

1987

John Locke and the education of the poor

Charles Garfield Ferguson

College of William & Mary - School of Education

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.wm.edu/etd>



Part of the [Social and Philosophical Foundations of Education Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Ferguson, Charles Garfield, "John Locke and the education of the poor" (1987). *Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects*. Paper 1539618609.

<https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.25774/w4-vvsv-2e07>

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, & Master Projects at W&M ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects by an authorized administrator of W&M ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@wm.edu.

INFORMATION TO USERS

The most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this manuscript from the microfilm master. UMI films the original text directly from the copy submitted. Thus, some dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from a computer printer.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyrighted material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each oversize page is available as one exposure on a standard 35 mm slide or as a 17" x 23" black and white photographic print for an additional charge.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. 35 mm slides or 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.



300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA



Order Number 8803968

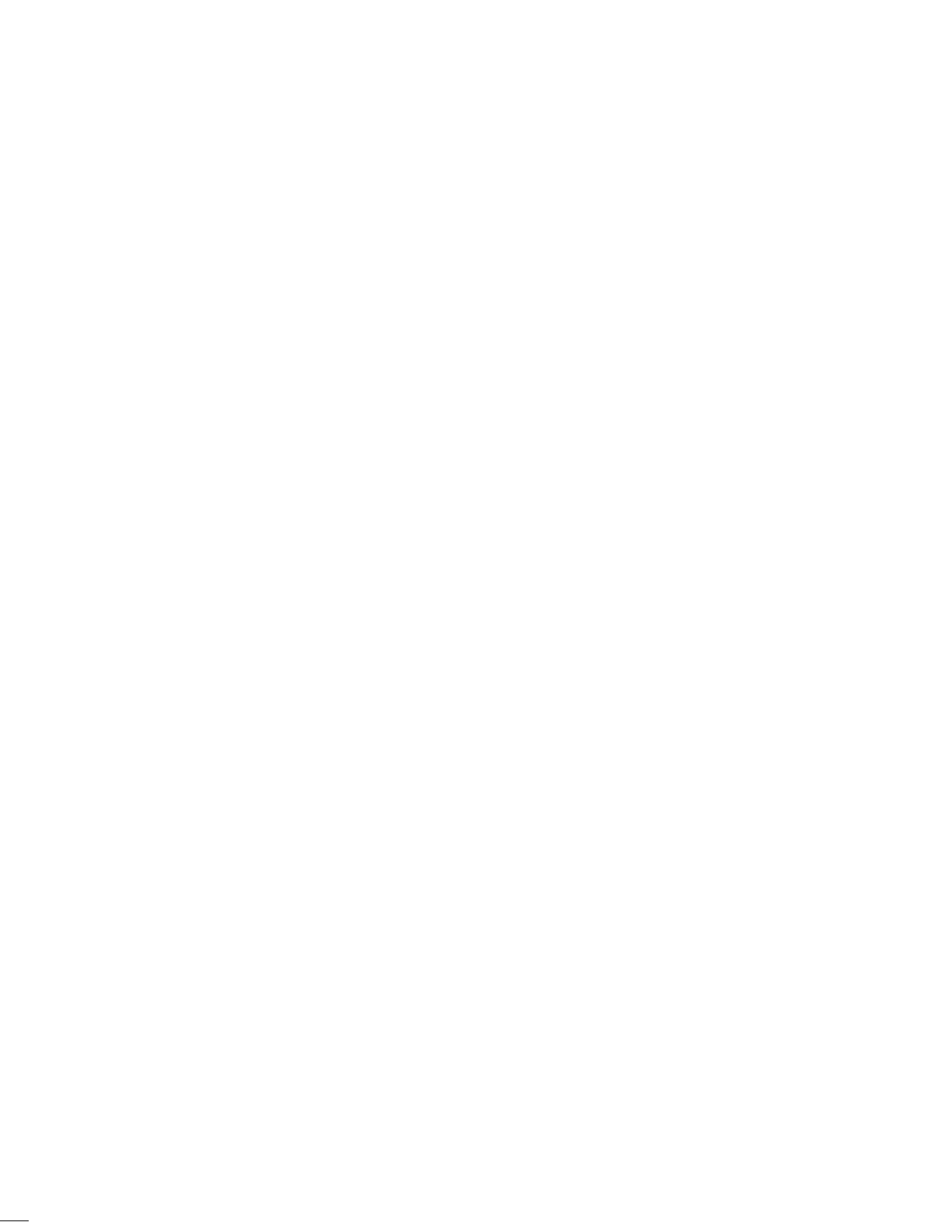
John Locke and the education of the poor

Ferguson, Charles Garfield, Ed.D.

The College of William and Mary, 1987

Copyright ©1988 by Ferguson, Charles Garfield. All rights reserved.

U·M·I
300 N. Zeeb Rd.
Ann Arbor, MI 48106



JOHN LOCKE AND THE EDUCATION OF THE POOR

A Dissertation
Presented to
The Faculty of the School of Education
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements of the Degree
Doctor of Education

by
Charles G. Ferguson
November 1987

JOHN LOCKE AND THE EDUCATION OF THE POOR

by

Charles G. Ferguson

Approved November 1987 by



John Thelin, Ph.D.



Roger Aldwin, Ph.D.



William Losito, Ph.D.

Chairman

©1988

CHARLES GARFIELD FERGUSON

All Rights Reserved

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my wife, Rita Nicklas Ferguson, who has given me unfailing support and encouragement in my continuing quest for understanding.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my thanks to Professor William Losito, Chairman of my Doctoral Committee, for his patience and understanding in the completion of this project. I wish also to express my gratitude to Professor John Thein and Professor Roger Baldwin, members of the committee, with whom I have had the great fortune to work closely.

I wish also to thank the staff of the Swem Library of the College of William and Mary. Their help was invaluable in obtaining out-of-print as well as foreign publications.

I wish to extend my special thanks to my friend, Patricia Rainey Joyner, for her advice and criticism in the writing of this thesis.

PREFACE

He that will know the truth of things must leave the common and beaten tract, which none but weak and servile minds are satisfied to trudge along continually in.

Of the Conduct of the Understanding
John Locke

.....
A hundred thousand men were led
By one calf near three centuries dead.

They followed still his crooked way,
And lost one hundred years a day;
For thus such reverence is lent
To well-established precedent.

A moral lesson this might teach,
Were I ordained and called to preach;
For men are prone to go it blind
Along the calf-paths of the mind,
And work away from sun to sun
To do what other men have done,
They follow in the beaten track,
And out and in, and forth and back,
And still their devious course pursue,
To keep the path that others do.

.....

The Calf-Path
Sam Walter Foss

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
DEDICATION.....	11
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	111
PREFACE.....	14
Chapter	
1. DESIGN OF THE INQUIRY.....	1
2. LOCKE'S SOCIAL, CULTURAL, AND INTELLECTUAL MILIEU.....	19
3. LOCKE'S IDEAS OF EDUCATION FOR THE GENTRY.....	52
4. LOCKE'S IDEAS OF EDUCATION FOR THE POOR.....	70
5. ANALYSIS OF LOCKE'S PHILOSOPHICAL VIEWS OF EDUCATION AND THE SOCIAL/ POLITICAL FACTORS OF HIS SOCIETY AS THEY RELATE TO THE EDUCATION OF THE POOR. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.....	99
REFERENCES.....	120
APPENDICES.....	137
Appendix A. A Comparison of Locke's Proposal for Workhouse Schools with the Schemes Suggested by Fellow Philanthropists.....	138

Appendix B.	Locke's Proposal to the Board of Trade and Plantations concerning Workhouse Schools for the Poor (1697) [annotated].....	140
Appendix C.	"Gregory King's Tables" of the Number of Families; their Ranks, Degrees, Titles and Qualifications; the "Heads per Family; the Number of Persons [total in that group]; and the Annual Income per Family.....	167
Appendix D.	A Chronology of John Locke's Life.....	170
Appendix E.	Published Writings of John Locke.....	175
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....		179
VITA.....		185
ABSTRACT.....		186

CHAPTER I

DESIGN OF THE INQUIRY

A. THE NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROBLEM

John Locke (1632-1704) is one of the best-known and respected philosophers of the Western World. For three hundred years his famous Essay Concerning Human Understanding has influenced the modern view of human nature as free and rational. In Locke's view, a child was born free of allegiance to state or government. This child could choose the laws by which he would abide, and the sovereign he would serve. As this child became a man, he had the freedom to develop a "rationality" of mind. This would necessarily lead him to think and act in an industrious, responsible way, that is, become a model citizen of the state in which he had chosen to live.

Locke had also formed the opinion that men lacked "innate ideas."^[1] The mind of the new-born baby was seen as a "white paper without writing." There were no ideas (even those concerning the existence of God) present in the child's mind. All ideas, and subsequently, knowledge came from sources external to the individual. Locke's man could learn anything with no theoretical limit. The question of learning was simply a question of correct teaching. Teachers

would present materials and use various methods of instruction to take advantage of man's (unlimited?) capacity to learn.

Locke's educational views in Some Thoughts Concerning Education were that education could be a condition and instrument of individual being and a means of developing freedom. These views, however, were applicable to the the gentry, that is, the better classes. In this book, Locke immediately stated the overweening importance of education. "Of all the men we meet with, nine parts of ten of what they are, good or evil, useful or not, by their education." [2]

Most modern writers on Locke's views on education see, as does Gay, that the most attractive part of Locke's theory of education was that it was a real system of teaching and learning. To Gay, this

system was not a divine pattern or moral improbability, but a sensible, attainable reality; it aimed to produce the civic-minded, well-mannered, and soundly informed English gentleman. [3]

The production of an English gentleman was to be accomplished through a disciplined study of the liberal arts untainted with pedantry and "useless" knowledge, while learning a "useful trade." Education was to develop a rational gentleman fitted for a life of personal freedom, tempered with responsibility for the society. It seems, however, that all this concern for proper education was

aimed solely at the gentlemen who would need these skills to get along in a society of like men.

When we examine Locke's views on the education of the poor, we see little of the concern for personal freedom and development of the rational man that was to be afforded the gentry. At first reading, Locke's view of the education of the poor seems inconsistent with his general philosophy of the "free, rational man" and education for the gentry.

Locke saw the poor man as lacking rationality and despaired of his learning much more than that required for survival. Yet, there was hope for the pauper classes. Locke rejected the concept of "innate ideas" and accepted the idea of direct sense experience being the source and origin of all knowledge. This led him to the reasonable conclusion that, although a "breed apart," the "Herd" could, with proper training, at least be molded into a "compliant, industrious, and trained labour force,"[4]

Certainly the poor posed practical and moral dilemmas for Locke and others of the time. Locke believed the Scriptural teaching that the "poor will always be with us." No responsible person proposed a society where everyone would be equal. A solution to the problems caused by thousands of unemployed poor could only be gained through their education to have them become productive members of society.

The present research aims to examine the question whether

Locke's views of education for the poor are reconcilable with his general philosophy of education. The significance of this research can be two-fold:

- 1) To contribute to an historical understanding of Locke's general philosophy concerning education, and
- 2) To contribute to our own analysis of equal educational opportunity.

In the first of these aims, the research will examine Locke's views of the philosophy of education. This philosophy is coincident with the practical advice Locke laid down in Some Thoughts Concerning Education.

In the second aim, the research will seek to show that problems of educational equality and opportunity are not modern phenomena but have concerned philosophers and administrators for centuries. We may use the experience of the past to fashion better the present.

B. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

To the modern reader, Locke's views on the education of the lower classes seem to conflict with the educational principles found in his Some Thoughts Concerning Education. In his writings on the poor Locke seems to put aside the ideas of education that stand for freedom and respect for man as rational, free individuals. He substitutes a harsh, even brutal, training for the poor. The emphasis is no

longer the formation of a "love of learning" in the student; it becomes a requirement for the learning of a narrow trade with a similarly narrow literacy.

There is a decided neglect of scholarship in the area of Locke's concern with social classes other than the gentry. Scholars have tended to generalize Locke's philosophy of education from his views on education of the gentry. Hence, both their interpretation and assessment may be inadequate (unless, of course, Locke's views on the education of the poor are totally compatible with, and reducible to, his views on the education of the gentry).

As an example, Gay gives what appears to be the virtual consensus of Lockean scholars as he says that "... if we really want to educate children ..."; if we desire a "philosophy that insists on relevance in subject matter to experience without neglecting...[learning]... for its own sake ...," and if we want such a theory, we "would do well to read, and reread, Locke with care." [5]

Here Gay epitomizes the seemingly uncritical, wide acceptance of Locke's philosophy of education as shown in Some Thoughts Concerning Education. To Gay, Locke is the classic example of the early educational philosopher. Gay calls Locke "the father of enlightenment in educational philosophy." [6] The "prolonged reflection" required by Locke for the completion of The Essay Concerning Human Understanding "is a

psychological groundwork for modern educational theory." Into a system where the schoolmaster "taught by rote and disciplined by brutality,"[7] Locke's ideas injected a philosophy of education where the learner would be "gently guided." [8] Locke's system for education is seen by Gay as tied to Locke's doctrine that man's nature is receptive and malleable, especially in youth. But this learning cannot be at the expense of the person's freedom; a "compulsion to learn is absurd." [9]

Gay continues in his praises of Locke's educational philosophy. Locke "appealed to experience, [and] expressed confidence in the flexibility of human nature." He "advocated humane treatment and utilitarian training [for the child]." [10] Again, in Gay's praises of Locke, we see uncritical accolades for Locke's insight into human nature. Even with this in mind, Gay must admit that, while Locke wanted reform, it was not for all men, even of the gentry. [11] Locke never thought all children should be educated or all those to be educated be educated alike. He had no thought for the poor at the time he was writing the letters that became Some Thoughts Concerning Education. Gay does spend several pages describing Locke's later proposals for the poor, but Gay explains these by warning that "we must see the above [the discussion of the treatment of the poor] in the spirit of the 17th, not the 20th, century." [12] From these admissions, we can conclude that Gay accepts at

face value Locke's ideas of education for the gentry, but even the strongest supporter of Locke's philosophy must admit that this philosophy does not seem consistent with reference to the poor. This investigation will examine this apparent contradiction; that is, a philosophy of education that applies to the gentry, but not to the poor.

It may be that Gay, et alia, are not totally accurate in their assessment of Locke as educator. They accept only that part of Locke's writings that were focused on the gentry. They excuse the many references to the harsh treatment of the poor as "in the spirit of the 17th century." The researcher cannot pick and choose; he must seek the truth of the entire philosophy. He cannot accept some parts while discarding others. The purpose of this present research is to answer questions about the compatibility of Locke's views about the education of the poor to confirm, disconfirm or modify the accuracy of scholarly thought concerning Locke's ideas on education. These questions will concern Locke's ideas on education.

2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The important question is that of Locke's concern with the education of the poor. Many authors have praised Locke for his methods, processes, and theories of education. His aims were assuredly the same for both the poor and the gentry; i.e., all classes were to fit smoothly into the fabric of an

orderly society. Yet, when we examine his educational ideas more closely, we see a great disparity between his suggestions for the education of the gentry and the training of the masses.

a. Main Question

A close reading of Locke's Some Thoughts Concerning Education shows many ideas that are certainly applicable to any educational context. Certain of his ideas; e.g., instilling a desire to learn in the child, are very advanced, and even now are not fully realized. Locke's general philosophy of education as set out in Some Thoughts is necessarily narrow. Locke was writing to a friend concerning the education of the friend's son. This education was to fit the boy for the life of a gentleman, a man who owned land and had a responsibility of leadership in the society.

The requirements for the education of the gentleman hardly applied to the general population. Locke's ideas for the education of the poor(13) stressed the conversion of the poor child (or adult) into an industrious person; that is, one willing to do hard work for, at best, subsistence wages. Nothing is said of "learning to learn"; education for the poor becomes a training to earn a living however brutal the process required for the education.

The main question:

Are John Locke's educational ideas concerning the poor consistent with his general philosophy of education?

The purpose of the following discussion is to identify questions related to the main question above. These questions will be interpreted, and their logical structure will be described.

b. Contextual Questions

These questions seek to clarify the context of Locke's writings. This time and culture, as well as Locke's philosophy, must be examined to help us determine the meaning of Locke's educational views.

1. This research will examine philosophical ideas and educational views of others to gain an understanding of the context of Locke's educational writings. As Locke's writings on education are occasional, the views of others will greatly clarify his opinions. Any thinker works in the context of his milieu. Locke wrote in the last half of the seventeenth century and four years into the eighteenth. He associated with men in high places and was a friend to many of the scientists, philosophers, and other intellectuals of his day. He had an amazingly extensive personal library, [14] and certainly read extremely widely in several languages. This wide experience, coupled with the circumstances of his upbringing, certainly played a major role in his intellectual development.

2. Locke's ideas for education must be viewed in the context of his own philosophy of rationality and freedom. The idea of rationality and freedom permeates Locke's writings. We must see that these ideas would have the greatest impact on his consideration of who could and should be educated.

c. Instrumental Questions

These questions are the basis for understanding the main question concerning Locke's view of the education of the gentry and of the poor.

1. What was John Locke's general philosophy of education? [i.e., his educational views for the gentry as commonly generalized as his "educational view"].

This question examines the "conventional view" of Locke's ideas on education. These are the views explicated by most authors (e.g., Gay) as the "educational philosophy" of Locke even though the views were meant for only a small fraction of the society. The following several points will be examined in this thesis to elucidate this view. These are corollaries of the instrumental question and will be discussed at length in Chapter III. As stated below, these questions will allow a close point-by-point comparison with issues seen by Locke in the education of the poor.

- a) What is the purpose of education?
- b) Who should be educated?

- c) What is the general nature of the curriculum and the role of the teacher?
- d) What is the relationship of education to rationality and freedom?
- e) What is the extent of the education?
- f) What should be the moral content of the education?
- g) How should education relate to service to society?

2. What were Locke's educational ideas for the poor?

This question examines Locke's ideas on the education of the poor. This is necessary for the "conventional view" of Locke's educational ideas is not substantiated in his writings on the education of the poor.

In the context of Locke's educational ideas for the poor, the following areas will be specifically studied. (The "conventional view" of Locke and education will be used as a basis for comparison and contrast). These corollaries of the instrumental question parallel those asked of the gentry, thus will allow comparisons and contrasts with those asked of the gentry. These will be discussed at length in Chapter IV.

- a) What is the purpose of education?
- b) Who should be educated?
- c) What is the general nature of the curriculum and the role of the teacher?
- d) What is the relationship of education to rationality and freedom?

- e) What is the extent of the education?
- f) What should be the moral content of the education?
- g) How should education relate to service to society?

3. Are Locke's ideas for the education of the poor explainable in the context of his philosophy of the "free, rational man?"

We ask if Locke's view of the poor is compatible with his philosophy of the "free, rational" man as put forth in the Essay Concerning Human Understanding. Locke saw the poor as largely neither free nor rational, thus the de facto exclusion of the "rabble" from his definition.

4. What way, if any, should Gay's, et alia, view of Locke's educational ideas be revised, confirmed, or disconfirmed?

As noted above, Gay sees Locke as the epitome of the quintessential educator. Certainly Locke had many ideas that would be appropriate for any philosophy of education. Yet, the observations of Gay, et alia, may not reflect Locke's prescription for education if we are to educate all people.

d. Subsequent and Speculative Questions

Questions are seen to emerge from the discussion of the main question. Some are interesting and significant to our study.

We can examine the question of Locke's direct contributions to the understanding of a model of equality of educational opportunity American higher education. Many educational ideas of our modern America may appear to be foreshadowed in Locke's writings. The malleability of youth, some flexibility of the adult for learning new things, and a "sound mind in a sound body, relevance in curricula, learning how to learn," etc., can be profitably studied by today's schoolmen. Can any of these ideas be traced directly to Locke? Extensive discussion of these ideas as they apply to modern American education are beyond the scope of this thesis, but we may speculate on them.

C. METHODOLOGY OF STUDY

1. PROCESS OF INQUIRY

All of Locke's writings and correspondence have been published and are available for research. (15) We use some of these resources to outline Locke's ideas on aspects of the questions mentioned above. It may be found that there are interpretative generalizations that can be bases for confirming, disconfirming, or otherwise modifying the relationship of this research to other scholarship. Then we will build a case of Locke's thinking that will enable fairly specific conclusions to be drawn and answers for the questions listed below to be found.

a) What was the social, cultural, and political environment of Locke?

The turmoil of the latter half of the seventeenth century following the upheaval of the Civil War was a period of much debate. Numerous publications are extant which expound all sides of the political spectrum of the day. In Chapter II of this thesis we will see that this environment allowed thinkers, both in and out of government, to approach, at least in theory, some of the problems of the time. This was likewise an era of strong religious feelings. Churchmen raised old questions of life and morality. There was great social change and many businessmen as well as philosophers searched for answers.

b) What is an accurate interpretation of Locke's view of human freedom and rationality?

The Lockean theory of the "rationality" of man is the basis for the Essay. Other works discuss the political and social realities that would not allow the application of his theories to all men. His political writings -- The Two Treatises of Government in particular -- show that, to Locke, society must place the security of the state above individual liberty. This would be accomplished through everyone in the society remaining in his niche and working for the good of the society and himself.

c) What was John Locke's general philosophy of education

(that is, his educational views for the gentry as commonly generalized as his "educational view")?

It has been stated at length elsewhere that Locke wrote extensively on his ideas for education. As discussed in Chapter III of this thesis, through the essay Some Thoughts Concerning Education, and other less celebrated correspondence to the gentry, [16] Locke clearly showed that the gentleman must be brought up to fill the place of responsibility in society for which he has been destined.

d) What were Locke's educational ideas for the poor?

As will be discussed at length in Chapter IV infra, the poor presented a great problem to the England of the late seventeenth century. Locke attempted to provide a solution through a "work-study" scheme for the "education" of the poor masses to make them self-supporting. Locke's scheme for this solution is wholly contained in a plan compiled while he was a member of the Board of Trade and Plantations in 1696. (An annotated text is included as Appendix B of this thesis). This Plan is analyzed in Chapter IV. Locke's views on slavery and other situations of "un-freedom" or "un-productivity" are scattered in his writings, as well as being mentioned in the Essay.

2. LIMITS OF THE STUDY

This study will be concerned with the philosophy of John

Locke as pertains to the education of the poor in England in the late seventeenth and very early eighteenth century. This is not an original investigation of Locke's philosophy or of the period. This study may be limited by certain widely-held ideas concerning the period that may be open to debate and discussion. (An example of such questions is the impact of land enclosure on the common laborer). We are further limited by the relatively limited amount of original writing by Locke on the poor. Again, MacPherson warns:

neither the strength nor the weakness of his [Locke's] political theory can be understood until we stop reading back into it the assumptions of a later age.

Keeping in mind this warning, perhaps we can read Locke as a seventeenth century "liberal" who tried to meet the then-pressing problems of education, unemployment, government, and religion in a clear, moral, prudent, and straightforward -- that is, "pragmatic" -- way.

3. HYPOTHESIS

The views of Gay, et alia, on the subject of John Locke's ideas on education may need to be revised. As noted, most scholars attribute to Locke an attitude toward education of concern for the learner. Preliminary investigation indicates that Gay, et alia, have overstated the case of Locke's concern for the learner. Their view does not seem to be an accurate representation of Locke's ideas. It may be that these scholars are generalizing to the entire

population what were Locke's views strictly for the "rational" man -- the gentlemen.

D. OUTLINE OF PROJECT

CHAPTER I. DESIGN OF THE INQUIRY

This chapter introduces the problem of the apparent contradiction of John Locke's views on the education of the poor and those of the gentry.

CHAPTER II. LOCKE'S SOCIAL, CULTURAL, AND INTELLECTUAL MILIEU

Locke's milieu undoubtedly had a tremendous impact on his ideas. A superficial examination of the society of the time will be rewarding when attempting to assign possible sources to his ideas.

CHAPTER III. LOCKE'S IDEAS OF EDUCATION FOR THE GENTRY

If we are to attempt to gain understanding of Locke's "formal" philosophy of education, we must look at his ventures into solving the problems of the nature and limitations of human knowledge. His insights were set forth in his Essay Concerning Human Understanding. As this long Essay was completed for publication in March, 1690, it will show a mature Locke's conception of knowledge. His ideas of education for the male child of the gentry have been set out in to in Some Thoughts Concerning Education.

CHAPTER IV. LOCKE'S IDEAS OF EDUCATION FOR THE POOR

These ideas, though not presented in one manuscript as were those for the gentry in Some Thoughts Concerning Education, show that Locke saw the only hope for the poor to be some sort of education. But, realistically, he saw that a program such as he had suggested for the gentry was not feasible. Thus, it simply became necessary to train the poor to take the burden of their upkeep off society.

CHAPTER V. ANALYSIS OF LOCKE'S PHILOSOPHICAL VIEWS ON EDUCATION AND SOCIAL/POLITICAL FACTORS OF THE SOCIETY AS THEY RELATE TO THE EDUCATION OF THE POOR. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

Here the "truths" propounded by John Locke in his philosophy, the ideas he put forth concerning the poor and the gentry, and certain influences of the environment will be combined for analysis. I will attempt to ascertain if there are clear paths of reasoning from Locke's philosophy to his suggestions for the treatment of the poor. This chapter will also summarize the areas discussed above. I will also answer the main question. I will speculate as to the currency of Locke's educational suggestions for American education.

CHAPTER II

LOCKE'S SOCIAL, CULTURAL, AND INTELLECTUAL MILIEU

A. POLITICAL/INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM

The seventeenth century was a period of turmoil, ferment and uproar in England. Since the time of Henry VIII there was increasing freedom for the person fortunate or rich enough to take advantage of it. Henry's new Church still had considerable power[1], but did not place the severe restrictions on thought and experiment that continued to trouble, for example, the Italian states.[2]

Any vestige of an idea of a "Divine Right of Kings" had disappeared with the execution of Charles. The parliament held the purse-strings; the citizens with the money held the power. The old aristocracy was still there, but there were new gentry (or haute bourgeoisie) with new money earned through manufacture and trade.

