroughly Calvinistic young Methodist.

Venn was made to see the error of his ways too late. Crook died after only two years and the next incumbent was a clergyman of whom Venn approved. However, the chapel now held sway in place of the Church, retained its hold on the people and eventually took the logical step of becoming permanently Dissenting. ("Charles Simeon (1759-1836)", pp. 171-3.)

The organisation necessary to save the Evangelical clergy was provided by the clerical societies. Developing in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the clerical societies owed their existence to groups of sober-minded clergymen, coming together with friendly fellow-spirits "for conference and mutual edification." (1) At once the pioneer and the best example of such institutions was the Elland Society, formed in Huddersfield under the auspices of Henry Venn and transferred, after his removal, to the village from which it took its name.

The society professed an interest in all the work of the Christian minister, met regularly for meetings lasting for an entire weekend, and heard papers on subjects appointed by the Director. (2) In 1777, however, "a design was set on Foot of raising a Fund for the Purpose of educating poor pious young Men for the Ministry". (3) This scheme was to absorb an increasing amount of the members' time and energy and become for many years their most important project.

It was decided that young men chosen: "for their seriousness & (sic) sound Understanding, shall go thro' (sic) a regular Education at School, & afterwards at one of the Universities, unless the Society shall think it proper to offer them for Orders without an University Education." (4)

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- (1) "Journals of the Elland Society", pp. 6-12.
(2) Upon pain of a fine for non-compliance - a penalty which became exacted with increasing frequency as the years passed.
(3) Ibid, p. 17.
(4) Ibid, p. 17.

The choice of the candidates was made with due seriousness. Their promoters were required to answer a searching questionnaire designed to assess the religious standing, health, intelligence and character of their nominees. Satisfied that a candidate was "exemplary in his Walk & Conversation, & in his Duties Religious, Social & Civil", (1) the members invited him to attend for an interview, and subjected him to a series of questions on such topics as Schism, Faith, Conversion, Antinomianism, Legality, Enthusiasm (as contrasted with "Christian zeal") and the doctrines of the Gospels. (2) If the candidate was considered to be free from any taint of Methodism, (3) or of a desire for "a lucrative and easy office" (4), and to meet the requirements of the members in all other ways, he was then offered the bounty of the Society. (5) An undertaking was signed, that the student would frequent no place of worship other than the Church of England and that all monies advanced by the Society would be refunded should he decide to follow any other profession than the ministry.

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- (1) "Journals of the Elland Society" p. 22.
 - (2) The questions were formalised in the minutes of the meeting held in October, 1828, (Ibid, pp. 58-9).
 - (3) Young Thomason was closely interrogated on sinless perfection and sudden impulses and why he considered the Establishment to be superior to Wesley. Questions such as these were framed to discover men with Methodistical tendencies, that they might be excluded.
 - (4) "Journals of the Elland Society", p. 22.
 - (5) Some candidates, who needed "only a small assistance at the School or University", were exempted from examination. (Ibid, p. 18).

The sort of expenses which faced the Elland Society would normally have proved to be beyond the means of the small group of clergymen which constituted the membership. (1) Fortunately it attracted the attention of the Claphamites and their friends in Yorkshire. (2) William Wilberforce displayed a strong interest in the doings of the "West Riding Charity for catching the colts running wild on Halifax Moor, and cutting their manes and tails, and sending them to college." (3) He carried the principle of Christian benevolence to extremes, on one occasion donating £100 "under four anonymous entries to avoid notice". (4) In all he subscribed £2,565 to the Society, Henry Thornton gave £3,380 and Charles Simeon, £3,700. (5) With such help (6) the Society began

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- (1) For instance, in 1814, the Society was maintaining three students at Magdalene at a cost of £200, two at St. John's at a cost of £160, one at Queen's, £80; three at Halifax, £189; two at Wakefield, £72:12: Od; one at Bradford, £30; one at Leeds, £35; and one at Carmarthen, £27:- a total yearly expenditure of £693:12: Od. ("Journals of the Elland Society" April 1814.)
 - (2) Both politically and socially the connection was strong. The Yorkshire group of Evangelicals was one of most powerful and most closely affiliated with the Claphamites of whose "sub-ordinate schemes none were so dear to them as that of pre-possessing, in favour of their opinions and of their measures, the young men who were then preparing themselves for ordination at Cambridge". ("Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography", p. 566.)
 - (3) Letter to William Hey, December, 1789, "Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. 1, p. 252.
 - (4) Ibid, Vol. 1, p. 255.
 - (5) The "Harrogate Advertiser", 6th May, 1933.
 - (6) William Hey, for example, appeared in the minutes in 1813. Having some money to dispose of, he sent the Society £50.

well and in its first year had funds at its disposal amounting to over £1,200. (1) Furthermore it could rely on the help of Evangelical friends to assist in the polishing of those who needed to be educated before going to the University or those whose lot was to proceed to orders without ever attending Oxford or Cambridge. (2) In the early days a considerable number of the second class of pensioners existed, working under such tutors as Samuel Knight of Halifax. More than one Evangelical approved of the practice. Isaac Milner himself, despite or possibly because of his position, maintained that a man with a sincere desire to serve God in a humble station (3) had no need of the University. "I would not," he maintained, "advise the dearest friend I had in the world to go to College (unless he had a fortune), except that he had considerable

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- (1) Although, as Dr. Walsh points out, ("Church Quarterly Review", 1958, p. 501) competition from other societies later reduced their income to £300 or £400 per annum. An entry for July, 1811, indicates this anxiety: "Resolved that when the young Men cease to be under the Patronage of the Society, the Treasurer do remind them that the Society expects they will subscribe to its Funds, as soon as they are in Circumstances to do so." ("Journals of the Elland Society") Thomason wrote to discharge his "debt" of £400 to the Society, but others were neither so able nor so scrupulous. (Entry for 20th March, 1806, Ibid.)
- (2) Tutors who were of help were such men as Joseph Milner at Hull, Samuel Clarke at Chesham Bois, Samuel Stones at Rawdon and Hammond Robertson at Liversedge. The young men were brought up to standard in Latin and Greek, and sometimes Hebrew. ("Church Quarterly Review", 1958, pp. 501-2.)
- (3) As an example he pointed to Richardson of York.

abilities." (1) Nevertheless, the members of the Elland Society decided, partly because of the difficulty of obtaining titles, to revert to its original plan and assist only those who could benefit from a University education. Thus after 1824 the second type of pensioner began to disappear and the University man became the rule.

At least the student who worked with a tutor appointed by the Elland Society had the advantage of congenial surroundings and a sympathetic mentor. The candidates for Oxford and Cambridge, on the other hand, bore the hopes of the Evangelical party into an unfriendly world which wanted none of them. At first it seemed that the Society's nominees would fail at the first hurdle, that of gaining entry into a college. (2) The atmosphere within the Universities was neither conducive to serious study nor "serious" religion. William Cowper considered the University the perfect counterpart to the Public Schools and suggested that should the parent wish to continue his "monstrous project" for the education of his

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- (1) "The Life of Isaac Milner", p. 497. Thomas Scott agreed. When it was suggested that Thomas Norton the shoemaker was of such great ability that he should go to University, he vetoed the idea on the grounds that "the university life of the period was not favourable to the cultivation of the missionary Spirit or of missionary habits of life". ("The History of the Church Missionary Society", Vol. 1, p. 89).
- (2) The name of Venn was sufficient to close the doors of Trinity against a scion of that prominent Evangelical house. He was eventually accepted by Sydney Sussex. A friend of Thomason's who was enrolled at Magdalene after the Evangelicals had gained the entree faced the further difficulty of being refused ordination because of prejudice against the Evangelical flavour of the College at the time. ("Church Quarterly Review", 1958, p. 505.)

child he should:

"Send him to College. If he there be tamed,
Or in one article of vice reclaimed,
Where no regard of ordinances is shown
Or looked for now, the fault must be his own.
Some sneaking virtue lurks in him, no doubt,
Where neither strumpet's charms nor drinking bout,
Nor gambling practices, can find it out." (1)

Cambridge presented a wretched picture to the young Wilberforce on entry to St. John's, for he found the students licentious, and the dons incredulous when faced with the idea that a man of fortune should wish to study. *When?* Gunning agreed that the standard of morals was low and that it was only too easy to waste time instead of working. He recollected in his memoirs the departure of a member of Trinity after graduation, when the undergraduates celebrated in the following manner:

"After supper, they brought into the centre of the court all the hampers they could find filled with straw, on the top of which they placed his tables, and on these they set up the chairs, and the whole were surmounted by his cap, gown, and surplice: they then set fire to the hampers, and with loud shouts danced around the pile till the whole was consumed. No college censure was passed upon the actors in this frantic exhibition, nor was there any investigation into the circumstances." (2)

Isaac Milner mentioned some of the habits of the worst element in the University:

"Breaking of lamps and windows, shouting and roaring, blowing of horns, galloping up and down streets on horse-back or in carriages, fighting and mobbing in the town and neighbouring villages; in the day-time breaking down fences and riding

(1) "Poetical Works", p. 350.
(2) "Reminiscences of Cambridge", by H. Gunning, Vol. 1, p. 34.

over corn-fields, then eating, drinking, and becoming intoxicated at taverns or ale-houses; and, lastly, in the night frequenting houses of ill-fame, resisting the lawful authorities, and often putting the peaceable inhabitants of the town into great alarm." (1)

At Oxford, the laxity of student behaviour was combined with a fierce intolerance of enthusiasm which closed the doors of colleges to Methodist and Evangelical alike. In 1757, Romaine was banned from the University pulpit. Haweis, who had preached to undergraduates at St. Mary Magdalene's, had his church placed out of bounds, and was visited by the Proctors, and in 1762 had his licence revoked. An Evangelical clergyman, William Talbot, applied for the curacy but was curtly refused. Nevertheless, young Evangelicals in the University continued to practice their faith, uniting in such societies as that of which Stillingfleet (2) was President, until the furore of 1768 when six students of St. Edmund's Hall were brought to trial in the chapel to face four accusations: of consorting with reputed Methodists such as Venn, Newton and Fletcher, of holding to the doctrine of justification by Faith without works, of attending unlawful meetings, and of being destitute in scholarship. The students may have been the victims of personal spite on the part of Higson, the tutor who

(1) "The Life of Isaac Milner", p. 399.
(2) Then a Fellow of Merton.

revealed their errors; (1) they were certainly the scapegoats of the university authorities which were determined to maintain the barriers between Gown and Town with its dangerous Methodism which threatened to taint the students attending such joint prayer-meetings as those favoured by the six students and their friends. Although the verdict of expulsion was received with mixed feelings, other colleges began to remove suspected Methodists (2) from their lists so that it seemed that while "extempore swearing was permitted ..., extempore praying could not be borne". (3) By a strange quirk of fate the main hope left to the Evangelicals at the close of the century was St. Edmund's, scene of the original purge. Under the aegis of Daniel Wilson and Crouch, the climate of the college changed

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- (1) It has been suggested that Higson was merely a catspaw for Hume, who used him to force the University authorities to take a more serious view than they might otherwise have done. See "Simeon and Church Order", p. 211. The doctrine of justification by Faith was firmly held by Isaac Milner of Cambridge. "Our doctrine is this," he wrote, "Justified by faith only; justification is necessarily connected with salvation. Admit, even, if you please, for the sake of argument, that you may lose your justification by bad works, still it must be regained precisely as an adult believer obtains it at first. His works don't help his justification at all; they only prove it to be sound; they are no part of the cause of justification. Christ is the meritorious object: the sinner, by faith, lays hold of his object, becomes united to Christ, and, in consequence, justified." ("The Life of Isaac Milner", p. 445).
- (2) As has been seen, "Methodist" could be taken to include any "serious" person.
- (3) "The History of the Church Missionary Society", Vol. 1, p.34.

so that young ordinands were able to find a place to pursue their studies. Unfortunately the College was one of the smallest in Oxford and insufficient for the needs of the Evangelical group. The rise of Simeon and his friends at the same time opened the way to an education at Cambridge and prevented much gain (1) in the size and status of St. Edmund Hall by attracting the keenest young ordinands to Cambridge. (2)

The latitudinarianism prevailing at Cambridge in the eighteenth century effectively prevented spiritual progress, despite the efforts of Rowland Hill and his friends in the sixties to maintain a circle of serious men. Although the outward forms were observed there was little genuine religious feeling in the University as a whole. As Smyth justly observes, (3) Charles Simeon must have been almost unique in benefiting from the compulsory observance of religious services at his college. The determined efforts of the converted Simeon and his friends changed and affected the whole University and opened the colleges to the young Evangelicals.

The process of infiltration was gradual. A small beginning was made at Magdalene which fell under the sway of Farish, Jowett and Samuel Hey of Leeds. The Master, Barton Wallop, was a heavy drinker; interested more in hunting, shooting and fishing than in

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- (1) Queen's College, Cambridge, underwent the transformation from one of the smallest colleges to one of the largest.
 - (2) See Appendix 4.
 - (3) "Simeon and Church Order".

the College. Hey became President, and in the Master's absence, virtual head of the College. In 1778, the first Elland pensioner arrived. In 1782, George Burnet, Secretary of the Society informed Dartmouth:

"Pensioners have hitherto been sent without exception to Cambridge, where Mr. S. Hey of Magdalene has exceedingly befriended them; and the tutors Farish and Jowett are both serious men We have not any rule against sending them to Oxford, but the advantage they have at Cambridge has prevailed in its favour." (1)

In the session 1796-7, twelve Elland pensioners and other young Evangelicals were in residence. A new Master, Peter Peckard, took over the College in 1781, but, though he was himself a Socinian, he approved of the work being done by Hey and his friends and encouraged them.

From 1787, the year in which Hey left Magdalene, the attraction of the College for Evangelical students weakened. The election of Gretton as Master in 1797 hastened the process. His complaint that the place was being turned into "a nest of noisy Methodists" (2) is

(1) "Church Quarterly Review", 1958, p. 502. At Edinburgh a similar effort was made to obtain men of sound religious principles for key posts. In 1819, George Bell wrote to Milner concerning the contest for the Chair of Natural Philosophy, stressing the need to bring about the election of Dr. Chalmers: "The truth is, our University stands much in need of a help such as Dr. Chalmers would be, for it is overflowing either with scepticism, infidelity, or indifference." Chalmers' opponent, Leslie, was a man "by no means a friend to evangelical truth." ("The Life of Isaac Milner", p. 697).

In this instance the Evangelicals were unsuccessful: Leslie was elected.

(2) "History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England", p. 100.

a clear enough indication of his feelings for the Evangelical ordinands. Under Grenville, who became Master in 1813, the College continued to lose favour with the Elland Society. Many of his Fellow-Commoners were wealthy and titled, with little use for "serious" religion and its practitioners. In 1814, three young men, Raven, Rawson and Emmet remained at Magdalene. When Raven and Rawson graduated, Emmet alone remained, and the minutes of the Society recorded the approval of the members for his proposal to leave the College in favour of Trinity.

It was fortunate that the departure of Hey from Magdalene was followed within a year by the establishment of Isaac Milner as President of Queen's. With the support of Sowerby he determinedly crushed opposition from Staff and students alike in his determination to create what Stephen called a "nursery of the Evangelical neophytes".⁽¹⁾ He made no secret of the use of his considerable influence to secure the election of Evangelical Fellows and re-create the College in a more worthy image. He told Wilberforce of his determination to "have nothing to do with Jacobins or infidels".⁽²⁾ He took the most unusual step of going outside the Fellows to achieve this aim, and brought in Sowerby, Thomason and Barnes. He was convinced that tutors must be men of good principles otherwise the student would be "in hazard of deterioration of his religious principles, in consequence

(1) "Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography", 1893 edn., p.574.
(2) "The Life of Isaac Milner", p. 243. Thomason was appointed in accordance with Milner's ideals, "entirely on account of his high reputation for learning, good principles, and exemplary conduct". ("History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England", p. 144.)

of irreligious association". (1) After a few years none questioned Milner's will. Gunning said scathingly that Queen's, which had been distinguished for "its attachment to Civil and Religious Liberty had become afterwards as remarkable for its opposition to liberal opinions". (2) It is interesting to note, in passing, how, in trying to gain for Evangelical undergraduates the freedom to learn, the methods used in their turn exposed those who employed them to charges of ruthlessness and exclusiveness. Be that as it may, the tutors who were out of step with Milner soon left the College. Hammond married and took his departure, Fyshe Palmer was driven out and went to Scotland, Jordan and Morris took livings and Plumtre went to the Bar. Evangelical parents took advantage of Milner's dominance to flood the College with earnest young men. Queen's grew in popularity with the Ellanders. Buchanan was sent there through the generosity of Henry Thornton chiefly because Thornton was acquainted with the President and thought that that circumstance might be of advantage to the student. (3) Teignmouth visited Cambridge and found Milner most interested in the welfare of the students there and Miss More's protégé, Lee, corroborated his opinion, asserting that Milner was "most exceedingly kind" and prepared to exert himself "with great energy and effect" on his behalf. (4)

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- (1) "The Life of Isaac Milner", p. 294.
 - (2) "Reminiscences of Cambridge", Vol. 1, p. 262.
 - (3) "The Life of Isaac Milner", p. 104.
 - (4) Ibid., p. 594.

In later life, Lee owed a great debt to Milner's influence in aiding him to secure the Chair in Arabic. (1)

In 1791, Milner became Dean of Carlisle, (2) but he did not allow his ecclesiastical duties to interfere unduly with his work at Cambridge, for, as one historian has put it, "he gave his vacations to the Cathedral but the terms to the College". (3) In 1792, he became Vice-Chancellor of the University for the first time and, despite his lukewarm feelings about the post and his fears for his health, prosecuted his duties with vigour. He exhibited a strong determination to improve the standard of discipline in the University and to raise the tone in religious matters of the Staff and student body. One of his first tasks was to preside over the trial of William Frend of Jesus who had issued a pamphlet entitled "Peace and Union recommended to the Associated Bodies of Republicans and Anti-Republicans". Although his biographer asserts that he provided "a full, deliberate, and impartial trial" (4) there can be little doubt that Frend's "party of Socinians, holding republican opinions" (5) was anathema to a High Tory Evangelical such as Milner. Despite his care for justice, the Vice-Chancellor was criticised for his handling of the trial.

(1) "The Life of Isaac Milner", p. 689. Lee also owed much to the C.M.S. which paid for him to go to Cambridge. For some years after graduation, he was employed by the Committee and known as "the Society's Orientalist". ("The History of the Church Missionary Society", Vol. 1, p. 120).

(2) See Appendix 2.

(3) "History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England", p.101.

(4) "The Life of Isaac Milner", p. 86.

(5) Ibid, p. 87.

Gunning, who watched the proceedings with an unfriendly eye, asserted that Milner seemed determined to convict and consistently overrode legal forms. Whilst Milner wrote to Wilberforce that the expulsion of Frennd "was the ruin of the Jacobinical party as a UNIVERSITY THING, so that that party is almost entirely confined to Trinity College", (1) Gunning was most emphatic in his desire "to affirm that there never existed, or was supposed to exist, a Jacobin party in the University". (2)

Milner's critics were in the minority. In 1810 he became Vice-Chancellor again and so impressed his fellows by his "firm conduct, and manly administration" (3) that many of them hoped to persuade him to continue in office for a further year. His firmness was welcomed, for though he perceived during his second term of office a "laudable disposition to be attentive to the studies, and obedient to the laws of the University", (4) he acknowledged that it was "notorious, that twenty-four hours seldom passed without some

(1) "The Life of Isaac Milner", p. 162.

(2) "Reminiscences of Cambridge", Vol. 1, p. 309. Milner's attitude was entirely consistent with that which he displayed towards the establishment of a branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society at Cambridge in 1811. There seems to be no reason to accept Gunning's view that he was attempting "for obvious reasons" to impress Pitt. (Ibid, Vol. 1, p. 311.)

(3) "The Life of Isaac Milner", p. 402. "Oh, what a consulship this is!" - the Bishop of Bristol, Ibid, p. 402.

(4) Ibid, p. 397. When riotous behaviour brought three students of Trinity and one from St. John's to his court in March 1810, they were fined £50 per head, one was rusticated for a year, one suspended from taking his degree for a year and the two remaining suspended from taking their degrees for six months.

very considerable breach of discipline, some riot, some tumult, some confusion. To such a height had these disorders proceeded, that the University found it necessary to increase their usual numbers of public officers". (1)

Milner's standing as a lecturer was high. He has been frequently described as a sort of Evangelical Dr. Johnson who dispensed wit and instruction with easy grace. Thomas Babington Macaulay stayed with him when twelve years of age and said in later life: "How he talked about science to men I do not know, but to me he made it as agreeable as an Arabian tale." (2) Gunning grudgingly admitted that in the opinion of those better qualified to judge than himself Milner's lectures were held to be excellent, although he recorded his minority and somewhat jaundiced view of the lectures given by Milner in his capacity as Jacksonian Professor: "He did not treat the subjects under discussion very profoundly, but he contrived to amuse us.... I cannot say that I benefited much by my attendance on these lectures." (3)

As President of Queen's Milner carried out a modification of the whole system of examinations for the fellowships because he believed them to be conducted on inequitable principles. He also had the opportunity to implement a resolution made when he attended the College

(1) "The Life of Isaac Milner", p. 396.

