

8-2016

A Gentleman's Burden: Difference and the Development of British Education at Home and in the Empire During the Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth Centuries

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A Gentleman's Burden: Difference and the Development of British Education at Home and
in the Empire During the Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth Centuries

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in History

by

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August 2016
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This dissertation is approved for recommendation to the Graduate Council.

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Abstract

A Gentleman's Burden is a comparative analysis of state-funded primary education in Britain, Ireland, West Africa, and India during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Starting with early-nineteenth century theories on primary education, this dissertation traces the evolution of state-funded educational ideology alongside Britain's domestic and imperial development. Key innovations in educational ideology are considered alongside the core moments of educational change during this period, specifically the major policies and reforms that shaped British state-funded education at home and abroad. Through this lens, education is shown to be a central component in how British officials and educationists perceived, categorized, and ruled the disparate populations and cultures of Britain and its empire. These themes and arguments stress the interconnectivity of British domestic and imperial narratives during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, as well as the impact of state-funded education on the formation of both British national identity and anti-imperial identities in the British Empire.

Acknowledgements

Special thanks are extended to the University of Arkansas Department of History, the J. William Fulbright College of Arts and Sciences, and the University of Arkansas Graduate School for their financial and academic support throughout the development of this dissertation.

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Introduction

If it were not for...[the] elementary schools...[we] would be overrun by a horde of young savages...Anyone who can compare the demeanour [sic] of our young people at the present day with what it was five and twenty years ago must notice how roughness of manner has been smoothed away, how readily and intelligently they can answer a question, how the half hostile suspicion with which they regarded a stranger has disappeared; in fact how they have become civilized.¹

A family enters a manufacturing village; the children...probably have never lived in but a hovel; have never been in the street of a village or town; are unacquainted with common usages of social life; perhaps never saw a book; are bewildered by the rapid motion of crowds; confused in the assemblage of scholars. They have to be taught to stand upright— to walk without a slouching gait— to sit without crouching like a sheep dog. They have to learn some decency in their hair, skin and dress. They are commonly either cowed or sullen, or wild, fierce and obstinate. In the street they are often in a tumult of rude agitation. Their parents are almost equally brutish. They have lived solitary lives in some wild region...such children as these...[we] have to civilize and Christianize...²

It is difficult for the historian of empire to detach the terms 'savage,' 'civilize' or 'brutish' from their racially-charged connotations. More often than not, such terms are reserved for moments of cultural conflict between colonizer and colonized, no doubt influenced by the innumerable stereotypes inflicted upon the peoples of Africa and elsewhere during the age of European imperial expansion. Yet, such historical hardwiring has created a false loop of terminology and purpose. For many, terms like 'savage' and 'civilize' simply re-

1. Committee of Council on Education, *Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1895-1896*, vol. 17/66, Ed (National Archives, Kew, Richmond, Surrey, TW9 4DU: Education Department, 1896), 103. See also: G.A.N. Lowndes, *The Silent Social Revolution: An Account of the Expansion of Public Education in England and Wales, 1895-1965* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 15.

2. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1861-1862. Archival Records, ED. 17/27. Education Department, 1862, 74-75. James Kay-Shuttleworth, Sir, *Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth on Popular Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1862 (reprint. 1974)). James Kay-Shuttleworth, Sir, *Four Periods of Public Education as Reviewed in 1832, 1839, 1846, 1862* (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1862), 582. See also Mary Sturt, *The Education of the People: A History of Primary Education in England and Wales in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), 162-3.

inforce the European ideologies required to generate such terms in the first place. The excerpts above, however, were not a consequence of the age of high imperialism, nor were they the byproduct of the clash of colonizers and colonized (not in the traditional sense, at least). Pulled from the reports of the inspectors and lawmakers associated with the state-funded education system of late-nineteenth century Great Britain, these two excerpts are the byproducts of Britons scrutinizing fellow Britons.³