In this society, there were four fairly well-defined social classes:

- 1) The landed aristocracy (peerage and gentry)
- 2) The upper-middle class (haute bourgeoisie)
- 3) The lower middle-class (petty bourgeoisie)
- 4) Workers (of whom full-time wage earners were a

minority).[3] Fluctuations of the economy, whether intentional or not, often displaced thousands of these workers from the farm or factory. Most of these unfortunates had no recourse but to go on the dole or to beg on the roads.

The landed aristocracy, (the peerage and the gentry), were, in spite of the "new money" of the merchants, by far the most powerful social, political, and economic force in England. In an age when landowning was the base of power and influence, some two percent of the population owned perhaps 70 percent of the land. Birth and landownership constituted the bases for gentleman status. There was a further hierarchy of status within this group based on "rank, wealth, family pedigree and distinction, and lifestyle." [4]

A step below the aristocracy was the "greater gentry" -- baronets, knights, and esquires. This class was very important in that it furnished men for higher local offices such as memberships in parliament and judgeships.

The "lesser gentry" was at the bottom of this order. From this class came the parish officials such as supervisor of poor relief and the "all-important office of Justice of the Peace." Locke himself was from this class. His father was a lawyer and owned some land. Locke junior rose through good fortune and intelligence to an anomalous position outside

these ranks as an advisor to nobility and a influential force in government.

Historians quibble over an exact date for the "dividing line" between the old and the new, but all agree the turmoil of the time was a most important turning point in the new opportunity for the development of new ideas and changes. All agree "that something of immense significance happened" during this time. [5]

At the beginning of this period, at least by 1632, the old order was already of the past. Most Englishmen were Protestant -- in fact, Puritan. The economic situation of the country was unsettled, causing some to seek innovation and others a return to the past. As with most situations of economic flux, there was, on one hand dire poverty, while on the other there was increased new wealth. Such an economy gave short shrift to the "have nots" while allowing the big tradesmen, landlords, and some farmers to turn inflation to their own advantage. This inflation, which is certainly not unusual in times of economic dislocation, was worsened by erratic government policies. In any event, it struck a continuing savage blow to the poorer classes.

The Puritan Revolution was seen as an opportunity for new ideas and changes in the existing situation in England. There was a new freedom, both secular and ecclesiastical, to look for "truth" in philosophy and science. However, there

still remained a tendency by many to look to religion to justify suppression of the poor. [6] Still, for most, it was a time of opportunity to lead a better life.

We must put facile terms such as "new ideas" into perspective. These "movements of thought" influence only a small minority. This minority "contrived to live in three worlds: scientific, every-day, and the Christian world of Sundays...." Bethell notes that "the human mind fortunately has a capacity for such illogical accommodation; and this is the only irrationality in the Age of Reason." [7]

Locke's argument in the Essay that all men are free and equal in the "state of nature" excellent example of this accommodation. The equality of men does not erase any differences of age, birth, capacity, or virtue. The basic equality lies in the "sphere of dominion of each man": each man is "absolute lord over himself and no man is rightfully subject to the will and authority of another." [8]

Others write that the "discredit of the Stuart monarchy and the Commonwealth experiment marked the beginning of a new epoch in social, no less than political, history."

James cites the bleak statistics of "disorganization and depression in industry and agriculture, and a consequent increase in poverty and unemployment." [9] This was the situation that obtained at first, but manufacturing increased with the restoration of peace and relative

political stability. England was becoming a mercantilist nation as the colonies developed as sources of raw material and markets for the finished products.

Closely tied to this movement in the economy was the continuing enclosure of land for pasturage which usually displaced the tenants who could do little other than look for subsistence in the cities (or beg on the roads). The raising of sheep for the woollen industry was usually more profitable than the leasing of small farms to tenants. As sheep are much less labor-intensive than pre-mechanical farming, there were far fewer jobs to be had for the poor.

One can agree with Bethall that it appears that the circumstances of the Restoration showed both King and Country that excesses of any sort could hardly be tolerated by any party. England could concentrate on the business of business. Few believed any longer in the idea of a Divine Right of Kings; the parliament was usually fairly responsible; the ruinous Civil War was long over; manufacturing was booming; there was money to be made; and there was a relative plenty of material goods for the many who could afford them. Most of the gentry felt secure in their person, in their possessions, and in their spiritual self. For them, it was not the best of times, but it most certainly was not the worst.

In another aspect, Neil Wood notes a "small, growing

bourgeoisie was driving ahead, linking its fortunes with an even smaller and no longer expanding but still immensely powerful aristocracy." Again, Wood apparently sees a deliberate conspiracy between these classes to "subject an enfeebled petty bourgeoisie and an increasingly impoverished and burgeoning working class." [10] Such a "conspiracy" surely was more apparent than real, but, nevertheless, the result was the same. The fortunes of these classes came to be largely controlled by the upper classes, especially by the nouveau riche manufacturers and traders.

Along this same line of thought, Wood sees that a newly rich Locke gave hope to his social inferiors, that through their own efforts, "they might climb the ladder of prestige and preferment." Yet, Wood bluntly states that Locke was no leveller.

(He was wholeheartedly committed to the inevitability and rightness of ... political inequality and to the domination of the propertied few over the propertyless many. [11])

Thus, it is with this background in mind that the intertwined political, social, and cultural environment of England at the time of the maturity of Locke (1660-1704) can be explored.

B. THE INTELLECTUAL MILIEU

Many of Locke's viewpoints seemed to have cultural bases.

His personality and intellect were surely largely shaped by his strict Puritan upbringing. While his father apparently was no fanatic, he was stern and "severe" in young Locke's upbringing. He was a soldier in the Civil War on the side of the Parliamentarians which did him no good financially, but in Colonel Popham, a friend was gained who later appointed the junior Locke to the select Westminster prep school.

Much later when Locke was 56, he recalled that he "had no sooner perceived myself in the world but I found myself in a storm that has lasted hitherto." [12] The "storm" had affected Locke at Westminster School as well as later in the University. Institutions of higher learning are usually at the center of political maneuvering, but Locke seemed to steer fairly clear of controversy at that time. Later, his support of King William made him persona non grata in England and forced him to Holland for an extended stay. One may rightly conjecture that the political upheavals that Locke survived made him truly a lover of the orderly society, both in theory and practice. Surely it was the environment more than any person which shaped Locke's strong desire for order in the English society. This is undoubtedly reflected in the apparent rigor with he approached the problem of the vagrant poor.

A great influence on any philosopher is certainly the prevailing religious atmosphere, whether personal or

societal. It could be no different with Locke. Although England was no longer in the iron grip of the Church or the King as the representative of the Diety, Locke, seemingly more than other intellectuals in this neo-scientific age, saw the hand of the Diety in all of society. Henry VIII, in breaking away from the Roman Church, had played a major part in the formulation of Anglican doctrine. He is purported to have rejected the idea of complete "predestination" with a comment to the effect that such a belief could have a commoner kill the King, and who is to say the commoner "nay" if it were so predestined. This story is surely apocryphal, yet it foreshadows a perhaps curious mixture of a belief in destiny, chance and "free will" that pervades Locke's writings.

There was the almost ubiquitous belief in preordained "station" in life for all men. This (rather conveniently) accounts for an apparent inequality in men who otherwise should be rational, equal, and free. Life's "station" for the individual, and all that entails, is ordained, yet the infinitely more important fact of whether a particular soul is bound for a heaven is not. This researcher can find no evidence that Locke ever considered the ludicrousness of such an idea as a partial "free will." (One works with the ideas one has or those one is allowed by the society, although a great philosopher could be expected to have some original thoughts).

Locke, as with any thinker, owed to others not a little of his beliefs and approach to the world. So then Aaron states that the greatest influence on Locke's thought was by Descartes and Locke's friend, Sir Robert Boyle. Concerning Descartes, Aaron says (but does not prove) that:

Descartes was a 'liberator' more than a teacher. He taught Locke 'how to develop philosophical inquiry intelligibly.' Descartes rescued him from his Oxford education's sense of despair as to the possibility of advance through reason. [13]

Locke certainly read Descartes, yet in the Essay, Locke speaks very seldom of "Mr. Des-Cartes" or the Cartesians, and those very few references were to denigrate some idea of that philosopher.[14] Cranston says that Descartes influenced Locke through Boyle, who was "manifestly influenced by Descartes's 'mechanical philosophy'" ...:

The Cartesian philosophy became somewhat distorted as it passed through Boyle's mind, and this fact was of considerable importance to Locke's intellectual history. For Locke, as Boyle's pupil, absorbed much of the Boyleian conception of nature before he read Descartes and became interested in pure philosophy. Like Boyle, Locke brought no metaphysical preconceptions to the study of science.[15]

The main source of Locke's "empiricism lay in his association with the Oxford scientists who were forging new methods of enquiry based on observation and experiment." [16] Important influences on Locke's thought listed by Garforth are the physician Thomas Sydenham, the French philosopher Gassendi, Francis Bacon, and, of course, Descartes, but

"from a quite different angle." [17]

Numerous writers have noted that Locke was a "pragmatist." It is tempting to conjecture that Locke was something of a "pragmatist" when it invariably appeared that the bulk of mankind did not fit his mold of the "rational, free man." Many philosophers, before and after Locke, seem to see the classes of society to which they belong as the ones favored by the Deity. These classes are then defined as the "norm" for mankind. The mass of mankind who do not fit the criteria for rationality as set by the philosopher are seen as substandard. Perhaps these men are evil, since they are evidently not especially favored by God. Yet, in a comprehensive philosophy, all men must be accounted for. Locke's philosophy speaks of the generic "man" as being "free", when this is not so, according to any rational definition of "free". Locke, as have many others, had to make the "facts" fit the "theory". It is certainly reasonable to call this "pragmatism".

Aron saw Locke as "portraying the spirit of his age." [18] The latter half of the seventeenth century had brought on a "balanced and tolerant attitude toward life" by the gentry and such intellectuals as there were. There seemed to be a "love of cool, disciplined reflection" in these circles. But the real world was different; there was bitter conflict and narrow zeal; and men held exaggerated and wild expressions of opinion. This era would welcome emotionalism

in poetry and literature, but only for "entertainment." In the "serious things" of life -- religion, philosophy, and, above all, inquiry into truth of philosophy and science -- no appeal to the feelings was permitted. Perhaps Aaron is a bit too censorious of this age, but we see in Locke some of this "narrow zeal," and and, while not "wild expressions of opinion," at least differences of opinion from many of his peers.

C. THE SOCIAL SITUATION OF THE LOWEST CLASSES

Over half the people were in the lower four classifications of the population. [Appendix C] Even the "richest" of these, the 150,000 "common seamen," were in such a position that Locke considered sentencing illegal beggars to that fate for a three-year term. [19]

The medieval attitude was that poverty was an uncontrollable manifestation of the hand of God, along with famine, sickness, and old age. The stricken were left to the mercies of the Church or to the charity of private citizens who thereby gained absolution from their sins. [28] This attitude changed under the Puritans after the time of Henry VIII.

Most people of the time (at least the literate ones who left their thoughts for posterity) believed in what Margaret James calls ordered inequality. All this has been

"ordained by God to 'exercise the divers Graces which he hath given to his Church and People.'" [21] James states that one preacher (1655) had remarked that the Biblical "warning against laying up earthly treasures should not be taken too literally." [22] She further notes that:

doctrine that inward salvation should be expressed in continuous labor merged into the belief that success was the hall-mark of godliness. [23]

One may argue with Wood's contention that economic behavior still was motivated not so much by profit-making as by custom, tradition, prestige, and status. Custom and tradition certainly influenced decisions made by governments and individuals, but it seems to this researcher that many of the social problems faced by the country stemmed from the quest for profit. In any case, Wood is correct as he says, concerning the social order:

Locke's England was divided into two societies: the rich (many of whom) were becoming richer, and the poor, who were becoming increasingly impoverished. Especially since the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688, the 'prudent' ruling class, now reunited, exercised tight control over an increasingly subjected and impoverished populace. [24]

Wood continues his sad tale but he may exaggerate in giving a perhaps unfounded sense of conscious cohesiveness to the upperclasses. Be that as it may, he makes the important points:

The primary goal of English law was the preservation and advancement of the 'propertied class'. Haunted by

the experience of the Puritan Revolution and fearful of the restlessness of the poor, the propertied upperclass presented a solid front after 1688.... The people were depicted as a 'many-headed monster' or 'untamed beast' -- an irrational, unstable, and disorderly 'herd' constantly endangering the kingdom ...[25]

This mob of the poor common people would act against the society "unless curbed by the cultivated and leisured property-holders."

The problem of the support of the poor was an enormous one by the latter half of the seventeenth century. The Catholic Church had long considered itself obligated to support the impotent poor through almsgiving. For over a hundred years, as noted by Webb and Webb:

observers stated that alms did not diminish the number of people living in poverty, rather the very existence of indiscriminate almsgiving increased 'this unsatisfactory section of the population.' [26]

The issue of the "impotent poor" had become of greatest importance by the time of the Restoration and the Glorious Revolution. The existing Poor Law was both unenforced in the large part and unworkable in any event. Webb and Webb show graphically the attitudes of the writers of the time. Even those who were upset by the condition of the many beggars and the very poor in general seemed to be bound by the all-pervading atmosphere of the Puritanism of the country. Webb and Webb quote J. Cooke (a conservative and former member of the government of Charles I) who derided the on-going process of enclosure for pasture farming which

"was turning men adrift from their homes and occupations and raising the price of corn." But Cooke also made it clear that he was not for "parity" of men and against the landowner and engrosser as such:

I would not be mistaken as if I were an enemy to the great estates, the order of God hath appointed several degrees of men and hath set them in their several stations, the rich to be liberall to the poore, and the poore to be servicable to the rich.... I am not of their opinion that drive at a parity to have all men alike, 'tis but an Utopian fiction, the Scripture holds forth no such thing: the Poore ye shall have alwayes with you; but there ought not to be a beggar in England for they live rather like beasts than men. [27]

The great concern of the upper and middle classes at this time was the worry that the poor, who, in contemporary opinion, were "particularly susceptible to the poison of rebellion and infidelity." A proper plan would "solve two acute problems of Church and State, the growth of irreligion and of pauperism." A plan would necessarily include details of providing work and study of the Bible and catechism necessary for the child to be:

inoculated) ... against the habits of sloth, debauchery and beggary, which characterised the lower orders of society.' [28]

Yet, to many, the lower orders of society were seen as a key to the economy of the nation. As laborers, seamen, soldiers, servants, and other workers, the masses were needed as strongly as they were feared and despised.

Furniss discussed the importance of the laboring classes to

a country. He quotes Thomas Petyt (1680) who shared with others of his time "gloomy forebodings as to England's commercial future ... (as he) sought out causes for a supposed decay of trade." Petyt had said:

People are ... the chiefest, most fundamental and precious commodity, out of which may be derived all sorts of manufactures, navigation, riches, conquests and solid dominion. This capital material being of itself raw and indigested is committed into the hands of supreme authority [the identity of this 'authority' seems unclear in the context] ... [whose] prudence and disposition it is to improve, manage and fashion it to more or less advantage.[29]

Furniss continues his discussion of the English laborer of the period:

Now the most striking element in the economic position of the English laborer ... was his poverty; for no considerable period did he receive much more than subsistence and for certain stretches of time his money wages were insufficient to supply him with the barest essentials of physical existence.[30]

Modern Western man might think that the seventeenth century English laborer was held in low esteem because he contributed little to the national wealth or, if he were as important as writers such as Petyt held, then he was not receiving his fair share of the wealth. It seemed in the view of the contemporary writer, that the worker was greatly valued but nearly everyone wanted to make the laborer's share of the wealth as small as possible.[31] There were many proposals to keep wages low. It was widely held that wage laborers' "good times" were injurious to the nation. By

keeping the wages low and the prices high would the laborer be kept on the edge of want. Since prosperity led to a slackening of industry, prevention of any such prosperity would make the worker work harder of necessity.[32]

As mentioned above, enclosure of open land previously available to the common cottager forced many out of the parish to seek bare subsistence elsewhere. The Poor Laws of Henry VIII[33] and Elizabeth[34] had codified the requirement of the individual parish to care for the indigent poor. (Many, including Locke, derided the efforts of the Poor Law Commissioners to control the situation). In fact, if the proof of the efficacy of the law was in the results, then the critics were indeed right; the roads, and especially the cities, "swarmed with beggars and vagrants." [35]

Although they ostensibly had been placed so by God, the people who had been mired in poverty had not been given the right to become wandering beggars. As noted above, beggars were so feared and hated by the public at large that "humanitarians [were made to] forget their humanity." [36] But the difference between the needed working poor and a despised beggar on the street was merely a matter of degree. The laborer was paradoxically seen both as a very necessary part of society, and, at the same time, a drag on the economy and a threat to the privileged sector of society. The laborer was, at best, always just a step away from

destitution and was always, at best, desperately poor. He normally received subsistence wages, and sometimes wages were set below what would be necessary to give his family the barest necessities of food, shelter, clothing, and "firing" in the winter. As with the "minimum wage" worker of our enlightened time, it required a firm belief in the "Protestant Ethic" by the worker for him to remain in such a situation when the dole would usually make life much easier with no labor required. One is amazed that so relatively few of these poor chose the "easy way out." Strangely, this poor laborer was considered by many to be the key to wealth, both national and for the entrepreneur.

Furnias wonders at this apparent paradox, but can offer no solution:

That the mass of under-nourished, half-clad, and improperly housed people ... could have been considered by contemporary thinkers as possessing any great importance to the nation must strike the modern observer as impossible. [Yet]... on the one hand, the importance of the labourer as a source of wealth was considered supreme; on the other, there were few to question the justice of reducing the labourer's share [of the national wealth] to its lowest possible terms.[37]

The smallest fluctuation in the national or even local economy could throw a multitude of otherwise "honest" workingmen onto the mercy of the parish for relief. It may be repeated that, oddly to modern eyes, such a dislocation was rarely blamed as responsible for the resulting unemployment; it was deemed to be the fault of the

unemployed laborer. A weakness of character was undoubtedly responsible for his situation -- a weakness that could be repaired by physical punishment if all else failed. A scheme to create work would give the laborer (regardless of age) no excuse to fulfill his "calling" in life. Furniss emphasizes this:

The one all-important domestic problem of this age was the problem of pauperism, the most obvious of whose causes was the idleness of the people;.... With the fact of unemployment thrust to the front by the growing burden of poor relief ..., their (social reformers) natural reaction was to evolve methods of creating employment. (38)

Furniss continues with his observation that the laboring class was seen to be an entity to be manipulated for the "good of the nation." Projects put forth by social thinkers "all treated the laboring class as a group, to be handled in the mass by the state."

Furniss is almost alone among modern writers in his concern for the plight of the individual laborer and the effect of such plans would have had on him:

The individual laborer was lost sight of, the wealth of detail in which the proposals were stated contemplating a destruction of all self-reliance and resourcefulness, and the reduction of all individuals to a common dead level through the process of stereotyping and rendering fixed and rigid his life conditions. (39)

We can conclude here that the good of the nation was the goal of any project for the redemption of the poor. Many of the proposals to employ the poor (as with Locke's) may seem

as "fantastic distortions of justice," but we must remember the proposals were for the good of the nation, and not for the benefit of the children and adults of the laboring classes who were to supply the material for experimentation. (40)

Thus, there was a belief in this 'age of liberalism' of the utility of poverty. In its most candid form, this opinion insisted that the national interest demanded that the bulk of the population be kept in a condition of poverty. (That this "belief" was actually in the minds of the upper classes is immaterial. The effect was the same, in any event.)

D. EARLY WRITERS' VIEWS ON THE REFORM OF THE POOR

Locke's theory of the tabula rasa may or may not have provided a stimulus to reformers and philanthropists. The thrust of their ideas was similar to Locke's, in any event. They almost unanimously agreed that "education is a discipline of mind and body, dependent upon the formation of good habits." (41) Echoing Locke's theory that anyone can learn, one reformer wrote,

... It is always in our power to know as much as can be practically useful. So much ... we may clearly discover that whatever encourages and promotes habits of industry, prudence, foresight, virtue, and cleanliness among the poor, is beneficial to them and to the country.... (42)

He did not advocate a "bribe" solution to the problem. He

apoke of a:

genuine and well directed education, which is calculated to fit persons to act a strenuous and useful part in their allotted station (emphasis added) in life; -- of that education, which teaches and demonatrates the advantages of early and steady habits of attention and industry, and forms in the heart, stable and permanent principles of conduct.(43)

A series of reformers and philanthropists between 1659 and 1704, writing mostly in London "... attacked the problem from the new (sic) standpoint of organizing a genuinely 'profitable employment of the poor'"[44]. This view was not new -- it differed little from that of Richard Mulcaster some 100 years eariler in 1582. Mulcaster, himself a graduate of Eton and Oxford, offended no one when he wrote about "higher" education for the masses. Mulcaster considered the ability to read and write the common right of all, but he rejected the idea of providing higher education for as large a number as possible. He feared, as did many others, that a large class of learned men without intellectual employment may be uneasy and seditious. Yet he thought that endowments for the encouragement of higher learning should go chiefly to poor boys who "manifested marked ability, while they should be open on equal terms to the rich who will study."[45] (Note again that this is NOT a call for universal education. Apparently only the Levellers of an earlier generation entertained such a notion of equality).

E. A GENERAL HISTORY OF EDUCATION AND HIGHER EDUCATION

If we are to understand the educational "context" of Locke's time, we must look at a history of education in a broader context than that country and time alone. The term higher education as used herein will generally mean education beyond the elementary; that is, at least at the level of Eton and Winchester. [46]

Early Britain, indeed western Europe, was on the fringe of the Roman Empire. Yet, such scanty evidence as is available shows that (according to Tacitus) Agricola established schools in A.D. 78 in order to "romanize the sons of native chieftans." [47] The great majority of the population remained illiterate (and "un-romanized"). The Romans never considered education of or for the masses. As was the case for the next some 1900 years, the rulers (or their counsellors) were an educated elite minority.

There was a a time of intellectual darkness for Britain and Western Europe from the time of the fall of Western Roman Empire. This darkness was only relieved by the light of the Church. "In a rude and barbarous society it was a moral code, a way of life, a civilizing agent." [48] The Church carried on what scholarship there was in the lands. So, for over a thousand years:

the authority [of the Church] reigned supreme, an authority, too, which barren and ascetic in its nature,

brought barrenness into education as long as it prevailed.' [49]

The medieval universities that began in Europe after the turn of the millenium were "a unique product of an intellectual uprising that began near the close of the 11th century...." [50] The twelfth century opened with a new intellectual life:

The scattered learning of the past was consolidated and systematized in compilations ... that became standard authorities in higher education.' [51]

England was only on the edge of European civilization of that time so schools were formed only after the Norman Conquest. Some schools were built in the "reconstituted" cathedrals. In each of these:

normanized cathedrals a scholasticus was responsible for keeping a school.... None of these schools, however, was to survive permanently save as a grammar school. [52]

The successful schools of higher learning were separate from cathedrals. For example, soon after 1200 Oxford was becoming:

like Paris and Balogna, one of the great educational centres of Western Europe: a studium generale with an organized gild or universitas of masters and scholars. [53]

A college and grammar school was founded in Winchester in 1382) by William of Wykeham. This landmark school was planned to exist in its own right, not as an adjunct to an

ecclesiastical institution. The endowment called for "poor and needy" boys from the diocese. Sons of noblemen and "other worthy persons" could attend on a fee-paying basis. "Commoners" were allowed to attend as day pupils.(54)

By the middle of the fourteenth century in England there was already three hundred to four hundred schools for the education of clerks in reading, writing and Latin. Clever boys of humble origin rose through such schools to be clerks and priests, for the Church was still the career of ambition most easily open to the poor. But no attempt was made to teach reading and writing to the mass of the people.(55)

In the fifteenth century there was a great increase in educational facilities and endowments. Many schools were endowed to teach "the poor" gratis; but the poor who benefited by them were:

not the labouring class but the relatively poor, the lower middle class, the sons or proteges of small gentry, yeomen and burghers who rose through these schools to take part in the government of the land.(56)

Wallis shows that "... including fee-paying establishments, there were more than 4,000 grammar schools [in England and Wales] in the seventeenth century." There was no "system" (57) of primary education in the England of this period. A child might be taught at the village Dame's School, or in the house of a neighboring parson. The children of the nobility usually received their first training at home from

a tutor or chaplain. Some received their first training at the "hands of the women of the house" before going on to the grammar school or university.[58]

More advanced institutions such as:

Eton, Winchester, and Westminster had already acquired a fame... (so that) it was the practice among certain of the country gentlemen to send their sons to these schools as boarders rather than to the neighboring grammar schools... a majority of the aristocracy considered the schools (even Eton, Winchester, and Westminster) to be unsuitable and unnecessary, especially for the eldest son....[59]

So a tutorial system of education developed for the upper classes:

This domestic tutorial system helped maintain some connection between education and reality. At its best, it produced the intellectual virtuoso of the seventeenth ... century; the well-mannered, well-trained man of the world whose education at the hands of a tutor had been supplemented by a period at court and a European tour.[60]

In this new "scientific age" the schools had changed but little since medieval times. Throughout the seventeenth century a wide gulf between formal education and reality remained.[61] As we have seen, in the time of Locke's maturity (1660-1704), English gentry had access to several forms of education. Children of the "better classes" were instructed in reading and writing at home or in a neighborhood school. They could then go on to a "grammar school" for a curriculum of Latin and other subjects suited for the production of gentlemen. The influential and the

very skillful -- into which category Locke is to be placed -- could go on to the university which almost invariably meant a place among the powerful of the nation.

The curriculum in the early university was the "classical Arts and Sciences." The "Sciences" included Theology and Scholastic Philosophy, Jurisprudence, and Medicine.