(2) Ibid, p. 561..

(3) "Reminiscences of Cambridge", Vol. 1, pp. 359-60.

Professor Smyth summed up the general view: "Dr. Milner was always considered as a very capital lecturer what with HIM, and what with his German assistant Hoffmann, the audience was always in a high state of interest and entertainment." ("The Life of Isaac Milner", p. 32).

in his youth as a sizar. Because of the menial offices they performed the sizars formed a depressed class within the student community. Many of the future clergy were drawn from poor students who received patronage as sizars in order to acquire an education. Milner's determination to abolish the menial duties of the sizars created a more pleasant atmosphere for the underprivileged and helped to prevent them from acquiring the servile attitude which had become ingrained in so many of their predecessors.

Of Milner's allies, one of the most influential was Joseph Jowett, Professor of Civil Law and tutor at Trinity Hall from 1775 to 1795. Due to his efforts and the support rendered later by Brown, (1) Trinity became an acknowledged "fief of Queen's". (2) His eminence in the University and his personal characteristics made Jowett an ideal shield for pious men.

"Who dared to ridicule the preacher to whose discourses Dr. Jowett was frequently known to listen? And how often has the modest, diffident youth, when derided by his companions for being OVER religious, silenced their profane reproaches by appealing to the example of Dr. Jowett! How often have both young graduates and undergraduates, of a pious turn of mind, been taken kindly by the hand, and directed and supported in their Christian course by the same judicious and excellent person!" (3)

The greatest influence wielded by an Evangelical at the University was that of Charles Simeon. Converted to the Cause at King's, when an undergraduate, he attended the church of Christopher Atkinson,

(1) Assistant tutor from 1807.

(2) "History of the English Church", Vol. 7, p. 243.

(3) Isaac Milner. "The Life of Isaac Milner", p. 584.

brother of Miles Atkinson, and was introduced to John Venn who in turn took him to see "his own dear and honoured Father", (1) the oracle of Clapham, Henry Venn. Residing at Yelling from 1771 to 1797, Venn was a useful stabilising influence on the young man, and was able to save him for the cause of Church order by turning him from the path pointed out by John Berridge, who still professed a lofty disregard for parochial boundaries. Venn was able to render Simeon the further service of drawing him into friendship with the great men of Clapham, after an initial introduction to the Thorntons. Thus was another part added to the Clapham-Cambridge-Yorkshire axis which was of such importance to the Evangelical party.

Simeon's path after his conversion was stony; he was the recipient of much of the public abuse levelled against his party. Time and again he was attacked for his "Methodistical" sermons. Despite the support of the popular Parish he battled for ten years from his inauguration as minister of Trinity Church in 1783 against rowdy students and recalcitrant churchwardens. Pews were locked against his listeners. If he provided open seats to make up the deficiency they were thrown out. The Hammond Lectureship was given to another, more orthodox Churchman who preached to the bulk of Simeon's renegade congregation. Even at as late a date as 1808 his troubles were not over, for on the death of Dr. Yorke there succeeded to the Bishopric of Ely the hostile Dampier who caused Simeon considerable mortification

(1) "Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Charles Simeon, M.A.", by W. Carus, p. 23.

as his superior in the Church and sided with the elements hostile to him in the University. After seeing Simeon in 1810, Canon John Babington referred to this troubled time in his ministry:

"I had well known what enmity had been shown towards him by men of mark, who did not care to conceal their animosity, and who never hesitated to avow their purpose to thwart Mr. Simeon in every possible way." (1)

Despite the bitterness of the opposition Simeon's tremendous determination eventually overcame it. Through his preaching and the work of the other Evangelical members of the Staff there accumulated a number of young men eager to sit at his feet. His classes on the Bible and Doctrine and his Sermon classes were increasingly well-attended. Through regular informal meetings with students he trained most of the Evangelical preachers of the next generation and beyond, for some fifty generations of students passed through the theological college in miniature provided by his conversation parties and sermon classes. He, more than any other man, taught the young Evangelicals how to exist within the Church and proved that Evangelicalism could be consistent with Church order. The influence he gained once the tide had begun to flow with him was little short of amazing. He maintained the Evangelical connection in innumerable ways. For example, take only his work with the Church Missionary Society and his friendship with the Atkinsons and the Elland Society, the Venns, Wilberforce, the

(1) "Charles Simeon", by H. C. G. Moule, pp. 177-8.

More sisters, Cecil, Robinson, the Grants, Newton, Martyn, and the Thorntons. (1) In the University situation his moral influence rose as he progressed in the hierarchy. In 1788, he became Junior Dean of Arts; in 1789, Dean of Divinity; and in 1829, Senior Dean of Arts. His care over students was constant and affectionate. Thomason wrote home: "Mr. Simeon watches over us as a shepherd over his sheep. He takes delight in instructing us, and has us continually at his rooms." (2) Like Martyn, Simeon became interested in the early struggles of Henry Kirke White. In 1804, he assisted him to become a sizar at St. John's and guaranteed him any sum under thirty pounds per annum for his education, whilst other friends of the student promised him a further thirty pounds. "From what source I know not," wrote Kirke White to Southey, "but through the hands of Mr. Simeon I am provided with £30 per annum; and while things go on so prosperously as they do now, I can command £20 or £30 more from

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- (1) Two further brief examples of the influence he gained may be given. Simeon's preaching tours brought many people to Evangelicalism. On one journey he completely transformed the teaching of a minister by his example. The minister, Stewart, continued his ministry in such a way that two of his parishioners felt that they "owed their own selves" to his changed teaching. The parishioners were the parents of the boy who was to become Duff of Calcutta. ("Charles Simeon", p. 161.)
As a second instance, when John Gladstone, father of the future Prime Minister, built two new churches, it was to Simeon that he went for advice on the appointment of suitable incumbents.
- (2) "Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of the Rev. Charles Simeon, M.A.", p. 97.

my friends, and thus, in all probability, until I take my degree."(1)
In the same year, the Elland Society, after a careful examination of Kirke White's health had been made, offered their assistance, but in 1806 they were relieved of the burden when Simeon took him entirely under his patronage. Kirke White was always ready to acknowledge Simeon's great help, both in public and in private and mentioned that a proportion of the sums paid him by Simeon came from anonymous donors: "It was Mr ---- (2) who allowed me £20 per annum, and Mr. Simeon who added £10."

Simeon's kindness to the deserving was matched by his irascibility when dealing with the unworthy. For example, he haled before his congregation a student who had broken a window in the Church and forced him to read a public apology. When he discovered in the culprit a tendency to mumble he took from him the apology and repeated it himself in ringing tones. Nor was he afraid to deal sternly with more substantial citizens. Upon another occasion in 1810, he incarcerated in the public gaol the captain of a volunteer corps who was a banker and man of influence, because he had disturbed the congregation by his unruly behaviour and had failed to humble

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- (1) "Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of the Rev. Charles Simeon, M.A.", p. 202. At the same time, the Elland Society minutes recorded that Simeon was prepared to help any other "very promising young man" who was in danger of missing a University education through lack of funds.
- (2) Very possibly Wilberforce who had a passion for anonymity and was one of the first to help Kirke White. See "Life of William Wilberforce", Vol. 5, p. 298.

himself for the offence. After two days the banker begged pardon and was released. Had he not apologised, Simeon averred that he would have gone "to the full extent of the law". (1) He considered that he was not vindictive, but in the cause of God he always felt it his "indispensable duty to be firm". (2) It is pleasant to note, in contrast to the turbulence of these early days, that in 1827 one of his sermons at Trinity Church caused a group of undergraduates to go forth and form the Sunday School in Jesus Lane. This is to look into the future; the day was not yet won in the first decade of the century when there occurred a dispute which indicated the feeling in the University at the time and the sort of forces faced by the tiny group of Evangelicals on the Staff. Some Evangelical undergraduates who wished to start a branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Cambridge, went to see the Vice-Chancellor, the Bishop of Bristol and others in an effort to interest them in the idea. They received no encouragement because of the fear that if they acted thus unconstitutionally in making innovations without their seniors' foreknowledge in a religious matter, they might face the same temptation in a political matter. Milner was particularly afraid of disorderly combinations and requested the students to leave everything in the hands of their seniors. Especially he feared that they might bring discredit upon the Evangelical party or upset the

(1) "Memoirs of the Life of the Reverend Charles Simeon, M.A.",
p. 93.
(2) Ibid.

nice balance of the Church of England and University alliance. Ten students took their troubles to Simeon who asked them to trust his judgment and make no further moves without his direction: "The young men, who would not have submitted to any other individual, bowed with perfect willingness to me, and suffered me to draw a line around them, beyond which they were not to move." (1) Having tasted the heady wine of omnipotence, Simeon proceeded to commit the scheme to his friends on the Staff in a way more consistent with academic discipline. Jowett, Farish and Brown decided to help and Farish approached the Vice-Chancellor for permission to hold a meeting. He was determined to hold it himself if all else failed, but fortunately permission was granted.

Marsh, the arch-enemy of the Evangelical party (2) chose this moment to issue an attack on the Bible Society: "An Address to the Members of the Senate, occasioned by the Proposal to introduce into Cambridge an Auxiliary Bible Society". He converted to or confirmed in his view most of the leading men in the University and the county so that only a handful of pious souls remained committed to the venture, thus creating further suspicion among the majority that it

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- (1) "Memoirs of the Life of the Reverend Charles Simeon, M.A.", p. 308. One of the undergraduates present bore out that Simeon's influence was all-important. (Ibid, pp. 313-7n.)
- (2) "I stand opposed, not only to Dr. Milner, and all the minor advocates of the Society; I stand opposed to almost every periodical publication, from the Edinburgh Review down to the Christian Observer; to say nothing of the Evangelical Review, and the other broods of methodism, which are hatched at the expiration of every month, and peck by instinct at the Margaret Professor." (20th August, 1813. "Works", 1811-13)

was tainted with Methodism. Lord Hardwicke agreed to take the Chair, but Milner seemed to his colleagues to have little stomach for the affair (1) and hung back, refusing to attend unless the Bishop did likewise. Vansittart wrote to Wilberforce urging that Milner should attend, but he was still waiting on the Bishop's word as late as 10th December. At this stage, wrote Simeon, "IF IT HAD BEEN POSSIBLE TO HAVE RECALLED THE LETTERS AND NOTICES, WE SHOULD HAVE DONE IT." (2)

The prime movers in the scheme now placed all their hopes on William Wilberforce. Nor were they disappointed, for some swift manoeuvres resulted in a promise from Gloucester to be President of the Society if Hardwicke would agree to take the Chair. Lord Osborne then offered to support Hardwicke, and the Dukes of Bedford and Rutland and the Bishop of Bristol (who had held aloof because the

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- (1) Milner himself seems to have had no sense of shame (e.g. his letters and speech, p. 471 et seq., "The Life of Isaac Milner"). His letters (pp. 465-8, Ibid), show that he considered that those present at the original conference with Farish had decided to suspend the business. While in London, he learned that a meeting had been held and expressed considerable surprise, giving his own opinion that it would have been more politic to allow the furore caused by Marsh to die down before attempting anything. He considered that his own value to the "oppressed Evangelical clergy" would be lessened were unprincipled writers able to point him out as only head of a college countenancing turbulent undergraduate meetings, committees and the rest. His "constitutional caution" (Ibid, p.470) led him to believe that the undergraduates' party must be broken so that it should not appear in the eyes of the world to be the nucleus of the Society.
- (2) "Memoirs of the Life of the Reverend Charles Simeon, M.A." p. 309.

society was to be formed outside his diocese), followed suit. Others followed their lead, and support for the meeting snowballed. Nicholas Vansittart of the Privy Council published an answer to Marsh to achieve for the Bible Society what Marsh had achieved for its opponents. At a meeting packed with celebrities and gownsmen, Farish spoke and was joined on the platform by Milner, who, in Simeon's eyes, "took shame to himself for being so long in making up his mind." (1) As has been seen, this is a debatable point, but Milner certainly redeemed himself fully by taking Marsh to task in print. Simeon wrote delightedly to Thomason in 1813 on the happy conclusion of his efforts:

"Vansittart is doubtless a pattern for controversialists: he is a razor (sic) - I am a hatchet. But what will you say to Milner? He is like one of those immense hammers moved by steam - engines for the hammering of anchors ... He has actually crushed his adversary to atoms." (2)

The eventual success of the Bible Society at Cambridge was indicative of the change in atmosphere wrought by the Evangelicals there. Only twenty-seven years separated Joseph Milner's grudging admission on a visit to his brother in 1794: "this place has obtained more evangelical means since I was here last", (3) from Simeon's exultant if exaggerated claim upon establishing in the University a branch of his society for converting the Jews:

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- (1) "Memoirs of the Life of the Reverend Charles Simeon, M.A.", p. 311.
 - (2) Ibid, p. 373. Marsh, of course, returned the attack. ("Works", 1811-13)
 - (3) Letter to Stillingfleet, "The Life of Isaac Milner", p. 100.

".... such is the state of the University now, that multitudes are ready to come forward in every good work ... When I was an undergraduate myself, I could not find one who feared God; now we can find many, who through the mercy of God are burning and shining lights." (1) Such a change in the University was of great value to the young man sent by the Elland Society, but his lot remained hard. The process of change was not completed in one student generation, but that apart, the standards of his patrons were demanding. From the first he was subjected to the stringent paternal care of the Society. Neat and sober in appearance, he was to wear neither silks nor ruffles nor anything else deemed expensive by his Guardian even though it were a present from a relative or friend. He was forbidden to buy books, apparatus, clothes or furniture unless his Guardian approved, nor could he apply for an exeat from a tutor without first consulting him. Any immoral conduct or failure to submit in all lawful things to his Guardian, (2) tutors or the Director of the Elland Society was punishable by the withdrawal of all bounty. This was no vain provisio: in 1798, one Deverel was dismissed for putting on another student's gown and otherwise giving offence to the subscribers. In the following year Cottle, too, was dismissed because the oracle of Clapham on finance, Henry Thornton,

(1) "Memoirs of the Life of the Reverend Charles Simeon, M.A.",
p. 551.

(2) Usually a senior member of the University.

did not like his extravagance.

Pious, sober and discrete, (1) the student was nevertheless expected to bring credit to his mentors through scholastic achievement. The Society kept a careful record of the work of its pensioners, and augmented its knowledge by secret reports from certain of the tutors. The scheme was inaugurated in 1778 when Hey of Magdalene was asked to overlook the work of students at Cambridge. In 1802, the practice was more firmly established when Loyd of King's and Sowerby of Queen's were asked to submit regular reports every six months. (2) Upright behaviour was essential, but was no excuse for scholastic failings. Simeon made clear the attitude of the Cambridge don: "If my coachman neglected my horses, or my cook my dinner, that they might read the Bible, they would be displeasing and dishonouring their God. So, if students neglect the duties (i.e. the studies) of the place for the sake of reading their Bibles, they are not in the path of duty ... Remember, secular

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- (1) (- but human.) Dr. Walsh points out that the Evangelical youths were not above the usual pranks with fireworks and bowls of water. ("Church Quarterly Review", 1958, pp. 507 - 8.)
- (2) The reports stressed character and scholastic achievement equally. A brief report from Hey in 1799 was minuted by the Secretary of the Society: "Dallein, I think, is a very pious conscientious young Man, his Conduct is firm yet - (sic) modest - Wilmot, tho' not so engaging, is a truly pious Man -; he is diligent, & likely to prove an active Minister - Hogg is also a religious & agreeable Man. I think the same - too of Ogden - Deverele (a) appears to be a pious upright Man & to be very conscientious. Wilson is also a serious character, & very diligent in his studies; I hope his great Proficiency will not warp his Mind." (a) Deverele junior, not to be confused with the Deverel who was withdrawn.

study, as appointed by the authorities, is here your duty to God." (1)
Much of the respect accorded Simeon by the senior members of the University stemmed from his refusal to allow religion to interfere with college discipline. On another occasion he wrote to a minister whose brother intended to come to Cambridge, advising him that if he intended visiting the sick instead of attending to his studies he would give his voice against him instantly. (2)

Nor could the student look for sympathy among the clergymen at Elland. They were eager for the scholastic success of their protégés. In 1798, they resolved to note in the minutes all honours, past and future, gained by the students in their degree examinations. (3) In 1823, the members grimly committed to the Minutes, that "the young Men who go to the University, be plainly informed, that the Society

(1) "Simeon and Church Order", p. 270.

(2) "Memoirs of the Life of the Reverend Charles Simeon, M.A.", p. 433.
Milner, of course, was always concerned to raise standards; the level of work improved under his auspices when Vice-Chancellor and at Queen's under his Presidency. He considered that a classic should be able to construe the Greek Testament at sight and parse any verb, read Xenophon, Lucian, Herodotus, and Homer; Virgil, Horace, Caesar's Commentaries and Tully's orations - these four at sight; write correct Latin prose and read a Greek play or two. This was the minimum: "If a man be not so far proficient, he goes to College for little but to spend his money." ("The Life of Isaac Milner", p. 523.)

(3) In the early days of the Society, the members were perhaps too eager for success or may have lacked judgment. A letter from Sowerby on 26th March, 1804, commented favourably on the character of the men he had seen, but went on to remark, "that a great Obstacle to their Improvement in College, is the Want of a competent Share of Classical Learning before they come to reside. This was particularly the case with the two last admitted." The Secretary noted: "The Society fears that there has been too much Ground for Mr. Sowerby's Remark - A Desire of a speedy Usefulness having induced them to send some of their young Men to College earlier than appears to have been seen proper." ("Journals of the Elland Society".)

expects that, while they pay due Attention to the great Object they have in View, they do also attend to the particular Studies of the Place, & that the Treasurer do require, in the Annual Letters, an Account from each of them, how he stands in the Examination List." (1) Either the selection of candidates was of a high order or the adjurations and discipline of the Society were effective, for, in its first twenty-three years of life, the Morrisian Prize for Divinity was won fifteen times by Elland pensioners. (2)

Around the early Elland pensioners was fought and won the battle for a University education for the young Evangelical ordinand. As the Colleges were opened to them (3) and the attitude of the University altered towards them they gave hope to others in different parts of the country. Other clerical societies (4) followed their lead. The Matlock Bath Society (5) was founded in 1816 by Philip Gell, a friend

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- (1) "Journals of the Elland Society".
 (2) "Church Quarterly Review", 1958, p. 503.
 (3) For example, in 1810, pensioners were at Trinity, Queen's, St. John's and All Souls.
 (4) In addition, Barrington created "The Barrington Society for Promoting Religious Education in the diocese", which was a clerical society with a building fund, and provided assistance for boys wishing to proceed to orders. The Elland Society itself approved of the societies he set up in his diocese. ("Journals of the Elland Society", 17th July, 1800.)
 (5) The Society was set up with the same sort of aims as the Elland Society, defined in this case as: "The Elucidation of the Word of God and the Interests of the Redeemer's Kingdom - The Promotion of personal Holiness, Zeal and Brotherly Love, - Establishment in the Doctrines and Discipline of the Church of England; - and mutual assistance in difficult cases of parochial Ministration."
 ("Evangelical Parish Clergy 1820-40", "Church Quarterly Review", 1958, p. 388.)

of Simeon, under whose influence many of its products fell. The Bristol Clerical Society helped over one hundred youths in the West country to enter the Universities and study for orders. The Creaton Clerical Society sent over fifty men to take orders, and at Cambridge Simeon himself founded a Clerical Society, the only one to which wives were invited. Simeon's more important venture was the London Clerical Society which owed much to his dissatisfaction with the flow of young men from Elland and elsewhere. From its inauguration, the Society, whose trustees included Babington, Wilberforce, Grant and Calthorpe, supported twenty men from the metropolis. In 1820, Simeon mentioned to Thomason that the first twenty had gone up to Cambridge: "This is an institution of mine, and, like my dear sisters in Calcutta, may well fill my soul with joy and gratitude. The numbers of pious clergy are greatly on the increase....." (1)

Sending her subscription to Daniel Wilson, the Secretary, Hannah More emphasised its value: "We must chiefly look to it hereafter for right-minded ministers in this non-preferring age of serious men." (2)

The young Evangelical who successfully completed his course had two main spheres of work open to him. On the one hand were the parishes at home where "serious" men were sorely needed, on the other the missionary field so beloved by the Claphamites and their great ally,

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- (1) "Memoirs of the Life of the Reverend Charles Simeon, M.A.", p. 536. (Loane ("Oxford and the Evangelical Succession", p. 261) credits Wilson with the foundation of the "London Clerical Education Society" in 1816.)
- (2) "Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More", Vol. 4, p. 184.

Charles Simeon. Simeon's overseas work began in 1788 when he received an address from Calcutta in which the Reverend David Brown, Charles Grant, Chambers and Udny asked for his help in the establishment of a mission in India. Simeon set about the task of supplying young graduates for the work, while Grant himself provided over £300 a year for their maintenance. Cornwallis, the Governor-General, was unimpressed by the scheme, but at least promised not to be inimical towards it. In the councils of the Great, hopes were, of course, fixed on the inimitable Wilberforce: "It is to his influence alone that we hope the minister will regard such a prospect, and ask for it the countenance of Majesty" (1) Wilberforce's persistence wore away some of the opposition of the East India Company to Christian missions and the Evangelical Bishop, Ryder, displayed commendable enterprise by introducing the practice of ordaining missionaries direct to their field of operations without the customary period of apprenticeship in England.