The children of the first excerpt were part of a new crop of primary-age students in London during the 1890s; the family in the second excerpt was from North Yorkshire at around the same time. The British writers of these excerpts showed no favoritism to members of their own Anglo-Saxon race; to them, vagabond street children (commonly disparaged, tellingly, as 'street Arabs') and impoverished rural families could be lumped into the same categories as the supposedly 'uncivilized' or 'barbarous' peoples found in the empire. These illustrations, but a sampling of the vast collection of such writings and statements, clearly indicate how Britons categorized and denigrated many of the races, cultures, and classes at home and in their global empire. The examples do not, however, explain why. Referencing the two examples given above, the defining factor was not race, nor was it necessarily class or culture: it was education. Throughout the nineteenth century, a person's educational status was a primary means of social categorization, crossing barriers of race, class,

3. When using the term 'Briton' or 'British,' this dissertation will be referring to the ideologies and cultures of Great Britain associated with political and social elites, the British civil servants working within the regions of the British Empire under consideration, and/or the imperial ideologies encountered by non-British subjects within the empire. These definitions, as discussed below, were highly-contested by Britons and non-Britons alike during the nineteenth/early-twentieth century, and will therefore be an important part of this dissertation's focus. For more on this, see: Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (Reading: Yale University Press, 2005). David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002). Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Colony and Metropole in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

culture, or religion as a means of defining difference. Education, more than any other category, shaped how Victorian Britain saw its empire, and how it viewed Britons at home.

The Victorian concept of education was foundational aspect of the constellation of values and beliefs that, considered together, formed the ideology of 'Britishness.' This ideology shaped how Britons viewed and categorized the world around them, and was the core means through which difference and social hierarchy were formed. Education's foundational status for Britishness stems from its dual-purpose role: an individual's educational status informed not just their social hierarchy, but also their ability to claim belonging within Britishness itself. Britishness was not built on exclusive groupings like race, class or culture, but rather synthetic categories which weighed the entirety of an individual's or society's attributes (including race, class, and culture) against their educational status. In other words, Britain's sociocultural hierarchy was not separated between domestic and imperial, nor along cultural, class, or racial lines: these factors, as well as innumerable others, were utilized by Britons to calculate an individual's 'rank' or hierarchical 'status' within (or against) Britishness. This is precisely why, for example, historian David Cannadine was able to uncover the following comment made by the prince of Wales:

...[in 1881] King Kalakaua of Hawaii was visiting England and...found himself the guest at a party...also attending were the prince of Wales...and the German crown prince. The prince of Wales insisted that the king should take precedence over the crown prince, and when his brother-in-law objected, he offered the following pithy and trenchant justification: 'Either the brute is a king, or he's a common or garden nigger; and if the latter, what's he doing here?'"⁴

Though an unfathomable statement by modern standards, the last sentence of this excerpt illustrates the fluid nature of social status in Britain. The King of Hawaii, though viewed by the German crown prince as racially inferior, could rely on his Hawaiian status as a monarch, his fluent English and literacy, and British society's recognition of these values to

4. David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire*, 8.

secure a position of high status that defied (and apparently offended) many of the European racial prejudices of the era.

King Kalakaua's situation in 1881 is not historically unique. Examples like this exist throughout British history, though the period of British imperial hegemony during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries is an exceptionally abundant period. Furthermore, concerns over Britishness and hierarchy were not simply limited to the beliefs of royalty. In fact, as one descends into lower ranks of this hierarchy, the tension and hostility concerning status continues to escalate. This is, no doubt, due to the social pressures which encouraged upward mobility and 'self-help,' either through education, financial gain, moral improvement, professional achievement, or other goals. As groups or individuals within a group sought to improve their place in the hierarchy through such means, resistance was often encountered from the individuals and/or groups above them who felt compelled to either denigrate the upwardly mobile individuals, rewrite the values of status and hierarchy that made them superior or, if all else failed, improve their own status to a relatively equal degree. The systems of hierarchy and status in Britain were dynamically linked to the creation and dissemination of new means of self- and social-improvement, all of which threatened the status quo and, ultimately, led to the escalation of prejudices and inferiorities based on cosmetic, superficial and/or pseudo-scientific grounds.