By the term Arts, was intended the seven liberal arts of the Middle Ages, but chiefly the Trivium, i.e., Grammar, Rhetoric, and Logic, all three of which were presented in their most formal and barren aspects. (62)

Aaron gives a summary of what he guesses to be Locke's own curriculum at the University in the middle of the seventeenth century. The curriculum still appeared to be "formal and barren":

[Locke would] probably devote a year to rhetoric and grammar, another to logic and moral philosophy.... [The third and fourth [would be given over to] logic, moral philosophy, geometry, and Greek. He found these courses insipid and dreary. (63)

The curriculum at the universities changed but little until much later. The grammar schools taught Latin, Greek and little else "to the tune of a hickory stick" at least through the next century. Locke could do nothing to reform advise gentlemen on the proper -- and gentle -- way to raise their sons.

F. LOCKE'S GENERAL PHILOSOPHY AS A PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

1. Introduction

Literally thousands of books and articles (and dissertations) have been presented concerning the ideas of this philosopher since his voluminous works were published in the latter third of the seventeenth and the first quarter of the eighteenth century. From the very first he was assailed for his religious beliefs[64] and his philosophy.[65] He has been just as stoutly defended by his own pen[66] and by others[67] through the centuries.

John Locke was as large a factor as any philosopher and government worker could be in the social and political thought of that time. "He is perhaps best described as an independent, free-moving intellectual aware as others were not of the directions of social change." [68] (We will argue that this statement of Locke's awareness of social change is not entirely correct).

Locke formally set forth his entire philosophy in his Essay Concerning Human Understanding. [69] The Essay, on which he worked probably more than than half his adult life, [70] was to latter seventeenth and eighteenth century European philosophers what Newton's Principia and Optics were to its scientists. [71] Some commentators note that the Essay reflects the thinking of the majority of the scientists and philosophers of the age. This reflection is "apart, perhaps, from the fundamental theses" [72] of Locke to which many philosophers of the time did not ascribe.

Locke is often criticized for the apparent use of the "commonsense-tone" of the discussions in the Essay that enabled him "to take advantage of realistic convictions about the mind and the world that did not follow rigorously from his own principles." [73] Locke apologists recognize this criticism and seek to answer it. For example, Tarcov explains, it is not that way at all:

Locke ... constructs modern moral virtues, including civility, liberty, justice, and humanity, on the basis of his egoistic and hedonistic psychology. He has taught a generous concern for others and recognized the power of self-love, pride, and passion.... [74]

Some scholars have tried to show that Locke's motives in expounding his philosophy of man and government were perhaps more pragmatic than a genuine concern for humankind should allow. Some see him as largely a political hack in his philosophy in that he tried to show the:

Whig government in accord with the law of nature and the rest of the widely accepted stock-in-trade of the contemporary political scene. [75]

Others see both sides of the argument. These scholars realize that men of that time recognized that, regardless of philosophies of rationality and equality, there was a:

deep-rooted differential between the rationality of the poor and that of men of some property... A great tragedy of the time was "the denial of individualism to half [sic] the nation.... [76]

We seek what may be considered the key points of Locke's

philosophy of education and learning. These "key points" should indicate that Locke, indeed, saw men as unburdened with innate (that is, inborn) ideas. The great majority of men (except fools and madmen) have the ability to reason and to acquire knowledge if not prevented from this by chance. Yet, there is a "Free Will," so to speak. This "Free Will" is that part of every man that allows him to choose his own way (after he has been placed in his "station" in life by the Deity): "Every one, I think, finds in himself a Power to begin or to forbear, continue or put an end to several Actions in himself" [77] Thus, the onus was on the individual to act and think "correctly", or suffer the spiritual and temporal consequences.

G. THE TABULA RASA

Locke spent a great deal of time discussing in the Essay how ideas are formed in the mind. He argued that all ideas are received from outside the individual. He rejected the then widely-held notion that a baby is born with ideas already in place. These innate, inborn ideas allowed men to "know" certain things (e.g., the existence of God) without any prior instruction. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to delve deeply into Locke's reasoning on the foundations and processes of knowledge. Yet, to understand his position on knowledge and learning, we will note a few sketches of his understanding. [78]

What men know, they have learned by experience:

Every man being conscious to himself, That he thinks, and that which his Mind is employ'd about whilst thinking, being the Ideas, that are there, 'tis past doubt, that Men have in their Minds several Ideas...[.] How he comes by them? I know it is a received Doctrine, that Men have native Ideas, and original Characters stamped upon their Minds, in their very first Being. This Opinion I have at large examined already [and rejected in Book I, Chapter II of the Essay]....[79]

We see that Locke believed men have no innate ideas. Ideas that are certainly in their minds must come from an external source. A concise definition of knowledge by Locke is that it is:

nothing but the perception of the connexion and agreement, or the disagreement and repugnancy of any of our Ideas. Where this Perception is, there is Knowledge....'[80]

H. REASON AND RATIONALITY

Thus, it seems easily possible that anyone who is sane could gain knowledge, that is, learn, anything if it presented in such a way that the mind could make use of the ideas. A pauper, poor as he is, is rational enough to be able to make use of ideas about training for employment.

Locke plainly states that "Reason must be our last Guide and Judge in every Thing." [81] Yet, in the next sentence, he leaves room for revelations from God, without telling us how we can be sure the "Proposition revealed" to us is actually from God, or what is exactly a "natural principle."

[I]f Reason find it [a proposition] to be revealed from GOD, Reason then declares for it, as much as for any other Truth, and makes it one of her dictates.[82]

To the proof of our own existence, Locke seems logically to beg the question as he writes:

As for our own Existence, we perceive it so plainly, and so certainly, that it neither needs, nor is capable of, any proof. For nothing can be more evident to us, than our own Existence. I think, I reason, I feel Pleasure and Pain; can any of these be more evident to me, than my own Existence?[83]

He then uses the "self-evidence" of our own existence in his "proof" of the existence of God. The idea of an (almost) omnipotent Deity is central to all of Locke's philosophy. Although we are born with a mind devoid of ideas, we are assured of God's existence as we are aware of our own:

Though GOD has given us no innate Ideas of himself; though he has stamped no original Characters on our Minds, ... [we] cannot want of a clear proof of him, as long as we carry our selves about us To shew therefore, that we are capable of knowing; i.e. [i.] being certain that there is a GOD, and how we may come by this certainty, I think we need go no further than our selves, and that undoubted Knowledge we have of own Existence. [84]

The validity of this proof was left undiscussed in the Essay. [85] Locke says:

How far the Idea of a most perfect Being, which a Man may frame in his Mind, does, or does not prove the Existence a GOD, I will not here examine.[86]

The dawning of an Age of Reason saw many philosophers relegating a Supreme Deity to a less important position in

possible schemes of existence. Locke was unusual in a "scientific age" in his pervasive belief in the God of the Bible. He wrote in The Reasonableness of Christianity of such philosophers who, although they may be able to search out most "Truth" by reason alone, saw there were situations where "pure reason" was not enough. He writes of philosophers:

... who spoke from reason, [and] made not mention of the Deity in their ethics. They depend on Reason and her Oracles, which contain nothing but Truth: but yet some parts of that Truth lie too deep for our natural powers easily to reach, and make plain and visible to mankind; without some light from above to direct them. [87]

Nidditch gives what he sees as the general consensus of critical Locke scholars. In the Essay:

[Locke] insists that the ultimate source of all our ideas and the ultimate required test of all our putative knowledge and beliefs lie within the bounds of the workings of normal sense- or inner-experience.... [88]

From the quote above, one can argue that Nidditch apparently believes that Locke saw that there are "realities." Thus, a philosophy holding that one can have no assurances of "truth" (that is, be a total skeptic) has to be discarded. One may read that Locke is seen as saying one must (as St. Paul advised) "prove all things." Simply, one must be aware of the uncertainty of a proclaimed "Truth" until it is tested and proven or disproven.

Boyle and the other natural scientists of Locke's day and acquaintance surely impressed upon him the necessity for controlled experiment. Results of many such tests often led to a revision of the theory tested. Locke saw that this was the opposite of much of the thinking of the moralists and theologians. Locke certainly took over some other "scientific" beliefs such as an external material world separate and distinct from the internal world of the mind. Further, he showed little of the broad intolerance (except to selected categories such as atheists and Roman Catholics) that possessors of "certain knowledge" many times held.

Man has Free Will. This is the freedom to act as one would. One is free if one has the power to act as one would. If man is free to get what he chooses, the moral educator faces the task of getting the pupil to choose what the educator wants him to choose. The task is to get pleasure attached to the right actions, and pain attached to the wrong. So men can be trained as we train animals.

We have shown that Locke, for the present purposes, made these points:

1. Man is born with no existing ideas, not even of God.
2. Ideas, and therefore learning, come wholly from outside the person.
3. All sane men can learn.
4. God exists. One's own existence is proof of this.
5. Philosophers may hold "Truths" even if they do not

invoke God, but there are deeply-hidden principles that requires intervention of the Diety to uncover.

6. Man has Free Will.

These points made the bases of Locke's philosophy of education as presented in the Some Thoughts concerning Education. These tenets also hold for Locke's proposal for the training of the poor. The theory holds; the method is different.

CHAPTER III

LOCKE'S IDEAS OF EDUCATION FOR THE GENTRY

A. INTRODUCTION

Most educational scholars have taken the views of Locke as expressed in Some Thoughts Concerning Education as his "theory of education." This "theory" follows closely his concepts of learning and ideas detailed in the Essay. Yet, these scholars dismiss or gloss over the fact that this education was not to be for all, or even a majority, of people. Most of the people did not fit the major criterion for education in that they were not "rational." If we examine Locke's ideas for the education of this "un-rational" multitude, we are struck by the lack of kindness and understanding of the individual that is requisite for learning how to learn.

Locke had shown in the Essay that man was by nature "rational and free." The gentleman was placed by the Deity in such a position that he could -- in fact was required -- to develop that "rationality." The gentleman was "free," tempered only by the requirements of the greater society. The gentleman was to be a leader of society, equally at home in business as on the dance floor. He was developed through education. This education "put learning last" for

"knowledge" would accrue to the man who has the "breeding" to make use of it. Education was to groom the gentleman for his expected role in society. He was the businessman, the landowner, the civil servant. This role carried with it a great many responsibilities, along with the multitude of advantages the gentleman enjoyed.

The curriculum was designed by Locke to instill the character of a gentleman. This mainly consisted of right habits formed early. The curriculum would be Christian and moral. The child would study the Catechism and the Bible. He would learn right from wrong as those precepts were defined by the society. The child was to be guided by example instead of the rod. For all this, the curriculum was utilitarian as it fit the man for the job.

The educator ideally was a tutor who would insure the young gentleman kept on the correct way. This tutor would also teach by example as he acted in loco parentis.

The education of the child was to promote a "love of learning and inquiry" that was largely missing from those men who suffered through the public schools. Locke saw this love would lead to "lifelong learning."

B. DISCUSSION

The following points for discussion, as proposed in Chapter I, will allow us to systematically examine Locke's thoughts

on the education of the gentry.

1. As stated in the Some Thoughts concerning Education, the purpose of education is clearly "a sound mind in a sound body." Toward that end, Locke recommended several methods of physical exertion to develop the body. He shows much concern with maintenance of the bodily functions. He warned against "cockering" the child, [1] even suggesting that the lad's shoes be constructed so to allow his feet to become wet in the rain, thereby producing a physical toughness in the boy. [2]

For the mind, he put "learning last"; instead he wanted to produce a man who would fit in the society as a leader. Locke wished to make learning something to be enjoyed. He forbade corporal punishment except in the extreme case of an "obstinate" youngster. Thus, we may say Locke saw education as the preparation of the young gentleman for his place in society.

Benjamin Rand, in editing The Correspondence of John Locke and Edward Clarke, comments how:

His [Locke's] famous treatise on education originated (in 1684) in a series of letters addressed to Clarke concerning the proper method of instruction for his son. [3]

Clarke's son, then about eight years old, was the eldest son and heir to Clarke's not-inconsiderable estate. As such, the boy would learn "those things tending towards a

Gentlemen's Calling." [4] Locke's plan for the education of this child of the gentry may be summed up by a statement in a letter from Locke to Clarke of July 19, 1684:

Mens sana in corpore sano is a short but full description of the most desirable state we are capable of in this life. [5]

Locke foreshadowed Ivan Pavlov by 200 years in Locke's discussion of behavioristic psychology as it pertains to learning. We have no direct evidence that Locke was ever disciplined by the birch rod in his formative years, but his later reaction to the brutality of the schoolmasters and the learning by "roast" showed an extreme aversion to both as methods of learning. In the Essay concerning Human Understanding Locke shows the harm done by the "association of ideas", where one "idea" is desirable; e.g., books, and the other is repugnant; e.g., being forced, by brutal methods, to study books in school:

Many Children imputing the Pain they endured at School to their Books they were corrected for, so joyn these Ideas together(sic), that a Book becomes their Aversion, and they are never reconciled to the study and use of them, [6]

Locke called this an "Acquired Antipathy," [7] and warned that such connections must be avoided in the education of children. So he repeatedly urged that corporal punishment be used only as a last resort. In Some Thoughts concerning Education, Locke reasoned:

For Beating, by constant Observation, is found to do little good, where the Smart of it is all the Punishment is feared, or felt in it; for the influence of that quickly wears out, with the memory of it. Yet there is one, and but one Fault, for which, I think, Children should be beaten; and that is, Obstinacy or Rebellion. [The punishment should be conducted so] ... that the shame of the Whipping, and not the Pain, should be the greatest part of the Punishment. Shame of doing amiss, and deserving Chastisement, is the only true Restraint belonging to Vertue.[8]

Locke was adamant that the child was not to be harshly treated, as he states also:

If the Mind be curbed, and humbled too much in Children; if their Spirits be abased and broken such, by too strict an Hand over them, they lose all their Vigor and Industry, and are in a worse State than the former. For ... but dejected Minds, timorous and tame, and low Spirits, are hardly ever to be raised, and very seldom attain to any thing.... [T]o keep up a Child's Spirit, ... and yet, at the same time, to restrain him from many things that are uneasy to him; he, I say, that knows how to reconcile these seeming Contradictions, has, in my Opinion, got the true Secret of Education.[9]

Still further, Locke cautioned:

Beating them, and all other Sorts of slavish and corporeal Punishments, are not the Discipline fit to be used in the Education of those we would have wise, good, and ingenuous Men; and therefore very rarely to be applied, and that only in great Occasions,, and Cases of Extremity.[10]

Nevertheless, Locke knew that there were "some so negligent or Idle" that they will not be amended by the "gentle ways proposed." [11] Locke advised that one should "make no Excuses for the Obdurate." He repeats the dictum that such a child must be whipped. The child must realize all the

while that this is being done for his own good, and that the blows are not those of "the Fury of an enraged Enemy" - rather they are the result from the "good will of a compassionate Friend." [12]

Locke appeared at times to be almost disgusted with the formal schools as they then existed for the imparting of learning. He "put Learning last" in the list of things necessary for the young gentleman, and called it "the least part." [13] He considered:

What a to-do is made about a little Latin and Greek, how many years are spent in it, and what a noise and business it makes to no purpose, I can hardly forbear thinking, that the parents of Children still live in fear of the Schoolmaster's Rod, which they look on as the only Instrument of Education; as a Language or two to be its whole Business. How else is it possible that a Child should be chain'd to the Oar, Seven, Eight, or Ten of the best Years of his Life, to get a Language or two, which I think, might be had at a great deal cheaper rate of Pains and Time, and be learn'd almost in playing. [14]

Locke continues seemingly with a sense of exasperation at the insanity of it all:

Forgive me therefore, if I say, I cannot with Patience think, that a young Gentleman should be put into the Herd, and be driven with a Whip and Scourge, as if he were to run the Guntlet through the several Classes, ad capiendum ingenii cultum. [15]

In Of the Conduct of the Understanding (written as an addendum to the Essay but published only posthumously in 1706), Locke reiterates that the "cure" for straggling minds is not "angry chiding or beating." Their wandering thoughts

are brought back by:

Leading them into the path and going before them in the train they should pursue, without any rebuke, or so much as taking notice ... of their roving.[16]

2. Education should be for the young gentleman who would be the leaders in business, government, and all other facets of the necessary command of England. We have seen that Locke's philosophy allowed almost all men to benefit from education. Yet, in the last paragraph of Some Thoughts, Locke noted that all people are different. He continued, "there are scarcely two Children, who can be conducted by exactly the same method." Further, he concluded that "a Prince, a Nobleman, and an ordinary Gentleman's Son, should have different ways of breeding."

Although Some Thoughts is "far from being a complete Treatise [on education]," he thought that the book could:

Give some small light to those, [who are so bold] that they dare consult their own Reason, [rather than] Old Custom.[17]

Locke was less clear on the place of the young gentlewoman in his scheme of education. He confessed that he had not given the subject much thought, but allowed that the "academic" part of the program could be the same as the male's. As a girl belonged to the "softer sex," Locke recommended that the physical rigors be ameliorated for the female child.[18] Locke made no statements (as far as this researcher knows) about any place for the woman in society

except as a wife and mother. Locke wrote only a very few times on education of the "other sex"[19]. In one instance, Locke answered Mrs Clarke's request for guidance on raising her daughter.[20] Locke apologized for his tardiness in answering her letters. He reassured her that, because of his affection for the "softer sex", he would not recommend that her daughter be educated with "any rougher usage than only what [her gender] requires." [21]

Since therefore I acknowledge no difference of sex in your[22] mind relating ... to truth, virtue and obedience, I think well to have no thing altered in it from what is (for the son).[23]

He saw only "one or two things whereof I think distinct consideration is to be had" concerning girls. One is to protect their "tender skins against the busy sunbeams." Another difference is that the washing of girls' feet in cold water as the boys' are is to be moderated. A girl's bashfulness can be eased by her attending a public dancing school, but she should not get too bold. "[T]oo much shamefacedness better becomes a girl than too much confidence" [24]

Locke closed the subject with the comment that he had not thought very much about the education of girls:

Having more admired than considered your sex I may perhaps be out in these matters, which you must pardon me.[25]

3. Locke stressed the aspect of education of the student as a

human being rather than a mere receptacle for ideas of the masters [26]. Locke would appeal to the child as a rational being. He would thus use reason and not force in education. Example was preferred to organized, memorized rules. Locke would give early attention to the child's developing powers of observation. He realized the core of education was the institution of good habits. Every child was an individual and had a "natural temper" which the educator would discover.

THE CURRICULUM

The first thirty sections of Some Thoughts was concerned with the "sound mind in a sound body." In the next one hundred sections, Locke gave his ideas on "The General method of Educating a Young Gentleman." [27] Axtell summarized this method as:

1. Showing the efficacy of right habits formed early;
2. Using esteem and disgrace to discipline children;
3. Setting good parental example instead of rules;
4. Letting children be children;
5. Recognizing the self-defeating nature of excessive corporal punishment; and
6. Treating children as individuals.

Locke's curriculum was at once moral, Christian, humanistic and utilitarian. "This is the mark that distinguishes the Thoughts from the dross of educational writings in the seventeenth century." The emphasis was not on "brain stuffing." Instead, the emphasis was transferred to the

process for the formation of character, [and]... habits ... of mind and body." [28]

"Learning, as with Reading and Writing," Locke saw as necessary, "but yet not the Chief Business." Virtue and wisdom would be valued by society more than great scholarship. He reiterated that Learning must be had, "but in the second place, as subservient only to greater Qualities." [29]

Locke cautioned that the regimen of study be not too severe:

Children should not have anything like Work, or serious, laid on them; neither their Minds nor Bodies will bear it. It injures their Healths....[30]

As he did concerning corporal punishment, Locke admonished the parents to gently handle the child's personality:

If the Mind be curbed, and humbled too much in Children, if their Spirits be abased and broken such, by too strict an Hand over them, they lose all their Vigor and Industry and are in a worse state than the former.[31]

THE TUTOR

As the public school as then constituted was anathema to Locke, he proposed that the only fit teacher for the boy should be a tutor. This practice was not unusual, but prior to Locke no one had laid down such stringent conditions for the employment of a tutor. Locke gave specific instructions concerning the selection of a tutor for the boy. Locke gave the description of this ideal tutor who would necessarily

act in loco parentis ("thinking himself in the Father's place"):

In all the whole business of education, there is nothing less to be hearken'd to, or harder to be well observed than what I am now going to say; and that is, that Children should [learn] from Discreet, Sober, nay, Wise Person about, whose care it should be to fashion them aright, and to keep them from ill, especially the infection of bad Company. I think this province requires great Sobriety, Temperance, Tenderness, Diligence, and Discretion; Qualities hardly to be found united in Persons, that are to be had for ordinary salaries; nor easily to be found anywhere....[32]

Later in the Thoughts, Locke had further concerns on the requirements for the man who would guide and teach the boy.

The great Work of a Governour is to fashion the Carriage, and form the Mind; to settle in his Pupil good Habits, and the Principles of Vertue and Wisdom; to give him by little and little a View of Mankind; and work him into a love and imitation of what is Excellent and Praiseworthy; and in the Prosecution of it to give him Vigour, Activity, and Industry. The Studies which he sets himself upon, are but as it were the Exercises of his Faculties, and Employment of his Time, to keep him from Sauntering and Idleness, to teach him Application and accustom him to take Pains, and to give him some little taste of what his own Industry must perfect....[33]

Thus, the tutor was to be the perfect teacher -- technically competent, while possessing the virtues of patience, kindness, and understanding and at "ordinary salaries." The curriculum was to impart just those virtues, and wisdom besides.

4. Locke saw all men as born both rational and free. It quickly became apparent that the rationality of most men was

overwhelmed by the low social condition in which these persons found themselves. The few who were destined to the purple could be educated to give full exercise to their rationality. As for the others, Locke observed:

No one is under an obligation to know anything. Knowledge and science in general is the business only of those who are at ease and leisure. [34]

All men are born free in the sense of being subject to no law or ruler. The infant is under no compulsion, but has the right to take a choice of the laws to which he will bind himself. As this beautiful theory is patently absurd, Locke sees a sort of de facto acceptance of the existing situation by the individual. In a more practical ["pragmatic?"] sense, Locke saw education for the gentleman as a necessity for the well-being of the nation -- freedom for the nation and those people in it who could benefit from freedom.

5. Education to Locke was a teaching of children of the gentry "how to learn." The boy would subsequently grow into a man who would be in control of himself, his estate and his country. This education should start as soon as possible. Locke warned the parents "to those therefore that intend ever to govern their Children, should begin it whilst they are very little...." [35]

Although Locke put "learning last," he did spend the last seventy paragraphs of Some Thoughts advising what subjects the young man be taught. A wide range of subjects from

reading to travel should be the subject of the youth's attentions. Locke's attentions did not stop with the young. In 1703, he advised a 36-year old gentleman on a regimen of reading and study.[36] But this was not a plan for "basic education" at all, since the gentleman had already acquired these skills.

6. The educated man would understand that he has been given a charge by God. This responsibility would include an unswerving belief in hard work, a formal piety, a sense of the ordained order in the universe, and a mandate to live a good life.

If freedom consists of acting as the mind directs, moral education consists of having the pupil follow reason. Morality is not just a series of habits but an outlook. This outlook is such that one follows only those desires judged to be right. This outlook is formed by early training and example. But with "too much" training, the formation of a moral outlook is impossible, for morality is from within; it is a desire to do right.

Properly carried out, education meant progress along the pathways of reason. Where reason dwelt, morality could not be far off. For Locke, virtue meant that quality of mind which led one to choose a course of action dictated by reason, even where inclination or desire indicated another choice.[37]

We can agree with Snook in his listing:

- a. Locke believed that what is natural is culturally determined;
- b. Man always chooses pleasure and avoids pain;
- c. Natural good is pleasure. To seek the natural good is to seek the moral good (but Locke could not successfully draw any distinctions between the "natural good" and the "moral good");
- d. However, not all pleasures are morally good -- only those which are connected to action by the will of a lawmaker;
- e. Man ought (morally) to seek those pleasures which reason tells him are more satisfying. [38]

We can summarize Locke:

- a. Pleasure and pain are the only compelling motives;
- b. Therefore, children are trained by reward and punishment (pleasure and pain);
- c. This means in training children we reinforce the already-strong pleasure principle.
- d. The child must find pleasure in virtue. So, the child seeks pleasure but values virtue rather than pleasure. He finds virtuous acts lead to esteem which brings with it other pleasures.

Locke saw that:

Which every Gentleman ... desires for his Son ... is contained ... in these four things Vertue, Wisdom,

Breeding, and Learning.... I place Vertue as the first and most necessary of these Endowments, ..., as absolutely requisite to make him valued and beloved by others, acceptable and tolerable Tis Vertue then, direct Vertue, which is the hard and valuable part to be aimed at in Education....[39]

Locke emphasized:

The great Principle and Foundation of all Vertue and Worth, is ..., That a Man is able to deny himself (Locke's emphasis) his own desires ... and purely follow what Reason directs as best[40]

This was to be done although "the Appetite lean the other way....[41] To Locke:

Vertue [is] the Knowledge of a Man's Duty, and the Satisfaction it is to obey his Maker, in following the dictates of that Light God has given him[44]

Snook sees three corollaries of Locke's beliefs on morality.

a. There should be but few rules which represent the will of the lawmaker remembering that:

1. frequent punishment for breaking these rules loses its effect, and

2. transgressions that go unpunished lead to loss of respect for the lawmaker.[42]

The child must learn to love the law; he must know the law [what] and the will of the lawmaker [why].

b. Children must learn to love reason by being treated reasonably.

c. Corporal punishment, in itself, is bad as it provides no moral motives.

But Snook sees two problems with Locke's theories.

a. Locke's ideas for "generalized reward/punishment" - (i.e., not for a specific deed or misdeed) may confuse the child.

b. Punishment has two senses:

1. Legal/moral - this is pain imposed for doing voluntary actions which contravene a law.

2. Psychological - this is to teach a child a rule or law.

Snook did not elaborate on this theme, but in this researcher's opinion, he is correct. In the education of the gentry, it is evident that the majority of punishment any errant child received was "psychological." This reinforces the premise that rules for the child were few but those few were to be followed.