The mainspring of the machine was Simeon, without whose efforts the supply of young men would have been so poor as to render the work derisory. In 1829, he wrote that almost all the chaplains sent to India during the previous forty years had been recommended by him. (2) Amongst them went such men as Daniel Corrie who became Bishop of Madras, Henry Martyn, who conveyed Evangelical ideas to Mary Butt (Mrs.

(1) A letter of Brown to Simeon, Carus, op. cit., p. 79.

(2) "Charles Simeon" p. 129.

Sherwood) and thus forged another link in the chain of the sect, and Claudius Buchanan, suitably converted by John Newton, sent to Cambridge by Henry Thornton, and to India by Simeon. Thomason, who followed Martyn to India, was another success of the philanthropists. He became interested in schools and sought the help of both Simeon and Wilberforce. (1) (Wilberforce doubted the propriety of his unevangelical decision to use the Shaster and Koran for reading, but Simeon was in favour: "If my patient is not strong enough to behold the light of the sun, I will content myself with such a measure of light as his eyes will bear, and look for a state of convalescence, when he will be able to endure the beams in which I bask." (2)) Thomason did not confine himself to schools, but in true Evangelical fashion extended his labours to include a Tract Society for the natives and a school-book society which won the approval of the Government. He abetted Simeon's work by a project of his own to influence young men to turn their thoughts to India. He sent home £1,650 to the Universities and Public Schools of England, Scotland and Ireland to be used to provide prizes for the best essays and poems written in English, Latin or Greek, which would set the students thinking of the spreading of the Gospel in India. Oxford and Cambridge further received £500 each for the best English prose work

(1) "Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay", p. 295.

(2) "Memoirs of the Life of the Reverend Charles Simeon, M.A.", p. 402.

on missionary topics. The winners included three Church Missionary Society men of the future: the young Charles Grant, Hugh Pearson, later Dean of Salisbury and biographer of Buchanan, and John Cunningham, the future vicar of Harrow. (1)

The major field of action and that for which the clerical societies had established their charities, was the English parish. The opposition to the party caused the Evangelicals to stand the more closely together and assist each other to gain livings and then to go a step further and deliberately set out to purchase advowsons for young men seeking spheres of work. The idea was not altogether popular. "Orthodox" clergymen viewed with alarm the growth of a power bloc capable of diverting a definite number of livings away from them. Something of this feeling is communicated through Shaw's attacks on Hannah More who demonstrated the power of faction in securing the appointment of Jones to Shipham and Leigh Richmond to Cheddar while exerting pressure towards the removal of Bere. Porteus, a great friend of Clapham, publicly denounced the practice of buying advowsons, and even the Elland Society refused to consider such a method. (2)

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- (1) He further influenced public opinion through the works he sent home: "Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment in British India", and "Christian Researches in the East". ("The History of the Church Missionary Society", Vol. 1, pp. 97-8.)
 - (2) At a meeting on 17th March, 1796, they rejected a suggestion from Mr. Milner of Hull (Joseph) that they should "appropriate a part of their Fund towards the procuration of parochial Settlements for Gospel Ministers." ("Journals of the Elland Society".)

The precedents for purchasing advowsons for Evangelicals went back to the time of old John Thornton, who gave Newton over £3,000 while minister at Olney and secured for him St. Mary Wool Church-Haw in Lombard Street after a legal battle for the right of representation which took him to the Lords. Newton owed his living at Olney to the good offices of the Earl of Dartmouth who did sterling work for the early ministers. For example, it was he who obtained Huddersfield for Venn, Leicester for Robinson, Horam for Stillingfleet, and Dewsbury for Powley. Jervis, who opened the first National School in Cheltenham was a Simeon incumbent, as was Close, ordained by Bishop Ryder, who carried on the work. Dealtry was given Clapham on the advice of Simeon as a trustee of the Thornton living. Wilberforce procured Holy Trinity, Hull for Joseph Milner and helped Isaac to become Dean of Carlisle. (1) Isaac Milner in his turn gained the living of Elland for a son of Miles Atkinson through a member of the Elland Society, Dr. Coulthurst.

Such examples of self-help and the purchase of advowsons were given form and added vigour by Charles Simeon. At the time of John Thornton's death, nine livings were entirely in his gift and he had the right of presentation to one more. His will gave the patronage of the livings to John Venn, Henry Foster and Bentley of Camberwell. Nine successor-trustees were nominated of whom Simeon was one. In

(1) See Appendix 2.

1813 Simeon succeeded to Venn's place. His influence in the Church (1) was extended when his brother left him £15,000 which he used to establish the Simeon Trust to buy spheres of work for clergymen of his party and further the glory of God in the parishes. The fund was built up by considerable donations. In 1823, he noted in his diary: "Behold! but four days ago my friend Lord P. offers to aid me with £4,000, and Dr. Kilvington this day has offered to put at my disposal £10,000 Stock worth £7,500." (2) In 1826, he noted a bequest of £9,000 from a man he had met only for half an hour. Despite his success, he suffered a major disappointment in 1822 when he negotiated for the remains of the Thornton Trust. Due to misunderstandings (it would seem) (3) he found himself facing a much greater expenditure than would have been suggested by the preliminary discussions and was forced to withdraw. Nevertheless, his aim of capturing the urban areas met with considerable success, particularly after the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 had forced corporations to sell livings in their gift. He wrote to Isaac Milner in 1816 to tell him that he had bought Cheltenham with its ten thousand souls for £3,000 and was hoping to buy Marylebourne (100,000 souls) for £25,000. (4) He or

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- (1) His influence through students at Cambridge and his projects elsewhere was said by Macaulay to be "far greater than that of any primate". ("Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay", by G. O. Trevelyan, Vol. 1, p. 68.)
- (2) "Memoirs of the Life of the Reverend Charles Simeon, M.A.", p. 590, n.
- (3) "Charles Simeon, (1759-1836)", p. 177.
- (4) "The Life of Isaac Milner", pp. 635-6.

his successors disposed their wealth so that Bath, Derby, Macclesfield, Bridlington, St. Thomas's and St. Martin's of Liverpool and Beverley Minster all fell into Evangelical hands. An example of what could result from such buying is provided by Scoresby at Bradford, who, in the period from 1839 to 1843, increased the number of schools from one to nine, laid plans for twelve more and created five new churches. (1)

Simeon exercised his trust with heavy seriousness. He was not afraid to reject even members of the Thornton or Wilberforce families who hoped to benefit from the Thornton Trust (2) and remained true to his stern principles whatever sentiment might plead. For example, when Isaac Milner wrote to him asking for advice about a candidate for a living, Simeon replied: "Were ---- my own father, and wanting bread, I could not do it - I would not do it! -.... We watch for souls, as those that must give account." (3) In a letter to Mr. Richardson of York he laid down the principles which guided him throughout his work. They are a clear illustration that though Simeon might consider Evangelical ministers to be the most valuable to the Church he was deaf to the calls of party unless the candidate was worthy in every way. He considered that it was his duty first:

(1) "Charles Simeon, (1759-1836)", p. 177.

(2) Ibid, pp. 171-3.

(3) "The Life of Isaac Milner", p. 635.

"To consider truly, as before God, who is, all things considered, fittest for the particular sphere.

2nd, To inquire carefully, whose removal to a new sphere will be least injurious to any other place; because, if I take a person from a large sphere, which will not be well supplied afterwards, I do an injury, rather than a Service, to the Church at large.

3rd, On a supposition things be equal in these two respects, BUT NOT OTHERWISE, to prefer the person whose circumstances are most straitened. It is for the PEOPLE and for the CHURCH OF GOD that we are to provide, and not for any individual, whatever be his necessities, his virtues, or his attainments." (1)

The opening of the Universities to Evangelical youths and the establishment of areas of work for them at the conclusion of their training illustrates the value and extent of the tendency to coalesce and organise which the party exhibited. In some respects the work was an extension of the philanthropic ideals of the Claphamites, in others it represented a more formal organisation of men of much less individual note than the great figures such as Henry Thornton or Zachary Macaulay, but who produced considerable results and created an organisation partly complementary to and partly interwoven with the looser and more personal connections maintained by the Clapham Sect. Personalities were, of course, important, but whereas Clapham was to break up with the passing of its great men, the clerical societies provided the sort of backbone which the party needed as its personnel changed.

The clerical societies were not, of course, founded with the definite aim of providing further co-ordination for the Evangelicals

(1) "Memoirs of the Life of the Reverend Charles Simeon, M.A.", pp. 382-3.

on a national scale, but the problem of defending themselves against the attacks of their enemies brought this need into focus. From an attitude of Christian resignation they slowly moved towards a determination to defend themselves and from there to counter-attack against their foes. The honest clerics of the Elland Society were still somewhat undecided about their attitude to opposition in 1802 when the Reverend Coates' appointed topic before the Society was: "In the present Appearance of Opposition to the Evangelical Clergy, what Temper of Mind should they profess, & what should be their Conduct in Reference to such Opposition?" (1) The accidental nature of the organisation which was to grow up is illustrated by the fact that while such discussions were being held the first steps towards unity had already been taken. At the Clerical Meeting held on the 6th and 7th May, 1795 to discuss the possibility of a mission to the Heathen, Simeon and his friends had agreed on the desirability of sending out missionaries and had decided to request the Societies at Hotham and Elland to deliberate on the topic and communicate the results of their discussions before the next meeting. It is interesting to see how the involvement of the Elland Society proceeded from that date. On 17th March, 1796, the members agreed that the plan was "well worthy" of their attention and directed the Secretary, Atkinson, to write to Simeon and tell him so. (2) On 19th May, Simeon wrote to acquaint

(1) "Journals of the Elland Society", meeting of 14th, 15th October, 1802.

(2) Ibid.

the members of the Society with the Rauceby Resolutions, which proposed that the two societies should unite to promote a missionary plan and educate young men for the purpose, rather than that the Rauceby people should attempt to go ahead as a new and separate society. The Ellanders agreed to lend their experience to the problem and expressed their opinion in a resolution:

"That it appears to this Society to be an Object highly Desirable, that a chain of correspondence should be instituted between the different societies of religious Clergymen in the kingdom, & that such communications shall be made from this Society as shall be judged expedient for that purpose." (1)

The missionary scheme went on apace. Porteus was consulted, the Rauceby Society was assured that the Ellanders were in earnest and a committee was set up purely to deal with their business. Throughout 1797 the snowball grew. Clark of Rauceby wrote to Elland to suggest that "application should be made to Mr. Wilberforce respecting a Committee being appointed at London to act in conjunction with three persons from each of the Societies of Rauceby, Elland, and Bristol, who should be chosen out of each to act as Committees with the London one." (2)

The Elland Society agreed and appointed Atkinson, Franks and Coulthurst to correspond with the London Committee and act in conjunction with the others. It was recommended to the Bristol and Rauceby

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- (1) "Journals of the Elland Society".
(2) Ibid, meeting held 3rd, 4th August.

Societies that Messrs. Wilberforce, Thornton, John Jowett, Cecil and Foster should be appointed as corresponding members to compose the London Committee. The Society at Elland was now heavily involved in the pet scheme of the Clapham Sect. In 1800 it committed itself further by promising support for the Society for Missions to Africa and the East. The great advocate of missions, William Wilberforce was, of course, held in high regard. The Members of the Society spoke of his literary efforts in terms of the warmest approbation and at one meeting instructed the Secretary to write to thank him for "his excellent publication." (1) On another occasion the Society recorded: "There was an unintentional Informality in the Recommendation of Andrew Burne by Mr. Wilberforce & General Burn Yet the Society accepted such Recommendation, by Reason of their high Respect for Mr. Wilberforce." (2) Henry Thornton, Charles Simeon, William Hey and other members of the upper ranks of the Evangelical hierarchy make frequent appearances in the pages of the Elland Journals. How far the Society came to identify itself with the party as a whole and to feel a responsibility for its welfare is also made clear in the same source. For example, the Society "entered into a serious deliberation concerning the hostile Spirit shewn in the Antijacobin Review against the Evangelical Clergy of the

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- (1) "Journals of the Elland Society", 5th October, 1797. No doubt his "Practical View of the Prevailing Religious Systems of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes in this Country, contrasted with Real Christianity".
- (2) Ibid, meeting of 23rd, 24th April, 1812.

established Church, & a report was made that such Attacks wou'd be repeated, with encreasing vigor (sic), in a periodical Work intended to be expressly begun & set apart for that purpose". (1) As a result of their deliberations the members of the Society approached two lay friends, Hey of Leeds and Gray of York, that they might write: "... as from themselves, & in their own names to the Editor of the Antijacobin Review &, in their Letters, to vindicate the Character of the evangelical Clergy of the Establishment who are regular, (such, as we trust, most of our Brethren in these parts are;) ---- from the wrong Ideas conceived of them by the Editor of the Antijacobin Review." (2)

In 1801, a Bill was proposed which would give the Bishops greater control over the clergy. Because of the obvious dangers to the Evangelical cause the Elland Society became alarmed and it was resolved that the Secretary should write to the societies at Bristol and Hotham to be on their guard and prepared to offer their help to resist. On 15th October, a letter arrived from William Hey announcing "The Christian Observer". The Society gave the project its whole-hearted support and offered practical help by setting up a committee to select such of the Society's essays as they deemed proper, to correct them and send them to the paper under the signature "E.S.". For the future, various members pledged themselves to write a certain

(1) 5th October, 1799. "Journals of the Elland Society".
(2) Ibid.

number of articles for submission each year. (1) This and other examples demonstrate that the clerical societies could not remain parochially-minded in the England of their day. As members of a minority party faced by considerable hostility, their involvement in the trend towards greater unity was not merely desirable but essential. The timing of the growth of such societies was particularly fortunate as it allowed the Evangelicals to enter the nineteenth century struggle in religion and education with a means of communication and expression already developed. A central body, which served the purpose of helping the Evangelicals and their friends to maintain contact with one another and with friendly Dissenters, was created with the foundation of the Eclectic Society by an Evangelical layman (2) and his friends in 1783. (3) In 1827, the Islington Conference began the annual gatherings of the Evangelicals, and in 1831, Exeter Hall was built: a centre of operations where the problems of the succession in the parishes could be discussed and resolved.

The development of Evangelical societies was opportune for another reason. The Clapham Sect which had for so long acted as a centre and a stabilising influence was mortal as the men who made it

(1) "Journals of the Elland Society".

(2) John Bacon, a sculptor.

(3) In 1798, when notes of the proceedings of the Society were begun, the members were: Newton, H. Foster, G. Pattrick, T. Scott, R. Cecil, W. J. Abdy, J. Venn, B. Woodd, W. Goode, J. Davies, Josiah Pratt, (Church of England ministers); J. Clayton, J. Goode, (Dissenting ministers); J. Bacon, (layman). Country members were: Charles Simeon, Charles Grant, ("Eclectic Notes", p. 1.).

up. As early as 1808, the signs were visible that its days were limited. "I am grieved to hear", wrote Hannah More to Macaulay, "how the Clapham Society is breaking up; but it is the age of revolutions." (1) Macaulay himself removed his family from Clapham, but in the main the end of the Sect was due to the deaths of the members and their close friends and supporters. Old John Thornton died in 1790 and was followed by Henry Venn in 1797. In 1813, John Venn died, two years before Henry Thornton. Macaulay left Clapham in 1818, the year of the death of a good friend of the Sect, Sir Thomas Bernard. By 1830, few of the coterie formed by the Claphamites and their friends remained, for Charles Grant the Elder, John and Thomas Bowdler, William Hey and Shute Barrington had all gone. Within another three years the aging Wilberforce and Hannah More had died, followed in 1838 by Robert Grant and Zachary Macaulay.

As will be obvious, some aspects of the work of the Clapham Sect could be carried out and given permanence by the societies which it had helped to build or inspire. In other ways there was never again to be a group equivalent to it. Laymen of such eminence and influence were not again to live and work together in such close harmony for the good of their fellows. As a unit, the Clapham Sect was supreme, but it must not be forgotten that each member existed as an individual following the high tradition of philanthropy and

(1) "Letters of Hannah More to Zachary Macaulay", p. 26.

providing inspiration for men of similar views throughout the country. In some ways Wilberforce was a leader, but he was a bright star in a constellation. In the next generation, when the lesser lights among the Evangelicals had united successfully, the fire and drive to inspire their efforts came from the heir to the tradition of service built up at Clapham, from a man without the comforting support of his peers, whose eminence was the more obvious, his loneliness the more pronounced. Without a brief survey of the work of the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury and his reaction to the forces set in motion by the philanthropists, a study of the work of Clapham cannot be complete, for it was in his time that much of their work came to fruition and through his efforts that their role in the Evangelical party was continued.

Chapter 8.

THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY AND THE THIRD GENERATION

OF EVANGELICALS

As the nineteenth century progressed the climate of society became more moral. The efforts of the Clapham Sect and their friends bore fruit in the attitude of mind and approach to life called Victorianism. (1) Whilst it would not be claimed that Victorianism owed its existence only to the Evangelical ethos, the influence gained over the public by that section of the Church was one of the most important causes of the change. Evangelical ideals touched many people who were friendly, hostile or indifferent to the group, often without the source being recognised.

(2) Even at the turn of the century, "virtue was advancing on a broad front": (3) ladies with time to spare devoted themselves to

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- (1) "Evangelicalism was the principle ingredient in the state of mind which to-day we describe, contemptuously perhaps, as 'Victorianism'. ("English Thought in the Nineteenth Century", by D. C. Somervell, p. 101.)
 - (2) It is, of course, impossible to trace the influence of a movement such as Evangelicalism with all its ramifications, seen and unseen. Two interesting examples of the influence of the group are those of Lord Shaftesbury, who said that his ideas were fixed at the age of seven years by an Evangelical servant, Maria Millis; and that of Newman who claimed that it was to Thomas Scott the Evangelical commentator that:
"(humanly speaking), I almost owe my soul." (a) Humanly speaking Scott owed his soul to John Newton. The connection between the Tractarian and the former slaver is interesting. ((a) "The Evangelical Movement in the English Church", by L.E.Binns, p. 18.)
 - (3) "Early Victorian England", ed. by G. M. Young, p. 416.

good works, philanthropy in general was the fashion, discipline in the home and regularity in business the ideal. The aura of sanctity was spread by the vogue for Evangelical biographies, such as Leigh Richmond's "Dairyman's Daughter", the lives of missionaries such as Abraham Judson, and such works as Hannah Smith's "Christian Secrets of a Happy Life", which sold 330,000 copies. By the 1830's the influence of the Evangelicals seemed to be all-pervading, despite the inferiority in actual numbers of the group within the Anglican Church. As G. M. Young has pointed out, however, a young man living at that time soon discovered that "atmosphere is more than creed and, whichever way his temperament led him, he found himself at every turn controlled, and animated, by the imponderable pressure of the Evangelical discipline and the almost universal faith in progress". (1) Sir James Stephen saw in the Evangelical clergy the second founders of the Church of England, and emphasised their influence when in 1860 he wrote: "However decayed may be the Evangelical party as a party, it cannot be denied that its influence, both on our religious ideas and on our Church ideas, has penetrated far beyond those Church limits." (2)

By 1830, much had been done by the Evangelicals and their friends to drive underground the grosser forms of cruelty and profligacy and establish a level of acceptable social behaviour.

(1) "Early Victorian England", p. 413.

(2) "Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography", Vol. 2, p. 3.

Through private persuasion, censorship, preaching and even persecution, a powerful force had been created in support of a code of Sunday Observance, philanthropy and prudery. The strictness of such a regimen and the hostility always engendered by Puritanism inevitably caused a reaction as the Victorian age progressed. The Tractarians relieved some of the Evangelicals' introspection, and the revulsion of feeling from the economic aspect of Evangelicalism restricted its acceptance to the middle-classes in the second half of the century. Beside such indefinite and rather unformed reaction there existed a more specific hostility towards the ideals of the group which was partly a carry-over from the sort of opposition which Evangelicals had always faced, and partly the result of the struggles of youth to be free from a repressive discipline. (1) Thus, as youth will always criticise age, young Anglicans would always attack Evangelicalism or "defend black slavery only because the Evangelicals were against it". (2)

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- (1) As has been shown, (supra, p.80 and p.196) the Evangelicals lost some of the children of their most eminent representatives to other parties inside and outside the Church.
For example, Stock pointed out that Evangelicalism was now "too comfortable" to attract the lively young men from Oxford whose desire for martyrdom had to find satisfaction elsewhere. (Op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 287.)
- (2) Manifestations of Puritanism such as Sir Andrew Agnew's Sunday Observance Bill continued to alienate people. Cruikshank and Dickens, for instance, united in savage contempt for the measure. Joseph Wilson, son of William, was founder of the Lord's Day Observance Society which, because of its rigid principles, has increasingly conflicted with the ideas of the general public.