To explore these topics, this dissertation will focus on the most novel and, by the end of the nineteenth century, most accessible means of self-improvement: the development of British state-funded education policy, and its practical impact on domestic and imperial affairs from the early 1800s into the beginning of the twentieth century. This field was chosen because of education's centrality to Britishness, and its capacity to link domestic and imperial histories into a single, unified narrative.⁵ State-funded education lies at the histori-

5. Studies of state-funded education also offer a rich cache of source material, much of which is under-utilized by historians and historiography. This is discussed in greater depth

cal and historiographic crossroads of many crucial aspects of British domestic and imperial development during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The unified narrative of state-funded education in Britain and its empire was largely a consequence of the personalities responsible for its promotion and development. Whatever their reasons, British 'educationists' (those concerned with, or responsible for state-funded education) viewed it as an issue of universal importance. It was not enough to educate one population, or one community, as illiteracy was a problem that required a cohesive, pan-imperial solution. These educationists were found across the empire, and in many different professional and social positions: from clerics and clerks to Members of Parliament and viceroys, the concern of education was a constant for those responsible for the maintenance and extension of Britishness. As such, and though many education-related reforms and ideas stemmed from the metropole and radiated outwards, a substantial number of imperial developments and decisions contributed the evolution of domestic reform. In other words, reforms of education were often generated as a response to current or prior reforms from elsewhere in the empire, leading to a constant dialog of ideas, implementation strategies, and official policies.

Individual interest in state-funded education varied greatly during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For many, British concepts of morality and religion drove their desire to educate, as literacy was viewed alongside Christianity (particularly Protestant Christianity) as an essential mark of civilization. For others, Enlightenment notions of duty, social service, and rational self-help provided the inspiration needed to support state-funded education. Others still pursued education either as a function of political office, or out of a perceived sociocultural necessity to act in the best interests of the nation. In all cases, however, one constant is clear: education was both a means of self-improvement and a means of

in the section 'Structure, Topics, and Goals.'

reinforcing difference. The two excerpts quoted above are an excellent example of this: the 'barbarism' and 'darkness' of Britain's uneducated population were lamented and condemned by the same British officials involved in the development of the education system intended to 'cure' them of these defects.

Not every political official, however, was involved in education policy for 'positive' (what might be termed 'progressive') reasons. Many saw education as a vehicle for personal gain, either through an increase in political authority, the appeasement of a particular constituency or, most commonly, the preservation or extension of a personal interest such as religion, politics, or national values. These rationales, though predominantly associated with imperial concerns, were domestic issues as well. State-funded education was as socially and politically contentious at home as it was in the empire, a reality that reinforces the unity of imperial and domestic narratives of education during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The expansion of state-sponsored primary education was intertwined with religious, linguistic, and tradition-based issues that led to innumerable debates between the instructors, inspectors, lawmakers, and recipients of education during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For example, the relationship between Catholicism and anti-Britishness frustrated British education officials in Ireland much in the same way that Dissenters complicated the expansion of education in Britain, Islam the spread of British education in West Africa, and Hinduism the content of education in India.⁶ In all four scenarios, existing institutions and interests clashed with the motivations of education reformers, often leading to a fierce debate over the utility of state-sponsored British education, its potential

6. Note: the terms 'West Africa' and 'British West Africa' are used in reference to all of Britain's colonial interests in western Africa. This includes Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Gambia, and the Gold Coast.

capacity to smooth over cultural dissidence, and the desire to generate a singular notion of Britishness that could be compartmentalized or popularized as needed.

In addition to cultural considerations, the expansion of state-funded education was directly connected to the major debates and controversies that emerged on political, socio-cultural, and economic fronts during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. From the rise of liberalism to the expansion of the franchise and anti-imperial nationalist movements, education was part of (and often the catalyst of) many critical moments in Britain's modern history. Education, and the individuals responsible for the expansion of state-funded education, together offer a baseline of commonality through which a coherent British narrative, domestic and imperial, can be developed.

The existence of abundant source material showing the linkage between domestic and imperial state-funded education, and the simultaneous creation of similar policies in both contexts, highlights that this unified narrative is not just a historiographic construct. State-funded education systems emerged in most parts of Britain's overseas empire at around the same time that access to education was becoming more commonplace in Britain itself. Though development was oftentimes uneven, the narratives of education in each region encountered similar crossroads and problems, and often borrowed from each other as needed to overcome these trials. Trends in the development of domestic education in Britain cannot, therefore, be understood without giving due weight to the imperial context, and vice-versa.