It appears that Locke thought that without early training any reasoned morality was impossible. Although God had made laws for man to follow, those laws were not inborn in the child's mind; thus the child would have to learn the rules and learn to obey them. Likewise, too much or too severe training was as bad as too little or too lenient. As the child learns, there is some point where the learner must take on responsibility for his own actions:

Every man must at some Time or Other be trusted to himself and his own conduct; and he that is a good, a virtuous and able man, must be made so within.[43]

Locke in the Essay gave three laws that governed men. There is a Divine Law "promulgated by Light of Nature or Voice of Revelation." Locke emphatically stated that this Law is "the only Touchstone of Moral Rectitude." There are also the "Civil Law" and the "Law of Opinion or Reputation."

The Civil Law protects the individual but also punishes him if he disobeys its statutes. The Law of Opinion or Reputation is those customs that vary among countries. If virtue and vice are in themselves right and wrong then they conform to the Divine Law. But custom dictates that an action may be blameful in one country while praised in another.[44]

Locke summarizes these laws as:

- 1) The Law of God,
- 2) The Law of Politick Societies, and
- 3) The Law of Fashion, or private Censure.

These three sets of rules are the basis for moral good and evil. Morality is the relation of actions to these rules.[45]

7. Locke's ideas for education of the gentry were to provide the gentleman with the skills necessary for the leader in government, commerce, and the necessary parts of running the society. The aim was also to make the gentleman into a man who would be amenable to further learning. Locke's liberally educated gentleman, as with Locke himself, could

fit smoothly and competently into almost any niche of the society, [except perhaps the ecclesiastical hierarchy].

C. CONCLUSION

Locke formed his philosophy on his concept of freedom and rationality. From these bases he saw the boy forming a morality through learning virtue. A firm, but kind, tutor would keep the lad on the right path. This pathway would lead the boy into a manhood of service to the nation. Along with this responsibility to his nation, his family, and God, he would have the "breeding" to enjoy the life for which God had destined him.

CHAPTER IV

LOCKE'S IDEAS OF EDUCATION FOR THE POOR

A. INTRODUCTION

In this Chapter we will discuss the question raised in Chapter II concerning Locke's ideas for the education of the poor. We will see that Locke's ideas for the poor were seemingly not consonant with his philosophy of education as outlined in Some Thoughts concerning Education.

M.G. Jones fairly sums up the prevailing popular attitudes toward the poor during the latter half of the seventeenth century as she writes that:

there was no conception of popular education as the foundation of a common citizenship and little belief in it as a panacea for the ills' of society. It was maintained that the two sources of social evil - sloth and debauchery - would disappear if the children of the poor could be trained to industry and decency.(1)

One can summarize the attitudes of the "thinking minority" of Englishmen toward the poor during this time thusly:

1. The poor were placed in their "station" in life by God. (They "will always be with us," and so to attempt to raise everyone out of poverty may border on sacrilege).

2. The "debauchery and sloth" of the poor undoubtedly was hereditary (since the children of the poor acted as their parents, did they not?)(2).

3. An educated proletariat could be dangerous to the social order. (If they were taught "how to think," might they not think that the current social order in England was unfair?)

4. As men, whatever else they might be, the poor had souls, which might be saved. (If the adults were beyond redemption, then at least the children could be brought to the light).

5. Any "educational" movement that might be undertaken for the poor would not teach them "how to think" (the Lockean ideal); rather, it would take the form of some sort of training in handicrafts to make the poor self-sufficient.

In seeming contradiction to the care with which Locke attended the education of the "better people, Locke saw the working people fit only, at best, to be trained in some semi-skilled trade. Locke saw the poor masses as "the untamed beast," "the vulgar," the "Herd," the "rabble." [3] Locke, the Christian, knew well the command in Saint Paul's Second Letter to the Thessalonians (3.10b), "[This] we command you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat." Any "sturdy beggars" must perforce be made to work; to work, they must be trained - not, in any sense, to become "equals" of the "propertied class" - but to become, if "educated" properly, less of a burden on the government and taxpayers. [4] Locke saw little other real hope for the "countryman":

A middle-aged ploughman will scarce ever be brought to the carriage and language of a gentleman, though his body be as well-proportioned and his joints as supple and his natural parts [abilities] not any way inferior. [5]

As noted, the masses had little or no access to those things "that made a gentleman":

Notwithstanding the good intentions of the founders [that the schools be 'free' to all] the grammar schools were closed to children whose families could hardly wait for the time when they [the children] would bring additional financial assistance by their labors or relief by their departures into apprenticeships.... [6]

The desperately poor, illiterate adult or child had little recourse but to "go on the dole" or become a beggar. Locke's plan for the education of the poor tacitly acknowledged the impossibility of attempting a "classic" education for these wretches. He saw that only a scheme to train the poor to a trade and to a semi-literacy would be politically and practically acceptable to the nation.

B. LOCKE'S VIEW OF THE POOR AND OF SLAVERY

Locke analyzed the relationship of the rich and the poor in the First of the Two treatises of Government as actually a compact between two consenting parties. He rightly notes that, if the situation arises, the poor man will readily agree to be the rich man's servant:

The Authority of the Rich Proprietor, and the subjection of the Needy Beggar began not from the Possession of the Lord, but the Consent of the poor

Man, who preferr'd being his subject to starving
[7]

One can see that this is an agreement more-or-less freely drawn, and not an invitation to slavery into which no man can place himself.

Locke had preceded this statement of reality with the somewhat confusingly-worded assurance that the Beggar is nevertheless "entitul'd" to the Rich Man's largesse:

But we know that God hath not left one Man to the Mercy of another, that he may starve him as he please, ... but that he [the Rich Man(?)] has given his needy Brother[?] a Right to the Surplussage of his Goods; so that it cannot justly be denied him, when his pressing Wants call for it. And therefore no Man could ever have a just Power over the Life of another, by Right of property in Land or Possessions; since 'twould always be a Sin in any Man of Estate,, to let his Brother perish for want of affording him Relief out of his Plenty. [8]

This long quote shows Locke's apparently genuine concern for his "poor Brother." Consistently Locke displayed compassion for the unfortunate; it was quite a different story with the able-bodied unemployed.

Locke concludes this paragraph with the admonition (alluded to above) that the Rich cannot make the Poor as slaves solely due to the Poor's necessity:

... Charity gives every Man a Title to so much out of another's Plenty, as will keep him from extream Want, where he has no means to subsist otherwise; and a Man can no more justly make use of another's Necessity, to force him to become his Vassal, by withholding that Relief, God requires him to afford the wants of his

Brother, than he has more Strength can seize upon a weaker, master him to his Obedience, and with a Dagger at his Throat offer him Death or Slavery.[9]

As with almost all of the exceptions to his philosophy that he saw in the society, he attempted to justify slavery. He begins by restating that:

The Natural Liberty of Man is to be free from any Superior Power on Earth. ... The Liberty of Man, in Society, is to be under no other Legislative Power, but that established, by consent, in the Common-wealth, nor under the Dominion of any Will, or restraint of any Law, but what the Legislature shall enact[10]

Locke then goes on to define Liberty and Freedom a bit more closely:

Freedom then is not ... A Liberty for every one to do what he lists, to live as he pleases, and not to be tyed by any Laws: But Freedom of Men under Government is, to have a standing rule to live by[11]

So far, so good. Locke has stated that man is naturally free, but this freedom must be tempered. A society, if it is to survive, must have order. It would be difficult to argue with the reasoning to this point. But Locke continues his relentless logic:

... No body can give more Power than he has himself; and he that cannot take away his own Life, cannot give another power over it. Indeed, having, by his fault, forfeited his own life, by some Act that deserves Death; he to whom he has forfeited it, may (when he has him in his Power) delay to take it, and make use of him to his own Service, and he does him no injury [injustice] by it. For, whenever he finds the hardship of his Slavery out-weigh the value of his Life, 'tis in his Power, by resisting the Will of his Master, to draw on himself the Death he desires.[12]

Locke then notes: "This is the perfect condition of Slavery, which is nothing else, but the State of War continued, between a lawful Conqueror, and a Captive".[13] It may seem difficult for one to see how this definition would justify slavery of innocent people taken by slavers. Laslett had the same query, and appends an interesting note to this paragraph:

[These statements] may seem unnecessary and inconsistent with his principles, but it must be remembered that he writes as the administrator of slave-holding colonies in America. As has been pointed out by Leslie Stephen [the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina ... provide that every freeman "shall have absolute power and authority over his negro slaves...."] The instructions to Governor Nicholson of Virginia, which Locke did so much to draft in 1698, ... regard negro slaves AS JUSTIFIABLY ENSLAVED BECAUSE THEY WERE CAPTIVES TAKEN IN A JUST WAR, WHO HAD FORFEITED THEIR LIVES 'BY SOME ACT THAT DESERVES DEATH' [my emphasis].... Locke seems satisfied that the forays of the Royal Africa Company were just wars of the sort, and that the negroes captured had committed such acts.[14]

Later in the Second Treatise, Locke speaks again of the slave, who, being property, can own no property, and is not even a member of the society for which he toils:

But there is another sort of Servants, which by a peculiar Name we call Slaves, who being Captives taken in a just War, are by the Right of Nature subjected to the Absolute Dominion and Arbitrary Power of their Masters. These Men having, as I say, forfeited their lives, and with it their Liberties, and lost their Estates; and being in the State of Slavery, not capable of any property, cannot in that state be considered as any part of Civil Society; the chief end whereof is the preservation of Property.[15]

As has been seen, Locke formally presented his beliefs in

The Essay concerning Human Understanding. In this Essay, in a discussion of why men "fall into error," Locke makes the following comments about why the common man must be "led" to the "truth":

And thus men want Proofs, who have not the Convenience, or Opportunities to make Experiments and Observations themselves ... And in this State are the greatest part of Mankind, who are given up to Labour, and enslaved to the Necessity of their mean Condition; whose Lives are worn out, only in the Provisions for Living. These Men's Opportunities of Knowledge and Enquiry, are commonly as narrow as their Fortune; and their Understandings are but little, when all their whole Time and Pains is (sic) laid out, to still the Croaking of their own Bellies, or the Cries of their Children. (16)

Locke continues in his estimation of the lot of the common man:

'Tis not to be expected, that a Man, who drudges on, all his life, in a laborious Trade, should be more knowing in the variety of Things done in the World, than a pack-horse, who is driven constantly forwards and backwards, in a narrow Lane, and dirty Road, only to Market, should be skilled in the Geography of the Country. Nor is it at all more possible, that he who wants Leisure, Books, and Languages, and the Opportunity of Conversing with variety of Men, [to be able to study the proofs of truth and knowledge]. (17)

Locke pursued this line of reasoning in his Reasonableness of Christianity. Here he was, of course, talking about the common man's acceptance of religion on faith, rather than sure knowledge, but his thoughts can be seen as instructive to further clarify how he felt about the "rationality" of this sort of people. (18)

The greatest part of mankind want leisure or capacity for demonstration; nor can carry a train of proofs, which in that way they must always depend upon for conviction, and cannot be restrained to assent to, until they see the demonstration. Wherever they stick, the teachers are always put upon proof, and must clear the doubt by a thread of coherent deductions from the first principle, how long, or how intricate soever they be. As you may as soon hope to have all the day labourers and tradesmen, the spinsters and dairymaids perfect mathematicians, as to have them perfect in ethica this way. Hearing plain commands is the sure and only course to bring them into obedience and practice. The greatest part cannot know and therefore they must believe [emphasis added]. [19]

Locke faults the culture and the station of the poor man in life that disqualified him from the ability to reason. He repeats the dictum that all work and no play does indeed make Jack a dull boy.

The greatest part of mankind have not the leisure for learning and logic, and superfine distinctions of the schools. Where the hand is used to the plough and the spade, the head is seldom elevated to sublime notions, or exercised in mysterious reasoning. It is well if men of that rank (to say nothing of the other sex [emphasis added]) [20] can comprehend simple propositions Go beyond this, and you amaze the greater part of mankind; and may as well talk Arabic to a poor day-labourer, as the notions and language that the books and disputes of religion are filled with [21]

In any case, one will agree with Wood:

...for all his [Locke's] high regard for 'Labour' in the abstract, Locke believed that the labouring majority were definitely a breed apart. [22]

The arrangements advocated in Locke's Proposal was by no means original with him. There had been a great many pamphlets written since the time of the Civil War on the

pressing problems caused by the literally hundreds of thousands of unemployed poor. James notes that to writers such as Samuel Hartlib and Peter Chamberlen (1649-1651), the poor relief could no longer be a simple dole from the church or parish. These men envisioned an organization that would teach the poor man a skill so he could shift for himself -- a "self-help" practice for the needy poor.[23]

Hartlib wanted to set up a plan whereby children would be taught spinning and other handicrafts. Men would be employed in a workhouse under supervision. Recalcitrant vagabonds would be placed at hard labor and "hard lodging" until they reformed. James recounts that in a 1650 pamphlet Hartlib suggested that unauthorized beggars be put in the aforementioned House of Correction or be sent to the galleys or plantations.[24]

Apparently Hartlib did not consider that social change caused most of the unemployment. A rare pamphleteer, a T. Laurence, recognized this as well as the futility of dead-end jobs. Chamberlen proposed the forming of the poor into a joint-stock company for wool-related manufactures. He was one of the very, very few who did not accept the belief that both the rich and poor were "called" to their stations in life by divine ordinance.

All these writers agreed on one thing -- the "obstinate, ungodly poor" deserved nothing but the worst. One pamphlet

writer, identified only as "S.T." mandated starvation as the solution to this problem. Locke never went that far; in fact, he would fine any parish that let any person die "for want of due relief." [25]

In any event, as James summarizes the effects of these writers on the government:

[Few Commonwealth writers could flatter themselves that they had exercised much direct or immediate influence. But certain broad trends of opinion in their writings were clearly reflected in national and municipal policy. On grounds of humanity and commercial expediency men should be set to work, and on grounds of morality and self-defence vagrants and beggars should be sternly repressed. [26]

Locke read these and many other writers on the problem of the control of the poor. As will be seen below, many of the ideas from the Commonwealth writers and others were incorporated into Locke's Proposal.

Fox Bourne (writing in the middle 1870's) praised Locke's planning for the poor schools. For example, Fox Bourne writes that during the first year of the time allotted for the Board of Trade and Plantations to study the situation of the poor, Locke spent most of his time:

...collecting and receiving evidence from a few philanthropists.... The evidence showed the various good-hearted men in different parts of the country were endeavouring to assist some of the paupers in their own districts by starting factories.... [27]

Fox Bourne subsequently comments on Locke's final plan

for the series of school/workhouses for the poor:

Whatever we may think of the theory, it must certainly be admitted that he showed amazing shrewdness and excellent philanthropy in his working out of the details....[28]

Webb and Webb, on the other hand, writing in the late 1920's, are very critical of Fox Bourne's concept of "excellent philanthropy." They are likewise very critical of Locke's seemingly hostile attitude toward the poor.[29]

C. LOCKE'S PLAN FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE POOR

The Plan that has drawn such diverse reactions over the centuries was uncomplicated -- enforce the existing Poor Laws and train the unemployed so they could find work and cease being a burden on society.

In July, 1697, each Commissioner of Trade[30] was asked to draw up a plan for the reform of the Poor Law. On October 19, 1697, Locke presented a typically comprehensive plan to the other Commissioners. Locke clearly outlined his beliefs as to the cause of pauperism and to its possible cure. He began the document [31] by his observation that the causes of the "multiplying of the poor, and the increase of the tax for their maintenance"[32] was not lack of available work or other shortages. The cause could be:

Nothing else but the relaxation of discipline and the corruption of manners; virtue and industry being as constant companions on one side and vice and idleness

on the other".[33]

As a first step, even before training could be tried, was the "restraint of debauchery" by the enforcement of existing laws and by the "suppression of unnecessary(sic) alehouses." [34] He then conceded that there are many poor who are unable to help themselves. In the long tradition of English charity, these people are provided for with no restrictions. It is the large group of the poor who "pretend they cannot get work and so live by begging or worse" that are the targets of Locke's wrath.

He cited the fact that there are already on the books:

good and wholesome laws for the suppression of ...
begging drones, who live unnecessarily upon other
people's labours[35]

He castigated the "overseers of the poor" and the "churchwardens" who had been given the responsibility of controlling the poor by the Poor Law from the time of Elizabeth. It is at this point that he proposed a new law. (An annotated version of this Plan is included as Appendix B of this thesis).

Locke gave very detailed instructions allowing the authorities to seize and impress male beggars between fourteen and fifty years of age. They would then serve on a naval vessel for three years. Male beggars who were not able-bodied or were over fifty years of age were to be sent

to the nearest house of correction for three years.[36] The masters of the houses of correction would be motivated to keep the drones at work by allowing the masters to keep whatever profit the correctees would produce.[37]

Locke firmly held to the notion that the pauper required only some encouragement to see the error of his ways and become a productive member of society. Locke would require the justices of the peace to rule whether any person in the house of correction remains "stubborn and not at all mended by the discipline of the place." If such recalcitrance were found, the unfortunate would be ordered:

A longer stay there and severer discipline, that so nobody may be dismissed till he has given manifest proof of amendment, the end for which he was sent thither.[38]

A person, under the old law, could not leave his/her parish, as each parish had the time-worn responsibility of ministering to its own. At this time, a pauper had to have a pass issued by the authorities in her/his home parish to travel away from home. Locke would make penalties for the forging of passes severe. The first offense would result in the loss of both ears and the second an infinitely worse fate -- transportation to Virginia or one of the other colonies.[39]

A woman over fourteen years old would simply be taken back to her parish where she would be required to pay the cost of

her transport to there. For the second offense, the woman is to be sent to the house of correction, but for only three months, and then sent back to her parish.[40]

With the problem of unauthorized adult beggars disposed of, Locke turned to the problem of children begging "out of their parishes":

That, if any boy or girl, under fourteen years of age, shall be found begging out of the parish where they dwell (if within five miles' distance of the said parish), they shall be sent to the next working school, there to be SOUNDLY WHIPPED[emphasis added] and kept at work until evening, so that they may be dismissed time enough to get to their place of abode that night. Or, if they live further than five miles off from the place where they are taken begging, that they be sent to the next house of correction, there to remain at work six weeks and so much longer as till the next sessions after the end of the said six weeks.[41]

This paragraph is a curious mixture of compassion and calculated anger at the child. In Some Thoughts concerning Education, Locke had said "But yet there is one, and but one Fault, for which, I think, Children should be beaten; and that is, Obstinacy or Rebellion." [42] Still, it seems that Locke may be consistent in his thinking. The child is being soundly whipped for seeming rebellion against the society. The day of work is not a further punishment; rather, it seems (to Locke) to be a device to help instill a "work ethic" in the child. But, compassion is shown in that Locke would release the child before dark to allow her/him safe passage home. If the child is more than five miles from the home parish, Locke saw a six-week stay in the

house of corrections is in order. Note here that the five-mile limit is all-important: less, and one day in working school - more, and at least six weeks in prison. [There may be a question in some minds if a prison is the appropriate place for, say, a ten-year-old girl who has committed the heinous crime of being poor and being five and one-half miles from home]. This was not a moral problem for Locke, the great humanist philosopher who never let mere humanity interfere with his pragmatism. The society comes first, and those who disobey its rules must be converted or disposed of.

Locke, as the good businessman he was, estimated that the 100,000 poor in England could earn 130,000£ per year if each earned only a penny a day.[43] With this lure of riches to the Kingdom set out, Locke then stated his theory for the relief of the poor.[44] It is easy to agree with him in this instance for his object is surely correct; the rub comes at the methods he proposed to arrive at this commendable goal: "The true and proper relief of the poor ... consists in finding work for them, and taking care that they do not live like drones upon the labour of others"

Paragraphs 43 through 54 allow Locke to propose in excruciating detail the organization of the poor law commissioners, etc., in the corporations. In paragraph 55 he reiterates that the guardians of the poor "have the

power of setting up and ordering working schools" for the three- to fourteen-year olds who will be forced to attend "as long as they continue unemployed in some other settled service...."

Locke then uses the last several paragraphs (55-66) laying out more administrative duties and controls for the guardians. Characteristically, he particularly is concise in his directions on the control of the money and goods involved in the working-schools scheme.[45]

Thus was Locke's plan for the establishment of working schools for poor children and adults.

Mason concludes:

It is not difficult to come to the conclusion that Locke's proposals were fundamentally a consensus of (several) other schemes -- what in fact one might expect from a government commission of non-specialists collecting information and advice from experienced persons and then formulating a plan. Locke's proposals fulfilled the requirements, explicit and implicit of the (King William's) directive. It was a severe scheme to alleviate a gigantic burden....[46]

A "severe scheme", indeed. Locke, the administrator, rather than Locke, the "educationist", is evident in the proposal. But, as the administrator, Locke did seek to provide an:

Inexpensive form of protection for an underprivileged section of the community, which simultaneously would contribute to the well-being of the child and of the nation.[47]

Locke presented a draft of his plan to his fellow Commissioners on September 28, 1696. The Commissioners reached no decision at that time, and Locke submitted his scheme twice more in October, but it was again deferred. After all the deliberations of the Board on Locke's and other proposals, all the plans were discarded by the Lords Justices.

So, Locke's elaborate scheme was not passed into law by the Parliament. Locke later bypassed his fellow Commissioners and the Lords Justices and asked his friend, Edward Clarke, who was a member of Parliament, to use it:

... I writ some time since to Mr. Popple[48] to give you a copy of my project about the better relief and employment of the poor since our Board thought not fit to make use of it, that now the House was upon that consideration you might make use of it, [if] it should suggest to you anything that you might think useful in the case. It is a matter that requires every Englishman's best thoughts; for there is not any one thing that I know upon the right regulation whereof the prosperity of his country more depends. And whilst I have any breath left I shall always be an Englishman[49]

Clarke answered quickly with a half-paragraph of acknowledgement of receipt of the plan but made no commitments:

... Mr. Popple hath obliged me with a copy of your paper touching on the poor, and I shall make the best use I can of it, whenever I can find ingenuity, honesty and industry enough to make a proper law for the putting it in execution[50]

Nothing ever came of this promise.

Cranston called Locke's plan "this appalling document." [51] Though by no means an apologist for Locke (in fact, such the opposite), Cranston wrote, "It is only fair to add ... the testimony of Lady Masham (Damaris Cudworth in whose house Locke lived 14 years) on the subject of Locke's methods of charity:

He was naturally compassionate and exceedingly charitable to those in want. But his charity was always directed to encourage working, laborious, industrious people, and not to relieve idle beggars....

Locke called such beggars 'robbers of the poor' who were taking away from those who deserved help (my emphasis). Lady Masham said that Locke also inquired whether the needy person (not the beggar) had "duly attended the public worship of God in any congregation whatever?" For the infirm or those too old to work "he was very bountiful to." He wanted the deserving poor to receive enough relief to be able to live comfortably, not to be kept on the edge of extreme misery. (52)

Lady Masham paints a picture of Locke that seems to be borne out in his writings -- he was generous to the poor, but the poor had to deserve his largesse through being industrious and church-attendees. Idle beggars who neither worked nor attended church drew his uncompromising ire.

E. DISCUSSION OF LOCKE'S PLAN

We have seen how Locke recommended the poor be given a trade and some small amount of literacy to let them be able to contribute to society. The aim was not to produce a scholar or a societal leader; it was simply to make the poor person less of a burden on society than he was. There was nothing on the cultivation of "breeding" in this man.

If it be agreed by the society that the poor should be educated, which of the poor should be educated? The training envisioned by Locke was not for the "poor", per se, but for the unemployed poor (boys, girls, and adults) who were a drain on the revenues and a threat to the order of the society.

Locke proposed a series of "workhouse/schools" where the poor would be taught a trade -- spinning, knitting, and other skills associated with the woolen trade. Children (from three to 14 years of age) and adults would be trained. Further, children and illiterate adults would be taught rudimentary arithmetic and reading, as well as the catechism.

The course of study was simply to teach the poor child (or adult) a trade so that he may become a useful member of society. Locke also saw the need to teach some literacy and the Catechism. The "educator" (if he may properly be called that) was the master of the mill, shop, home, or ship in which the poor child (or adult) was placed. There was no

call for treating the poor person as an individual or as a fellow human being.

The poor classes were seen as "un-rational". Although Locke saw all men as being born with a (latent) rationality, the poor had neither the time nor the wherewithal to develop that potential. The freedom with which every man is born is also subordinated for the poor man. His struggle for bare subsistence negates any freedom that he may have.

There was no notion of a "learning how to learn", (except the notion of industry and thrift); the emphasis was solely on the rudiments of survival: work for subsistence of the body and the catechism for the soul. The poor child (or adult) would be taught "right" from "wrong". The pedagogic process would be reinforced with whipping, branding, loss of ears, prison, or deportation, if necessary. Mandatory church attendance on Sunday would reinforce the lessons of thrift and industry learned the previous six days.

The training the poor would receive would allow him to pay his own way in society. He owned no land and would scarcely be expected to participate in any of the governmental or business undertakings of the gentleman. It was only necessary that he have a semi-skilled trade to supply the economy with cheap and plentiful labor. An additional major benefit to the society would be that the poor worker would not be a drain on the community, even if he contributed

little to it.

Locke would admit girls to the realities of the work-school. He had shown no general plan for the daughters of the gentry, but he specifically made provision for the girls and women of the poor to be employed.

We have seen that Locke and his forerunners observed clearly the very real problem of the destitute poor. They saw less clearly the causes of such poverty. Yet, the solution, in theory, was sound. Educate the poor, not to be gentlemen, but to be able to support themselves, thereby posing less of a threat to the society and their own souls.

It seems to follow that, in case of the poor, Locke is fairly consistent in his philosophy: [almost] all men are "rational"; a few have the opportunity to develop this "rationality"; most do not. The many that are then less than fully "rational" must be controlled by the few who are for the good of the whole society.

1. The Purpose for the education of the poor was to produce employable persons.

Locke perceived there were several severe problems with the existence of masses of unemployed poor in England:

-- The fear that large numbers of unemployed could become disaffected with the government and social order,

-- The financial drain on the parishes by the large number of unemployed eligible for welfare payments,

-- The moral problem of societal responsibilities for the souls of the debauched and slothful poor.