The Evangelicals had always been accustomed to opposition. The attacks they faced as the nineteenth century wore on were mild compared with the hostility which greeted the first "professors" of the sect. Furthermore, as they became more firmly entrenched, they were neither so vulnerable nor so sensitive to the attacks of their opponents. The Evangelicals had been obliged to begin "The Christian Observer" and the "Record" (1) to give themselves a voice and to refute the attacks of their foes; in 1843 the "English Churchman" was founded in turn as a check to the "Record". The Tractarians, who saw themselves as the defenders of the one Apostolic Church were regarded by the Evangelicals as schismatics (2) and it is significant that the old enemy of Evangelicalism, Sydney Smith, directed his barbs against the younger and more troublesome group. In fact, the Evangelicals were becoming respectable and though acceptance was slow it was none the less

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- (1) Founded in 1828 to put forward the Evangelical view on public events, the "Record" had a marked lack of success until it was rescued by a new editor, Alexander Haldane. However, after the change, its views were not always Evangelical. Other publications which adhered more closely to the party line were "Spiritual", "Evangelical" and "Gospel Magazine".
- (2) See Appendix 5.

sure. (1) The attitude of the new generations, too, was altering as the Church absorbed them. In the 1840's, Francis Close expressed the opinion that the early Evangelical clergymen could not have been such good Churchmen as the men of his generation and registered surprise at their habit of hob-nobbing with Dissenters in the Eclectic Society. As for the British and Foreign Schools Society, he was convinced that it provided an education fundamentally inadequate because of the absence of Church doctrine in its schools and suggested that it was a weapon forged for the overthrow of all religion by Socinians, athiests, liberals and infidels. John Venn criticised his own father for indulging in extempore preaching. The Evangelicals were less inclined to tolerate Dissent than ever: Josiah Pratt discouraged the preliminary steps taken by Edward Bickersteth to unite Church

(1) For example, in 1837, when the S.P.C.K. was revising its collection of tracts, five Essex incumbents published a book of one hundred and eighteen pages entitled "Two Memorials: addressed to the General Meeting of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, on the alleged corrupt Character of some of its Publications". The Memorials attacked the unevangelical nature of the Society and its failure to mention Grace, but rather to stress good works instead. Seventy-three Somerset clergymen added their support to the Essex Memorial in 1839, and two years later came further support from a group of Plymouth clergymen. The Society defended itself vigorously but withdrew certain tracts in order that it might be "perfectly unobjectionable". (a) The voice of the Evangelical party was obviously much stronger in the councils of the S.P.C.K. than it had been and the Society showed a willingness to compromise that had previously been lacking. ((a) "A History of the S.P.C.K.", p. 180.)

and Dissent in the Evangelical Alliance, "The Christian Observer" came out strongly against it, and Hugh McNeile issued a serious warning: "I am convinced that your ardent and loving spirit will meet with a disappointment in the issue of the Alliance." (1)

In a Church and society affected by the ideals of his party, the Evangelical clergyman found promotion easier. Francis Close passed majestically from Cheltenham to the Deanery of Carlisle, Charles Sumner gained Royal favour and the Bishoprics of Llandaff and Winchester, John Sumner became Bishop of Chester and advanced to the supreme dignity of the Archbishopric of Canterbury in 1848. With the departure of Manners-Sutton and Eldon and the advent of Shaftesbury and Palmerston the way to preference was opened wide.

Respectability has its dangers. As the Evangelicals ceased to be a "ginger" group, their friends frequently looked in vain for the vital qualities of the first generation. Kay-Shuttleworth, who was somewhat allied to it in moral outlook, came to dislike the sect for what he termed its "pusillamity" in failing to support him. (2) Ryle rejected the Evangelical clergy of the nineteenth century out of hand: "We have none who in self-denial, singleness of eye, diligence, holy boldness, and unworldliness, come up to the

(1) "The History of the Church Missionary Society", Vol. 1,
pp. 379-80.

(2) "Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth", by F. Smith,
p. 191.

level of Grimshaw, Walker, Venn, and Fletcher." (1) Shaftesbury considered that the old standard of spiritual teaching had been lowered, the "pure milk mixed with water, if not with something more deleterious". (2) By 1869, he was considerably disturbed after the Temple affair (3) and referred to the "coldness", "insincerity", and disunion of the party and found in it "much political, and personal, and very little spiritual Protestantism".(4)

The cooling of zeal and the loss of momentum of the Evangelical group was only relative to what had gone before. The main strands of endeavour were continued through the nineteenth century. In education in particular, the Evangelicals remained true to the ideals of the Claphamites and displayed considerable determination in maintaining the charitable endeavours set up on behalf of the poor. Infant Schools continued to flourish, and the desire of the pioneers that an Infant School should exist beside every National School came nearer realisation when pressure from the Evangelicals and their allies caused the National Society to extend its system of grants to that field of education in 1834. In the following year, a letter from the Louth District suggested that

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- (1) Op. cit., p. 430.
 - (2) "The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887 edition), Vol. 3, pp. 4-5.
 - (3) Dr. Temple's appointment to the see of Exeter.
 - (4) "The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887), Vol. 3, p. 255.

something must be done to improve the standard of teaching in Infant Schools, and in 1836, the Society decided to set up a training centre at the school in Tufton Street, Westminster. (1) Both schools societies were carrying out their original task and in small ways expanding their curricula. In the growing interest in the training of teachers, the Evangelicals were prominent. Francis Close was something of a pioneer in the field: a tour of the country realised £3,000 for a Training College for Masters and Mistresses before he even began his appeal in Cheltenham itself where the College was to be situated. In 1849 the College was well established and the foundation stone for a building costing £17,000 was laid by Shaftesbury. The venture was followed by a college for training mistresses only. The second independent Church Training College also owed its foundation to Evangelical initiative. After tentative negotiations for Battersea College, a group of East End Evangelicals opened a College at Highbury under the name of the Metropolitan Institution, which existed until 1863 when income from its real estate property was used to continue the existence of Cheltenham.

As the century progressed, the Evangelicals found it necessary to strengthen their defences against the rising tide of materialism

(1) Conditions were cramped, as was the outlook of a body which refused the offer made by Wilderspin to lecture on infant teaching methods.

and agnosticism. To give a fuller training to the coming generations of divines the foundation of the London College of Divinity at St. John's Hall, Highbury in 1863 was followed by Wycliffe Hall, Oxford, in 1877, and Ridley Hall, Cambridge, in 1881. The statutes of Ridley make clear the motives of the founders to set forth the sound scriptural and theological foundations of the Evangelical faith and practice of the Church of England as seen in the Prayer Book and Articles, and to counter rationalist propaganda. (1) The University of Cambridge itself was heir to the tradition of Charles Simeon whose followers were continuing to improve the moral climate of the place: men such as his former curate, Charles Clayton; James Scholefield; Thomas Rawson Birks, tutor, preacher and

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- (1) The Elland Society was dissatisfied with the training given to Evangelicals, even after the establishment of the three Colleges mentioned. In 1894, it resolved that a Clergy Training School should be established in Yorkshire for graduates of Oxford and Cambridge. In 1895, it was decided to locate the College at Hull, in the hope that candidates for Holy Orders might be brought into contact with problems of large centres of population while training. The cost of the establishment was to be borne equally by the Elland Society and the Church Pastoral Aid Society. From the first, Moule advised the Society against the venture, stressing that the demand might not be there. In 1897, it became obvious that few men wished to attend the College; the attraction of Ridley and Wycliffe was too strong for a non-residential college in the North which was viewed without approval by the Archbishop of York and many other clergymen. (a) In 1898 the Elland Society informed the C.P.A.S. that it could no longer meet the expense of the venture, and the project was abandoned. ((a) Chiefly because of its association with the C.P.A.S. The Archbishop could accept the Bible Society and the C.M.S. but thought the C.P.A.S. to be something else entirely. ("Journals of the Elland Society".))

Professor of Moral Philosophy; and William Carus, Dean of Trinity and Simeon's biographer. Although many dons were content to follow the old paths, the Evangelicals acquired a stronger grip on the University than any other party in the Anglican Church. An example of their power is seen in their defence of the Sabbath. Typical Evangelical indignation was exhibited when the day appointed for the election of officials of the University and the granting of degrees fell on a Sunday and yet the ceremonies went on. In response to a pamphlet published in 1823, entitled "An address to the Senate of the University of Cambridge relating to certain Academic Proceedings which occasionally take place therein on the Lord's Day", a syndicate was appointed to consider the matter. It reported in the following year that the University could not legally alter the Grace dates fixed by Senate, whereupon such pressure was brought to bear that an Act of Parliament was passed in 1833 authorising the University to make the necessary change. In 1842, the Sabbatarians won another significant victory when they caused the newsroom of the Students' Union to be closed on Sundays. When Willis Clark was at Trinity from 1851-6 he announced that "everyone behaved with propriety" - a young man was even sent down for lighting a cigar. (1) In 1889 the Provost of King's was able to send out a circular to undergraduates which illustrates how far Evangelical ideals had conquered home and college alike: "You,

(1) "Simeon and Church Order", pp. 126-7.

most of you, come from homes where family prayers are the custom ...
our 8 a.m. service is simply the family prayers of the College....."

(1)

At King's College, London, Evangelical interest produced the normal round of argument based on religious differences. The board of examiners formed under the title of "The University of London" had no sooner been constituted than conflict broke out between the Radicals and the Evangelicals and their friends. (2) Under the leadership of Arnold of Rugby, a group campaigned for the compulsory inclusion of the study of the Greek Testament and Scripture history by all Arts students. King's, which was not represented in the Senate, sent a private letter to the Chancellor of the University in support of Arnold's group over the signatures of Dale (3), Rose, Hall and Bowne. Dale supported this document by writing an open letter to the Senate questioning the legality, honesty, justice and expediency of excluding the subjects under discussion. Nevertheless the B.A. course went on without the Testament and Arnold resigned from Senate in disgust. Zachary Macaulay, however, remained to continue his moral influence where it was obviously so badly needed.

By the time the Maurice controversy had broken out, the Evangelicals at King's had become more firmly entrenched. Radstock, Dale and others of Evangelical or "orthodox" Anglican views were

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- (1) "Simeon and Church Order", p. 20.
(2) The board included Brougham, Monteaule, Bishops Maltby, Stanley, Otter and Thirlwall, Sir G.C.Lewis, Grote, Arnold and Macaulay.
(3) Newly recruited from Gower Street.

increasingly perturbed by the activities of the Professor of Divinity, F. D. Maurice, whose unusual ideas led them to doubt the wisdom of his appointment. In the controversy which ensued, both the "Record" and "The Christian Observer" joined in the hunt to pull him down. In 1853, he quitted the College, a victim partly of his unorthodox views, and partly of his temerity in involving the College in public wrangling.

Not only can the lines of Evangelical influence be clearly seen in the Universities; (1) they also extended to the Public Schools, so long the *bête-noire* of the party. This was something of a new development and one of considerable importance. Indeed, Smythe suggests that the winning over of the Public School class accounted for much of the influence gained by the Evangelicals in the nineteenth century. At the turn of the century, the Evangelicals were developing private schools such as that at Seaforth run by Rawson which numbered among its pupils Gladstone and Dean Stanley; Newcome's establishment at Hackney, attended by Creevey and Stratford Canning; and Preston's school at Little Shelford where Thomas Babington Macaulay was educated. These schools were the forerunners of Evangelical Public Schools such as Trent College,

(1) At the University level of education, an interesting example of the results of Evangelical missionary work was the Fourah Bay College, founded in 1827 by the Church Missionary Society, which was affiliated to the University of Durham, with which the closest links are still maintained.

established in 1866 in Derbyshire, the South Eastern College at Ramsgate, 1879, and the Dean Close Memorial School at Cheltenham in 1886. (1)

Significant though they were, the instances of Evangelical enterprise in forming Public Schools were not so important as the effect the general leavening of society had upon the schools and upon those who worked in them. An obvious example is Welldon at Tonbridge, but Welldon was a Simeonite and a natural recipient of the traditions of the sect. A better example is that of Arnold of Rugby. Arnold was not an Evangelical, but he had imbibed many of the ideas of that group. In his work he laid stress first of all on religious and moral principles, second on gentlemanly behaviour, and third only, on intellectual ability. Mental cultivation itself took on the aspect of a religious duty. The work, not the result, was given primary importance; character-building was vital - where ignorance and dullness could be forgiven, wilful irregularity could not. Further, Arnold had fully absorbed the Evangelical concept of innate corruption, and was oppressed by the idea of the presence of sin in even the youngest of his charges.

(1) "Simeon and Church Order", p. 244.

(Francis Close was wider in his educational interests than many Evangelicals; in addition to his work in the fields of infant and junior schools, he was, of course, concerned in the foundation of Cheltenham College in 1843, helped to revive the old Grammar School and founded a proprietary school for the sons of tradesmen.) Charles Grant was another Evangelical who founded a Public School, establishing at Haileybury a college for training the children of the servants of the East India Company.

In quoting Bowdler in a sermon he once referred to the Public Schools as nurseries of vice. Under his watchful eye, the whole atmosphere changed at Rugby. Shaftesbury himself approved of its organisation, and large numbers of Evangelical parents were forced to reconsider their prejudices against Public Schools. (1) When Cheltenham was founded as the result of the activities of an Evangelical group it was governed after the fashion of Rugby. Harrow, too, was patronised by the Evangelicals until the advent of Wordsworth as Master intruded High Church practices into the school and caused the desertion of the Evangelicals almost en bloc. (2)

While the lines of development laid down by the early Evangelicals were being continued, the great tradition of private philanthropy was perpetuated in the person of the seventh Earl of

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- (1) Spencer Thornton, already a senior boy at Rugby when Arnold arrived, upon receiving a blow for reproofing another boy for swearing, displayed true Evangelical spirit and gave back a tract against that very vice to the offender. That he was tolerated at all is evidence of the change in the climate of society at the time.
 - (2) Shaftesbury's sons Evelyn and Lionel both attended Harrow. ("The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887), Vol. 2, pp. 454, 480.) John Venn sent his son John to Harrow, but later removed him because of his poor progress. He was sent to Charterhouse under Russell, then to Haileybury where the moral tone was not all that might have been expected at that time: "amongst the seventy or eighty students there were only two or three who seemed to have any religious feelings." ("Annals of a Clerical Family", p. 180.)

Shaftesbury. (1) Cast in the mould of the men of Clapham, he was to his generation what they had been to theirs. His manifold activities reflected his Evangelical convictions and his desire to serve his fellows and ameliorate the condition of those less fortunate than himself. Like his predecessors, however, he was no democrat. Indeed, in agreeing with Alison's views he wrote:

"..... the democratic principle is anti-Christian, being founded on a hostile and contradictory basis; the Christian Religion asserts man to be morally corrupt, Democracy assumes him to be perfect, or at least perfectable." (2)

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- (1) The Earl of Chichester was another Evangelical who carried on the work of the private philanthropist and, like Mayo, absorbed the ideas of the Continental educationists into his projects. In 1835 he became interested in the scheme of Lady Byron for helping poor boys which was based on the ideas of De Fellenberg. He imitated the scheme on his own estate near Brighton and, by 1838, was able to cater for sixty boys aged from eight to fourteen years. He drew the majority of his pupils from the suburbs of London and found their language so profane that he introduced the teaching of religious principles before all else. The day began and ended with prayers and Sunday was set aside for the Scriptures. Following the European pattern, the boys worked in the fields from eight a.m. until eleven, from eleven until one in the classrooms, from one-thirty until four in the gardens or on the estate, and from four until six in the classrooms again. The tasks at which they made themselves competent gradually increased in difficulty as they became more fitted to carry them out satisfactorily. The pupils were taken beyond the "Three R's" to include in their course History, Geography, Natural Science and Scripture. ("Pioneers of Public Education 1760 - 1850", by H. M. Pollard, pp. 210-11.)
- (2) "The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887), Vol. 1, p. 275.

It is of more than passing interest to see how Shaftesbury carried on the role of philanthropist. In 1836, he chaired the meeting which led to the formation of the Church Pastoral Aid Society: the result of the missionary spirit of the Evangelicals seeking further expression. In 1834, he first served on the Committee of the National Society of which he was later to become Chairman. In the same year a visit by Harmon introduced him to the problems of the blind. The result was the Indigent Blind Visiting Society which filled the need for regular visits to the blind, provided guides to take them to Church and to classes for instruction in reading and writing and in various branches of remunerative employment and, where the need arose, provided pecuniary relief. For fifty years Shaftesbury acted as President and lost no opportunity to visit them and witness the fruits of religious education. (1) In 1851, he became President of the Bible Society, in 1866, he chaired a meeting of the Sunday School Union, and in the following year his diary recorded that he was busy in founding "a Society for giving Dinners to Destitute Children". (2)

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- (1) He bore witness to their "easy and happy acquaintance with the art of reading Scripture, and heard the pleasure they took in the pursuit." ("The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", Vol. 1, p. 274. (1887).) Dr. Thomas Rhodes Armitage, another Evangelical, joined the Committee of the Society in 1866 and was responsible for introducing Braille to its members. Dr. Moon, who had invented a script of his own, founded with the help of Miss Graham the London Home Teaching Society in 1855 and Shaftesbury became its President.
- (2) "The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887), Vol. 3, p. 232. Kinnaird and Mount-Temple were Officers.

He shared the interest of Simeon in the Jews' Society and of Wilberforce in missions, and happily combined the two when he helped the Reverend Solomon Alexander to gain the Bishopric of Jerusalem: "So the beginning is made, please God, for the restoration of Israel." (1) In the more traditional stream of Evangelical endeavour, he became a Vice-President of the Church Missionary Society, and he it was who moved the new law in 1841 to bring its affairs more immediately under the direction of the Church. (2) Near the end of his life he was taking an interest in the development of the Y.M.C.A., though he would have nothing to do with the Salvation Army, a dangerous and presumptuous organization. His proselyting spirit burned to the last: in 1885 he became keenly interested in a new charity - "The Society for Promoting Female Education in the East". (3)

Shaftesbury was not rich, but, like Simeon he became the recipient of bequests to help him in his charitable work. For example, he was in difficulties during the last months of his life in trying to distribute a legacy of £50,000. (4) The logical executor of charitable bequests, he understood the feelings of

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- (1) "The History of the Church Missionary Society", Vol. 1, p. 420.
 - (2) Ibid, Vol. 1, pp. 393-4.
 - (3) "The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887), Vol. 3, p. 511.
 - (4) Ibid, Vol. 2, pp. 308-9. The Ladies' College at Egham was opened in 1885 with money left with Shaftesbury by Thomas Holloway. Shaftesbury persuaded him to split his bequest rather than to assign it to one purpose only and he was thus able to use part of the money for Egham. (Ibid, Vol. 3, pp. 123-4.)

the poor (1) and received near adulation in return. Speakers who mentioned his name at public meetings were apt to be interrupted by storms of applause. (2) The poor were unlikely to commit the error made by one newspaper when he was fighting the cause of the negroes in the southern states of America:

"And who is this Earl of Shaftesbury? Some unknown lordling; one of your modern philanthropists suddenly started up to take part in a passing agitation. It is a pity he does not look at home. Where was he when Lord Ashley was so nobly fighting for the Factory Bill, and pleading the cause of the English slave? We never even heard of the name of this Lord Shaftesbury then." (3)

Although he experienced opposition, Shaftesbury was much more popular than the majority of the Evangelicals who had preceded him. Society was then more ready than at the close of the eighteenth century to accept the code of the Evangelical. Nor can there be any doubt that he was an Evangelical in fact as well as in name. He described himself as being essentially "and from deep-rooted conviction, an Evangelical of the Evangelicals". (4) He inherited the traditional concept of the Sabbath; on one occasion he tried (unsuccessfully) to stop Sunday work in the Post Office, and on another to prevent bands from playing in the parks on Sundays. He naturally became interested in the Working Men's Lord's Day Rest Association and was the obvious choice as President of the Lord's

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- (1) Despite all his charitable works he was keenly aware that charity was not enough. "What the poor want is not patronage but sympathy." ("The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887), Vol. 3, p. 475.)
- (2) Ibid, Vol. 3, pp. 477-8.
- (3) Ibid, Vol. 2, p. 439.
- (4) Ibid, Vol. 3, pp. 2-3.

Day Observance Society. (1) He was a close friend of Haldane who turned to him for a contribution to the "Record" in all times of crisis. In Parliament he watched with a jealous eye all movements representative of Evangelical opinion and gave them firm support. He was of tremendous value to the Evangelical cause in the Church of England through his friendship with Palmerston who consulted him on the appointment of all bishops save one during his ministry. He made no secret of his motives, but if confirmation be needed, an entry in his diary for 1st November is clear enough:

"The first bishops were decidedly of the Evangelical School; and my recommendations were made with that intention. I could not foresee the duration of his power, and I was resolved to put forward men who would preach the truth, be active in their dioceses, be acceptable to the working people, and not offensive to the Nonconformists." (2)

Later, as Palmerston's reign continued, Shaftesbury widened his choice to include other nominees to save the Prime Minister from embarrassment, but he himself maintained his opinion of the superiority of the Evangelical divines.

In Shaftesbury's work in education, which is the main point of interest in this section, it is clear that the ideas of his

(1) "The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887), Vol. 3, p. 26 and pp. 30-2.

(2) Ibid, Vol. 3, p. 197.