Based on the topics and arguments outlined above, this dissertation will pursue the following five goals:

- I. Outline the linked trends in the expansion of education within Great Britain and the British Empire from the inception of state-funded education policies

around 1810 until the advent of compulsory and national education policies in the early 1900s.

- II. Highlight the correlation between British imperial and domestic education policy, the reinforcement of British national prejudices and hierarchy, the expansion of political rights at home and in the empire, and the responses of the British citizens and subjects affected by state education policy.
- III. Link the categories of race, class, and culture to educational status in order to highlight the utility of an ideological synthesis and the importance of these categories within the context of state-funded education and Britishness.
- IV. Analyze the many personalities involved in the development and expansion of state-funded education in Britain, and their respective impacts on the evolution of Britishness and British imperial power during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
- V. Connect the evolution of state-funded education and the expansion of literacy to the emergence of British popular nationalism and anti-British nationalism in the late-nineteenth century, highlighting the strong correlation between anti-imperialism, nationalism, and education.

Through these five goals, this dissertation offers a key contribution to the ever-expanding fields of British and British imperial history. In particular, this dissertation stresses the importance of considering domestic and imperial historiography as part of the same general narrative, thus pushing British historiography closer to its next logical step: the fusion of imperial and domestic histories into a unified narrative. This dissertation, a comparative baseline of study, also hopes to encourage specialized studies and additional comparative analyses to continue the process of unravelling the complex relationship between the empire,

Great Britain, and the far-flung, underfunded, and overly ambitious state-funded education system that bound them together.⁷

7. Though not directly related to this dissertation, it is essential to stress the influence of Eugen Weber's *Peasants into Frenchmen* (1976) on this dissertation. Weber's classic case-study in modernization theory was an essential catalyst to research on the topics presented in this dissertation, as it was his analysis of French education and modernization during the mid-to-late nineteenth century which prompted the study of the same topic in a British context. For more on this, see: Eugen Weber, *Peasants Into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*, 1st ed., (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1976).

Structure, Topics, and Goals

During the nineteenth and early-twentieth century, the British Empire became one of the largest empires in human history. From North America to Australia, Britain had imperial responsibilities, and thus imperial policies, for almost every culture and region on earth. Furthermore, British industry, capital and culture made indelible marks on many more regions into which the formal British Empire never ventured. These factors present British historians with an important question: should a definitive study of the British Empire be universal in scope, or can focused archetypes be extrapolated into universal maxims?

Though holistic studies have great utility (and are an impressive feat of historical fact-juggling), the tradeoff in depth versus scope is, for the purposes of this dissertation, unacceptable. To fully understand the ideological and practical causes and consequences of Britain's education policies requires a great deal of historical contextualization and narrative that, ultimately, would be an unwieldy task for the entire empire. As a result, this dissertation will narrow its focus to moments of transition and great change within four regions of the British Empire which, with some exceptions, offer enough diversity in experience, context, and commonality in policy to serve as general archetypes for the nature of British education policy during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. To pursue this goal, this chapter analyzes the selection criteria regarding Ireland, West Africa, India, and Britain. From here, this chapter offers a brief explanation of the exclusion of imperial and thematic topics.

Narrowing down Britain's nineteenth-century imperial experiences to four regional case-studies is a potentially-problematic process. The risks of exclusion, observation bias, over-simplification, and historiographic oversight are notable, thus a brief explanation of selection methodology is required. The regions under study were chosen based on four key

criteria: diversity and longevity of experience, ideological connection, geographic distribution, and scale of investment in education. The first of these, diversity and longevity of experience, refers to the model of education being administered (private, public, religious, secular, monitorial, etc.) the culture of those being educated, and the duration of education programs. The four regions chosen for study by this dissertation – Britain, India, Ireland, and West Africa – fulfill these requirements. These regions contained education systems that represented the full spectrum of educational models pursued by British educationists in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In addition, their educational narratives were contemporary to each other, and each education system was affected by the general narratives of state-funded education elsewhere in the empire.

The second criteria, ideological connection, references the intensity of the relationship between the four regions the ideological bases of Britishness mentioned above. The values of Britishness played a major role in shaping who received state-funded education in each case-study and, pertinent to this dissertation, why the state felt compelled to invest in education at all. Furthermore, these regions represent areas in which the boundaries and values of Britishness were heavily tested during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, thus they provide insight into what Britishness represented, and how it evolved during this time.