Locke believed that education, such as it was, of the poor would solve all these problems. His plan for work-schools addressed these problem areas. Locke's purposes for the education of the poor were clear: learn a trade, learn some simple math, become a little literate, and, most important of all, develop character. The adult, with his ingrained habits, was probably beyond help, but the children could surely be saved.

2. Locke would require that all able-bodied poor above the age of three be trained for employment. In his Plan Locke listed the "little scholars" who would attend the work-school: children -- boys and girls -- from three to 14 year of age, and adults (over 14) if they wished.

Locke, apparently thinking mainly of the economics of the situation, noted:

The children of labouring people are an ordinary burden to the parish, and are usually maintained in idleness, so that their labour also is generally lost to the public until they are twelve or fourteen years old.[53]

The few paragraphs (see Appendix B of this thesis) that follow this statement are of particular interest in this

research.[54] In these Locke proposed that children "above three years old be taken off from their [the poor parents'] hands." [55] These children were to be placed in a "working school" where, under the supervision of other adults, they:

Will be kept in much better order, be better provided for, and from infancy be inured to work, which is of no small consequence to the making of them sober and industrious all their lives.

Last, but also of primary importance, "the parish will either be eased of this burden, or at least of the misuse in the present management of it". [56]

Locke acknowledged that three-year-old children would probably not be able to work enough to support themselves. He assured the Board that they will be fed better than at home, getting a "belly-full of bread daily at school". He also suggested that the little scholars have a "little warm water-gruel" during cold weather. Characteristically, he showed his practicality by noting that "the same fire that warms the room may be made use of to boil a pot of it [gruel]". [57]

Locke then showed that the children will come to the work-school to learn and work, for "otherwise they will have no victuals." Again, he attempted to compute the savings to the parish of not having to support a child to the age of fourteen would be 250 or 260. [58] An advantageous sidelight of the working-school was that the children (along with

their teachers) would be required to go to church every Sunday, and "be brought into some sense of religion".(59)

Locke then proposed that when the number of children "be greater than for all to be employed in one school, then boys and girls may be taught separately in two schools, "if it be thought convenient" (he did not say by whom this decision would be made).(60) Provision was then made for the binding out of fourteen year old boys as apprentices to landowners in the parish.(61)

Locke then proposed something that may have been unique in the thinking of the time - training of adults. The short paragraph is here quoted in full:

The grown people also (to take away their pretence of want of work) may come to the said working school to learn, where work shall accordingly be provided for them.(62)

Again, we see stark confirmation of Locke's belief that unemployment and poverty were the fault of the poor. As much as he despaired of teaching the poor adult anything new, he would invite the "grown people" to learn a trade.

3. The "curriculum" for the training of the poor was utilitarian (as with the gentry). As the gentry were educated to lead, the poor were to be trained to be employable. Locke put forth the "humble proposition" that woollen manufacture be considered for the children's work. Locke also discussed how the schools could be made

cost-effective and actually profitable.

There is no mention here of "learning how to learn." The "curriculum" is one of practicality; the prison as well as the working-school were seen as suitable vehicles for formation of proper social and work habits.

The "Teacher" was not the firm but kindly tutor of the gentry. The mill foreman or prison warden was well versed in dealing out "sound whippings" and other punishments to children or recalcitrant adults. The tutor was content with an "ordinary salary" and the satisfaction of a one-on-one relationship with a boy who would become a man of substance.

Locke proposed giving the warden and foreman "incentives" by letting them make a profit off the labors of the poor child or adult.

4. For the poor, the relationship between education and freedom was solely economic. As shown above, Locke saw the poor as "a-rational." Although born equal to other men, the poor man, by virtue of his divinely ordained station in life, could not develop whatever rationality he may possess. He was born free, as all men are, but again his station in life forced him to be content with the "unfreedom" that comes with life of the lowest order. The welfare of the society was of overweening importance to Locke. Anyone who was not content with the order of society would have to be educated or eliminated from social intercourse through

prison, exile, or worse. In any event, the goal of Locke and all rational men was to convince or force the malcontent to fit in and accept his place in society. The common man mattered but little en masse, and for nothing as an individual.

In the Conduct of the Understanding [63], the mature Locke confirmed his contention that the rationality of man is acquired. Individual differences in abilities and understanding are not a product of their "natural faculties as (such as) acquired habits." He saw that "bad" habits ingrained in youth disable the individual to learning in later life. Locke averred that attempting to make a "fine dancer out of a country hedger past fifty" would certainly "be laughed at." Yet, he did not give up on the adult as uneducable. He asked rhetorically "Can grown men never be improved or enlarged in their understandings?" He thought it would be possible that they could be, but such effort would require more "industry and application" than "grown men, settled in their mode of life, will allow to it." Although such improvement was not unknown, it "very seldom is done."

In his Plan, Locke would allow the "grown man" to come to the factory to learn to weave or spin. This man would never develop his latent "poetic vein" or become a "fine dancer"; rather, the poor man would apply what abilities and understanding he possessed to learning a subsistence-level

trade.

5. The extent of education for the poor was to be severely limited. Education for the poor was to consist of a semi-skilled trade and a rudimentary literacy. As shown supra, even the rudiments of literacy was not even suggested or even opposed by many. Locke saw that some literacy was necessary for Bible study and learning the Catechism. The illiterate adult could also attend to learn a skill. Education was not to be a "life-long" endeavor. The poor person could not be expected to be sufficiently "rational" to enjoy and appreciate the better things of life. We must also remember that the education proposed by Locke was for the unemployed poor; those who, for whatever reason, were out of work. The poor man who was able to survive on the pittance earned by unremitting toil was not included. There was no idea of upgrading his skills to allow him to take a better job. The thrust of plans such as Locke's was not to improve the poor individual; it was to train the "Herd" sufficiently as to take the burden of its support off the society.

6. The moral content of the educational program was not specifically mentioned, but to Locke, education was morality. Because men were born with a "blank slate," whatever they were, they learned. (Of course, this came after acknowledgement they had been ordained to a station in life). A child learned the ways of society and of God.

Locke's Plan simply was to force, if necessary, learning upon the pliable child. One could then hope that the child would indeed be the father of the man -- a man who would fit into the society and enjoy whatever blessings that had been destined for him. We have discussed Locke's conception of free will at some length above. This concept held as true for the poor as it did for the gentry. Although the poor man had been put into a niche in society, he had the free will to make of it what he could. We remember that Locke saw the society as setting limits on morality also. The society required all men to work as hard as possible in their assigned places, to fear God, and to obey the laws of God and man. This was morality and would be taught to all. The only difference in the teaching was the method employed.

7. Education was intimately related to service to society.

As repeatedly stated above, each man had the moral obligation to contribute to the society, to the nation.

Education for the gentleman to fit him to be the businessman, the government official, the leader. Education for the poor man fit him as the worker, good citizen, and follower. The poor man would best serve in his place in society. A person served society by obeying the laws that were meant for the preservation of the society. If the society were preserved then each man should be willing to fit into his place, the leaders to lead and the followers to follow.

Thus, Locke's Plan for the poor would enable the poor to

fulfill the requirements for living in a civilized society. Every man would be to his place, toiling for himself and the greater good of all. The unemployed would be made employable; the recalcitrant would be made to realize the error of his ways. The child would learn the things that would make him a member of society content with bearing his personal cross.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF LOCKE'S PHILOSOPHICAL VIEWS OF EDUCATION AND THE SOCIAL/ POLITICAL FACTORS OF HIS SOCIETY AS THEY RELATE TO THE EDUCATION OF THE POOR. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

A. INTRODUCTION

One could conclude, on the face of the evidence, that there is little or no compatibility between Locke's philosophy of education as set forth in his Some Thoughts Concerning Education and his views on the education of the poor. In light of the evidence outlined in the preceding Chapters, the many authors who ascribe to Locke a universal plan for education would have to modify their views.

But at a deeper level we can see a compatibility between Locke's "overall philosophy" and his view of education for the poor and for the gentry. The error in most scholarship has been to ascribe to Locke's Some Thoughts Concerning Education the role of a generic plan for education. In reality, Some Thoughts is an application of his philosophy to the education of the male children of the better classes of late seventeenth century English society. Can his views on the education of the poor be an application of that same philosophy to the lowest classes of society? It hardly seems likely.

B. SUMMARY OF LOCKE'S PHILOSOPHICAL VIEWS

1. First and foremost, Locke believed in God. In this he was a bit unusual for his time as his conception of God in the world was that of a proactive force in the affairs of men. Yet, this Old Testament Deity was not the absolutely stern and forbidding God that one may envisage of the Puritans. Still, this God was stern enough to have little patience with those who did not strive to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow. God's Word was unerringly set down in the King James Bible. From it Locke could (and did) pick and choose appropriate commands to live by and to apply to other men. (This process apparently allowed him to dismiss as metaphor any dictum he apparently did not want particularly to observe).

2. Locke believed that men were born with no innate ideas -- that is, the mind was described as the famous tabula rasa. Because the tablet is blank, whatever men know is learned.

3. All men are born "free" and "equal." Yet, this "perfect freedom" must be subordinated to a government. The sole duty of that government is to preserve and protect personal property from any usurper. The major part of this protection of property is the assurance of public order. The perfect "equality" into which each child is born is superseded by the fact that he is born into a "station" in

life that, for the great majority, consists of hardship and deprivation.

4. Man was assuredly "free", but could not in that freedom place himself in perpetual chattel bondage to another man. Locke justified and abetted slavery by seeing slaves as "prisoners" of a "just war" who, by virtue of losing the war, have placed themselves at the whim of the victor. The victor in this "just war" simply has seen fit to hold the vanquished as slave rather than, as is his "right," put them to death.

5. Man had "free will". But, being placed in a station, every man (except fools and madmen) was really welded to that place in society. He must strive to maintain himself in that place as will benefit society and his own body and soul.

C. SUMMARY OF ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

1. The "thinking minority" of Locke's time differed among themselves only in degree. Although the age was one of huge advances in the philosophy and practice of physical science, social thinkers seemed, at most, to see through a glass darkly. Great changes were occurring in the economy of England (as in most of Europe). Enormous amounts of money were to be made by a few in commerce and business. The many found it difficult or even impossible to make ends meet as the old ways of small farming and cottage industry were

changing under the unfeeling grip of the new economy and its leaders.

2. Organized religion had a lesser hold on the individual as in times past. Still, philosophers like Locke stated that the "masses could not think, therefore they must believe." "Empiricism" was called for by Locke, to be sure (had not Saint Paul said to "prove all things"), but many of his tenets seemed to rest on "belief" more so than on experiment.

3. Nobility and royalty had lost much of their prerogatives through the upheavals earlier in the century. It was very possible for a smart young man to rise to great heights even in the secular society. Locke himself rose through luck and skill out of the petit bourgeoisie to a position of considerable wealth and no little power and influence.

D. SUMMARY OF THE STATUS OF THE POOR

As the position of "movers and shakers" of society slowly shifted to the monied few, the poor were "still with us." A combination of factors made the lot of the poor difficult indeed.

a. Religion was widely used to explain the deprivation of the poor. Put simply, poverty was their own fault even though they had been placed in that unfortunate position in life.

b. The economy was changing as the rude beginnings of an

Industrial Revolution brought new ways of using land and labor. The widespread dislocation caused by new methods of farming and manufacture increased the already considerable numbers of the destitute.

c. Social thought (and "philosophy") did not see that these changes necessitated new ways of thinking. It was apparently never considered that, just perhaps, it was not the displaced cottager who was at fault for not working; it was the new ways of the economy. Strangely, few questioned a "social welfare system" that paid a person more than he could make at a job that paid a less-than-subsistence wage.

d. It seemed possible that the poor could be taught to raise themselves above the level where they were dependent on others for a dole. The young child could be subjected to discipline and training that he did not get at home. As the child was learning a useful (to the economy) skill, he would be fed a belly-full of bread to make him strong. He would also be taught the Catechism on Sunday.

e. There was less hope for the adult who had already writ full his tabula rasa with habits of sloth and debauchery. Yet, even this wretch was welcomed by Locke to attend the working-school to learn a trade.

E. ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS

Now the questions put forth in Chapter I can be examined to see what answers may be gleaned from the data we have presented. Locke, the great "empiricist philosopher",

seemed to fail at original thought when faced with "real-world" problems. His Some Thoughts Concerning Education contains some bits of wisdom, to be sure. Yet, it seems that many scholars may be guilty of picking out these few kernels and glossing over the huge amount of dross. Locke's writings on the poor consisted of little other than the "poor-law" document that is commented on in Chapter IV and included as Appendix B of this thesis. As clearly shown, Locke was concerned only for the welfare of the society. The poor were a drag on that society and had to be reformed for the good of it.

1. What was the social, cultural, and political environment of Locke?

It is that no man is free of effects of his environment. Locke was no exception. His stern Puritan upbringing colored his lifelong perceptions of other people and the world. As a scholar, he had little time for the unlettered; as a gentleman he gave short shrift to those beneath his station. The Bible prescribed the cosmic order -- wives were to be obedient to husbands, children to parents, slaves to masters. Locke knew that man was free, but he saw that the society must be foremost.

In any contest between the individual (or class of individuals) and the society, the society must win. So, as with many about him, Locke saw the threat that the masses of unemployed posed to the society. In that case, he then cast

aside his carefully-thought-out theories of freedom and rationality for all men and proposed draconian measures to protect the society he knew.

2. How did Locke see man as a "free and rational being"?

In Chapter II, it was shown that Locke adjudged all men to be born free and equal. Even to Locke, the sad truth seemed to be that the few were born to be mighty while the many were born to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. This situation could obtain only if it were ordained by God as it was evident that all men were not, in fact, equal, when, in theory, they should have been. Still, man, on the whole, was rational, and even the poor could possibly be turned to the sober and industrious life that was the mark of rationality.

Although placed in an impossible position, the poor man was nevertheless possessed of "free will" with which he could make a conscious choice as to the direction of his life. Locke simply thought that this man's will could be channeled into habits that would benefit society.

3. What were Locke's "philosophical beliefs" concerning education in general?

In Chapter II, I showed how Locke believed that the child's mind at birth was a "white sheet of paper without writing." A child should be able to learn anything, if correctly taught. Thus, all of Locke's writings concerning education (except for the poor) were prescriptions for methods of

education that stressed "tenderneese" and making learning "natural."

The vast majority of writing that Locke did on education concerned the young gentleman of late seventeenth century England. The boy would "learn how to learn" but, as importantly, Locke saw that this boy must gain the practical skills necessary to be a leader in society. The surest and most efficient way of providing this education was by a tutor in the boy's house. The boy must learn skills, but, more importantly, he must acquire a sense of "breeding." It was, to Locke, of utmost importance that the gentlemen behave like a gentlemen. Thus, a cultural veneer was applied to the young man to make him fit for society.

Locke's own education largely consisted of methods of rote memorization of the classics. He saw that this sort of education was of little practicality for the young gentlemen who would become the men of reality, of business and government. Such methodology also did little for the mind except to make the learner hate learning. He wrote little of the education of young gentlewomen, and then seemingly only at the insistence of their mothers. His plans for the girls differed little from those for the boys. In any event, the key to Locke's suggestions for the education of the gentleman was relevance, practicality, and a regard for the child's point of view.

4. The seven corollaries of the main question asked in

Chapters III and IV can now be answered.

a. The purpose of education was to have the youth develop into a good citizen who would contribute to society. This citizen would fit into the niche in society for which he had been destined. For the gentry, this purpose manifested itself in a program of learning social and practical skills to fit the boy to become a leader in the nation. For the poor, training in a skill, harsh though the training may be, would fit the poor man to fit his niche in society. All he was asked to do was to be obedient to the law and not be a drain, financial or otherwise, on society.

In all cases, the purpose of education was to teach the individual how to fit into the society and how to behave in that place.

b. Locke thought that all men (except fools and madmen) could be taught the attitudes and skills necessary to act correctly in their place in society. The results were to be the same -- good citizens who would do well in their places. Gentlemen (and, perhaps, Gentlewomen) would be gently, though firmly, guided in the correct direction by the parents, and, in loco parentis, the tutor. The poor man and woman would learn in another sort of apprenticeship. Poor or not, they all could learn. There were those who would not, and those had to be coerced to accept the necessary training. Thus, Locke saw a requirement for all men to have

the necessary tools to fit into society. Those tools could only be gained through education and training.

c. The curriculum was mostly practical. Locke also was adamant that the education lead to a love of learning so the man would desire to learn all his life. The gentleman's education was to stress mens sana in corpore sano. The mind was made sound through learning discipline and play; the body through exercise and actions taken by the teacher to impart a physical toughness. The tutor was a personal ("one-on-one") teacher and, possibly, friend. This tutor was wise enough to know the limits of the individual boy in mental and in physical education. The tutor would turn out a man such as himself but greater in that that man would rule his own domain.

The poor person, whether child or adult, was not to get the personal training due the gentry. The poor masses were equated to a faceless "Herd" which would have to be driven rather than led. Being unemployed when opportunities for work were abundant was proof of a character fault that would require amendment. Thus, the curriculum of skill training, some small literacy, and some religion could only be presented in a manner designed to correct the fault of character. Nevertheless, Locke believed that lessons inculcated to the child would lead to a man and woman content with their lot.

d. We have seen that Locke believed all men to be born rational and free. (It was the whim of providence that one man was noble and another common). The problem was that most men did not have the wherewithal to develop their inherent rationality. This was not the fault of the poor -- they had been placed in the world in this position. The fact that many adults were not working and had been reduced to beggary was their fault. Since Locke saw these people as lacking in a "developed" rationality, they must be controlled for the good of the rest of society.

Few men of any time are "free"; that is, free of the strictures of custom and society. Still such relative freedom as the gentleman had allowed him, through his family and tutor, to develop his rationality. This gentleman became a man of reason; a free man who would act as an individual in his place in society.

e. Locke would have education extend to all who could use it. The gentle youth would be firmly, yet tenderly, led into manhood. This child would carry the good social and personal habits of childhood into adulthood. Probably the only additional education the adult would have was advice on fit reading for a gentleman. Locke proposed the gentle girl would learn from her mother skills, ideas, and attitudes similar to those for the boy, with deference only to her gender.

The poor child would start in a factory school at the age of three years. These children would not produce enough to pay for their upkeep, but eventually they would repay their benefactors (and even turn a profit). These children would be fed a "belly-full of bread" along with instruction in a skill and in religion. They will graduate at age fourteen with the work ethic firmly in place, inured to the rigors of adulthood. Locke also made a place for the unemployed adult who wished to be trained.

f. Morality consisted of doing the right thing. One learned from the Bible, from the law, from the customs of the society. Ideally, the student "internalized" the education he received. This would make him want to learn even beyond the formal exercises. Because he had free will he could choose to do right or wrong. Education and the installation of the "Protestant Ethic" would cause him to choose the right for the betterment of himself and the society. The right path for the gentleman was to use the "breeding" acquired through his education to do those things a gentleman did, and do them well. The poor person was not expected to acquire "breeding"; rather, they were to learn to fit into the culture, working hard and being satisfied with their lot.

g. Education would fit men to serve society, but each in his own way. The gentleman would know enough of the mores of the society to be able to take responsibility for his

corner of it. He would be a landowner, with the manifold problems of his tenants his to solve. He would be the benevolent tyrant on the estate, as a justice of the peace, or (rarely) as an active businessman. The poor man would gain the skills necessary to be employed (and employable). He would know his place and the limits put on him by the laws of God and the society. He would know the rudiments of the religion, and "believe," since he could not "think". Whether he were gentle or vulgar, service to society meant simply learning to fulfill the expectations of his place.

F. DISCUSSION

Locke saw the upkeep of the unemployed poor as a drag on the society's wealth. The poor must be trained to allow them to work and thus be productive members of the society. Being poor, this class was less rational than the upper classes to which Locke had addressed earlier thoughts. Because the poor were less rational, they could not be expected to respond to the "humanistic" methods of education Locke had advocated for the others. The poor could comprehend little beyond the bare essentials of subsistence, thus the finer things of life would be lost on them. It would be difficult enough just to teach a not-too-difficult trade.

When Locke spoke of the "free, rational" man he was talking of the man who had the leisure to develop any talents which the Deity had deigned to give him. The poor did not have this leisure; neither did many of them exercise their "free

will" to better themselves as far as possible. They could not reason - they could not think logically - therefore they must be told what to do, and what to believe.

As Locke stressed "practicality" in the education of the young gentleman, he was also, in his way, being "practical" in his suggestions for the education of the poor. In these he was reflecting his philosophy as well as his culture. As with much "philosophy", he sought the ideal situation and condition of man. For example, when this ideal did not fit his civilization he found ways to reconcile his adamant assertions that whipping had no place in education, with the mandating of it for beggar children. Even the subjection of the conquered to chattel slavery by the conqueror was permissible as this was an alternate to death to the conquered.

Working while receiving living expenses has become an important issue in America in recent years. To receive a stipend, one must work, or train to learn how to work. In our society many see the poor as having a "right" to be supported from the goods of the non-poor. In seventeenth century England, the poor had no, absolutely no, voice in government. In this time of "one person, one vote," the situation is different. The ideas so bluntly put forth by Locke as to the training of the poor certainly show the concern (not the methods) of the government for the needy.

Locke's ideas on freeing the housewife to work for a wage has currency in our age of day care for small children. His idea for the feeding of children (as insufficient as the program would be to our ears) is followed in spirit by modern programs for the nourishment of schoolchildren. The ideas that adults may be able to learn something of value has been seized upon by American schools at every level as the decline in the number of youngsters has forced these educational innovators to discover the adult market.

One may be tempted to trace directly to Locke many characteristics of the American system of Higher (and Primary/Secondary) Education. It seems to this researcher that very little appreciable direct influence exists from Locke to the American system of education. Some of his suggestions are worthy of note in any educational system; some are the purest drivel. It must be noted by the researcher, that one must not from hindsight ascribe as original thought what is expediency or necessity on the part of a "philosopher". Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.

We may now answer the main question concerning Locke's views on the education of the poor.

ARE JOHN LOCKE'S EDUCATIONAL IDEAS CONCERNING THE POOR CONSISTENT WITH HIS GENERAL PHILOSOPHY OF MAN AND EDUCATION?

It may now be argued that Locke's ideas and suggestions for

the education of the poor were, on the whole, fairly consistent with his philosophy of man and education. We can now form a list of some of Locke's suppositions and how these may "fit" his ideas for the treatment of the poor.

1. Man has no innate ideas.

Thus, man is free to learn to be all he can.

2. Man is placed in a "station" in life by God.

The mighty are to rule firmly but humanely; the lowly are to serve the mighty. A man is poor because it is his fate to be, but he has the imperative to toil for the mighty (and for the good of society and his own soul).

3. Man has "free will" from God.

Although placed in a "station", man still has the choice of the path to follow - that which God and society wish him to - or the road of the twin evils of sloth and debauchery.

4. The poor are in their "station" in life and have "free will".

If they do not strive to better themselves (though not by too much), it is their own fault.

5. Although man is free, the preservation of the society has precedence.

Therefore, if man refuses to live morally in the society (i.e., he will not support himself and his family, or he otherwise breaks the law), he is to be punished to amend his ways. If the infraction was sufficiently severe, the

society has the right to take the man's life.

I argue that the above, along with other points that may be made, Locke was consistent in his ideas of philosophy and education, both for the poor and for the gentry.

Locke shows here, as in many other writings, that he sees no inherent, difference between the working poor man and the gentleman. It is just that the poor man simply does not have the time nor the opportunity to think deeply on abstruse subjects. To be sure, he has not had the requisite training to handle the logic, languages, and other skills required, this also is but an artifact of his condition. He has not had the chance to learn.

G. SUMMARY/CONCLUSION

In concert with Gay and MacPherson quoted above, James Axtell also warns against "... judging a period of history with a knowledge of and an attitude toward all that has happened since." He also correctly states that we cannot:

Measure the people of the past by impossible standards, standards which did not exist for them and to which they could not have responded ... (We cannot use) ... hindsight to subject the people of the past to anachronous explanations ... (We must see that culture) ... as a complex whole in process, not as a static moment in the inevitable progress of the race....(1)

This author has attempted to do as Axtell advised; viz., look at Locke and his time with an eye unbiased by the virtue of knowledge of the three hundred years separating

our times. Perhaps there has been success in the most parts. Yet, there must be a place to voice critical opinions of the past, otherwise history is but a dry recounting of "facts," and one is doomed to learn little from it.

Locke was an extremely religious man, coloring all his work with the image of an (almost) omnipotent God - a curious mixture of the stern father decreeing that some should prosper mightily while the multitude should suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune. The masses were placed in poverty and unremitting toil for their short and brutal lives, yet were given the impossible task of pulling themselves out of the mire to aspire to a heavenly reward - heavenly, that is, since they could not advance from the earthly station to which they had been assigned.

As with many amateur theologians, Locke was fond of quoting Scripture to "prove" a point. As noted above, the fact that Jesus had noted "the poor will always be with us" was widely quoted by "thinkers" of that time. Thus, to even attempt the impossible task of giving the poor a hand up from their morass was thought to contravene the will of the Deity. More practically, the poor had a certain utility; that is, as a source for servants and very cheap labor.

Locke, as has been shown, was not one to go against convention with suggestions for the betterment of the poor.

He believed that a lack of will to work by many of the poor was not due to despair for living; rather, it was because of a character fault that could be cured by a stiff sentence in the workhouse or impressment to a naval gang. In the case of youngsters, Locke gave a new meaning to the request by Jesus (in the English of the King James Bible), to "suffer the little children"

There is the eternal argument, then as now, over the existence of Absolute Moral Values, such as Justice, Love, Equality of Man, etc. Locke's philosophy is permeated with statements (never questions or conjectures) concerning how things work in the world, in the mind, in the soul, and even in eternity. He seemed to acknowledge such Absolutes, but justified their selective application (by God) through a logical mental process that definitively showed why the society was ordered as it appeared to be.