Shaftesbury was, of course, related to Palmerston and Melbourne by marriage, but, even before Palmerston's period of office, he was exerting himself against the foes of the Evangelical party. When Peel formed the Government of 1841, he wrote to him specifically to warn him of the dangers of appointing Puseyites to high office in the Church. (Ibid, Vol. 1, pp. 343-5.) See Appendix 5.

predecessors remained undiluted, although in some respects he saw more clearly and was prepared to go further than they might have done. He was quick to see the link between ignorance and vice and ridiculed the prevalent idea that ignorance was the friend of tranquillity. When some sections of the Press opposed the development of Mechanics' Institutes on the grounds that they would breed disloyalty to the Empire and the State, he threw his weight on the side of the Institutes. He believed that the workers had for too long been treated like animals and that in that lay the true danger. A moral and religious education was the best means of developing the personality in a process which must be continued through life after the schools had pointed the way. In 1843, he moved the address to the Crown praying her Majesty to take "into her instant and serious consideration the best means of diffusing the benefits and blessings of a moral and religious education amongst the working classes of her people". (1) Man could not be regenerated if his "pliant childhood" (2) were ignored, therefore all that might be used to institute and spread the feelings and practice of morality drawn from "the great depository of truth" must be employed. (3) Speed of accomplishment was a duty to the poor, for with every

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- (1) "Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887), Vol. 1, p. 452.
(2) Ibid, Vol. 1, p. 453.
(3) Ibid, Vol. 1, p. 453.

passing year more of them were added to the ranks of misery, vice and disorder. (1)

The religious motive, of course, was of supreme importance. In 1834, Shaftesbury recorded in his diary: "Served to-day for the first time on the Committee of the National School Society - education and public worship may set us right, and they will do so, unless our iniquity be full." (2) Again, upon rescuing a sweep from his labours, he revealed his pre-occupation with moral and religious education: "... the child will this day be conveyed from his soot-hole to the Union School on Norwood Hill, where, under God's blessing and especial, merciful grace, he will be trained in the Knowledge, and love, and faith of our common Lord and only Saviour Jesus Christ." (3)

Just how far religion affected his behaviour is illustrated in the cases of Ward, whom Shaftesbury voted should be stripped of

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- (1) Shaftesbury impressed on the Ragged School children how important could be their contribution to the welfare of the next generation of poor children, through the impression they made on the world. "And remember", he said, "that having the power to do this, you will be considered very sinful, and very guilty, if you do not do it" ("The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, (1887), Vol. 2, p. 415.)
- (2) Ibid, Vol. 1, p. 199.
- (3) Ibid, Vol. 1, p. 302. The problem of the climbing boys had exercised Bernard who had tried to form an institution for their protection and education in 1800 and had succeeded in influencing the master-sweeps to form a society of their own. ("Life of Sir Thomas Bernard", p. 51.)
- In 1817, the problem was still under review. He wrote to Boase: "I have been anxious to put them under a system of Protection and Instruction, despairing of any Machinery that will entirely supersede the Employment of Climbing Boys." (Letter to H. Boase, 1817. Additional MSS 29,281, British Museum.)

his degrees at Oxford because of his tractarian sympathies, (1) and the Reverend Isaac Williams, a candidate for the Chair of Poetry at Oxford. When asked to give his support to Williams, Shaftesbury drew attention to the previous incumbent, Keble, who, with the attraction of his name and the authority of his official position published poems "of admitted talent and dispute theology". (2)

If he was to assist Williams to gain a position where the possibilities of doing harm were so great, Shaftesbury felt that he must be convinced of the soundness of his principles. When his investigations revealed that Williams was in fact the author of Tract 80, "Reserve in Preaching the Doctrine of the Atonement", he resolved to throw in his weight against him. "There is no power on earth," he wrote, "that shall induce me to assist in elevating the writer of that paper to the station of a public teacher. I see very little difference between a man who promulgates false doctrine and him who suppresses the true. I cannot concur in the approval of a candidate whose writings are in contravention of the inspired Apostle, and reverse his holy exultation that he had not shunned to declare to his hearers all the counsel of God." (3) In the

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- (1) He was heavily involved in the religious disputes which exercised Members of Parliament. Although he voted for Catholic Emancipation, he rebelled against what he considered to be patronage of Roman Catholics and consequently opposed the Maynooth project. (*Life and Works of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury*", (1887) Vol. 2, pp. 93-103).
- (2) Ibid, Vol. 1, p. 389.
- (3) Ibid, Vol. 1, pp. 389-90.

struggle for the Chair, the Evangelicals voted for Garbett, who was successful by 298 votes. During the contest, Shaftesbury further amplified his views, if, indeed, amplification were necessary:

"I would vote for Sternhold and Hopkins, Nicholas Brady or Nahum Tate, against a whole host of the mightiest geniuses in the art of verse, were they the candidates, upon the same principles, for the office to which Mr. Williams aspires." (1)

A visit to Rugby in 1844 produced some thoughts on education in the Public Schools which were completely in accord with Evangelical concern over the building of character through and towards the love of God. Rugby impressed him in many ways; Eton's tone affected him conversely. Although it turned out admirable gentlemen and scholars, it did not, he felt, produce the men for the new generation:

"We must have nobler, deeper, and sterner stuff; less of refinement and more of truth; more of the inward, not so much of the outward, gentleman; a rigid sense of duty, not a 'delicate sense of honour'; a just estimate of rank and property, not as matters of personal enjoyment and display, but as gifts from God, bringing with them serious responsibilities, and involving a fearful account; a contempt of ridicule, not a dread of it; a desire and a courage to live for the service of God and the best interests of mankind, and by His grace to accomplish the baptismal promise: 'I do sign him with the sign of the Cross, in token that hereafter he shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight under His banner against sin, the world, and the Devil, and to continue Christ's faithful soldier and servant unto his life's end.'" (2)

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- (1) "Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887), Vol. 1, p. 390. On another occasion he gave the corollary to this view: "Learning, Arts, and Sciences, are but a third part of civilisation. The Egyptians surpassed the world in all three, but were more beastly in their notions than the wildest savages." (Ibid, Vol. 1, p. 71.)
- (2) Ibid, Vol. 2, pp. 77-8.

Shaftesbury's concern for the religious ends of education led him to doubt sometimes the value of the practice of taking young children to Infant and Sunday Schools. He felt rather that "the old habits of domestic teaching for the rudiments of religion" (1) should be revived. He was constantly on guard that the things done in the name of education should be worthy. His objections to the practices prevalent in schools were usually very sound educationally, although his thought reveals that, at times, he reached his conclusions because of the social and religious ideals of the Evangelical movement and not by following a purely educational line of approach. For example, he suggested that it was wrong for children to be taught in the same manner, "whatever their stations, hopes, views, and necessities - there is," he continued, "little practical, little of use for future application, and boys are ill-educated, not because their knowledge is acquired by rote and lies mainly on the surface, but because they are lifted above their political and social station, filled with personal conceits, and inflated with notions that they are fit to reform the world, and then govern it." (2)

A further example can be seen in his criticism of the custom of selecting special examples from the children in a school for the purpose of winning applause:

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- (1) "Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887), Vol. 1, pp. 195-6.
(2) Ibid, Vol. 2, p. 187.

"The result, (of periodical exhibitions and displays) even in the better schools, is that the great efforts of masters and teachers are devoted to those children who have the gift of intellect, because they become the more presentable and make the greater display, and the more extol the school-master. Meanwhile children of humbler capacity, though perhaps of better hearts, and far better qualified to adorn society and exhibit the pearl of great price, are overlooked. That is bad enough in schools of a higher description, but when you come to schools of the condition of Ragged Schools, where you have only the training of children to fill the most subordinate offices among the working classes, is it not desirable that everything that can be cultivated in the child of morality, piety, religion, and simplicity should be fostered, and should not be set aside merely with a view to the intellectual, produced to attract an inspector or a wandering audience, who may give credit to the master or mistress, although that credit may have been produced by the total sacrifice of those other children, who would have been far more conspicuous for goodness of heart than acuteness of intellect?" (1)

Despite the religious overtones of his thought, Shaftesbury was neither narrow-minded nor blind to the importance of education in itself. Expressing his concern over the situation of children in industry, he proclaimed his first grand object to be to bring them "within the reach of education; it will then be time enough to fight about the mode." (2) Of even more interest are two extracts from his diary for 1845: "Last night Broadwell Infant Ragged School; very humble, but very useful; well received..... Many Dissenters; but it is high time to be thinking where we agree, not where we differ. Tens of thousands of untaught heathens in the heart of a Christian Metropolis cry aloud to God for vengeance." (3)

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- (1) "Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887),
Vol. 2, p. 411.
(2) Ibid, Vol. 1, p. 306.
(3) Ibid, Vol. 2, p. 151.

A fortnight later, on returning from a tea-meeting at the Jurston Street Sunday School, given to the ragged, half-starved children of the locality, he wrote:

"I conceive that I am acting in the spirit of the Bible and the spirit of the Church of England But, if the conduct I pursue be at variance with the doctrines and requirements of the Established Church, I shall prefer to renounce communion with the Church to abandoning those wretched infants of oppression, infidelity and crime." (1)

His concern for the wretchedly poor caused Shaftesbury to place considerable stress on the need to improve the environment of those in need. He disagreed with Cobden who thought that education must precede all else in any effort to better the lot of the workers, holding instead the view that living conditions must be improved first. This preoccupation with the living conditions of the poor was the reason for his initiation of the Bill for the Suppression of Juvenile Mendicancy, which represented an attempt to extend the Vagrant Act so that the police might apprehend child vagrants, bring them before the magistrates and have them committed to workhouses and educated at the expense of the State. Such a procedure would have been a considerable safeguard against the corruption of the young which all too frequently occurred in the lodging houses which were their normal habitat. Considerable opposition to the project delayed the development of Shaftesbury's idea, but Palmerston took

(1) "Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887), Vol. 2, p. 151.

a hand in the game, and in 1854, after careful preparation with Shaftesbury, he produced the Youthful Offenders Bill which codified the ideas of Shaftesbury, Adderley, Grosvenor and others. Children convicted of vagrancy, after spending a fortnight or less in gaol, were to be sent to Reformatories, where they were to be maintained by the State at a cost of six shillings per child per week. It was further suggested that counties and boroughs might provide money to create more institutions of that type, of which thirty-four were in existence by 1856 and fifty-nine by 1860. (1)

Shaftesbury and Kinnaird had attended some of the early conferences which resulted when the work of the German and French Evangelicals relating to delinquents became known in England by means of the writings of Horace Mann and Sidney Turner respectively. The English Evangelicals were loath to link their work with the Unitarian, Mary Carpenter, and themselves began the Reformatory and Refuge Union in 1858. Shaftesbury was for a time President; Kinnaird, Radstock, Hogg and MacGregor were on the Committee. Founded primarily to give advice, the Union published lists of reformatories, issued the "Reformatory and Refuge Journal", began the Children's Aid Fund and co-operated to some extent with the courts. (2)

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- (1) "Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887),
Vol. 2, pp. 423-30.
(2) "Evangelicals in Action", by K. Heasman, p. 185.

The same concern over environment which he exhibited in his efforts on behalf of the youthful vagrant is evident throughout Shaftesbury's promotion of Ragged Schools, which were buttressed by a number of devices to guard the children from the dangers of their homes, or even to remove them altogether. The general scheme sprang from very humble beginnings. In 1843, Shaftesbury noticed an advertisement in "The Times" asking for help for the Ragged School of Field Lane Sabbath School, Saffron Hill, which had been opened to give free instruction to "those who, from their poverty or ragged condition," were prevented from attending any other place of religious instruction. (1) Shaftesbury answered the advertisement, saw a deputation from the school and then set off to see the work which it was doing in the heart of the area known as "Jack Ketch's Warren" (2) into which (so it was said) no force of constables fewer in number than forty would normally dare to penetrate. He was so impressed by the quiet devotion of the men and women involved in the work that he pledged his whole-hearted support. His motives as always were straightforward. He once

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- (1) "Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887) Vol. 1, p. 481. Charles Dickens was also attracted to the cause of the Ragged Schools, and wrote to S. R. Starey who drew up the original advertisement, offering to foot the bill for washing facilities (and for someone to maintain order while they were being used) in the school at Saffron Hill. (Ibid, Vol. 1, p. 488.)
- (2) Ibid, Vol. 1, p. 483.

said:

"We are often met with the interrogatory - 'What will you do with these children when you have educated them?' A reply may partly be found in the statements already given; (1) but question for question - 'What will you do if you neglect to educate them?' they are the seeds of future generations; and the wheat or tares will predominate, as Christian principle or ignorant selfishness shall, hereafter, govern our conduct. We must cease, if we would be safe, to trust in measures of coercion and chastisement for our juvenile vagrants; they are not too many to be educated as infants; they are far too many to be punished as adults. We must entertain higher thoughts for them and for England, and, with a just appreciation of their rights and our own duties, not only help them, by God's blessing, from these depths of degradation, but raise them to a level on which they may run the course that is set before them, as citizens of the British Empire, and heirs of a glorious immortality." (2)

The supporters of the Ragged Schools were faced with many difficulties. Money was always short, and the public was not always willing to assist the project. Despite Shaftesbury's influence within the National Society, the Ragged School Union failed to gain its support, largely because of its own undenominational character. (3) The schools were therefore forced to struggle

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- (1) "Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887), Vol. 2, pp. 164-5.
 - (2) Ibid, Vol. 2, p. 165.
 - (3) The Union was founded, with help from Shaftesbury, in 1844. On 11th April, 1844, Starey, Locke, Moulton and Morrison met to discuss a meeting of all superintendents, teachers and others interested in Ragged Schools. On the twenty-sixth of the month, forty superintendents and teachers met in the loft of a cowshed in Bloomsbury and formed a Central Committee. They later decided to call their association "The Ragged School Union". On November of the same year, Ashley became President. (Ibid, Vol. 2, pp. 146-50.) (The London City Missions had pioneered the work; their report for 1840 mentions five schools "formed exclusively for children raggedly clothed." ("Evangelicals in Action", p. 71.))

on in complete dependence on individual philanthropy. Shaftesbury frequently suggested that this was not as great as it ought to have been because there existed a strong prejudice against the Ragged Schools, particularly among members of the Press. On one occasion, he met Sir Richard Mayne, head of the London police force, who confirmed his worst fears, telling him that the correspondent of the "Morning Post" had been unceasing in his efforts to discredit the venture in the eyes of the police by representing it as an element for mischief. Sir Richard denied that the police were affected by this propaganda, and indeed assured him that they were aware that juvenile commitments had fallen since the schools had been begun and that the police looked upon the Ragged Schools and their teachers as their greatest allies. Despite such a testimonial, such hostility as that expressed towards the schools by the "Morning Post" could not have been encouraging to those who were working in already very trying circumstances. (1)

The apathy and distrust of the public was illustrated when Shaftesbury attempted to gain help for the Ragged Schools from the State. In 1848 he brought the case of the schools before the Commons. He claimed that of the methods which had attempted to deal with the poor of London, the Ragged Schools had enjoyed the greatest success and should be extended. He proposed that it

(1) "Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887), Vol. 2, p. 313.

should be made possible to attempt an experiment with London children, whereby those who had attended the Ragged Schools might emigrate, if they wished, to Southern Australia. The House granted £1,500 for one year, but Shaftesbury was forced to raise money by private subscription to make the scheme workable. In 1849, he again pleaded his case, pointing out the success of the schools and their rapid growth. Despite the fact that he could then point to eighty-two schools, one hundred and twenty-four paid and nine hundred and twenty-nine unpaid teachers serving eight thousand of the most needy children in London, the £1,500 was not granted again, and the emigration scheme, like the schools, was forced to rely on private charity for its future work.

Shaftesbury's efforts in Parliament at least attracted the attention of new supporters, but money was always a serious problem. Nevertheless, the work of rescuing the children from their environment continued. The flow of colonists increased from the ranks of the more worthy scholars. Regular attendance at a Ragged School for a minimum of six months was a pre-requisite for selection, as were sound health, the ability to repeat and understand the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, to answer simple questions on the Life of Jesus, to read fluently and to write a sentence from dictation and work the four simple rules of arithmetic. In addition, either a certificate of regular attendance at an industrial class for at least four months or a knowledge of some handicraft or practical occupation, was regarded as essential. It

would have been of little use to send children to a new world unequipped to earn a living by any trade other than crime and undefended by a moral and Christian code of ethics. Later the farm and schools at Bisley, and Fortescue House at Twickenham, were opened to help further to fit boys for the colonies, the "Chichester" was used as a training-ship for the homeless who wished to follow the sea, and girls' refuges at Sudbury and Ealing were begun, to be followed by the "National Refuges for Homeless and Destitute Children". (1)

Children who remained in London were protected from their surroundings as far as was possible. Thus the schools were supplemented from the earliest days by all manner of auxiliary services. A magazine was begun, libraries were opened, bands were formed. Ten years after its birth, the Field Lane School boasted a free day school for infants, an evening-school for adults and youths, a women's evening-class to teach domestic usefulness and improve the character, and industrial classes to teach the making and mending of clothes and shoes. Employment in woodchopping was used as a sort of elementary test of a boy's industry before he was recommended for a situation. A clothing society was begun, and bread distribution, baths, a drying room, Bible classes and prayer

(1) "Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887),
Vol. 3, pp. 207-8.

meetings were organised. Quarterly conferences for the Committee and teachers took place, a school missionary was appointed and a Ragged Church was established. At this school the idea of the Night Refuge was pioneered. Night Refuges, started to prevent the work of the schools from being nullified by environment, were of two types: the refuges for casual vagrants with preference given to those who attended a Ragged School, and permanent refuges for a stated period for children of between ten and sixteen years of age.

Just how necessary was the work of the refuges is illustrated by an anecdote related by Shaftesbury from the early days of the Ragged Schools:

"Fourteen or fifteen of these boys presented themselves one Sunday evening and sat down to the lessons, but, as the clock struck, they all rose and left, with the exception of one who lagged behind. The master took him by the arm, and said, 'You must remain; the lesson is not over.' The reply was, 'We must go to business.' The master inquired, 'What business?' 'Why don't you see it's eight o'clock; we must go catch them as they come out of the chapels.'" (1)

The devotion and resilience of the teachers in such conditions was amazing. Shaftesbury recorded:

".... frequent are the occasions on which the female teachers have returned to their homes, covered with the vermin of their tattered pupils. All this they have done, and still do, in the genuine spirit of Christian charity, without the hope of recompense, of money, or of fame - it staggers at

(1) "Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887), Vol. 2, p. 264. Shaftesbury actually held a thieves' meeting in 1848, after which he was able to help adults to emigrate as well as children. (Ibid, Vol. 2, pp. 266-8.)

first our belief, but nevertheless it is true; and many a Sunday-school teacher, thus poor and zealous, will rise up in judgment with lazy ecclesiastics, boisterous sectarians, and self-seeking statesmen." (1)

The condition of the pupils and of their environment meant that the sights of the Ragged School teachers had to be set low, but Shaftesbury was always delighted with the results achieved with such unpromising material. He thought that not one of his emigrants had ever let him down, he was excited by the happy and smooth-running industrial classes he saw which inculcated tidy, useful habits into children brought up as thieves, and, above all, he saw the justification for the work in the moral influence wielded by the teachers over the pupils. (2) Yet the obvious limitations of the schools were not obvious to many of the people who began to take an interest in their work as it became better-known. Shaftesbury had continually to drive the lesson home to those who, as better buildings housed the schools, would have opened them to a different type of child to that for which they were intended:

"You must keep your Ragged Schools in the gutter, so long as the mire and the gutter exist, so long as this class exists, you must keep the schools adapted to their wants, their feelings, their tastes, and their level." (3)

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- (1) "Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887), Vol. 2, p. 164.
 - (2) E.g., Ibid. Vol. 2, p. 232. He returned home content after attending a tea-meeting at the Lambeth Ragged School, where he saw three hundred and seventy children "orderly, decent, happy", a credit to themselves and their mentors: Doulton, the pottery master and his sons.
 - (3) Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 410.