The third criteria, geographic distribution, buffers against studying just one aspect or culture within the British Empire by forcing the dissertation to choose a variety of case-studies with unique historical contexts. As explained below, this is why state-funded education in the Dominions, too similar in structure and narrative to English state-funded education, was not considered as a viable case-study.⁸

8. Note: for the purposes of clarity and brevity, all references to 'England and Wales' (i.e. the Committee of Council on Education of England and Wales) will be referred to as 'Britain.' This term excludes Ireland, and should be considered interchangeable for

The final criteria, distribution and scale of investment, compares the relative investment in education (both in administrative time/energy and capital) of different aspects of Britain's domestic and imperial responsibilities. Studies of African state-funded education, far less funded than its English counterpart, offer a unique lens on the interplay between educational desires, bureaucratic capacity and fiscal limitations. Using these criteria as a guide, India, Ireland, West Africa, and Britain were chosen for the reasons outlined below.

As the heart and metropole of the empire, and the prime recipient of education investment and policy, Great Britain is an essential 'constant' for a comparative study of British education on an imperial scale for a number of reasons. First, many education policies stemmed from British experiences at home, thus an in-depth study of how and why said policies emerged will help to clarify the emergence of similar policies in other parts of the empire. For example, Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, an Englishman and part of the ideological elite of Britain, developed a model of education for state-funded schools that, in his words,

[would rear] a body of men interested in the protection of property, and with intelligence enough to take part in that humbler machinery of local affairs which ministers to social order.⁹

This sentiment, one of the more succinct statements of the ultimate goals of state-funded education, applied both at home in Britain and in many of Britain's imperial interests.

Second, the interplay of metropole and empire displayed above also operated in reverse. Andrew Bell, a Scottish missionary to India and educationist, developed the Monitorial Method, or Madras System, based on his experiences and observations in British India in

reference to England.

9. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1846. Archival Records, ED. 17/9. Education Department, 1847, 30. The quote above, though written by Kay-Shuttleworth in the context of his general schemes of education for Britain, was part of a treatise on schools for 'negro children' in the Caribbean that he penned and attached to the Committee of Council on Education's notes for Parliament.

the late eighteenth century. Bell's model, developed in India, was actively imported by Bell as an alternative, cost-efficient method for educating children in Britain. From the point of inception until well into the nineteenth century, Bell's Monitorial Method was the most popular system of education in Britain, and served a key catalyst for the mid-century innovations developed by Kay-Shuttleworth and others.

Third, it is important to study Britain not just for its practical, policy-level role in state-funded education, but also for its agency in the development of Britishness. Many of the values which defined Britishness during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries were developed internally as methods of reforming British society, thus it is essential to study the evolution of Britishness in situ before looking at its impact on the empire. Within this framework, class played a paramount role (as most state-sponsored education was focused on the working class of Britain), thus making Britain an excellent case-study in the relationship between class and education policy. The issue of class was accompanied by concerns over race (particularly the divide between 'Celtic' and 'Anglo-Saxon' cultures in Britain that emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century), and religion (Dissent versus Anglicanism and Catholicism), all of which affected the policies and consequences of state-funded education at home.

Lastly, as with education policy, not all British ideological innovations were developed at home. Some, such as the Indian Rebellion of 1857 or the Home Rule crisis in Ireland, generated internal responses to external problems that, in the absence of overseas empire, would not have happened. The ideological innovations generated by these crises, laced with racial and cultural prejudice, were, unlike internal innovations, generally reactionary in nature and centered around punishment or correction. In summation, Great Britain is an essential bedrock for this comparative study, as the ebb and flow of policy, practice and ide-

ology to and from the metropole clarifies and illustrates the impact of education at home and abroad.