It would seem to be a most blatant hypocrisy to tout a pro-slavery Locke as a "humanist" philosopher. The unnamed Editor of an 1813 edition of the Essay gushed:

The virtues and charities of human nature he [Locke] possessed in the highest degree ... (As a philosopher, a Christian, a politician, and a man, he claims the first rank in the admiration and the homage of posterity....' [2]

This Editor concluded with the view that Locke is "one of the very few philosophers of which England may boast with real pride and satisfaction when she enumerates her departed

heroes." This may be very true, but in one sense a prayer must be said for England and for those who thought (and think) as Locke did, and for their victims.

H. FINAL COMMENTS

It is most difficult for me to cast aside notions of fair play, the real and actual equality of man, the right of everyone to choose his own path, the total inhumanity of slavery, and like ideas to study a man such as Locke. He was a very fortunate man: being born in the middle class, being appointed to a top prep school, becoming a confidant of the great, associating himself with people such as Boyle, and having the leisure to think and write. Yet, he was not, in my opinion, a very original thinker on social problems. He wrote on coinage and money, and certainly was familiar with government. Yet, he seemingly could not see the real problem, only the symptoms.

He had personal traits that are not very attractive. Some of his writings seem to border on the scatological. As noted above, he spent an inordinate amount of space in Some Thoughts on "potty training." He was parsimonious, and had a bad temper. He did not include women in his picture of the rational man. He could not rise above his environment, as he would have the poor rise above theirs. He poked the most scurrilous fun at his contemporaries with whom he disagreed. (See note 6, Appendix D of this thesis) He was arrogant to his subordinates, felt that very few were his

peers, and toedied to his betters. His writings were too often prolix. He often spent undue time and thought on minutiae, while spending relatively little on what were certainly more important subjects.[3] I find it difficult to forgive his basic inhumanity.

But though one may rail at Locke's attempt at institutionalization of 'man's inhumanity to man', his aim in all this was undoubtedly out of concern for the world and humankind at large. As Fagiani remarks similarly:

E' comunque certo, conclude Locke, che 'if the labour of the world were rightly directed and distributed there would be more knowledge, peace, health, and plenty in it than there is now. And mankind to be more happy than it is now.[4]

REFERENCES

REFERENCES

CHAPTER I

[1] John Locke, An Essay concerning Human Understanding (Boston: Cummings and Hilliard, 1813), Chapter II, esp. para. 1.

[2] John Locke, "Some Thoughts concerning Education", in James L. Axtell (ed.), The Educational Writings of John Locke (Cambridge: Yale University Press, 1968), para. 1.

[3] Peter Gay (ed.), John Locke on Education (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College Columbia University, 1964), p. 6.

[4] Neal Wood, The Politics of Locke's Philosophy: A Social Study of 'An Essay concerning Human Understanding' (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), p. 35.

[5] Gay, p. 15.

[6] Gay, p. 1.

[7] Gay, p. 3.

[8] Gay, p. 4.

[9] Gay, p. 9.

[10] Gay, pp. 5-6.

[11] Gay, p. 10 and note. Gay noted "...in A Letter concerning Toleration, he [Locke] advocates toleration except for Roman Catholics who serve a foreign potentate and atheists (who can not be trusted)".

[12] Gay, p. 14.

[13] The complete text of a proposal by Locke for the education of the poor is in Appendix B of this thesis.

[14] John Harrison and Peter Laslett, The Library of John Locke (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), *passim*.

[15] For example, see Roland Hall and Roger Woolhouse, 80 Years of Locke Scholarship (Edinburgh:

Edinburgh University Press, 1983), *passim*. Also see Jean Yolton, and John Yolton, John Locke: A Reference Guide (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1985), *passim*.

[16] For example, see "Locke's Draft Letter to the Countess of Petersborough, 1697", in Axtell (ed.), The Educational Writings of John Locke, pp. 392-396.

[17] C.B. MacPherson, The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 194.

REFERENCES

CHAPTER II

[1] See Appendix C of this Thesis. As estimated by Lord King, the number of persons included in the households of "Spiritual Lords", "Eminent Clergymen", and "Lesser Clergymen" comprised a bit less than one percent of the population.

[2] As a severe example, about the same time (1600) as Francis Bacon in England was helping to develop the "scientific method" of experiment and validation of hypotheses about nature, Bruno was being burned at the stake in Italy. (Among Bruno's heretical ideas was that there were other populated worlds in space).

[3] Neal Wood, The Politics of Locke's Philosophy: A Social Study of 'An Essay concerning Human Understanding' (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), p. 16.

[4] Ibid.

[5] S.L. Bethell, The Cultural Revolution of the Seventeenth Century. (London: Dennis Dobson, 1951), p. 12.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Bethell, p. 59.

[8] John Locke. An Essay concerning Human Understanding. (Peter H. Nidditch, ed). (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975),

[9] Margaret James, Social Problems and Policy during the Puritan Revolution: 1640-1660 (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1930), p. vii.

[10] Wood, p. 15.

[11] Wood, p. 20.

[12] Quoted in Maurice Cranston, John Locke: A Biography (London: Longmans, Green and Company, Ltd., 1966), p.3.

[13] R.I. Aaron, John Locke. (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), p. 9.

[14] Locke mentions Descartes on a very few times in the Essay Concerning Human Understanding. For example, in

Book III, Chapter IV, para. 10, Locke ridicules "Des-Cartes" theory of light particles ("globules").

[15] Cranston, p. 75.

[16] John Locke, Of the Conduct of the Understanding. (Francis Garforth, ed). (New York: Teachers College Press Columbia University, 1966), p. 19.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Aaron, p. 1.

[19] Appendices B and C of this thesis.

[20] Sidney Webb, and Beatrice Potter Webb, English Local Government; English Poor Law History: Part I. The Old Poor Law (London: Longmans, Green and Company, Ltd., 1927), p. 23.

[21] James, p. 245, and note 188.

[22] Ibid., p. 17, and note 65.

[23] Ibid., p. 17.

[24] Wood, pp. 11, 8.

[25] Wood, p. 20

[26] Webb and Webb, pp. 18-19

[27] Ibid., but see James for the full quote, p274, and note 185.

[28] Webb and Webb, p. 103.

[29] Edgar S. Furniss, The Position of the Laborer in a System of Nationalism: A Study in the Labor Theories of the Later English Merchantilists. (New York: Kelley and Millman, Inc., 1957), p. 24.

[30] Ibid., p. 42.

[31] Ibid., p. 114.

[32] Ibid., p. 117.

[33] 22 Henry VIII. c.12.

[34] 14 Elizabeth. c.5.

[35] Webb and Webb, p. 96.

[36] Furniss, p. 119.

[38] Ibid., p. 120.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Cyril Norwood, and Arthur H. Hope, The Higher Education of Boys in England (London: John Murray, 1909), p. 3.

[42] John Lawson, and Harold Silver, A Social History of Education in England (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1973), p. 7.

[43] Ibid., Chapter 2.

[44] R.E. Hughes, "Lilliputian Education and the Renaissance Ideal," History of Education Quarterly, Volume I, No. 1, (March, 1961), p.

[45] W.A.L. Vincent, The Grammar Schools: Their Continuing Tradition 1660-1714 (London: John Murray, 1969), p.6.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Samuel G. Williams, The History of Modern Education: An Account of the Course of Educational Opinion and Practice from the Revival of Learning to the Present Decade (Syracuse, NY: C.W. Bardeen, Publisher, 1892), pp. 13-14.

[48] Ibid., p. 46.

[49] Lawson and Silver, p. 18.

[50] Ibid., pp. 19-20.

[51] Ibid., pp. 44-46.

[52] George Macaulay Trevelyan, English Social History (London: Longmans, Green and Company, Ltd., 1942), pp. 51-52.

[53] Ibid., pp. 74-75.

[54] Williams, p. 57.

[55] Ibid., p. 58.

[56] Ibid., p. 46

[57] P.J. Wallis, "Histories of the Old Schools: A Preliminary List for England and Wales", in British Journal of Educational Studies, Volume xiv, No. 1 (November, 1965), p.49 and note.

[58] Ibid., p. 7.

[59] Vincent, p. 8.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid., p. 9.

[62] Aaron, p. 5.

[63] Ibid.

[64] For an example of a vociferous opponent, see John Edwards, Some Thoughts concerning the Several Causes and Occasions of Atheism. (and) Socinianism Unmask'd. London: J. Robinson, 1696. Reprinted by Garland Publishing Company, 1984 (facsimile).

[65] Giving almost unqualified praise was Henry Fox Bourne, The Life of John Locke. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1876). More recently, see Nathan Tarcov, Locke's Education for Liberty. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984).

[66] Against Edwards (Note 1 above) in John Locke, The Works of John Locke. (In ten volumes). Volume VII. 1) "On the Reasonableness of Christianity as Delivered in the Scriptures", pp. 1-158. 2) "A Vindication of the Reasonableness of Christianity, from Mr. Edward's Reflections", pp. 159-190. 3) "A Second Vindication of the Reasonableness of Christianity", pp. 191-424. London, 1823. Reprinted (facsimile) in Darmstadt: Scientia Verlag Aalen, 1963.

[67] For example, see the effusive Edward Tagert, Locke's Writings and Philosophy Historically Considered, and Vindicated from the Charge of Contributing to the Scepticism of Hume. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1855). Reprinted by Garland Publishing Company, 1984 (facsimile).

[68] The edition of the Essay I have used in this Chapter is that of Nidditch. I do not necessarily agree with some of his editorial comments, but the Essay itself is very well presented. John Locke, An Essay concerning Human Understanding. (Peter H. Nidditch, ed). (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975).

[69] In the "Epistle to the Reader" prefacing the Essay, Locke candidly discusses this and refers to it as "this discontinued way of writing", Essay, p. 7.

[70] So Nidditch, Essay, p. ix.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Nathan Tarcov, Locke's Education for Liberty (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 210.

[74] Ibid.

[75] J.W. Gough, John Locke's Political Philosophy (London: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 40.

[76] C.B. MacPherson, The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 245-246. The "denial of individualism" was certainly closer to ninety percent of the nation.

[77] Essay, Book II, Chapter XXI, para. 7.

[78] Ibid., Chapter I, para. 1.

[79] Essay, Book IV, Chap. I, para. 1.

[80] Ibid., para. 2.

[81] Essay, Book IV, Chap. X, para. 7.

[82] Ibid., Chap. XIX, par. 14.

[83] Ibid., Chap. IX, para. 3.

[84] Essay, Book IV, Chap. X, para. 1.

[85] James Gibson, Locke's Theory of Knowledge and its Historical Relations. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1931), pp. 168-169.

[86] Quoted by Gibson, Ibid.

[87] John Locke, "On the Reasonableness of Christianity as Delivered in the Scriptures", in The Works of John Locke, (In ten volumes), Volume VII (London, 1823) [Reprinted (facsimile) in Darmstadt: Scientia Verlag Aalen, 1963], p. 144.

[88] Nidditch, Essay, p. 9.

REFERENCES

CHAPTER III

[1] John Locke, "Some Thoughts Concerning Education", The Educational Writings of John Locke, James L. Axtell (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), para. 4.

[2] Ibid., para. 7.

[3] Benjamin Rand (ed), The Correspondence of John Locke and Edward Clarke (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), p. 24.

[4] Some Thoughts Concerning Education, Para. 201.

[5] This was a numbered paragraph in this letter and subsequently became the first sentence of the first paragraph in Some Thoughts concerning Education.

[6] John Locke, An Essay concerning Human Understanding. (Peter H. MIDDITCH, ed), (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), Book II, Chapter XXIII, Para. 15.

[7] Ibid., para. 8.

[8] Some Thoughts concerning Education, para. 78.

[9] Ibid., para. 46.

[10] Ibid., para. 52.

[11] Ibid., para. 87.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid., para. 147.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] John Locke, Of the Conduct of the Understanding. (Francis Garforth, ed). (New York: Teachers College Press Columbia University, 1966), para. 30.

[17] Some Thoughts Concerning Education, para. 216.

[18] *Ibid.*, para. 6.

[19] Locke had many "pet names" for girls.

[20] Mrs Edward Clarke was wife of the man to whom Locke wrote the letters that resulted in Some Thoughts concerning Education. The letter referenced is dated January 7, 1683/84. It is in Rand, p. 102-106.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

[22] It strikes me as odd that Locke would say "your" rather than "my" mind if he in fact thought that both sexes had the same potential for learning. This reads as if Locke reasons that since Mrs. Clarke thinks girls are not different from boys in the characteristics named, then Locke will go along with her and prescribe a regimen for her daughter.

[23] Rand, pp. 102-103.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 104.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] F. Andrew Brown, "On Education: John Locke, Christian Wolff and the 'Moral Weeklies'," in University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Volume 36, No. 5 (September 1952), p. 154.

[27] Some Thoughts Concerning Education.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] *Ibid.*, para. 147

[30] Some Thoughts Concerning Education. This dictum was certainly not followed in the case of the poor children.

[31] Some Thoughts Concerning Education, para. 46.

[32] *Ibid.*, para. 90.

[33] *Ibid.*, para. 94.

[34] Of the Conduct of the Understanding, para 8.

[35] Some Thoughts Concerning Education.

[36] John Locke, "Some Thoughts Concerning Reading and Study for a Gentleman, 1703", in The Educational

Writings of John Locke, James L. Axtell (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 397-404.

[37] J.A. Snook, "John Locke's Theory of Moral Education", in Educational Theory, Volume 20, No. 4 (February, 1970), p. 365. This is mentioned many times in Some Thoughts Concerning Education, e.g., para. 200.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Some Thoughts Concerning Education, para. 70.

[40] Ibid., para. 33.

[41] Ibid., para. 61.

[42] Snook, p. 366.

[43] Some Thoughts Concerning Education, para. 146.

[44] John Locke, An Essay concerning Human Understanding. (Peter H. Nidditch, ed), (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), Book II, Chapter XXVIII, Paras. 7-11.

[45] Ibid., paras. 13-15.

REFERENCES

CHAPTER IV

[1] Mary G. Jones, The Charity School Movement: A Study of Eighteenth Century Puritanism in Action (London: Frank Cass and Company, Ltd., 1964), pp. 13-14.

[2] This line of thought is typical of the time, although the idea of "inheritance of acquired characteristics" was not formally theorized until 1809 by Jean-Baptiste-Pierre-Antoine de Monet de Lamarck. The theory was that characteristics acquired by the parents are passed on to the progeny genetically (though the concept of "genes" did not come until much later). One may easily argue that it is fairly apparent that this can be discounted for most physical and mental characteristics. It is less clear to a neo-scientific society that social mores are not inherited. Locke himself seemed to be ambivalent; the child's mind is a tabula rasa, to be sure, but the fact that "debauched and slothful" parents had children who almost invariably grew up to be the same would lead one to reason that such habits "ran in the family".

In one aspect, the then-current idea of "Lamarckian evolution" was fortunate for the poor. If the children (or, more rarely, the adults) could be turned to the correct path, then these socially-agreeable characteristics would be inherited. Thus, the society could honestly try to "help" these people, knowing that it would continue to pay off for the long run. It is a much different matter in an environment of a belief in a "Social Darwinism" where there are inherently inferior people, and all the training and money extant cannot effect permanent, long-run change.

For an excellent, though very brief, discussion of Lamarck and his "theories scientifiques" in Nouvelle Biographie Generale, vol. 29-30, Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1967, pp. 55-62.

[3] John Locke, Of the Conduct of the Understanding, ed. Francis Gerforth (New York: Teachers College Press Columbia University, 1966), pp. 81-82. The Works of John Locke, Vol. V: On the Reasonableness of Christianity (London: (np), 1823), pp. 135ff. Some Thoughts concerning Education, in James L. Axtell (ed), The Educational Writings of John Locke. Cambridge: Yale University Press, 1974, para. 47.

[4] This was the reason for the Board of Trade and Plantations studying the possibilities of central government

controlled "work-house schools" in 1696. See N.G. Mason, "John Locke's Proposals on Work-House Schools," The Durham and Newcastle Research Review, 4, 1962, pp. 8-16. Also see Fox Bourne, pp. 351-392 and Note 30 infra.

[5] Of the Conduct of the Understanding, p. 42.

[6] W.A.L. Vincent, The Grammar Schools: Their Continuing Tradition 1660-1714. (London: John Murray, 1969), p. 225.

[7] John Locke, Two Treatises of Government. (Peter Laslett, ed). (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), First Treatise, para. 43.

[8] Ibid., para. 42.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Second Treatise, para. 22.

[11] Ibid., para. 57.

[12] Ibid., para. 23.

[13] Ibid., para. 24.

[14] Ibid., para. 24, and note.

[15] Ibid., par. 85.

[16] John Locke, An Essay Concerning Human Understanding, ed. Peter H. Nidditch (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), Book IV, chapt. XX, para. 2.

[17] Ibid.

[18] The Works of John Locke, Vol. V: On the Reasonableness of Christianity (London: (np), 1823).

[19] Ibid., p. 146.

[20] Locke evidently had little regard for the mental abilities of anyone except those of his own ilk. He did correspond at some length with several women and took more than a passing interest in several female children of his friends. He never married and left only slight evidence of any "romantic" attachment of any sort. One critic (John Edwards) did refer to Locke's long stay at Otes with Damaris Cudworth (and her husband) as the "seraglio at Otes", but this epithet was due simply to Edward's hatred of Locke. [The Vindications of the Reasonableness of Christianity, etc., to which Locke gave so much effort were aimed primarily at Edwards].

[21] The Reasonableness of Christianity, etc., p. 157.

[22] Neal Wood, The Politics of Locke's Philosophy: A Social Study of 'An Essay concerning Human Understanding'. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), p. 35.

[23] Margaret James, Social Problems and Policy during the Puritan Revolution: 1640-1660 (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1930), pp. 275-276, and note 1.

[24] Ibid., p. 276 and note 1.

[25] Appendix B of this thesis, para. 65.

[26] James, p. 283.

[27] Henry R. Fox Bourne, The Life of John Locke. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1876), Vol. II, p. 376.

[28] Ibid., p. 391.

[29] Sidney Webb, and Beatrice Potter Webb, English Local Government: English Poor Law History: Part I. The Old Poor Law. (London: Longmans, Green and Company, Ltd., 1927), passim.

[30] The Board of Trade was appointed by King William III in May, 1696 to place responsibilities for the colonies and English trade under one Council. The Commissioners were:

The Earl of Bridgewater (John Egerton) - President

John Locke

The Earl of Tankerville (Ford Grey)

Sir Philip Meadows

John Polliflexen

Abraham Hill

John Methuen

The Board's full title was "His Majesty's Commissioners for Promoting the Trade of this Kingdom and for inspecting and improving the Plantations in America and elsewhere." Specifically, in this instance, the Commissioners were "to consider of some proper methods for setting on work and employing the poor of the kingdom and making them useful to the public, and thereby easing the nation of that burden". For an excellent discussion of the politics and machinations surrounding the selection of the Board, see Maurice Cranston, John Locke; A Biography (London: Longmans, Green and Company, Ltd., 1966), chapter 25, pp. 399-448. Please note that Cranston does not hesitate to speak critically of Locke when the situation suggests it.

[31] The complete text of the Locke's proposal is in Fox Bourne. See Appendix B of this thesis for an annotated version. The paragraph numbers in the following notes refer to the paragraphs in Appendix B of this thesis.

[32] Para. 2.

[33] Para. 3.

[34] Para. 4. Locke neglects to tell us what a

"necessary" alshouse is.

[35] Para. 9.

[36] Paras. 11-12.

[37] Para. 13.

[38] Para. 14. Note the use of the word amendment. Locke certainly considered poverty and unemployment as willing faults in the poor. These faults could be amended by punishment.

[39] Para. 15. Cranston notes that Locke had a keen interest in Virginia. Extant documents show Locke's recommendations for Virginia, a colony of contrasts between "natural riches, [and] vast potentialities, and the state of affairs which in fact prevailed." Virginia was the "poorest, the miserablest and worst country in America." Cranston, pp. 421-422.

[40] Paras. 17-18.

[41] Para. 19.

[42] Some Thoughts Concerning Education, par. 78.

[43] Appendix B, para. 26. One is reminded of the nursery rhyme:

"See-saw, Marjorie Daw,
Johnny shall have a new master.
All he gets is a penny a day,
'Cause he can't go any faster."

[44] Para. 27.

[45] It is perhaps revealing of Locke's temperament to note that in paragraph 62 he would authorize the guardians of the poor to appoint beadies to enforce the ban on beggars. If "any of the said beadies neglect their said duties, ... the said guardians shall ... be required [for the second offense] to send the said beadie to the house of correction, or ... [put] him aboard some of his majesty's ships to serve three years as before proposed" [for the beggar!]

[46] M.G. Mason, "John Locke's Proposals on Work-House Schools," in The Durham and Newcastle Research Review, Volume 4, (1962) pp. 8-16.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Mr. Pople was Secretary of the Board of Trade.

[49] Locke to Clarke, 25th February 1697/98. In Benjamin Rand (ed), The Correspondence of John Locke and Edward Clarke (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), p. 553.

[50] Clarke to Locke, 1st March 1697/98. In Rand, pp. 553-554.

[51] Cranston, p. 425.

[52] Cranston, p. 426 and note 1. The letter that Cranston quotes was written by Lady Masham shortly after Locke's death. The letter, dated 12 January 1704/05, was in answer to a request by Jean le Clerc, an Amsterdam minister and scholar, who used Lady Masham's recollections of Locke in the earliest biography of Locke ("Eloge du feu M. Locke," in Bibliothèque Choisie 6: 342-411). The letter (missing the last page) is in the University Library in Amsterdam (Remonstrants' MSS J. 57a). As far as this researcher knows, this long letter has been printed in full only by Rosalie Colie in The History of Ideas Newsletter, beginning in Vol. 1, No. 4, (October, 1955).

[53] Appendix B, para. 30.

[54] Paras. 31-38.

[55] Para. 32.

[56] Para. 31.

[57] Para. 33.

[58] Para. 34.

[59] Para. 35.

[60] Para. 38.

[61] Para. 41.

[62] Para. 42.

[63] Of the Conduct of the Understanding, p. 43, 50-51.

REFERENCES

CHAPTER V

[1] James L. Axtell, The School upon a Hill. (Cambridge: Yale University Press, 1974), pp. 284-285.

[2] John Locke, An Essay Concerning Human Understanding. (In two volumes). (Boston: Cummings and Hilliard, 1813), p. v.

[3] As an example, in Some Thoughts Concerning Education, Locke spent six paragraphs on the necessity of training the child correctly in "going to stool regularly." He spent three paragraphs in the Two Treatises of Government on the topic "Of Slavery." James L. Axtell (ed). The Educational Writings of John Locke. (Cambridge: Yale University Press, 1968), pp. 133-136. John Locke, Two Treatises of Government. (Peter Laslett, ed). (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), paragraphs 22-24.

[4] Francesco Fagiani, "Lavoro, Ricchezza e Pauperismo in un Indetio di Locke," in Boll. del Dipartimento di Fil. (U. della Calabria, 1980), p. 47.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

A comparison of Locke's Proposal for Workhouse Schools with the schemes suggested by fellow philanthropists.

John Locke, 1696	John Cary, 1696
-----	-----
1. School 3-14 years of age Under 3 not to work	School 6-16 age Under 6 not to work
2. Provision for food and health	Food
3. Attend church regularly	Learn principles of piety, virtue, and sobriety
4. Learn a craft or trade	Learn a craft or trade
Handicrafts, spinning, woollen or other industry	Boys - a trade Girls - spinning, weaving
Morning and afternoon	Morning and afternoon
5. Placing of apprentices	Placing of apprentices
6. Adults admitted	No provision for adults
-----	-----
Thomas Firmin, 1678,1681	John Bellers, 1696
-----	-----
1. School 3-10 years of age	School for "young", esp. "convenient for orphans"
2. Food	Food and health
3. Read the Bible, learn catechism, and practice religion	Moral welfare and virtue
4. Learn a craft or trade	Learn a craft or trade
Spinning, knitting,, and lacemaking	Woodwork, use of tools, gardening
Morning and afternoon with two hours reading per day	Morning - four hours reading, arithmetic, and writing if their chosen trade requires them. Foreign language, if required. Use of library. Afternoon - labour

- | | |
|---|--|
| 5. [Nothing on placement
of "graduates"] | "Graduates" remain in
community |
| 6. [Nothing on adult
training] | Older people free to use
school and library |

[Adapted from M.G. Mason, "John Locke's Proposals on
Work-House Schools", p. 15].

APPENDIX B

LOCKE'S PROPOSAL FOR REFORM OF THE POOR LAW

A. INTRODUCTION

This Appendix contains the full text of the document concerning the Reform of the Poor Law as drafted by John Locke in 1696-97. Locke at the time was a member of the Board of Trade and Plantations which had been given the task by William III of drafting a Poor Law.[1]

This document is presented here to give the tenor of Locke's thoughts on the problem of the poor. This proposal for "working-schools" for the poor was a major part of the "pragmatic" philosopher's ideas for the control of the poor. Fox Bourne had the following comments on Locke's plan:

To understand this very comprehensive scheme, we must remember that the poor-laws of Queen Elizabeth's reign and the minor laws by which they were supplemented during the ensuing century, had all been based on the assumption that it is the duty of every parish to look after its own paupers, to maintain those who cannot work, to find employment for those who can work and to compel them to perform it, to put pauper children in the ways of earning their own livelihoods, and to draft off all vagrant paupers to the places of their birth and settlement. Locke had to build on these bases, and though there is no reason for supposing that he saw anything to object to or anything but the highest political wisdom in having an immense state-machinery of work-houses in which or in connection with which all the poor could labour if they liked, and should be

compelled to labour if they did not find other and more profitable employment for themselves, his elaborate proposals in this respect were designed only to give an efficient development to clearly defined and often-asserted principles of legislation. The theory of state work-houses was provided for him; all the detailed proposals for making them useful institutions, and ESPECIALLY FOR SUPPLEMENTING THEM BY WORKING SCHOOLS FOR POOR CHILDREN WERE HIS OWN, OR ADAPTED FROM THE EXPERIMENTS AND SPECULATIONS OF SUCH PRACTICAL PHILANTHROPISTS AS HIS FRIENDS THOMAS FIRMIN AND JOHN CARY(my emphasis). Whatever we may think of the theory, it must certainly be admitted that he showed excellent shrewdness and excellent philanthropy in his working out of the details....[2]

This document as given here the full text as taken from Fox Bourne.[3] I have plainly marked where any material has been excised or added. I have also numbered and double-spaced the paragraphs for ease of reference.