Shaftesbury was true to his word that the sights of schools must be kept low. He was prepared to further the education of the poor without the waste of funds on inessential elaborations. "I can set up a school," he wrote, "which shall give education every evening to 280 children for £58 a year - hardly more than it takes to prosecute one criminal - and yet I can barely collect the sum." (1) Despite continual complaints about the lack of funds for the schools, Shaftesbury struggled on. Some of the former apathy and hostility among the public was replaced by patronage. In 1849, for instance, the Lord Mayor of London presided over a meeting for the Ragged School at Plumtree. (2) On 19th March, 1846, Shaftesbury recorded: "Last night tea party at Jurston Street Ragged School; in the Chair. A wondrous company on the platform; these things are now becoming 'fashionable', humanity will soon be considered 'elegant', 'genteel', &c. &c." (3) This has a sardonic ring, as well it might, for he recorded in the same year that while a class of industry had become well established at Broadwell on one evening per week when the boys learned tailoring and shoe-making and the girls needlework, he himself was working on an article for the "Quarterly Review" with which to raise money to pay for the experiment. (4) When the Great Exhibition was in progress he raised £500 when, with the help of MacGregor, he

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- (1) "Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887),
Vol. 2, p. 167.
(2) Ibid, Vol. 2, p. 281.
(3) Ibid, Vol. 2, p. 164.
(4) Ibid, Vol. 2, p. 186.

organised shoe black stations for twenty-five Ragged School boys and began the Shoe Black Brigade. In 1852, he attended another highly successful meeting at Exeter Hall, but continued to worry over the lack of contributions for the work and the failure of Ragged School teachers to continue the good work outside the schools as well as inside. Despite the scarcity of money, he invited an expansion of the work by appointing a City Missionary to "perambulate the town, dive into dens, alleys, recesses, seek out the forgotten, oppressed, destitute, and compel them to come in." (1)

In 1864, a new problem arose. The Education Commissioners stated that they considered that no Ragged Schools were needed except in very large cities as their effect was to discourage schools of a more regular type. With continued lack of support from Church (2) and State in their separate corporate identities, the outlook was bleak. In January, 1872, Shaftesbury made the following despondent entry in his diary: "The Ragged Schools are

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- (1) "Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887), Vol. 2, p. 383.
- (2) The higher-ranking Church dignitaries remained aloof. For a number of years the Bishop of Norwich alone gave whole-hearted support: "... a kind-hearted man, who goes as he says, wherever he sees my name. Strange as it was to see a Bishop in the middle of a Dissenting school, surrounded by Dissenters, and supporting their efforts, yet it was well and usefully done." (Ibid, Vol. 2, p. 164.) However, a number of prominent Anglicans came to lend their support in time, among them Archbishop Sumner, Dean Farrar, the Bishop of Rochester and Canon Barnett. From the ranks of the Dissenters came Newman Hall, Hugh Price Hughes, Dr. Parker, and Spurgeon, who took an interest in the cause after reading an article by Dickens on its work. "Chinese" Gordon laboured in the schools, and so did Hogg, founder of the Polytechnic Institute, and Dr. Barnardo. By 1871, 300,000 children had passed through the Ragged Schools.

sinking rapidly. To attempt their prolonged existence will be a waste of time, health, and strength. Must labour, with a few chosen friends, to catch the waifs and strays, and bring them to Christ. Must do all that I can, and how little that is! for the several missions in the most desperate of London localities." (1) Nevertheless, many of Shaftesbury's fears were groundless. Although the Education Act threatened the existence of the Ragged Schools as they then existed, they continued to be of value in altered ways. In 1875, Shaftesbury visited the Ragged School Union "to arrange plans for a fresh aggression, nay, a new form of one, on the very lowest of London; be we driven from our present ground, we must seek another standpoint." (2) The old fire had been rekindled: even in his eighties he was still visiting Ragged Schools and rejoicing in their good work.

The days of the Ragged Schools, of course, were numbered. Social, political and economic forces combined to render them, in time, obsolete. They had risen to meet a need, and while the need existed, they had filled it as far as devotion and private philanthropy were able.

As has been seen, Shaftesbury was forced to rely upon charity for his Ragged School work, but this was for want of organised

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- (1) "Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887), Vol. 3, p. 300.
(2) Ibid, Vol. 3, p. 357. MacGregor accepted a place on the London School Board and worked to link the Ragged Schools with the new board schools.

support from either the National Society or the State. Like Wilberforce before him, Shaftesbury recognised the value of private philanthropy, but was only prepared to rely on it alone when other channels were closed. In his work on behalf of the factory children he was more successful and was able to assist the movement with measures which had received the support of Parliament.

In 1802, a Bill introduced by Peel included a clause that part of every working day should be spent by apprentices in learning Reading, Writing or Arithmetic during their normal hours of work. As is well-known, employers were able to avoid the Act by employing so-called "free" labour. In 1815, a further Bill was proposed which suggested that all children in factories should spend half of each day during their first four years of employment in learning the "Three R's". The Bill was considerably diluted, and became an Act which applied only to cotton factories. In other factories, education was usually a farce. Peel the Younger drew the attention of the public to the practice of allowing children to be "educated" after a stint of thirteen or fifteen hours in a factory. Further Bills introduced in 1819 and 1825 had little effect on the situation.

In 1831, Sadler introduced a Bill to the Commons supported by evidence which showed that children were almost incapable of absorbing instruction which was made available only in the evenings and on Sundays. While the evidence was being considered Sadler was defeated in the contest for the Leeds seat by Macaulay. At this

stage, Shaftesbury (1) entered the arena. He wrote to Sadler offering his help and took over the promotion of the Bill. However, as a result of attacks on the validity of Sadler's evidence, a commission (2) was appointed to review the question. The Government proposed amendments to the draft, and as there was no hope of gaining what he wanted, Shaftesbury allowed it to take over the Bill.

The Act had the seeds of utility within it. Inspectors for factory schools could authorise the establishment of new schools where they found inadequate provision for the education of the young and could cause the salary of unsatisfactory schoolmasters to be withheld. The attendance of children was to be checked: each was to show a ticket to prove that he had attended school for two hours a day on six days in every week.

As the inspectors were soon to point out, the Act was not easy to enforce. Many mill owners refused to alter their organisation to enable children to attend school, and it was common for them to dismiss all children who were affected by the conditions of the Act. Consequently the argument became current that the Act was causing hardship to children by throwing them out of work and that it would actually be a kindness if the educational clauses relating to children of twelve to thirteen years, scheduled for implementation

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- (1) "Shaftesbury" was still Lord Ashley at this time, but for the sake of continuity I have referred to him as Shaftesbury throughout the Chapter.
- (2) Of which Chadwick was a member.

in 1836, were to be repealed. Shaftesbury led so determined an opposition to the proposal that it was abandoned. Instead, from 1836 onwards, the administration of the education clauses of the Act was tightened up and prosecutions against owners who disregarded them became common. (1) Nevertheless, the early factory schools frequently justified Shaftesbury's description of them as "a delusion and a snare". (2) A candid factory owner told the Select Committee on the Education of the Poorer Classes that the education given in the schools was "almost good for nothing". (3) "It is not at all an unusual thing", maintained an Inspector, "for us to have certificates presented to us subscribed by the teachers with his or her MARK." (4) In a series of tests carried out on over three hundred children under thirteen years of age working in eighteen mills near Leeds, it was discovered that:

47 could not read;

45 could "read" only the alphabet;

108 could read in the Primer;

74 could read in the spelling-book;

51 could read the Testament. (5)

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- (1) Shaftesbury pointed out to the House that inspectors were allowing attendance at Sunday Schools to qualify as part of the twelve hours education a week specified in the Act. (July 18th, 1836. "Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887), Vol. 1, p. 220.)
 - (2) "Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887), Vol. 1, p. 131.
 - (3) "The Education of Children Engaged in Industry in England 1833-1876", by A. H. Robson, p. 48.
 - {4} Ibid, pp. 48-49.
 - {5} Ibid, pp. 51-52.

"A state of great mental neglect was everywhere general." (1)

In 1840, Shaftesbury moved that a Select Committee be established to enquire into the working of the Factory Acts. With Shaftesbury himself as Chairman, the Committee provided the material for two Bills, but before further progress could be made the Whig Government collapsed and with it the hope of an early implementation of the proposed measures. Nevertheless the evidence continued to mount to illustrate the inefficiency of the Acts. In 1843, the Second Report of the Children's Employment Commission pointed out again that the Sunday Schools and evening classes were an inefficient means of instruction for overworked children. (2) In the same year, Horner the inspector conducted an inquiry lasting from January to April on 6,872 factory children attending 603 schools. Of these schools, 117 were factory schools, 367 were private schools, 62 were National schools, 30 were other schools connected with the Established Church, and the remaining 27 were provided by the British and Foreign Schools Society, the Wesleyans and the Roman Catholics. He considered that 16 of the factory schools, accommodating 860 children, were good; in some of the remaining factory schools and some of the private schools some little education was given; in the remainder there was merely a nominal

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- (1) "The Education of Children Engaged in Industry in England 1833-1876", by A. H. Robson, p. 52.
- (2) "Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887), Vol. 1, p. 451.

compliance with the law. 4,500 children out of his sample were receiving no education worthy of the name. (1)

Having assembled the evidence of the inspectors, the Children's Employment Commission and the statistical societies of Manchester and Birmingham, Sir James Graham laid before the Government a scheme for a system of education to combat the widespread ignorance in the country. His Bill proposed that there should be compulsory education of all children in workhouses and employed in factories for the manufacture of wool, cotton, silk and flax; children between the ages of eight and thirteen years should attend school for three hours each day and their hours of labour should be reduced to six and a half hours a day; the Government should make loans for the erection of schools and they should be maintained out of the Poor Rate; seven trustees should manage the schools - the clergyman and Churchwardens ex-officio and four others, two to be appointed by the magistrates and two to be mill-owners; the master should be a member of the Church of England, his appointment subject to the approval of the Bishop; inspection should be undertaken by the clerical trustees and the Committee of Council; a conscience clause should operate for the children of parents who objected to the teaching of the Catechism and attendance at Church.

The Bill was received with disfavour by the Dissenters and the

(1) "The Education of Children Engaged in Industry in England 1833-76", pp. 71-2.

Roman Catholics who both objected to the powers given to the Church, and, though the Church acquiesced to the measure, there were those of the opinion of Inglis that in fact the Church was not to be given enough latitude. As the opposition of the Nonconformists mounted, Graham was forced to abandon the measure in disgust.

"Religion, the keystone of education," he said, "is in this country the bar to its progress." (1) Shaftesbury saw the measure go down with mixed feelings. His desire for the furtherance of the education of the factory children had, in this instance, been affected in the same way as that of Inglis:

"'Combined Education' must never again be attempted - it is an impossibility, and worthless if possible - the plan is hopeless, the attempt full of hazard. So I will never vote for Combined education - let us have our own schools, our Catechism, our Liturgy, our Articles, our Homilies, our faith, our own teaching of God's word." (2)

Graham's new Bill did little for the cause of education.

Children were to attend school for three hours a day and the mill-owners were to deduct a sum not exceeding twopence a week from the wages (3) of the children to pay for a schoolmaster who was to be empowered to give certificates of satisfactory attendance to his

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- (1) "The Education of Children Engaged in Industry in England 1833-1876", p. 78.
 - (2) "Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury" (1887), Vol. 1, pp. 459-60. Shaftesbury considered that the Clergy had made considerable sacrifices. At one stage, in the interests of peace, he himself had agreed to the teaching of the Bible without note or comment, albeit, he wrote, "I did feel a nausea, almost to faintness." (Ibid, Vol. 1, p. 461.)
 - (3) "The Education of Children Engaged in Industry in England 1833-1876", p. 80. There was an over-riding limit of one-twelfth of a child's wages.

pupils. Should the master himself prove to be unsatisfactory, the inspectors could disallow the certificates he issued. Nevertheless, despite the timidity of the measure, the stipulation that children must extend their attendance at school to three hours a day meant that they were better able to attend the schools of the two societies as they would cause less disruption of the classes and would therefore be more acceptable to the staff.

Shaftesbury was not content to allow matters to rest. He now began to exert pressure to extend the existing factory legislation to other industries. In 1845 he introduced a Bill to help children in print works and grant similar powers to inspectors to those enjoyed by inspectors in the mills. He encountered opposition from Graham and again had the experience of standing by while the Government introduced a less comprehensive measure than his own to the House. The Print Works Act became law in 1846. It required children to attend school for thirty days in each half-year and average three hours a day when attending. An attendance record was to be kept and inspectors were appointed. The Act applied only to children of ages up to thirteen years, and as a result employment of children in that age-range declined almost immediately. (1) The Act was therefore amended in 1847 so that the number of hours at school was reduced to two and a half hours

(1) "The Education of Children Engaged in Industry in England 1833-1876", p. 120.

a day. Children were required to attend school for one hundred and fifty hours in thirty days in the half-year before their entry into a printworks. Much of the education which was supplied was a mockery, although honourable exceptions existed among the owners. (1) Not until 1870 were the Factory Acts applied in full to the printworks. Similar efforts made on behalf of children in lace works, bleaching and dying works, in the mines and on the land met with a certain amount of success. In 1864, as a result of a commission established on Shaftesbury's initiative in 1861, the Factory Acts Extension Act applied the Acts to some additional seven thousand children employed in the manufacture of earthenware, percussion caps, lucifer matches, paper staining and fustian cutting. Two further acts in 1867 extended the provisions of the Acts to other factories and workshops. (2) In 1878, the mass of factory legislation was finally "brought into one lucid and harmonious whole ... in a single statute, simple and intelligible". (3) Children were required to attend a recognised efficient school for one attendance on each working day, or for two attendances on each working day preceding the day of employment if the child was working on alternate days. A certificate of attendance at school from the master was necessary. Managers of schools were authorised to apply to the employers for sums of up to threepence a week to

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- (1) "The Education of Children Engaged in Industry in England 1833-1876", pp. 123-24.
 - (2) Ibid, pp. 200-1.
 - (3) Ibid, p. 215.

be taken from the children's wages, provided that they did not amount to more than one-twelfth of any wage. Children of thirteen years of age could only become "young persons" in the terms of the Act if they had reached a prescribed standard of proficiency in Reading, Writing and Arithmetic or a prescribed standard of attendance at school.

Although the value of the Factory Acts was qualified by the forces of indifference and hostility operating against them and by the difficulty of maintaining efficient schools, the good they achieved was considerable. Through the limitation of the working hours of the children and the improvement in their conditions of work, they saved the lives and health of thousands in each generation. The long grinding struggle for the education clauses of the Acts resulted in the recognition of the fact that the State must act in loco parentis where the parents were not prepared to ensure the education of their own children. The principle of compulsory education was established and increasingly widely applied in this limited field for the benefit of a class of poor and underprivileged children. When national legislation was eventually introduced to provide universal education for the poor, the concept of State action was already clearly established.

No single man did more by his actions and his beliefs to establish the concept of State intervention for the benefit of the

underprivileged than Shaftesbury. (1) His persistent moral pressure on the legislature made the cause of the factory children an ever live issue which no Government dared ignore. It is therefore ironical that he should appear as one of the leading figures in the resistance to State interference in the broad field of the education of the young. As the interest of the State was re-awakened, so Shaftesbury passed over to the position of the champion of the Voluntary System and was given the support of the Evangelicals within the Church for his efforts. This is not to suggest that Shaftesbury and his supporters were reactionaries attempting to stem the tide of progress. On the contrary; like Wilberforce, Zachary Macaulay and many of their friends in the previous generation of the party, many of them would have welcomed a State system of education which would have rescued the poor from infidelity and ignorance. The reason for their opposition was the old fear that the proper ends of religion were endangered; a fear that was to be realised as the nineteenth century progressed.

In 1807 Whitbread had put forward his scheme for a system of national education. It passed the Commons but was rejected in the Lords. The investigations of Brougham's Select Committee soon followed. The Committee suggested that the Monitorial System

(1) The Hammonds suggested that he "did more than any single man, or any single Government in English history, to check the raw power of the new industrial system". ("Lord Shaftesbury", p. 153.)

on which so much time and money was expended was in fact only the best of a number of very poor alternatives and that the rudiments of learning which it imparted had little connection with a genuine education. (1) The National Society itself was severely criticised at the same time; Brougham went so far as to say that in country districts in particular "the progress of education had been materially checked by an unbending adherence to the system of the National Society". (2) Although his Bill for the reform of charities was so mangled by Eldon that it was not the same measure by the time it became an Act, and though his efforts in 1820 were destroyed by the sectaries and the Roman Catholics, he had proclaimed his interest.

In 1833, Roebuck moved that Parliament should make provision for the education of the people. He hoped to see passed a measure which would establish the principle of compulsory education for all children between the ages of six and twelve years. Althorp did not wish to commit the Government so far, but moved the payment of a grant of £20,000 to assist the work of the two schools societies then existent. It is difficult not to be guilty of hindsight in regarding the grant as sounding the knell for the Voluntary System. Althorp himself described the grant as the commencement of a system, the results of which they could not foresee. (3) Shaftesbury

(1) "History of the Elementary School Contest in England", by F. Adams, p. 50.

(2) Ibid, p. 71.

(3) Ibid, p. 88.

immediately interpreted it as an attack on the Voluntary System. On the other hand, as Dr. Jones has pointed out, (1) it is possible to regard the measure as "merely a recognition by the State of the voluntary system", for it "committed the Government to no policy, and did not increase their responsibilities". (2) Even Brougham seemed to be reconciled to the fact that the State must work without upsetting the existing machinery of the Voluntary System:

"I am of the opinion that the only safe course which we can take for the supplying of the lamentable deficiency which I have described is to furnish the great towns with the funds now wanting, and to apply this public aid so as not to interfere with the exertions of individual zeal or cut off the supplies of private munificence." (3)

State interference in education was not new. The Voluntary System period was one in which the functions of Government had passed to the philanthropists by default, but the agitation of men such as Whitbread and Roebuck and their supporters had the desired effect of re-awakening the State to its responsibilities, of pressing it to fill a need which existed despite the schools societies. Even if the grant can be represented in some respects as an involuntary involvement in the work of educating the poor, it seems logical to suggest that since the State was prepared to commit a part of its revenue to the cause of education it would eventually require some voice in the way in which that money was to be spent. There

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- (1) "The Charity School Movement", p. 333.
(2) Ibid, p. 333. Joseph Hume.
(3) "Lord Brougham", by G. T. Garratt, pp. 244-5.

existed among the members of Parliament and the servants of the Government men who desired a national system of education which was not of necessity tied to any religious denomination. From the moment the State made the grant, the Voluntary System as it existed at the time was doomed.

Only two years after the education grant was made, Brougham proposed in the Lords that training colleges for teachers should be established and that Boards of Commissioners should be formed to apply educational funds. Neither measure was successful, but he was successful in pushing through the establishment of a Department of Public Instruction. (1) In 1837, a further Education Bill came before the Commons but was defeated. However, it was followed in 1839 by the Committee of Council, through which the Government made clear its intention to exercise control over the regulation and management of schools. Whilst these movements were taking place the opinion of the sects was divided. The Dissenters had for some time been discontented at the way in which the National Society was swallowing the lion's share of the grant begun in 1833 (2) and were in their turn alarming the Anglicans by proposing the inclusion

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- (1) "History of the Elementary School Contest in England", p. 89.
(2) The grant of £20,000 was made on the understanding that each society would receive a half-share only if it would itself subscribe an equivalent sum. The National Society could meet this requirement, but the British and Foreign Schools Society found it increasingly difficult and it became involved in a downward spiral which reduced its importance and made even more remote the possibility of matching the Government grant with its own funds.

of instruction in the Bible without explanation as the form of future religious education in schools. Even more alarming was the growing movement for an entirely secular education. The Bishop of London was swift to point out the danger to the Church of the efforts of the Central Society of Education which was propagandising the country with plans for a compulsory, secular educational system. The cry of "the Church in danger" was soon raised; in response the Anglican Church presented an almost united front against its foes. One of the most forceful protagonists was Francis Close, the Evangelical minister of Cheltenham, who waged a consistent campaign in the columns of the "Cheltenham Journal" against the dangers of unsectarian education. He organised petitions, wrote leaders and open letters, and expressed sentiments which might have emanated from the mouth of Marsh or any of the other Anglican opponents of the Evangelicals of the time of the Clapham Sect. He maintained that there was danger in any book, whatever it might be, in the hands of one who wished to use it for evil and therefore stressed the need for a positive and Anglican education: "the authorised doctrines of our Church, her admirable and Catholic liturgy, as well as her elementary catechism, should be taught in our schools." (1)

Early in 1839, a great meeting was held in London with Shaftesbury in the Chair. Close suggested that the Church must redouble

(1) "Cheltenham Journal", March, 1838.

its efforts; that the clergy should form local school boards to keep in touch with the National Society and improve and increase the number of National Schools in the country. Charles Sumner took the lead in his diocese of Winchester and there established a Diocesan Board of Education which took in hand the education of students for teaching as well as the more usual instruction of poor children. (1) While the Anglican bulwark was being thrown up, Russell's committee (2) was formulating proposals for the creation of Normal Schools under the control of the State. The National Society, aghast at this direct attack on the Church's interest in the education

(1) A house was bought in Winchester and placed under the control of the Reverend Waugh as Principal. A reciprocal agreement with Salisbury enabled future school-mistresses from Winchester to attend the Training School for Schoolmistresses and male students from Salisbury to attend the Winchester institution. Strenuous efforts were made to recruit Wellington for the Board's subscription list, but he was unable to contribute because of his scruples over the possible future attitude of the Government to education.

In 1845, Sumner instituted "The Southwark Fund for Schools and Churches". Within two years the fund had been instrumental in the building or foundation of sixteen schools. In 1847, the training college was enlarged through the offer of the Bishop to allow them to use Wolvesley Palace, where the students remained until 1862, when a new college was erected. Between 1829 and 1861, Sumner had organised the expenditure on the schools of £522,039. ("Life of Charles Richard Sumner, D.D.", by the Reverend G. H. Sumner, p. 426). Like his brother and Charles Simeon, John Bird Sumner understood the implications of urban growth. In twenty years at Chester, he consecrated one hundred and thirty-eight new churches. ("Charles Simeon" (1759-1836), p. 178.)

(2) Kay-Shuttleworth was Secretary. I have referred to Dr. Kay or Kay-Shuttleworth as Kay-Shuttleworth throughout.

of the young, moved a resolution that instruction "in the truths and precepts of Christianity should form an essential part of every system of education intended for people at large ... under the superintendence of the clergy and in conformity with the doctrines of the Church of the realm". (1) The motion was proposed by an Evangelical layman, the President of the Society, Lord Chichester, and seconded by a High Church bishop, Blomfield of London.