Though constitutionally bound to Great Britain, Ireland was a political anomaly from its union with Great Britain until its independence. Ireland's nationalist intransigence, and the anti-Irish sentiment of Britain, hindered Ireland's full sociocultural incorporation into Great Britain, yet Ireland was, as noted above, too legally connected to Great Britain to be clearly classified as 'empire.' Ireland therefore inhabits an amorphous place somewhere between metropole and periphery, a fact that had great ramifications for Ireland's education system. For one, Ireland's national education system was established earlier than any other system studied in this dissertation. Ireland's early adoption of state-funding is a byproduct of its amorphous political position and the historical relationship between Britain and Ireland: notoriously rebellious and chronically difficult for Britain govern effectively, Irish society was believe to be the ideal candidate for experimentation with primary education. The goal, as noted above, was to create a population of Irish that valued the 'protection of property' and understood the importance of political responsibility, features that, according to educationists like Kay-Shuttleworth, Ireland fundamentally lacked. State-funded education in Ireland was thus both reformatory and corrective: it would condemn and eliminate the 'vices' of Irish society (most notably the continued influence of Catholicism on education) and replace them with proper British values, values that would improve the standards of living, governability and economic productivity of Ireland. Because of its early adoption of state-funded education and contentious constitutional connection with Britain, Ireland is an ideal candidate for a study of the long-term evolution of British education, and the limits of state-funded education in an imperial context.

In addition to these political concerns, numerous sociocultural issues complicated the relationship between Britain and Ireland. Religious concerns were particularly important for policymakers in Ireland, a fact that makes for interesting comparisons with the edu-

cation policies enacted in Islamic West Africa and Hindu-dominated India. Mid-nineteenth century Ireland also witnessed the emergence of British stereotypes concerning the racial inferiority of the Irish people, a fact that, as discussed below, was affected by the debate over the purpose and necessity state-funded education. These factors shaped the racial and cultural dimensions of Anglo-Irish antagonism in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and offer important context for the emergence of Irish nationalism, a phenomenon catalyzed by the gradual expansion of British education. Overall, Ireland is an excellent case-study of the fusion of metropolitan and imperial policies concerning education and ideology, as well as the impact of education on nationalism, imperialism and anti-imperialism.

Indian state-funded education shares much in common with the histories of education in Ireland and Britain. As the largest and most populous region of the British Empire, India was the focus of many education policies and ideas throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Though it trailed behind Britain in terms of per capita spending, the success or failure of British education in India, not Britain itself, was believed by many to be the bellwether by which Britain's global imperial efforts could be judged. This is why, for example, twentieth century efforts in African education looked primarily towards India, not Britain, for lessons, models and, critically, problems to avoid repeating.

This is not to say that Britain and India lacked educational connections. On the contrary, as noted above, Britain's educational system was catalyzed by the introduction of a decidedly Indian system (Bell's Monitorial Method), a system that was later reintroduced to India as a 'British solution' to India's education needs. Furthermore, as the 'crown jewel' of the British empire, India's education model was far more than just a model of policy: it was a model for Britain's nineteenth and twentieth-century imperial infrastructure, all of which was tied to, and tested against, British India's burgeoning system of state-funded education.

As in Ireland, so too did religion, race and cultural difference play essential roles in the development of education in India. This connects back to the Irish narrative discussed above: in India, British education facilitated the importation of British values via the creation of Indians that were 'English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect.'¹⁰ British education was also a key catalyst in the development of anti-British (or at least non-British) nationalist ideologies in the Indian subcontinent. In other words, British education had the unintended side effect of creating not just a class of Indians familiar with British ideology, but also a class of Indians that could use British ideology against itself to gain political or legal authority. This theme, threaded through all four case-studies in varying degrees, makes the discussion of Indian education particularly important, as it was this 'problem,' the development of anti-British sentiment, that terrified education policymakers in colonial regions, led to Irish, Indian, and West African independence in the twentieth centuries, and re-shaped the political landscape of Britain itself in the twentieth century. India, as the 'crown jewel' of the British Empire and the centerpiece of the empire's state-funded education system, serves as both ideological exemplar and practical warning.

Of the regions discussed thus far, West Africa is somewhat of an anomaly. It was one of the last formal additions to the British Empire (though imperial links date to the early nineteenth century) and, of the regions under study, its received the least attention in terms of policy, capital and manpower. In spite of this, West Africa's education policies represented the synthesis of policies created, enacted, and exported from Britain, Ireland and India, as well as the culmination of British ideological views on the purpose of, and dangers inherent in, state-sponsored education. The relative lateness of West Africa's state-funded education system allowed policymakers to survey what had already been attempted elsewhere and select the elements which best fit the necessities of West African culture. Put another

10. Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Minute on Education*, vol. Educational Records, Part I (1781-1839) (Delhi: Bureau of Education, National Archives of India, 1835).

way, if Ireland, Britain and India were the laboratories of state-funded education, Africa is the workshop, the proof-of-concept model that, ideally, would be the most efficient expression of Britain's imperial agenda.