B. TEXT OF THE DOCUMENT

1. "MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCIES[4], --His majesty having been pleased by his commission to require us particularly to consider some of the proper methods of setting on work and employing the poor of this kingdom and making them useful to the public, and thereby easing others of that burden, and by what ways and means such designs may be made most effectual; we humbly beg leave to lay before your excellencies a scheme of such methods as seem unto us for the attainment of those ends.

2. "The multiplying of the poor, and the increase of the tax for their maintenance, is so general an observation and complaint that it cannot be doubted of. Nor has it been

only since the last war that this evil has come upon us. It has been a growing burden on the kingdom these many years, and the last two reigns felt the increase of it as well as the present.

3. "If the causes of this evil be well looked into, we humbly conceive it will be found to have proceeded neither from scarcity of provisions nor from want of employment for the poor, since the goodness of God has blessed these times with plenty no less than the former, and a long peace during these reigns gave us as plentiful a trade as ever. The growth of the poor must therefore have some other cause, and it can be nothing else but the relaxation of discipline and the corruption of manners; virtue and industry being as constant companions on the one side and vice and idleness are on the other. [5]

4. "The first step, therefore, towards the setting of the poor on work, we humbly conceive, ought to be a restraint of their debauchery by a strict execution of the laws provided against it, more particularly by the suppression of superfluous brandy shops and unnecessary alehouses, especially in country parishes not lying upon great roads.

5. "Could all the able hands in England be brought to work, the greatest part of the burden that lies upon the industrious for maintaining the poor would immediately cease. For, upon a very moderate computation, it may be

concluded that above one half of those who receive relief from the parishes are able to get their livelihood. And all of them who receive such relief from the parishes, we conceive, may be divided into these three sorts.

6. "First, those who can do nothing at all toward their own support.

7. "Secondly, those who, although they cannot maintain themselves wholly, yet are able to do something towards it.

8. "Thirdly, those who are able to maintain themselves by their own labour. And these last may also be subdivided into two sorts; namely, either those who have numerous families of children whom they cannot, or pretend they cannot support by their labour, or those who pretend they cannot get work and so live only by begging or worse.

9. "For the suppression of this last sort of begging drones, who live unnecessarily upon other people's labour, there are already good and wholesome laws, sufficient for the purpose, if duly executed. We therefore humbly propose that the execution thereof may be at present revived by proclamation till other remedies can be provided; as also that order be taken every year, at the choosing of churchwardens and overseers of the poor, that the statutes of the 39th Eliz., cap. 4, and the 43rd Eliz., cap. 2 be read and considered paragraph by paragraph, and the observation of them in all their parts pressed on those who are to be overseers; for we

have reason to think that the greatest part of the overseers of the poor everywhere are wholly ignorant, and never so much as think that it is the greatest part, or so much as any part, of their duty to set people to work.

10. "But for the more effectual restraining of idle vagabonds, we further humbly propose that a new law may be obtained, by which it be enacted,

11. "That all men sound of limb and mind, above fourteen and under fifty years of age, begging in maritime counties out of their own parish without a pass, shall be seized on either by any officer of the parish where they so beg (which officers by virtue of their offices shall be authorized, and under a penalty required to do it), or by the inhabitants of the house themselves where they beg, and be by them or any of them brought before the next justice of the peace or guardian of the poor (to be chosen as hereafter mentioned) who in this case shall have the power of a justice of the peace, and, by such justice of the peace or guardian of the poor (after the due and usual correction in the case), be by a pass sent, not to the house of correction (since those houses are now in most counties complained of to be rather places of ease and preferment to the masters thereof than of correction and reformation to those who are sent thither), nor to their places of habitation (since such idle vagabonds usually name some remote part, whereby the county is put to great charge, and they usually make their escape from the

negligent officers before they come thither and are at liberty for a new rasble), but, if it be in a maritime county as aforesaid, that they be sent to the next seaport town, there to be kept at hard labour, till some of his majesty's ships, coming in or near there, give an opportunity of putting them on board, where they shall serve three years, under strict discipline, at soldier's pay (6) (subsistence money being deducted for their victuals on board), and be punished as deserters if they go on shore without leave, or, when sent on shore, if they either go further or stay longer than they have leave.

12. "That all men begging in maritime counties without passes, that are maimed or above fifty years of age, and all of any age so begging without passes in inland counties nowhere bordering on the sea, shall be sent to the next house of correction, there to be kept at hard labour for three years.

13. "And, to the end that the true use of the houses of correction may not be perverted as of late it has for the most part been, that the master of each such house shall be obliged to allow unto every one committed to his charge fourpence per diem for their maintenance in and about London; but, in remoter counties, where wages and provisions are much cheaper, that the rate be settled by the grand jury and judge at the assizes; for which the said master shall have no other consideration nor allowance but what their

labour shall produce; whom, therefore, he shall have power to employ according to his discretion, consideration being had of their age and strength.

14. "That the justices of the peace shall, each quarter-sessions, make a narrow inquiry into the state and management of the houses of correction within their district, and take a strict account of the carriage of all who are there, and, if they find that anyone is stubborn and not at all mended by the discipline of the place, that they order him a longer stay there and severer discipline, that so nobody may be dismissed till he has given manifest proof of amendment, the end for which he was sent thither.

15. "That whoever shall counterfeit a pass shall lose his ears for the forgery the first time that he is found guilty thereof, and the second time that he shall be transported to the plantations, as in case of felony.

16. "That whatever female above fourteen years of age shall be found begging out of her own parish without a pass (if she be an inhabitant of a parish within five miles' distance of that she is found begging in) shall be conducted home to her parish by the constable, tithing-man, overseer of the poor, churchwarden, or other sworn officer of the parish wherein she was found begging, who, by his place and office, shall be required to do it and deliver her to the overseer of the poor of the parish to which she belongs, from which he will

receive twelvecence for his pains, which twelvecence, if she be one that receives public relief, shall be deducted out of her parish allowance, or, if she be not relieved by the parish, shall be levied on her or her parents' or her master's goods.

17. "That, whenever any such female above fourteen years old, within the same distance, commits the same fault a second time, and whenever the same or any other such female is found begging without a lawful pass, the first time, at a greater distance than five miles from the place of her abode, it shall be lawful for any justice of the peace or guardian of the poor, upon complaint made, to send her to the house of correction, there to be employed in hard work three months, and so much longer as shall be to the next quarter-sessions after the determination of the said three months, and that then, after due correction, she shall have a pass made her by the sessions to carry her home to the place of her abode.

18. "That, if any boy or girl, under fourteen years of age, shall be found begging out of the parish where they dwell (if within five miles' distance of the said parish), they shall be sent to the next working school, there to be soundly whipped and kept at work until evening, so that they may be dismissed time enough to get to their place of abode that night. Or, if they live further than five miles off from the place where they are taken begging, that they

be sent to the next house of correction, there to remain at work six weeks and so much longer as till the next sessions after the end of the said six weeks.

19. "These idle vagabonds being thus suppressed, there will not, we suppose, in most country parishes be many men who will have the pretence that they want work. However, in order to the taking away of that pretence, whenever it happens, we humbly propose that it may be further enacted,

20. "That the guardian of the poor of the parish where any such pretence is made, shall, the next Sunday after complaint made to him, acquaint the parish that such a person complains he wants work, and then shall ask whether any one is willing to employ him at a lower rate than is usually given, which rate it shall then be in the power of the said guardian to set; for it is not to be supposed that any one should be refused to be employed by his neighbors whilst others are set to work, but for some defect in his ability or honesty, for which it is reasonable he should suffer, and he that cannot be set to work for tweldepence per diem, must be content with ninepence or tenpence rather than live idly. But, if nobody in the parish voluntarily accept such a person at the rate proposed by the guardians of the poor, that then it shall be in the power of the said guardian, with the rest of the parish, to make a list of days, according to the proportion of every one's tax in the parish to the poor, and that, according to such list, every

inhabitant in the same parish shall be obliged, in their turn, to set such unemployed poor men of the same parish on work, at such under-rates as the guardian of the poor shall appoint; and, if any person refuse to set the poor at work in his turn as thus directed, that such person shall be bound to pay them their appointed wages, whether he employ them or no.

21. "That, if any poor man, otherwise unemployed, refuse to work according to such order (if it be in a maritime county), he shall be sent to the next port, and there put on board some of his majesty's ships, to serve there three years as before proposed; and what pay shall accrue to him for his services there, above his diet and clothes, be paid to the overseers of the poor of the parish to which he belongs, for the maintenance of his wife and children, if he have any, or else towards the relief of other poor of the same parish; but, if it be not in a maritime county, that every poor man thus refusing to work shall be sent to the house of correction.

22. "These methods we humbly propose as proper to be enacted, in order to the employment of the poor who are able but will not work; which sort, by the punctual execution of such a law, we humbly conceive, may be quickly reduced to a very small number, or quite extirpated.

23. "But the greatest part of the poor maintained by parish

rates are not absolutely unable nor wholly unwilling to do anything towards the getting of their livlihoods; yet even these, either through want of fit work provided for them, or their unskilfulness in working in what might be a public advantage, do little that turns to any account, but live idly upon the parish allowance or begging, if not worse. Their labour, therefore, as far as they are able to work, should be saved to the public, and what their earnings come short of a full maintenance should be supplied out of the labour of others, that is, out of the parish allowance.

24. "These are of two sorts:--

25. "1. Grown people, who, being decayed from their full strength, could yet do something for their living, though under pretence that they cannot get work, they generally do nothing. In the same case with these are most of the wives of day labourers, when they come to have two or three or more children. The looking after their children gives them not liberty to go abroad to seek for work, and so, having no work at home, in the broken intervals of their time they earn nothing; but the aid of the parish is fain to come in to their support, and their labour is wholly lost; which is so much loss to the public.

26. "Every one must have meat, drink, clothing, and firing. So much goes out of the stock of the kingdom, whether they work or no. Supposing then there be a hundred thousand poor

in England, that live upon the parish, that is, who are maintained by other people's labour (for so is everyone who lives upon alms without working), if care were taken that every one of them, by some labour in the woollen or other manufacture, should earn but a penny per diea (which, one with another, they might well do and more), this would gain to England 130,000£ per annum, which, in eight years, would make England above a million pounds richer.

27. "This, rightly considered, shows us what is the true and proper relief of the poor. It consists in finding work for them, and taking care they do not live like drones upon the labour of others. And in order to this end we find the laws made for the relief of the poor were intended; however, by an ignorance of their intention or a neglect of their due execution, they are turned only to the maintenance of people in idleness, without at all examining into the lives, abilities, or industry of those who seek for relief.

28. "In order to the suppression of these idle beggars, the corporations in England have beadies authorised and paid to prevent the breach of the law in that particular; yet, nevertheless, the streets everywhere swarm with beggars, to the increase of idleness, poverty, and villany, and to the shame of Christianity. And, if it should be asked in any town in England, how many of these visible trespassers have been taken up and brought to punishment by those officers this last year, we have reason to think the number would be

found to have been very small, because that of beggars swarming in the street is manifestly very great.

29. "But the remedy of this disorder is so well provided by the laws now in force that we can impute the continuance and increase of it to nothing but a general neglect of their execution.

30. "2. Besides the grown people above mentioned, the children of labouring people are an ordinary burden to the parish, and are usually maintained in idleness, so that their labour also is generally lost to the public until they are twelve or fourteen years old.

31. "By this means the mother will be eased of a great part of her trouble in looking after and providing for them at home, and so be at the more liberty to work; the children will be kept in much better order, be better provided for, and from infancy be inured to work, which is of no small consequence to the making of them sober and industrious all their lives after; and the parish will either be eased of this burden or at least of the misuse in the present management of it. For, a greater number of children giving a poor man a title to an allowance from the parish, this allowance is given once a week or once a month to the father in money, which he not seldom spends on himself at the alehouse, whilst his children, for whose sake he had it, are left to suffer, or perish under the want of necessities, unless the charity of the neighbors relieve them.

32. "We humbly conceive that a man and his wife in health may be able by their ordinary labour to maintain themselves and two children [under three years]. More than two children at one time under the age of three years will seldom happen in one family. If therefore all the children above three years old be taken off from their hands those who have never so many [sic], whilst they remain themselves in health, will not need any allowance for them.

33. "We do not suppose that children of three years old will be able at that age to get their livelihoods at the working school, but we are sure that what is necessary for their relief will more effectually have that use if it be distributed to them in bread at that school than if it be given to their fathers in money. What they have at home from their parents is seldom more than bread and water, and that, many of them, very scantily too. If therefore care be taken that they have each of them their belly-full of bread daily at school, they will be in no danger of famishing, but, on the contrary, they will be healthier and stronger than those who are bred otherwise. Nor will this practice cause the overseers any trouble; for a baker may be agreed with to furnish and bring into the school-house every day the allowance of bread necessary for all the scholars that are there. And to this may be also added, without any trouble, in cold weather, if it be thought needful, a little warm water-gruel; for the same fire that warms the room may

be made use of to boil a pot of it.

34. "From this method the children will not only reap the fore-mentioned advantages with far less charge to the parish than what is now done for them, but they will be also thereby the more obliged to come to school and apply themselves to work, because otherwise they will have no victuals, and also the benefit thereby both to themselves and the parish will daily increase; for, the earnings of their labour at school every day increasing, it may reasonably be concluded that, computing all the earnings of a child from three to fourteen years of age, the nourishment and teaching of such a child during that whole time will cost the parish nothing; whereas there is no child now which from its birth is maintained by the parish but, before the age of fourteen, costs the parish 50£ or 60£.

35. "Another advantage also of bringing children thus to a working school is that by this means they may be obliged to come constantly to church every Sunday, along with their schoolmasters or dames, whereby they may be brought into some sense of religion; whereas ordinarily now, in their idle and loose way of breeding up, they are as utter strangers both to religion and morality as they are to industry.

36. "In order therefore to the more effectual carrying on of this work to the advantage of this kingdom, we further

humbly propose that these schools be generally for spinning or knitting, or some other part of the woollen manufacture, unless in countries[7] where the place shall furnish some other materials fitter for the employment of such poor children; in which places the choice of those materials for their employment may be left to the prudence and direction of the guardians of the poor of that hundred. And that the teachers in these schools be paid out of the poor's rate, as can be agreed.

37. "This, though at first setting it up may cost the parish a little, yet we humbly conceive (the earnings of the children abating the charge of their maintenance, and as much work being required of each of them as they are reasonably able to perform) it quickly pays its own charges with an overplus.

38. "That, where the number of the poor children in any parish is greater than for them all to be employed in one school they be there divided into two, and the boys and the girls, if it be thought convenient, taught and kept to work separately.

39. "That the handicraftsmen in each hundred be bound to take every other of their respective apprentices from amongst the boys in some one of the said schools in the said hundred without any money; which boys they may so take at what age they please, to be bound to them till the age of

twenty-three years, so that the length of time may more than make amends for the usual sums that are given to the handicraftsmen with such apprentices.

40. "That those also in the hundred who keep in their hands land of their own to the value of 25*l* per annus, or upwards, or who rent 50*l* per annus or upwards, may choose out of the schools of the said hundred what boy each of them pleases, to be his apprentice in husbandry on the same condition.

41. "That whatever boys are not by this means bound out apprentices before they are full fourteen shall, at the Easter meeting of the guardians of each hundred each year, be bound to such gentlemen, yeomen, or farmers within the said hundred as have the greatest numbers of acres of land in their hands, who shall be obliged to take them for their apprentices till the age of twenty-three, or bind them out at their own cost to some handicraftsmen; provided always at no such gentleman, yeoman, or farmer shall be bound to have two such apprentices at a time.

42. "The grown people also (to take away their pretence of want of work) may come to the said working schools to learn, where work shall accordingly be provided for them.

43. "That the materials to be employed in these schools and among other (sic) the poor people of the parish be provided by a common stock in each hundred, to be raised out of a certain portion of the poor's rate of each parish as

requisite; which stock, we humbly conceive, need be raised but once; for, if rightly managed, it will increase.

44. "That some person, experienced and well skilled in the particular manufacture which shall be judged fittest to set the poor of each hundred on work, be appointed storekeeper for that hundred, who shall, accordingly, buy in the wool or other materials necessary; that this storekeeper be chosen by the guardians of the poor of each hundred, and be under their direction, and have such salary as they shall appoint to be paid pro rata upon the pound out of the poor's tax of every parish, and, over and above which salary, that he also have two shillings in the pound yearly for every twenty shillings that shall be lessened in the poor's tax of any parish from the first year of his management.

45. "That to this storekeeper one of the overseers of the poor of every parish shall repair as often as there shall be occasion to fetch from him the materials for the employment of each parish; which materials the said overseer shall distribute to the teachers of the children of each school and also to other poor who demand relief of the said parish to be wrought by them at home in such quantity as he or the guardian of the parish shall judge reasonable for each of them respectively to despatch in one week, allowing unto each poor person his or her work what he and the storekeeper shall agree it to be worth; but, if the said overseer and storekeeper do not agree about the price of any such work,

that then any three or more of the guardians of the hundred (whereof the guardian of the same parish in which the contest arises to be always one) determine it.

46. "That the sale of the materials thus manufactured be made by the storekeeper in the presence of one or more of the guardians of each hundred and not otherwise, and that an exact account be kept by the said storekeeper of all that he buys and sells out, as also of the several quantities of unwrought materials that he delivers to the respective overseers and of the manufactured returns that he receives back again from them.

47. "That, if any person to whom wool or any other materials delivered to be wrought shall spoil or embezzle the same, if it be one who receives alms from the parish, the overseers of the poor of that parish shall pay unto the storekeeper what it cost, and deduct that sum out of the parish allowance to the person who has so spoiled or embezzled any such materials, or, if it be one that receives no allowance from the parish, then the said overseer shall demand it in money of the person that spoiled or embezzled it, and if the person so offending refuse to pay it, the guardian of the poor of that parish, upon oath made to him by any of the said overseers that he delivered such materials to the person, and that he paid for them such a sum to the storekeeper (which oath every guardian may be empowered to administer), shall grant unto the said overseer a warrant to

distrain upon the goods of the person so offending, and sell the goods so distrained, rendering the overplus.

48. "That the guardian of the poor of every parish, to be chosen by those who pay to the relief of the poor of the said parish, shall be chosen, the first time, within three months of the passing of the act now proposed; that the guardians thus chosen by the respective parishes of each hundred shall have the inspection of all things relating to the employment and relief of the poor of the said hundred; that one third part of the whole number of the guardians of every hundred thus chosen shall go out every year, the first year by lot out of the whole number, the second year by lot out of the remaining two-thirds, and for ever afterwards in their turns, so that after the first two years every one shall continue in three years successively and no longer; and that for the supply of any vacancy as it shall happen a new guardian be chosen as aforesaid in any respective parish at the same time that the overseers of the poor are usually chosen there, or at any other time within one month after any such vacancy.

49. "That the guardians of the poor of each respective hundred shall meet every year in Easter week, in the place where the stores of that hundred are kept, to take account of the stock, and as often else at other times as shall be necessary to inspect the management of it and to give directions therein, and in all other things relating to the

poor of the hundred.

50. "That no person in any parish shall be admitted to an allowance from the parish but by the joint consent of the guardian of the said parish and the vestry.

51. "That the said guardians also, each of them within the hundred whereof he is guardian, have the power of a justice of the peace over vagabonds and beggars, to make them passers, to send them to the seaport towns or houses of correction, as before proposed.

52. "These foregoing rules and methods being what we humbly conceive most proper to put into practice for the employment and relief of the poor generally throughout the country, we now humbly propose for the better and more easy attainment of the same end in cities and towns corporate, that it may be enacted.

53. "That in all cities and towns corporate the poor's tax be not levied by distinct parishes, but by one equal tax throughout the whole corporation.

54. "That in each corporation there be twelve guardians of the poor, chosen by the said corporation, whereof four to go out by lot at the end of the first year, other four of the remaining number to go out also by lot the next year, and the remaining four the third year, and a new four chosen every year in the rooms of those that go out, to keep up the

number of twelve full, and that no one continue in above three years successively.

55. "That these guardians have the power of setting up and ordering working schools as they see convenient, within each corporation respectively, to which schools the children of all that are relieved by the said corporation, from three to fourteen years of age, shall be bound to come as long as they continue unemployed in some other settled service, to be approved of by the overseers of that parish to which they belong.

56. "That these guardians have also the sole power of ordering and disposing of the money raised in each corporation for the use of the poor, whether for the providing of materials to set them on work, or for the relieving of those whom they judge not able to earn their own livelihood; and that they be the sole judges who are or are not fit to receive public relief, and in what proportion.

57. "That the said guardians have also the power to send any persons begging without a lawful pass to the next seaport town or house of correction, as before propounded.

58. "That they have likewise power to appoint a treasurer to receive all money raised for the relief of the poor; which treasurer shall issue all such money only by their order, and shall once a year pass his accounts before them; and

that they also appoint one or more storekeepers, as they shall see occasion, with such rewards or salaries as they see fit; which storekeepers shall in like manner be accountable to them, provided always that the mayor or bailiffs or other chief officers of each corporation have notice given him that he may be present (which we humbly propose may be enjoined on all officers respectively) at the passing of the accounts both of the treasurer and storekeepers of the poor within each respective corporation.

59. "That the teachers in each school, or some other person thereunto appointed, shall fetch from the respective storekeepers the materials they are appointed to work upon in that school, and in such quantities as they are ordered, which materials shall be manufactured accordingly, and then returned to the storekeeper, and by him be either given out to be further manufactured or else disposed of to the best advantage, as the guardians shall direct.

60. "That the overseers of the poor shall in like manner take from the storekeeper, and distribute unto those who are under the public relief, such materials, and in such proportions, as shall be ordered each of them for a week's work, and not pay unto any of the poor so employed the allowance appointed them till they bring back their respective tasks well performed.

61. "That the overseers of the poor of each parish shall be

chosen as they are now, and have the same power to collect the poor's rates of their respective parishes as now; but that they issue out the money so collected for the relief and maintenance of the poor according to such orders and directions as they shall receive from the guardians. And that the accounts of the overseers of the poor of each parish, at the end of their year, shall be laid before such persons as the parish shall appoint to inspect them, that they may make such observations on the said accounts, or exceptions against them, as they may be liable to, and that then the said accounts, or exceptions against them, as they may be liable to, and that then the said accounts, with those observations and exceptions, be examined by the treasurer and two of the guardians (whereof one to be nominated by the guardians themselves and the other by the parish), and that the said accounts be passed by the allowance of those three.

62. "That the said guardians shall have the power to appoint one or more beadies of beggars, which beadies shall be authorised and required to seize upon any stranger begging in the streets, or any one of the said corporation begging either without the badge appointed to be worn or at hours not allowed by the said guardians to beg in, and bring all such persons before any one of the said guardians. And that, if any of the said beadies neglect their said duty, so that strangers, or other beggars not having the badge

appointed or at hours not allowed, be found frequenting the streets, the said guardians, upon complaint thereof made to them, shall have power and be required to punish the beadle so offending, for the first fault, at their own discretion; but upon a second complaint proved before them, that they send the said beadle to the house of correction, or (if it be in a maritime county, and the beadle offending be a lusty man and under fifty years of age) to the next seaport town, in order to the putting him aboard some of his majesty's ships, to serve there three years as before proposed.

63. "That those who are not able to work at all, in corporations where there are no hospitals to receive them, be lodged three or four or more in one room, and yet more in one house, where one fire may serve, and one attendant may provide for many of them, with less charge than when they live at their own choice scatteringly.

64. "And since the behaviour and wants of the poor are best known amongst their neighbors, and that they may have liberty to declare their wants and receive broken bread and meat or other charity from well-disposed people, that it be therefore permitted to those whose names are entered in the poor's book, and who wear the badges required[8] to ask and receive alms in their respective parishes at certain hours of the day to be appointed by the guardians, but if any of these are taken begging at any other hour than those

allowed, or out of their respective parishes, though within the same corporation, they shall be sent immediately, if they are under fourteen years of age, to the working school to be whipped, and, if they are above fourteen, to the house of correction, to remain there six weeks and so much longer as till the next quarter-sessions after the said six weeks are expired.

65. "That, if any person die for want of due relief in any parish in which he ought to be relieved, the said parish shall be fined according to the circumstances of the fact and the heinousness of the crime.

66. "That every master of the king's ships shall be bound to receive without money, once every year (if offered him by the magistrate or other officer of any place within the bounds of the port where his ship shall be), one boy, sound of limb, above thirteen years of age, who shall be his apprentice for nine years."

APPENDIX B

REFERENCES

[1] For composition of this Board, see Chapter 4, Note 30 of this thesis.

[2] Henry R. Fox Bourne, The Life of John Locke (in two volumes) (Harper and Brothers, 1876), vol. 2, p. 391.

[3] This text is taken ad verbatim from Fox Bourne, Vol. II, pp. 376-391. (Fox Bourne gives the location of the original document as in The Board of Trade Papers, Domestic, Bundle B, No. 6. The modern location is: Colonial Office, Public Records Office, 391/10 Board of Trade Papers, Journal B.)

[4] King William III and Queen Mary.

[5] This paragraph shows most clearly that Locke considered only 1) there was plenty of work for willing hands, and 2) unemployment was thus due to an unwillingness to work and a lack of "discipline" and "manners." Although Locke wrote on matters of finance and business, he apparently apparently never thought of the Englishman as economic man, caught up in forces beyond his control. Rather, we see a simple-minded, one-dimensional moralizing by this philosopher -- a physician punishing the victim for contracting the disease.

[6] A "soldier's pay" is given by Gregory King's Tables as £14 per annum. (See Appendix C of this thesis.