The agitation raised by the Established Church defeated the Normal Schools project, (2) but the Committee of the Privy Council which had sponsored it remained. With the support of the Church, Stanley opened the attack to remove the Committee itself. In this, he was abetted by Shaftesbury who considered that the way lay open for every kind of heresy and for a control over education by the State which was wholly unfitting for mere politicians: "I will never consent to any plan that shall sever religious from secular education; and by religious education I mean the full, direct, and special teaching of all the great and distinctive doctrines of the Christian faith."

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- (1) "The Times", 29th May, 1839. (From Burgess, "Enterprise in Education", p. 78.)
 - (2) Kay-Shuttleworth's training college at Battersea was actually taken over by the National Society. However, it is interesting to note that, even before the change, the Evangelical Earl of Chichester was sending students there, where they were exposed to the unsectarian ideas of three chief assistants who had been trained by Stow. ("Pioneers of Popular Education", p. 252.)
 - (3) "Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887), Vol. 1, p. 255.

A defeat by a mere handful of votes attended the efforts of Shaftesbury and Stanley in the Commons. (1) In the Lords, the Archbishop proposed a resolution deprecating the Government's actions on education, which was carried by two hundred and twenty-nine votes to one hundred and eleven. An address was presented to the Queen, who nevertheless refused to revoke the Order in Council. The high-water mark in the fortunes of the Church had been reached. Despite the desire to fight on expressed by Shaftesbury and others, the National Society decided to effect a compromise with the Government over the remaining problem of State inspection of schools. However, in the face of Kay-Shuttleworth's determination to enforce the State's rights to inspection, the Society was forced to make a firmer stand and, preferring financial stringency to submission, refused all further grants. The situation was not remedied until the Committee of Council approached the Society with milder proposals giving the Church considerable powers over the inspectorate, which resulted in the Concordat a year after the dispute had begun. Unfortunately, the agreement served to alarm further the Dissenters who suspected that the Committee was "managed" by Bishop Blomfield and Inglis for the ends of the Established Church. (2)

Further discontent among the Dissenters was partly alleviated when Shaftesbury acted as moderator for Russell's scheme in 1847

(1) 180 votes against 175.

(2) "History of the Elementary School Contest in England", p. 114.

to extend the education of the poor: to increase the grant, to further the work of Normal Schools, National Schools and schools of industry. Although the Dissenters were opposed to several of the clauses they were, to some extent, pacified by Shaftesbury and in any case faced with an opposition too firm to enable them to bring the measure down.

Whatever the danger from Dissent, it at least shared with the Church a common regard for religion as the basic element in education. Outside the churches, however, there was growing up an organised agitation for education on purely secular lines. In Manchester, Cobden was involved in the creation of a committee pledged to bring about the establishment of a national education system after first working out a scheme for Lancashire. From this was formed the Lancashire Public School Association, which eventually became converted into The National Public School Association. Control was to be by local committees elected by the ratepayers and education was to be secular, although time was to be left free for Anglican and Dissenting ministers to teach religion. Such proposals were for obvious reasons anathema to the Church, but even worse were the proposals of W. J. Fox, who, in 1850, proposed a Bill for secular education on the lines of the Lancashire Association, but suggested that there should be no obligation to leave time free for religious instruction in schools and that therefore the question should be left open for the ratepayers to decide. The cry of "the Church in Danger"

ascended to the heavens yet again and the Bill failed, together with a further measure in the following year. (1) Shaftesbury pronounced the 1850 measure "despotic" and attacked the stand of the secularists. Speaking of the difficulties of the Roman Catholics he said, ".... it is natural and just that they should insist on the full teaching of all the points essential to their faith; they MUST insist upon a distinctive teaching in religious matters." In two further speeches he amplified his view. "I would rather be a Papist than a Positivist," he said, "the Roman Catholics have, I must say, always been true to the great principle that religion should be the alpha and the omega of education, and they shrink with horror from the very notion of a place of education where religion is not the primary consideration." (2)

Parliamentary interference in education was growing, and with it ideas were being discussed for a system to replace the Voluntary Schools. Although the Church recognised the inadequacy of the prevailing "system", it viewed with alarm the suggestions current for the establishment of alternative types of school. In 1852, a further determined effort by the Manchester people for a system of education, supported by rate-aid but incorporating a conscience clause, was rejected. A Bill introduced by Russell offering increased support for the voluntary schools was coldly

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- (1) "History of the Elementary School Conflict in England", p. 153-4.
(2) "Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887),
.. Vol. 2, p. 340.

received and abandoned. In 1853, the Government tried another line of attack when a minute of the Committee in Council became law, giving a capitation grant to school managers of six shillings for every boy in school and five shillings for each girl. (1) Two years later, Denison's Act proposed that the Guardians should pay the school fees for out-door paupers. (2) Sir John Pakington introduced a Bill which would have established Boards elected by the ratepayers to run free schools maintained from the rates and Parliamentary grants. A conscience clause was proposed, but in new schools, religious teaching was to have been in accordance with the wishes of the majority. Shaftesbury was most disturbed by such efforts:

"I dread, sadly dread, these schemes of national education. Pakington, who is a good man, and a sensible one, has taken the lead in a scheme for local rates to maintain the education of the people. Such a plan is a death warrant to the teaching of evangelical religion. IT HAD BETTER BE CALLED 'A WATER-RATE TO EXTINGUISH RELIGIOUS FIRE AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE.' Here, indeed, we must betake ourselves to prayer, for the scheme (little does my honest and kind friend Pakington perceive it) poisons the root, and causes that 'things, which should have been for our peace, be unto us an occasion of falling.'" (3)

In 1856, another Bill, introduced by Russell with Pakington's support outlined further proposals for the introduction of rate-aid, and some measure of compulsory attendance. This, too, was defeated,

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- (1) "History of the Elementary School Conflict in England", pp. 167-8.
 - (2) Ibid, p. 172. The measure was ineffectual and was repealed in 1876.
 - (3) "Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887), Vol. 2, p. 522.

but in 1861, the Newcastle Committee, which had been set up on Pakington's motion, reported to Parliament. It emphasised the fact that, while the motive underlying the establishment of schools was usually the desire to care for religious instruction, parents were more interested in the secular instruction which their children could absorb. The Committee did not advise that compulsory education should be established, but advocated grants from general taxation (based on attendance), and from the county rates (based on examination), with inspectors to supervise the work of the schools. The report was attacked on all sides, (1) and although Pakington appealed for a Bill, Palmerston was unwilling to risk the dangers inherent in the question. Indeed, at this time the union of necessity among the churches was stronger than it had ever been. True, in 1853, the Church party had received something of a jolt when over two hundred Evangelical clergymen had left the Annual General Meeting of the National Society to form their own organisation, the Church Education Society, which included in its ranks Shaftesbury and most of the other Evangelical leaders. However, their protest against the policies of the older society did not result in open warfare as it might have done a half-century before. They usefully augmented the work of the National Society

(1) Shaftesbury particularly questioned the accuracy of the charges made against the Ragged Schools. ("History of the Elementary School Conflict in England", p. 182.)

and improved upon it by their appreciation of the needs of the pupil. "We have no objection to their brick and mortar," said Sir Charles Russell. "We find living souls to work upon." (1) Financial aid was given to schools and exhibitions offered to teachers in Sunday Schools or Ragged Schools who displayed potentiality as teachers, so that they might attend one of the three Evangelical training colleges. When the increasing power of Denison and his supporters alarmed the moderates in the Church who felt that Nonconformist children in Church schools should be allowed liberty of conscience and not be dragooned into an acceptance of the sacraments of the Church of England, the Evangelicals had mellowed so much that they lent their support to this view: Close, Girdlestone and the "misguided" Pakington all stressed the value of toleration. Close himself claimed that one of his reasons for leaving the National Society to join the Church Education Society had been the National Society's refusal to relax the Terms of Union in favour of Dissenters. Indeed, it was not long before the National Society itself turned successfully to the Dissenters for support when Lowe's Revised Code drew upon his head the criticism of Anglican and Dissenter alike. (2) At this stage so unpopular was Lowe that it seemed unlikely that the power of the

(1) "Enterprise in Education", p. 143.

(2) The Evangelicals were strongly against the Code. Elizabeth Mayo and Francis Close publicly questioned both Lowe's intentions and his competence.

opposition to rate-aid and secular education would ever be broken.

In 1869, the Education League was founded at Birmingham to forward the ideal of education for all. Again, the reaction was violent; the direct result was the formation of the Education Union to defend religious instruction against the "secularisation of our national institutions". (1)

Unfortunately for the sects, a rebirth of hostility between the Established Church and the Dissenters weakened their defensive alliance when Forster's Bill was proposed. The first draft of the Bill was regarded as unsatisfactory by Union and League alike, and was attacked from both sides. The firm pressure exerted by the League and many of the Nonconformists to have the Bill amended into some form which they could accept warned the Church that the unsatisfactory nature of the Bill might not be enough to prevent its eventual passage. In April, (2) Shaftesbury chaired a meeting of the Union which proclaimed the clear right of the people to have religious education in their schools, to have it recognised as an "essential and not an extra". (3) On 26th May, a deputation went to Gladstone to plead the Union's case. At this time Shaftesbury hoped that the alliance of the Church and the Nonconformists would remain strong enough to thwart the efforts of their opponents: "The unanimity of the Churchmen and Dissenters, that is, the vast

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- (1) "History of the Elementary School Conflict in England", p. 207.
(2) 1870.
(3) "Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887),
Vol. 3, p. 264.

majority of them, is striking and consolatory." (1) Nevertheless the progress of the Bill continued, and the efforts of the Church party began to smack of desperation. The conscience clause was a safeguard which was far from the ideal Churchmen cherished. An attempt by Pakington to make the reading of the Bible compulsory failed. The Act was passed.

To Churchmen, Forster's Act ushered in a period of state-aided education neutral not only to the denominations but to religion itself. This was truly the end for the Voluntary System. Shaftesbury fought on - in 1872 he presided over yet another meeting in St. James' Hall against the exclusion of the Bible from schools, and continued his work for the Ragged Schools - but even he found some of his friends at variance with his views on the Act. (2) The most significant pointer was, however, that the greatest opposition to the Act was raised, not because of what it had done but because it had not done enough. The important breach made, the energies of the forces advocating State education free from the domination of the

(1) "Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (1887), Vol. 3, p. 267.

(2) Ibid, Vol. 3, p. 303.

A meeting in Leeds, chaired by Lord Wharncliffe, expressed the opinion that the middle-classes had been ignored in the educational reforms, and passed a motion: "That in the opinion of this meeting it is desirable that additional public schools for the various grades of the middle class should be established in Yorkshire in connection with the Church of England." (Reported in "The Times" for 19th January, 1870). That the Church connection was desired is important, but it is interesting to note the feeling that a class was being ignored and that measures should be taken for its benefit.

sects could be concentrated on future advances. In many ways, the transfer of the burden to the State could not have been much longer delayed. It had long been obvious that the Voluntary System could not hope to provide education for the needs of the country, and the weaknesses of the method were accentuated by the division of funds and energy amongst the sects. (1) The State, with its statutory and executive powers, could supply the wants of the people far better than could charity.

In as much as the Evangelical effort was an integral part of the voluntary system it might appear to have expended itself for little of benefit when the whole creaking edifice began to be demolished in 1870. A very brief summary of the work of the sect would suggest that this was not an accurate assessment.

(1) It has been suggested (a) that £750,000 was spent from private charity in 1795 on Schools, Hospitals and Asylums. Such an enormous sum by private standards was only a small fraction of what the State could be geared to supply. Lord Kerray's Returns for 1835 show that although schools had increased in number from 14,500 in 1818, to 31,000 in 1834, yet the number of children in them was still only 1,144,000. "The Politics of English Dissent", by R. G. Cowherd, p. 45. ((a) "Collections and Recollections by One who has kept a Diary", p. 116.)

Chapter 9

CONCLUSION

The great contribution of the Evangelical Revival itself was its effect on the Established Church. At a time when the responsibility for the education of the poor still rested in the hands of the Church of England, the Evangelicals awoke that body to its responsibilities and caused it to declare its interest in the revival of educational work created by the activities of the Sunday Schools. The value of the work of the individual Evangelicals was increased immeasurably by existence of the Clapham Sect which provided a core of wealth, talent and leadership, established the great traditions of Evangelical philanthropy and united and strengthened the party through societies which continued their work when the Claphamites had gone. In the particular field of the education of the poor the work of the Sect was of vital importance both in itself and because of the stimulus which it gave to the prosecution of the work of instruction by other interested people.

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- (1) Out of 640 charitable institutions in existence in 1860 in London, 103 were founded before the eighteenth century, 114 were founded in the eighteenth century, 279 were founded between 1800 and 1850, and 144 between 1850 and 1860. Their aggregate income in 1860 was £2,441,967. Of these, 31 were societies for aiding schools (and 9 for Adult Education): -
- 1 was founded before the eighteenth century.
 - 5 were founded during the eighteenth century.
 - 17 were founded between 1800 and 1850.
 - 8 were founded between 1850 and 1860.
- Their aggregate income in 1860 was £98,377. The acceleration of effort coincides with the period in which the Evangelical party's influence on society became so strongly felt. The figures are from Samson Low's report on the London Charities, reproduced on pp. 320-1 of "Early Victorian England".

Even with the passing of their generation, the ideas of the Claphamites lived on in the Victorian society they had helped to form and despite the handicap of respectability which laid its dead hand on so many of their descendants.

The triumph of Victorianism was a triumph for the Evangelical ideal. It was also vitally important for the progress of the educational work of the group, for the absorption of Evangelical ideas by society meant that the Evangelical became less conspicuous, less at odds with his fellows, in a word - respectable. In such a situation it was much easier for the Evangelical concept of education to permeate society and to win acceptance. As has been seen, once the spread of Evangelical ideas began, the task of assessing their influence on society became increasingly difficult. It is much easier to enumerate the successes of the group in the field of education, but even this is a task which must be approached with caution.

From the standpoint of the modern educationist the achievements of the Claphamites and their friends seem small enough. Indeed, there is little that appears worthy of the name of education. The outpouring of philanthropy for the benefit of the poor produced rudimentary instruction in the basic skills accompanied by a great deal of religious propaganda. The universities were opened to a small number of young men who, because of religious prejudice and financial embarrassment, would not otherwise have progressed so far. At the Public Schools, as in the Universities, Evangelical influence

was felt, but in neither case, although the moral atmosphere was improved, did much advance take place in pedagogy itself. Only in the Infant Schools was there serious evidence of brave new ideas and enlightened practice.

Yet to condemn the Evangelicals and their fellow-workers for their shortcomings would be ludicrously unfair. In the first place they were the children of an age in which apathy was violently superseded by a desire to better the moral condition of the poor. If they are to be criticised for an obsession with religious instruction which ~~stilted~~ ^{stunted} educational development, they must also be given credit for building from almost nothing until they gave the unlettered poor the basic tools for improvement: the skills of reading and writing. Faced by the massive ignorance before them only a narrow break-through was possible. Any attempt to provide a liberal education in the early days would have been inevitably attended by failure. Furthermore, to have provided basic instruction without moral guidance (which could only mean religious instruction) would have been foolhardy by any standard. In the second place, the educational effort of the Claphamites was strictly limited by the economic difficulty of providing funds for their work. Yet at a time when the State took a minimal interest in the welfare of its citizens, money could not be raised by means other than the philanthropical.

The contrast between the power and achievements of the State and the Voluntary System should not be allowed to obscure one further

achievement of the philanthropists, which was, simply, that they helped to create a desire for education and kept that desire alive until the public was awakened to demand from the State more than charity could provide. Without this period of voluntary effort the demand would assuredly have been made many years later and when it was made, the State would have faced the task of creating a machinery for the education of a people as illiterate as they had been when the Evangelicals began their work. State education inherited from the Voluntary System much that was unfortunate and even dangerous, but it also inherited, besides the bricks and mortar of the existing schools, a vast body of experience in dealing with the problems of educating the poor. Even with the advantage of the legacy of the philanthropists the State's task of providing a genuine educational system was tremendous; without that legacy it could well have been overwhelming.

Appendix 1.

(a) SHUTE BARRINGTON, BISHOP OF DURHAM.

Shute Barrington provides an interesting example of a Churchman who remained an orthodox member of the Church while maintaining a very close friendship with the Evangelicals. Nevertheless, a careful examination of his position gives strong grounds for the belief that he was himself an Evangelical in all but name. Certainly, at least one strenuous effort has been made to uphold this view. G. G. Armstrong suggests that Barrington became attached to the Evangelical party in later life, and draws support from Russell (1) who refers to the Bishop as a representative of traditional theology in "the second spring" of the Evangelical movement. Armstrong goes on to stress Barrington's friendship while at Salisbury with "such well known Evangelicals as Hannah More and Bishop Beilby Porteus." (2) (Well-known Porteus may have been, but certainly not as an Evangelical.) Attention is drawn to Barrington's collaboration in the formation of the British and Foreign Bible Society (3) with

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- (1) ("A Short History of the Evangelical Movement".)
(2) "Life and Influence of Shute Barrington", by G. G. Armstrong, p. 288.
(3) His sympathies were made clear at the time of the controversy with Marsh over the formation of an auxiliary society in Cambridge. Writing to Isaac Milner, he applauded his efforts: "You have exposed the sophistry of your opponent, and you have done justice to those Churchmen who have been induced, like myself, from motives of the truest attachment to the Church of England, to become members of the British and Foreign Bible Society."
("The Life of Isaac Milner", p. 563.)

Teignmouth, Grant, Wilberforce, Sharp, Macaulay and Henry Thornton, and with Wilberforce and Bernard in founding the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor. As is pointed out, only three other bishops, one of whom was his former chaplain, Burgess of St. David's, followed Barrington onto the heterogeneous committee of the Bible Society, which included in its ranks fifteen Nonconformists, fifteen Church of England ministers and six representatives of foreign Protestant churches. All this is useful as contributory evidence, but in itself it does little more than prove that Barrington was an independent spirit with a liking for Evangelical company.

Armstrong strengthens his case by an examination of the Bishop's theological viewpoint. He takes as the lynch-pin of his argument the "Oxford English Dictionary" definition of the Evangelicals as being "in the eighteenth century applied to that school of Protestants which maintains that the essence of the Gospel consists in the doctrine of salvation by faith in the atoning work of Christ and denies that either good works or the sacraments have any saving effect." Barrington's "Charge" to his clergy in 1792 stressed the importance of atonement, redemption and corruption. He attacked the Rationalists who claimed that moral works were "alone necessary for salvation". Then, in 1802, he publicly deplored the attitude of those who advocated "faith without good works". Man is saved by the faith, not by the works but, at the same time, he must have the faith and the works as well. There is no validity in a faith which does not produce good works: "He who is able to save to the uttermost expects

good works as proof of a sincere faith." (1) Sentiments such as these may put Barrington within the bounds of the dictionary definition of an Evangelical, for, though he stressed the importance of works, he imputed no saving grace to them but only to the power of faith.

Barrington's position, as it is illustrated in the "Charge" of 1802, is slightly more Evangelical by the definition given above than that of Hannah More who spoke openly of the "cheap and indolent Christianity" of those people who clung to the doctrine of free grace. The position of Cecil and Miss More on the Sacraments, of John Bird Sumner on grace, of Romaine, Toplady and Fletcher on Calvinism, and the sanctified common sense of Simeon and Henry Venn on the whole question of dogma, (2) illustrate the dangers of attempting to judge Evangelicals with a dictionary. (3) This being so, perhaps a more helpful method of approach would be to examine what the Evangelicals themselves thought of Barrington.

In 1818, Hannah More wrote to Zachary Macaulay (4) mentioning a letter which she had received from Barrington "casting all his hope on the great atonement". This was an important part of Evangelical doctrine, but, as has been emphasised, it was neither proof of

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- (1) "Charge" of 1801, quoted by Armstrong, p. 378.
 - (2) See Supra Chapter 1, pp. 7-9.
 - (3) See also infra, (b) which further illustrates the difficulties of this method.
 - (4) "Letters of Hannah More to Zachary Macaulay", p. 104.

Evangelicalism nor the sole property of its adherents. More to the point was Hannah More's judgment of Barrington, then Bishop of Llandaff, (1) whose preaching she designated with a key phrase amongst Evangelicals as "deeply serious". It is noticeable, too, that Barrington recommended the Evangelical Stonehouse's book in 1788, (2) and that the Dissenter Doddridge's "Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul" to which Wilberforce owed his conversion, was recommended to prospective ordinands when he was Bishop of Durham.

Barrington's "Charge" of 1801 was received with joy by "The Christian Observer" which endorsed his remark: "There cannot be an enemy more hostile to Christ, than the advocate for faith without good works." (3) Although the writer would have preferred a heavier attack than Barrington had made on the "Antinomian error", the article breathed satisfaction with "this pious and enlightened prelate". Despite some mild carping about the meaning of faith, the review finally welcomed Barrington's claim that man must be sanctified because of the moral corruption inherent in his nature, and bestowed upon his "Charge" the accolade of "this evangelical composition".

Of perhaps even greater import was the obituary in "The Christian Observer" on the occasion of the Bishop's death, written in 1829. (4) It was mentioned that the Bishop had pointed to certain ideas when

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- (1) "Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More", Vol. 1, pp. 239-40.
 - (2) Ibid, Vol. 2, p. 101.
 - (3) Vol. 1, "The Christian Observer", p. 30.
 - (4) "The Christian Observer", September, 1829.

they were, unfortunately, not so familiar in the Church's high places as they were at that time. The ideas, as one would expect from such an introduction, were all typically Evangelical (1) - the fallen condition of men, the necessity for spiritual change in a true believer, the "new birth" as Barrington put it - the personal call to God; and the dependence on the mercy of God through the Atonement. In true Evangelical fashion he split no hairs on serious questions. He would say, "I know not, and I care not," for he had put himself in the hands of God.