[7] Here Fox Bourne has a note: "That is 'districts'."

[8] Here Fox Bourne has a note:
'A law passed shortly before Locke's preparation of this document (8 and 9 William III, cap. 30), chiefly to make new arrangements for the settlement and removal of paupers, and for the apprenticeship of pauper children, had stipulated that no one should be allowed to beg who did not wear the distinctive badge of the parish to which he belonged'.

APPENDIX C

GREGORY KING'S TABLES

Number of Families	Ranks, Degrees, Titles and Qualifications	Heads per Family [1]	Number of Persons [2]	Annual Income per Family [3]
160	Temporal lords	40	6,400	£3200
26	Spiritual lords	20	520	1300
800	Baronets	16	12,800	880
600	Knights	13	7,800	650
3,000	Esquires	10	30,000	450
12,000	Gentlemen	8	96,000	280
5,000	Persons in greater offices and places	8	40,000	240
5,000	Persons in lesser offices and places	6	30,000	120
2,000	Eminent merchants and traders by sea	8	16,000	400
8,000	Lesser merchants and traders by sea	6	48,000	198
10,000	Persons in law	7	70,000	154
2,000	Eminent clergymen	6	12,000	72
8,000	Lesser clergymen	5	40,000	50
40,000	Freeholders of the better sort[4]	7	280,000	91
120,000	Freeholders of the lesser sort[4]	5.5	660,000	55
150,000	Farmers	5	750,000	42.10s
15,000	Persons in the liberal arts and sciences	5	75,000	60
50,000	Shopkeepers and tradesmen	4.5	225,000	45
60,000	Artizans and handicrafts	4	240,000	38
5,000	Naval officers	4	20,000	80
4,000	Military officers	4	16,000	60
50,000	Common seamen	3	150,000	20
364,000	Labouring people and out-servants[5]	3.5	1.275 m	15
400,000	Cottagers and paupers[5]	3.25	1.3 m	6.10s
35,000	Common soldiers	2	70,000	14
-----	Vagrants, as gipsies, thieves, beggars, etc.	-	30,000	-----
Total population			5,500,520	

Gregory King made these calculations (educated guesses?) from the hearth-tax and other data at the time of the Revolution (1688). Reliable statistics of the population of England was available only with the first Census of 1801. "At least they [these statistics] represent the map of society as it presented itself to the thought of a well-informed contemporary." This table and text are adapted from G.M. Trevelyan, English Social History: A Survey of Six Centuries Chaucer to Queen Victoria (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1942), pp. 276-278.

According to King, Trevelyan continues, over one million persons, nearly one-fifth of the whole nation, were in occasional receipt of alms, mostly in the form of public relief paid by the parish. The poor rate was between £880,000 and one million pounds a year. There was seldom any shame felt on receiving relief, and it "was said to be given with a mischievous profusion":

Richard Dunning declared that in 1698 the parish dole was often three times as much as a common labourer, having to maintain a wife and three children, could afford to expend upon himself, and that persons once receiving outdoor relief refuse ever to work, and "seldom drink other than the strongest ale-house beer, or eat any bread save what is made of the finest wheat flour". This statement must be received with caution, but such was the nature of the complaint of some rate-payers and employers about the poor law. [6]

REFERENCES

APPENDIX C

[1] The "heads per family" are the persons living under one roof; the "family" includes servants in the house as well as children. The poor are, therefore, have much smaller "families" than the more well-to-do, although the mean number of children still alive and living at home might be the same.

[2] This figure is obtained by multiplying the "number of families" by "heads per family".

[3] These are all "average" figures.

[4] "Freeholders" include, not only the owners of their own farms, but also copyholders and tenants for life. (A copyholder was a person holding tenure of land by right of being recorded in the court of the manor).

[5] "Labouring people and out-servants" and "cottagers and paupers," the two largest classes, include many who had small rights of one kind or another in land.

[6] Trevelyan, p. 278. We still have the same situation.

APPENDIX D

A CHRONOLOGY OF JOHN LOCKE'S LIFE

August 29, 1632

Born at Wrington, Somerset. Family was Puritan trading class on both sides. Father was John Locke, a county attorney and small landowner. Home was strict; father was stern, unbending.

1646-47(1)

A Colonel Popham (who was a fellow officer of Locke, pater in the Civil War) nominated Locke, filium to be admitted to Westminster School. Young Locke was elected "King's Scholar" with an annual allowance.[2]

May, 1652

Elected to a Junior Studentship at Christ Church, Oxford.

November, 1652

Matriculated at Oxford. Curriculum consisted of logic, metaphysics and the classical languages.

February 1655/1656 [3]

Graduated as a Bachelor of Arts. Began a three-year program leading to the Master of Arts.

June 28, 1658

Qualified as a Master of Arts and was elected a Senior Student of Christ Church.[4] This gave him lifetime tenure and made it possible for him to remain connected with the University.

1661-1664

Held position of Censor of Moral Philosophy at the College. Locke studied medicine which he "pursued as an independent inquirer".[5]

1664

Appointed secretary to Sir Walter Vane, ambassador to the Elector of Brandenburg at Cleve.[6]

February, 1666

Returned to England. In May, Locke took up his residence at Christ Church, and resumed the study and practice of medicine.

July, 1666

Met Lord Ashley, later Lord Shaftesbury, who had come to drink the waters at a small spa near Oxford. Ashley asked Dr. Thomas for advice about his health. Dr. Thomas was a close friend of Locke, and subsequently advised Locke to attend on Ashley. Ashley asked Locke to London as his personal household physician.

September, 1672

Locke made his first visit to France as the traveling guest of the Countess of Northumberland. He returned in November.

November, 1672

Lord Shaftesbury, now Lord high Chancellor of England, appointed Locke as Secretary for the Presentation of Benefices at £300 per year. (7)

June, 1673

Locke was promoted to Secretary of the Board of Trade at £500 per year. (Shaftesbury was President of the Board).

1674

Received bachelor's degree in medicine. (He never received doctor of medicine).

March, 1675

With Shaftesbury's fall from grace, Locke was dismissed from his government post. Locke was given a pension of £100 per year for life.

November, 1675

Now free from financial worry, Locke went again to France. He was to stay four years. He spent this time chiefly in study and travel.

Spring, 1679

Locke returned from France. Shaftesbury was now President of the Privy Council and asked Locke for advice.

1681-1682

Shaftesbury, released for the second time from the Tower, plotted with the Duke of Monmouth for the succession. Found out, he fled England in November and died in January 1683. Locke, although surely under suspicion, was not arrested.

1682

Met Damaris Cudworth, later Lady Masham, at whose manor he lived the last thirteen years of his life (dying there in 1704).

September, 1683

Still under suspicion for his close association with

Shaftsbury, Locke left England for Holland where he remained for six years. He became acquainted with many men of letters.

January 7, 1683/84

Wrote letter to Mrs Edward Clarke with advice on the proper care of her young daughters.

July 19, 1684

Wrote first of a series of letters to Edward Clarke on the upbringing of his son, Edward. These were later published (1693) as Some Thoughts concerning Education.

February 6, 1685

Charles II died and James II ascended the throne. This put Locke and Clarke in danger. Locke shortly went into hiding in Amsterdam, while Clarke was arrested in England but he was soon released on bond.

February 12, 1689

Some three months after William of Orange landed in England, Locke returned in the company of Princess (later Queen) Mary.

March 1689

The Epistola de Tolerantia (written in Latin in 1685) published in Holland. Locke declined post of Ambassador to Brandenburg, pleading ill health. A short time later accepted post of Commissioner of Appeals at £200 per annum.

March, 1690

Essay concerning Human Understanding published.

Early 1691

Took up residence at Otes (or Oates), home of Lady Damaris Cudworth Masham.

June, 1694

Locke subscribed £500 to the new Bank of England.

May 15, 1696

Locke was appointed a Commissioner of the Council of Trade and Plantations (at £1,000 per annum).

July, 1697

Each Commissioner of the Council was asked to prepare a scheme for the reform of the Poor Law.

October 19, 1697

Locke presented his comprehensive plan for Poor Law reform to the Council. This plan was adopted and reported on

December 21, 1697 to the Lord Justices for approval. Brought to the Parliament in February, 1698, the bill was not adopted. (Poor Law reform was adopted in 1834).

October 28, 1704
Locke died at Otes.

REFERENCES

APPENDIX D

[1] The year of Locke's admission to Westminster is given as 1646 by R.I. Aaron's John Locke, (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), p. 3) and Benjamin Rand in his edition of The Correspondence of John Locke and Edward Clarke, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), p. 3). It is given as 1647 by Maurice Cranston in John Locke: A Biography, (London: Longmans, Green and Company, Ltd., 1966), p. 17. Cranston's date is correct.

[2] Cranston (p. 21) "corrects all earlier biographers" in stating that Locke was elected a "King's Scholar" in 1650, not 1647 as stated by Aaron (p. 3).

[3] The Julian calendar was in use in England until 1752. The "error" of ten days, in addition to the practice of beginning the New Year in March, leads to many errors in actual dates in the literature. Cranston, for example, dates a letter correctly as "12 January 1704/1705" (p. 4, n. 3).

[4] Rand (p. 4) says 1659.

[5] Rand, p. 5.

[6] The "toleration" Locke later professed for differing (Protestant) beliefs was not clearly evident in the letters he wrote from Germany during this time. He poked rather malicious fun at the customs, food, and Lutheran services of the people of Cleve. See Peter King (Lord King), The Life of John Locke, Etc. (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830), Vol. I, pp. 24-50. Henry Fox Bourne comments on Locke's "healthy mockery of the courtiers, priests, and such-like" in Germany. See Fox Bourne, The Life of John Locke (New York: Harper and Brothers, Inc., 1870), p. 116.

[7] A glance at Appendix C of this thesis will show that the civil servant salary of £300 per annum alone put Locke's income in the upper one percent of the population.

APPENDIX E

PUBLISHED WRITINGS OF JOHN LOCKE

The following accounting of the writings of John Locke has been adapted from Jean S. Yolton and John W. Yolton, John Locke: A Reference Guide (Boston: G.K. Hall and Co., 1983), pp. xxi-xxvi and R.I. Aaron, John Locke, 3rd ed. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 367-369. The original work only is listed; corrections and subsequent editions are not listed separately. Any corrections or other changes I have made to the references are noted. The dates given are the date the writing was completed by Locke; much was published later in many editions.

1654

Two poems, one in Latin and one in English, in a book by John Owen honoring Cromwell.

1660-1661

Two Tracts on Government

1662

Poem: "On the Marriage of King Charles II with the Infanta of Portugal."

1663-1664

Essays on the Laws of Nature

1668

Poem: "In Tractatus de Febris D.D. Syndeham, praxin Medicam apud Londinensia mira solertia aeque ac felicitate exercentis."

1671

Two drafts of An Essay concerning the Understanding, Knowledge, Opinion and Assent.

1675-79

Correspondence, journals, and other papers from his travels in France.

1686

"Methode nouvelle de dresser des Recueils. Communiqué par

l'Auteur, (in Jean Leclerc's Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique).

1688

"Extrait d'un anglois qui n'est pas encore publié, intitulé Essai Philosophique concernant l'Entendement, ou l'on montre quelle est l'étendue de nos connaissances certaines, et la manière dont nous y parvenons". Composé par Monsieur Locke in Leclerc's Journal Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique.

1689

Epistola de Tolerantia ad Clarissimum Virum T.A.R.P.T.O.L.A. Scripta a P.A.P.O.I.L.A. (These abbreviations represent Theologiae apud Remonstrantes Professores, Tyrannidis Osore, Limburgius Amstelodamensis; and Pacis Amico, Persecutionis Osore. Ioanne Lockio Angliol. Note: The abbreviations were not included in Aeron, and were included, but not explained in Yoiton. The 'translation' of the abbreviation came from Peter King, The Life of John Locke (Vol. 1), p. 291).

1690

A Second Letter concerning Toleration.

1690

Two Treatises of Government; In the Former, The False Principles and Foundations of Sir Robert Filmer and his Followers are Detected and Overthrown: The Latter is an Essay concerning the True Original, Extent, and End of Civil-Government.

1690

An Essay concerning Humane Understanding; In Four Books. (A Second Edition with "large Additions" was published in 1694, 1700, and "many large Additions" in 1706). Note that Le Clerc had published extracts from this in 1688. See above "Extrait d'un anglois...."

1692

A Third Letter for Toleration, to the Author (J. Proast) of the 'Third Letter concerning Toleration.' (A part of a Fourth Letter for Toleration was published in 1706).

1692

Some Considerations of the Consequences of the Lowering of Interest and Raising the Value of Money. In a Letter sent to a Member of Parliament in the year 1691.

1693

Some Thoughts Concerning Education.

1695

Short Observations on a printed Paper, Intituled 'For

Encouraging the Coinage of Silver Money in England and after for keeping it here.'

1695

Further Considerations Concerning Raising the Value of Money. Wherein Mr. Lowndes's Arguments for it in His Late Report, concerning 'An Essay for the Amendment of the Silver Coins' Are Particularly Examined.

1695

The Reasonableness of Christianity, as delivered in the Scriptures.

1695

A Vindication of the Reasonableness of Christianity, Etc. From Mr Edwards's Reflections. (This is in rebuttal of John Edwards' book Socinianism Unmask'd: A Discourse Shewing the Unreasonableness of a Late Writer's Opinion Concerning the Necessity of only One Article of Christian Faith; And of his other Assertions in his late Book, Entituled The Reasonableness of Christianity, as deliver'd in the Scriptures, [etc.]].

1696

Several Papers relating to Money, Interest, and Trade, &c. Writ upon Several Occasions and Published at Different Times.

1697

A Second Vindication of the Reasonableness of Christianity &c. By the Author of the Reasonableness of Christianity, &c.

1697

A Letter to the Right Rev. Edward Ld. Bishop of Worcester, concerning Some Passages relating to Mr. Locke's Essay of Humane Understanding. In a late Discourse of his Lordship's in Vindication of the Trinity. By John Locke, Gent.

1697

Mr. Locke's Reply to the Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Worcester's Answer to his Letter, concerning Some Passages Relating to Mr. Locke's Essay of Humane Understanding; in a Late Discourse[...] in Vindication of the Trinity.

1699

Mr. Locke's Reply to the Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Worcester's Answer to his Second Letter [etc.].

1699

(Editor). Aesop's Fables in English and Latin, Interlineary; For the Benefit of Those Who Not Having a Master Would Learn Either of These Tongues.

1705-07. (Published posthumously. Probably written between 1700 and 1704).

A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Galatians, I & II Corinthians, Romans, and Ephesians. To Which Is Prefix'd 'An Essay for the Understanding of St. Paul's Epistles, by Consulting St. Paul Himself.'

In addition to the above, researchers have published his Letters to various persons, his Common-Place Book, and other writings which were either not printed or were not ascribed to Locke during his lifetime.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AARON, R.I. John Locke. London: Oxford University Press, 1937.
- ADAMSON, John William. A Short History of Education. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1919.
- AKTELL, James L. The School upon a Hill. Cambridge: Yale University Press, 1974.
- AKTELL, James L. (ed). The Educational Writings of John Locke. Cambridge: Yale University Press, 1968.
- BETHELL, S.L. The Cultural Revolution of the Seventeenth Century. London: Dennis Dobson, 1951.
- BLIGH, John. "John Locke and Jane Austen on Good Breeding," in English Quarterly, (Spring, 1985), pp. 49-60.
- BROWN, F. Andrew. "On Education: John Locke, Christian Wolff and the 'Moral Weeklies'," in University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Volume 36, No. 5 (September, 1952), pp. 149-172.
- COLLINS, James. The British Empiricists: Locke, Berkeley, Hume. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1975.
- CRANSTON, Maurice. John Locke; A Biography. London: Longmans, Green and Company, Ltd., 1966.
- CRESSY, David. Education in Tudor and Stuart England. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1967.
- DARSTER, Wesley Irwin. "A Comparison of the Educational Theories of John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau." Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, 1980.
- EDWARDS, John. Some Thoughts concerning the Several Causes and Occasions of Atheism. [and] Socinianism Unmask'd. London: J. Robinson, 1696. Reprinted by Garland Publishing Company, 1984 [facsimile].
- EDWARDS, Paul (ed). The Encyclopedia of Philosophy. (In eight volumes). New York: The Macmillan Publishing Company, 1967.
- FAGIANI, Francesco. "Lavoro, Ricchezza e Pauperismo in un Indetto di Locke," in Boll. del Dipartimento di Fil. dell' U. della Calabria, (1980), pp. 37-59.

"FIRMIN, Thomas," The Dictionary of National Biography, XIX, 46-49.

FOX BOURNE, Henry R. The Life of John Locke (two volumes). New York: Harper and Brothers, 1876.

FURNISS, Edgar S. The Position of the Laborer in a System of Nationalism: A Study in the Labor Theories of the Later English Merchantilists. New York: Kelley and Millan, Inc., 1957.

GAY, Peter (ed). John Locke on Education. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College Columbia University, 1964.

GIBSON, James. Locke's Theory of Knowledge and its Historical Relations. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1931.

GOUGH, J.W. John Locke's Political Philosophy. London: Clarendon Press, 1973.

GREAVES, Richard L. The Puritan Revolution and Educational Thought. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1969.

HALL, Roland, and Roger WOOLHOUSE. 80 Years of Locke Scholarship. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1983.

HARRISON, John, and Peter LASLETT. The Library of John Locke. London: Oxford University Press, 1971.

HUGHES, R.E. "Lilliputian Education and the Renaissance Ideal," in History of Education Quarterly, Volume I, No. 1, (March, 1961).

HUNDERT, E.J. "Market Society and Meaning in Locke's Political Philosophy," in The Journal of the History of Philosophy, Volume XV, No. 1, (January, 1977).

HUNDERT, E.J. "The Making of Homo Faber: John Locke between Ideology and History," in The Journal of the History of Ideas, Volume XXXIII, No. 1, (January-March, 1972).

JAMES, Margaret. Social Problems and Policy during the Puritan Revolution: 1640-1660. London: George Routledge and Sons, 1930.

JONES, Mary G. The Charity School Movement: A Study of Eighteenth Century Puritanism in Action. London: Frank Cass and Company, Ltd., 1964.

KING, Peter (Lord King). The Life of John Locke with Extracts from His Correspondence, Journals, and Common-Place Books (two volumes). London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830.

"LAMARCK, (Jean-Baptiste-Pierre-Antoine de Monet de Lamarck)," Nouvelle Biographie Generale, XXIX-XXX, 55-62.

LAWSON, John, and Harold SILVER. A Social History of Education in England. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1973.

LEE, Patricia-Ann, "Some English Academies: An Experiment in the Education of Renaissance Gentlemen," in History of Education Quarterly, Volume 3, No. 3, (Fall, 1970).

LOCKE, John. An Essay concerning Human Understanding. (In two volumes). Boston: Cummings and Hilliard, 1813.

LOCKE, John. An Essay concerning Human Understanding. (Peter H. Nidditch, ed). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975.

LOCKE, John. Of the Conduct of the Understanding. (Francis Garforth, ed). New York: Teachers College Press Columbia University, 1966.

LOCKE, John. The Works of John Locke. (In ten volumes). Volume V. 1) "Some Considerations of the Consequences of Lowering the Interest and Raising the Value of Money. In a Letter sent to a Member of Parliament in the year 1691," pp. 1-116. 2) "Two Treatises of Government. In the Former, the false principles of Sir Robert Filmer and his followers are detected and overthrown: the latter is an Essay concerning the True, Original, Extent, and End of civil Government," pp. 207-485. London, 1823. [Reprinted (facsimile) in Darmstadt: Scientia Verlag Aalen, 1963].

LOCKE, John. The Works of John Locke. (In ten volumes). Volume VII. 1) 'On the Reasonableness of Christianity as Delivered in the Scriptures', pp. 1-158. 2) 'A Vindication of the Reasonableness of Christianity, from Mr. Edward's Reflections', pp. 159-190. 3) 'A Second Vindication of the Reasonableness of Christianity', pp. 191-424. London, 1823. [Reprinted (facsimile) in Darmstadt: Scientia Verlag Aalen, 1963].

LOCKE, John. Two Treatise on Government. (Philip Abrams, ed). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967.

LOCKE, John.. Two Treatises of Government. (Peter Laslett, ed). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

MACPHERSON, C.B. The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962.

MASON, M.G. "John Locke's Proposals on Work-House Schools," in The Durham and Newcastle Research Review, Volume 4, 1962, pp. 8-16.

MONTAGUE, F.C. The Political History of England; Volume VII, 1603-1660 [From the accession of James I to the Restoration]. London: Longmans, Green and Company, Ltd., 1929.

NEUBURG, Victor E. (General Editor). Of the Education of the Poor: Being the First Part of a Digest of the Reports of the Society for the Bettering the Condition of the Poor. London: Woburn Press, 1889 (New impression, 1970).

NORWOOD, Cyril, and Arthur H. HOPE. The Higher Education of Boys in England. London: John Murray, 1909.

O'NEILL, Reginald F. Readings in Epistemology. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1962.

PARRY, Albert W. Education in England in the Middle Ages. London: W.B. Clive, 1920 (Reprinted New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1975).

POULIN, Raymond. La Politique Morale de John Locke. New York: Garland Press (originally published by Presses Universitaires de France), 1960.

RAND, Benjamin (ed). The Correspondence of John Locke and Edward Clarke. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927.

SIMON, Joan. The Social Origins of English Education. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970.

SMITH, Goldwin. A History of England. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1957.

SMITH, M.J. "Help for the Destitute Poor," in Poverty in England 1601-1936. London: Harper and Row, 1972.

SNOOK, J.A. "John Locke's Theory of Moral Education," in Educational Theory, Volume 20, No. 4, (February, 1970).

TAGART, Edward. Locke's Writings and Philosophy Historically Considered, and Vindicated from the Charge of Contributing to the Scepticism of Hume. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1855. (Reprinted by Garland Publishing Company, 1984 (facsimile)).

TARCOV, Nathan. Locke's Education for Liberty. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984.

TREVELYAN, George Macaulay. English Social History. London: Longmans, Green and Company, Ltd., 1942.

VINCENT, W.A.L. The Grammar Schools: Their Continuing Tradition 1660-1714. London: John Murray, 1969.

WALLIS, P.J. "Histories of Old Schools: A Preliminary List for England and Wales," in British Journal of Educational Studies, Volume XIV, No. 1 (November, 1965).

WEBB, Sidney, and Beatrice Potter WEBB. English Local Government: English Poor Law History: Part I. The Old Poor Law. London: Longmans, Green and Company, Ltd., 1927.

WEBSTER, Charles (ed). Samuel Hartlib and the Advancement of Learning. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

WEINER, Hermann. Concise History of Education: From Solon to Pestalozzi. New York: Philosophical Library, 1962.

WILLIAMS, Samuel G. The History of Modern Education: An Account of the Course of Educational Opinion and Practice from the Revival of Learning to the Present Decade. Syracuse, NY: C.W. Bardeen, Publisher, 1892.

WOOD, Neal. The Politics of Locke's Philosophy: A Social Study of 'An Essay concerning Human Understanding'. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.

YOLTON, Jean S., and John W. Yolton. John Locke: A Reference Guide. Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1985.

YOUNG, Robert Fitzgibbon. Comenius in England: The Visit of Jan Amos Komensky (Comenius) The Czech Philosopher and Educationist to London in 1641-1642: its bearing on the Origins of the Royal Society, on the Development of the Encyclopaedia, and on the Plans for the Higher Education of the Indians in New England and Virginia. New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1971.

ZIMMER, Markus Bernhard. "The Education of John Locke: A Philosophical and Historical Analysis." Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1980.

VITA

Charles G. Ferguson

Birthdate: May 29, 1937

Birthplace: Knoxville, Tennessee

Education:

1982-1987 The College of William and Mary in Virginia
Williamsburg, Virginia
Certificate of Advanced Graduate Study in
Education
Doctor of Education - Higher Education

1977-1982 Virginia State University
Petersburg, Virginia
Master of Education - Business Education

1973-1975 Chapman College
Orange, California
Master of Arts - Business Administration

1967-1973 University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland
Bachelor of Arts - Commerce

Employment:

May 1987 Education Specialist
Present US Army Quartermaster School
Fort Lee, Virginia

April 1985 Assistant Professor, Human Resources
May 1987 Saint Leo College
Fort Lee, Virginia

August 1975 Director
April 1985 Saint Leo College
Fort Lee, Virginia

June 1955 Military Duty
August 1975 United States Air Force

ABSTRACT

JOHN LOCKE AND THE EDUCATION OF THE POOR

Charles Garfield Ferguson, Ed.D.

The College of William and Mary in Virginia, November 1987

Chairman: Professor William Losito

The purpose of this study was to examine John Locke's views on the education of the poor and compare them with his general philosophy of man and education.

John Locke (1632-1704) is one of the best-known and respected philosophers of the Western World. For three hundred years his famous Essay Concerning Human Understanding has led many philosophers to a view of man as a "free and rational" being. Unburdened with "innate ideas," Locke's man is free to learn to be all that he can be.

Locke extended this general theory into a handbook for education. He published in great detail the training and rigors to be undergone by a child. This book, the famous Some Thoughts concerning Education, told the gentry that a disciplined study of the liberal arts untainted with "useless" knowledge was the basis of education. This would be augmented with the acquisition of a "useful trade." Above all, the gentleman would "learn how to learn."

It seems, however, that all this concern for proper education was aimed at the gentry - the gentlemen who would need these skills to get along in a society of like men. When we look at Locke's ideas on the education of the poor, we see little of the tenderness that was to be afforded the gentry.

Could these seemingly dichotomous views of education -- kindness and understanding for the gentry and force and cruelty the poor -- be reconciled with Locke's philosophy of the rational and free man?

I hypothesized that John Locke's ideas of education for the poor were consistent with his philosophy of man.

I concluded that Locke's ideas for the education of the poor are indeed consistent with his views of man as put forth in the Essay Concerning Human Understanding and his views of education as shown in Some Thoughts Concerning Education.