The Bishop of Durham presented a different face to the world from the discontented place-seeker at Llandaff. He had the friendship of prominent Evangelicals, (2) continually gave utterance to Evangelical sentiments, and was viewed with favour by the Evangelicals themselves. He must certainly be regarded as one who was very much in sympathy with their cause and ideals and who strengthened that sympathy as he grew older.

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- (1) It is interesting to note that Barrington considered the Articles, Liturgy and Homilies of the Church of England to be "perfectly Evangelical". (1811, quoted by Armstrong, p. 339.) If so, he would find evangelical sentiments quite natural and in order.
- (2) It is significant that a friend of Wilberforce and frequent visitor to Clapham, Thomas Gisborne, and John Bird Sumner were both strongly recommended for advancement to Liverpool by Barrington at a time when Evangelicals still found the path to preferment stony.

(b) THE "EVANGELICAL" DIFFICULTY.

The difficulties experienced in judging Shute Barrington's standing only serve to illustrate the differences existing in a group loosely termed the "Evangelicals". For a further example it is necessary only to take the crucial doctrine of Grace. Such an authority as John Bird Sumner, the first Evangelical Primate, laid down that deliverance was already wrought and could not be brought about by repentance and obedience; yet the celebrated Blue Stocking, Hannah More, saw fit to reject outright the idea of free grace and the cheap and indolent Christianity of those who accepted its validity. From Miss More's standpoint, the sacrament of communion could be a sign of grace and nothing more, a conclusion the like of which moved Richard Cecil to write: "Papists consider grace as inseparable from the participation of Sacraments; Protestants too often lose sight of them as instituted means of conveying grace."(1)

When the leaders disagreed so fundamentally on this and other items of belief, it is not surprising that the group as a whole - composed as it was of thousands of individuals each searching for his own salvation and each retaining some portion of the ideas of his own particular mentor, tempered in the flame of his own striving - presented a bewildering disharmony to the observer. As a result, it has become no easy matter to determine the position of the allies of the sect, especially when their works are used as criteria. Indeed, with the

(1) "A History of the English Church", Vol. 7, p. 192.

existence of such a wealth of shades of opinion within the group, many outsiders seem closer to some factions inside than do other Evangelicals. At the risk of labouring this point, let me take only the example of that pillar of orthodox Anglican Christianity, Mrs. Sarah Trimmer. A warm correspondent of Hannah More, she expressed admiration for her work (1) and exchanged visits with her. In the "Guardian of Education", in 1802, she drew attention to the importance of atonement and the concept of human corruption. St. Paul was cited as her authority on several occasions. In "The Life and Writings of Mrs. Trimmer" (2) she stressed the criminality of disregarding the importance of the Trinity, the Atonement of Christ, and the necessity for sanctification by the Holy Spirit. Yet to turn again to the "Guardian of Education" (3) is to find her reviling the very men and women who restored such views to prominence: "those who call themselves serious Christians, and who prefer the attendance of those whom they style EVANGELICAL preachers, to the REGULAR ministers of the Church."

The Evangelicals, however, knew their own. The world might mistake Evangelism for Evangelicalism, but the line of demarcation was clear in their own eyes. Particularly was this true of their language. John Forster wrote: "in reading or hearing five or six sentences of our evangelical discourse, you ascertain the school by the mere turn of expression, independently of any attention to the quality of the ideas." (4)

(1) *Supra*, p.141.

(2) *Op. cit.* , Vol. 1, pp. 255-9.

(3) *Op. cit.* , Vol. 5, pp. 272-6.

(4) "Essays in a series of Letters", p.221.
vii.

Appendix 2.

EVANGELICAL BIOGRAPHIES.

One of the difficulties experienced in assessing the work of the Claphamites and their friends is that much of the written material has been produced by relatives or friends who were usually biased towards Evangelicalism and who saw their own particular subject as the most important figure in his field. (1) For instance, the Wilberforces attributed Isaac Milner's rise to the Deanery of Carlisle to their father, yet Mary Milner clearly stated that it was "chiefly due" to Bishop Pretyman. (2) A further example is mentioned on page 22, the biographers of Wilberforce and Macaulay both laying claim for their subject to primacy in the East India Company affair.

Much more unfortunate was the habit of the Evangelical biographer of manipulating the image which was to be presented to posterity. Marianne Thornton was most disappointed to learn that "dull Robert" was to work on the biography of his father: "I am afraid when I

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- (1) E.g. Macaulay's life by M. J. Holland, Viscountess Knutsford; Milner's by Mary Milner; Wilberforce's by R.I. and S. Wilberforce; Marianne Thornton's by E. M. Forster; Charles Sumner's by G. H. Sumner. In "These Remarkable Men" unfortunate over-statements occur, such as the claim that the British people were so influenced by the Scriptures at the time of the French Revolution that, "guided by the Bible they chose the path of ordered progress." (Page 139.)
- (2) In 1791, Milner wrote to Wilberforce that Pretyman had: "... espoused my cause with such a glow of friendship as is never to be forgotten. In short, he said he never should rest till he saw me settled in a comfortable income." ("The Life of Isaac Milner", p. 71.)

read his life I shall want to burn it." (1) Of Roberts her opinion was succinct and definite. Writing of Hannah More, she recounted:

"She recalls Sir Thomas Acland in one of her notes to me 'the recreant knight of Devonshire' which Roberts thinking uncivil I suppose, has altered into 'the excellent and estimable Sir Thomas Acland' - two words that playful women never used in her life. Somewhere else she began to me 'When I think of you I am gladerer and gladerer and gladerer', which he, thinking bad English has done into 'I am very glad'. Now if such an oaf as that can write a book at least he should be honest." (2)

Major facts cannot be altered, but such butchery of expressions of opinion in the interests of the public image is sheer dishonesty.

The Hannah More depicted by Roberts would hardly match up to Marianne Thornton's "playful woman". The sheer weight of pious words may have buried much humanity in the interests of canonisation.

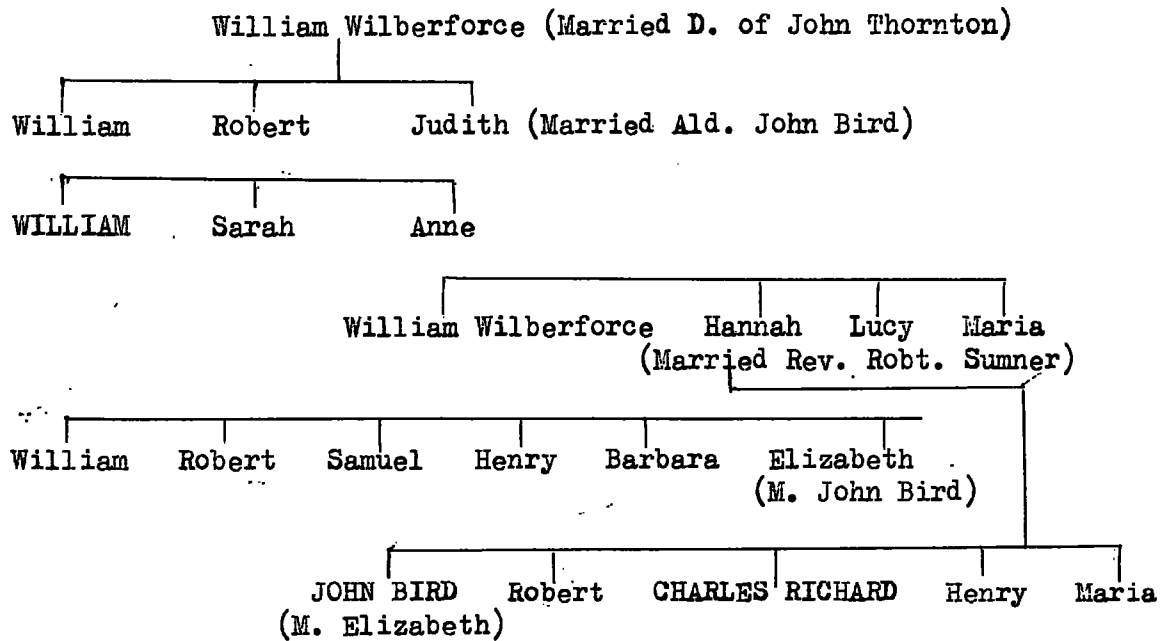
(1) "Marianne Thornton 1797-1887. A Domestic Biography.",
p. 139.

(2) Ibid, p. 140.

Appendix 3.

(a) THE WILBERFORCES.

Some of the connections within the upper reaches of the Evangelical party are obvious from a section of the genealogical table relating to the Wilberforces.



(From "Life of Charles Richard Sumner, D.D.", by the Rev. G.H. Sumner.)

(b) ISAAC MILNER

Isaac Milner's early history is a good example of the internal connections in the Evangelical party, particularly of the Yorkshire - Clapham - Cambridge link. (1)

Milner's elder brother, Joseph, was put through College by Moore and other friends. He became Headmaster of the Grammar School at Hull, which situation he owed to "powerful friends at Leeds" (2) and later asked Miles Atkinson (3) if he might have the aid of Isaac as an usher. After an interview, Atkinson bought his emancipation, whereupon the master heralded Milner's entry into a new sphere with the words, "Isaac, lad, thou art off." (4)

In 1770, Joseph sent Isaac to Cambridge where his incomparable talents (5) ensured his rise. He became a firm friend of Hey and of a former pupil, Wilberforce, whom he brought into the Evangelical fold. (6) He later became related through marriage to the powerful Wilberforce family, and the connection was complete.

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- (1) The connection of the three centres at Clapham, Cambridge and Yorkshire was for a long time basic to the Evangelical party. The Thorntons and the Wilberforces had social and political links in Yorkshire, where resided William Hey and Miles Atkinson and where was founded the Elland Society by Henry Venn. The Milners were Yorkshiremen, and it was through Isaac Milner and his friends at Cambridge that the Ellanders gained the opportunity to follow a University education.
 - (2) Such as Hey, Atkinson and Robert Wilberforce. ("The Life of Isaac Milner", pp. 4 and 15.)
 - (3) Also a member of the Elland Society.
 - (4) Ibid, p. 5.
 - (5) He was deemed to be "incomparabilis" after the Mathematics Tripos.
 - (6) Following a visit to Venice in 1784, when Milner was introduced to high society in the form of Princess Sophia, the Duke of Gloucester and Prince William.

Appendix 4.

THE EVANGELICALS AT OXFORD.

(a) Despite the fame achieved by the Evangelical movement at Cambridge, it must not be allowed to obscure the events at Oxford. Overton, Balleine and others have dismissed the contribution of Oxford, and have been followed too readily by other historians. In a painstaking study of Oxford between 1735 and 1871, J. S. Reynolds has examined the Evangelical content of the University and has clearly proved that it was much more considerable than had been thought.

From the time of John Wesley and the "Holy Club", (1) religious societies had appeared among the undergraduates until the trouble in 1768. In the same year, Higson, who had by-passed his Principal to gain the intervention of the Vice-Chancellor in the case, was himself eased out of his position as Vice-Principal of St. Edmund's. The Hall's new Vice-Principal was little better, (2) but in 1783, Dixon appointed an Evangelical to the post.

Crouch, the new Vice-Principal, had come up in 1774. Among his set had been Charles of Bala, John Simeon, and Biddulph of Bristol. As a lecturer, he was effective; like Simeon, he held reading-parties on Sunday evenings for the undergraduates. He won the trust of the senior members of the University by his respect for its traditions

(1) Christopher Atkinson, father of Miles, was a member.

(2) Bowerbank, 1769 - 1775. From 1775 to 1783, the Vice-Principal was Breeks.

and discipline. During his period of office, Josiah Pratt, William Marsh and Daniel Wilson were all at St. Edmund's. At Corpus was Roberts, the biographer of Hannah More, and at Christ Church, Vansittart, the second President of the British and Foreign Bible Society. (1) Martyn originally hoped to enter Corpus Christi, but went to Cambridge instead after an abortive attempt to win a scholarship at the age of fourteen. In 1796, Woodd occupied the University pulpit. When the Rauceby Society considered the foundation of the society which became known as the Church Missionary Society, Oxford men were prominent. Out of the first committee of thirteen members of the Society, seven were Oxford men and only four were from Cambridge.

In 1807, Daniel Wilson took over from Crouch as Vice-Principal with the avowed object of instructing his pupils "in the saving knowledge of God". (2) He was not so successful as Crouch and a decline set in which was accelerated by his departure. This is not to suggest that entry to Oxford was barred to Evangelicals. Other colleges were prepared to take them, (3) and with the rise of Magdalene

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- (1) "The Evangelicals at Oxford 1735 - 1871", by J. S. Reynolds, p. 63.
(2) Ibid, p. 79.
(3) Reynolds has shown that it is untrue to assert that only St. Edmund's would take Evangelicals during the period following the expulsion of the six students. It is interesting to note a query from the Elland Society to Crouch in 1801 about the fees at Lincoln and St. Edmund's. As St. Edmund's was cheaper, the Society entered Upjohn there. Obviously the situation was not desperate. (At the same time the Bristol Society was proposing to help men to enter Lincoln.) ("Journals of the Elland Society".)

Hall under MacBride the tradition of St. Edmund's was secure.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, the Evangelical section of the University grew stronger. Charles Mayo was a Fellow at St. John's; William Wilson, the future Vicar of Walthamstow was at Wadham; Harding the first Secretary of the C.P.A.S. was an Oxford man, as was Champneys, the pioneer of parochial schools. In 1813, the University followed the example of Cambridge and, with much less trouble, established an auxiliary branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society. (1) In 1823, Symons became Sub-Warden of Wadham and began to convert it into an Evangelical stronghold, and St. John's flourished under the influence of Natt and Glead. In 1825 a local association of the Church Missionary Society was formed, seven years after the Cambridge branch. In 1829, Robert Inglis, a prominent Evangelical layman defeated Peel in the contest to become a University burgess. This was the period of the flowering of Evangelicalism at Oxford. Although the battle of the clerical societies was fought almost exclusively at Cambridge, Oxford continued to turn out Evangelical leaders of high calibre (2) and to play a considerable part in the rise of the party.

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- (1) Oxford provided three presidents of the parent society. From 1834 to 1851 the President was Lord Bexley (Vansittart), from 1851 to 1885, Shaftesbury, and from 1885 to the end of the century, the Earl of Harrowby. All were Christ Church men.
- (2) Between 1807 and 1845, 37 tutors and fellows were Evangelicals, and before 1807 there had been at least 29. (Reynolds, op. cit., p. 156). Although St. Edmund Hall itself produced few men of note in this period, Evangelicals from other colleges did well. From 1819 to 1831, seventeen Evangelicals of note took "firsts"; of which three were "double-firsts". (Reynolds, op. cit., p. 92).

(b) In the later period, despite the power of the Tractarians at Oxford, there were, as the cases of Ward and Williams illustrate, Evangelicals in sufficient strength to offer considerable opposition. Among the leaders were men of the calibre of Symons (Vice-Chancellor in 1844-45) and Walker at Wadham, Cotton at Worcester, Huntley at Corpus, Churton at Brazenose, West, Chaplain of Radcliffe Infirmary, and Peter Maurice of New College. Tractarianism did not achieve complete dominance at Oxford because of the Evangelicals, but it damaged the cause through the shock it administered to Evangelical parents, many of whom sent their children to Cambridge after Newman's secession. As the conflict over the Tractarians died down the Evangelicals failed to re-establish their position, for the leadership in the colleges, the vital factor for the maintenance of the tradition begun at St. Edmund's, was disappearing. The period from 1845 to 1871 was one of slow decline in the position of the Evangelicals at the University. Evangelicals still went to be trained and left to carry out particularly their missionary work, but their strength in the colleges had gone. Between 1845 and 1871, only eight fellows and tutors were Evangelicals. (1)

(1) "The Evangelicals at Oxford 1735 - 1871", p. 156.

Appendix 5.

LORD SHAFTESBURY, THE THIRD GENERATION OF EVANGELICALS, AND THE
TRACTARIANS.

It would probably be helpful here to amplify some of the statements quoted from Shaftesbury himself, which at first sight gave a rather erroneous picture of his position. Despite his claim to be "an Evangelical of the Evangelicals", he was by no means as typical of the group as such a remark might suggest. The disappointment which he evinced in the nineteenth century Evangelicals (~~pp. 265-66~~) (1) was no passing sentiment - the nostalgia he exhibited in writing of the old breed of Evangelical showed that he found his spiritual brethren in the past generations:

"Have been reading lately Sydney's Life of Rowland Hill; he was one of a race of martyrs, or rather of confessors, who maintained their pious but painful ground in the face of a persecution which, to many minds, would be more formidable than racks or gibbets. He and Simeon and all their brethren withstood contempt, and ridicule, and desertion at a time when, neither in private nor in public, was there any refuge or kindness for an evangelical man." (2)

His bitterness against his contemporaries had many of its roots in their failure to support him when he most needed them. When seeking help for the Climbing Boys he burst out:

"I find that Evangelical religionists are not those on whom I can rely. The Factory Question, and every question, for what

(1) Supra, pp. 265-66.

(2) "The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury",
Vol. 1, p. 438.

is called 'humanity', receive as much support from the 'men of the world' as from the men who say they will have nothing to do with it!" (1)

His position as public champion of such a party was frequently constraining and embarrassing:

"A public man, holding my position and entertaining my views, and being praised (for I cannot say 'supported') by a certain portion of the religious community, is oftentimes in serious embarrassments. Some plan is proposed; he is required to assist it; he urges against the possibility, or expediency, some deductions of his experience; he is secretly suspected, or openly accused, of want of faith, self-seeking, or relying on an arm of flesh; he exercises no judgement, and falls into the scheme; he is baffled, and mischief ensues, both to the cause and to himself in reputation for common-sense. Will those gentlemen define the rules and the situations in which human judgement may safely be and lawfully exercised?" (2)

Notwithstanding the shortcomings of the Evangelicals, Shaftesbury consistently aided their cause. His patronage of the higher clergy is well known (~~p. 278~~), (3) but it is important to note that his nominees to the Episcopate included a smaller - though still considerable - proportion of Evangelicals than might be imagined. According to one source (4), the bishops he proposed could be described as follows.

C. L. Longley	(Durham, 1856; York, 1860; Canterbury, 1862)	Non party
A. C. Tait	(London, 1856)	Broad Church
C. T. Baring	(Gloucester, 1856; Durham, 1861)	Evangelical
R. Bickersteth	(Ripon, 1856)	Evangelical
H. M. Villiers	(Carlisle, 1856; Durham, 1860)	Evangelical

(1) "The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury",

Vol. 1, p. 300.

(2) Ibid, Vol. 2, pp. 59-60.

(3) Supra, p. 278.

(4) Balleine, pp. 210-11.

J. T. Pelham	(Norwich, 1857)	Evangelical
S. Waldegrave	(Carlisle, 1860)	Evangelical
J. C. Wigram	(Rochester, 1860)	Evangelical
H. Philpott	(Worcester, 1860)	Broad Church
W. Thomson	(Gloucester, 1861; York 1862)	Non party
C. J. Ellicott	(Gloucester, 1863)	High Church
E. Harold Browne	(Ely, 1864)	Non party
F. Jeune	(Peterborough, 1864)	Evangelical
W. Jacobson	(Chester, 1865)	High Church

Every party was represented on the list of Shaftesbury's nominees except the Tractarians, against whom the Evangelicals exhibited a considerable hostility which resulted in a series of unfortunate conflicts. The prosecution of Charles Gorman by the Bishop of Exeter for his views on Baptismal Regeneration brought to a head the antipathy between the parties and caused the Evangelicals to strike back with prosecutions of their own, culminating in that of the well-loved Mr. Green of Miles Platting, which did them great harm. As a letter to the "Record" pointed out, the Evangelicals functioned better as a positive than a preventative group. The further suggestion that the policy of prosecuting its foes on doctrinal grounds should be abandoned, was recognised as sound common sense, and the unproductive attacks were eventually discontinued.

Even Shaftesbury's detestation of the Tractarians and all their works (~~pp. 280-81~~) (1) was not implacable. After Pusey had written to the "Record" calling on all Christians to forego their minor differences

(1) Supra, pp. 280-81.

in combining to offer mutual resistance to the great doctrinal errors of the day (e.g. Neology), Shaftesbury wrote privately to him:

"We have to struggle, not for Apostolic Succession or Baptismal Regeneration, but for the very Atonement itself, for the sole hope of fallen man, the vicarious sacrifice of the Cross. For God's sake let all who love our blessed Lord, and His perfect word, be of one heart, one mind, one action on this great issue, and show that, despite our wanderings, our doubts, our contentions, we yet may be at one in Him." (1)

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- (1) "The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury", (26th February, 1864), Vol. 3, pp. 66-7.
Pusey replied: "I have ever loved the (to use the term) Evangelical party (even while they blamed me). So now I am one heart and one mind with those who will contend for our common faith against this tide of unbelief."
(Ibid, (28th February), Vol. 3, p. 167.)

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