This is not to say, however, that African state-funded education succeeded in its goals. The conscious effort to select the most effective policies from India, Ireland and Britain created a hybridized education model that, had it been properly funded, had the potential to create the 'safe' class of Africans so desired by British officials. The issue of funding scarcity, therefore, is one of the key elements that makes the African case essential to this comparative study. Funding scarcity, a chronic problem in all four case-studies, was often the catalyst behind the popularity of cost-efficient models like the Monitorial Method in Britain or the 'downward filtration' in India. In the case of West Africa, funding scarcity and limited infrastructure scuttled whatever idealized plans were formed by policymakers, generating an education system that shared the flaws of Indian, Irish, and domestic education. West African education is unique, therefore, not because of outcome, but because the policies represented British awareness of past imperial failures.

The disconnect between policy and infrastructural capacity is part of the general narrative of European colonialism in Africa, and therefore places West African education not just within the framework of Britain's history, but also the general narrative of European imperial successes and failures during the twentieth century. The common refrain that European empires invested too little, too late in African infrastructure applies here, and is an important part of the British narrative. After the first attempts at state-funded education failed to show tangible results, or, even worse, began moving towards the same problematic scenarios seen in India or elsewhere, policymakers rapidly began reconsidering official policy as well as the veracity of British ideologies concerning education and westernization. Tied into this emergent problem were issues concerning the transmission and reception of Britishness, thus bringing together the ideological strands that had already shaped education

policy in India, Ireland and Britain. In conclusion, West African education represents the pinnacle of the idealism of what British state-funded education could achieve, and highlights the chronic disconnect between ideology, policy and infrastructure that shaped the narrative of education throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

While this dissertation's four regions under study represent a broad spectrum of the British imperial experience during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they do not cover every single territory within the empire. Notably, this dissertation excludes settler colonies and Dominions (Canada, Australia, Kenya, etc.) as well as Britain's other imperial holdings in Asia, Africa or the Middle East. The reasons for their exclusion vary, however two factors were essential to this decision: the similarity of education endeavors to one of the regions already under consideration, or the relative paucity of education efforts in any given region.

The issue of paucity is fairly self-explanatory, however the former, similarity, is very problematic, as it seems to undermine the argument that the diversity of experiments and narratives should define Britain's state-funded education systems. This problem manifests when one considers the state-funded education schemes in Dominions like Canada or Australia, or in an integral component of Great Britain such as Scotland: how can these systems, comparatively robust when placed alongside West Africa or Ireland, be excluded without leaving gaps in this comparative study? The answer is that these regions, though worthy of study in their own right, fail to reveal any significant innovations, problems or policies that have not already been introduced via the four case-studies for this dissertation. The state-funded education systems of the Dominions, like Ireland, shared many of the same policies and ideologies as their British equivalent, yet, unlike Ireland, they offered much less diversity in experience, innovation or tension, and lacked the problematic constitutional relationship that shaped Ireland's experience. This is a consequence both of the relative sociocultural homogeneity of the Dominions vis-à-vis Britain and the reality that, as the nineteenth

century progressed, these regions of the British Empire became less dependent upon, or tied to, the imperial ideology that continued to drive the relationship between Britain and Ireland or Britain and India.

In addition to issues of similarity, the metropole-periphery dependency model, essential to the ebb and flow of education policies and British ideology throughout the empire, was not as strong in the Dominions as elsewhere. Unlike India or West Africa, the twentieth-century relationship between Britain and the Dominions did not escalate into catastrophic decolonization, but rather gradually became obsolete and transitioned into a commonwealth-mentality.¹¹ One of the reasons for this, as noted above, is that the reformatory, corrective fervor of British ideology was never as strong in the Dominions, as the Dominions shared a much stronger sociocultural connection to 'Britishness' from inception until the formal end of the empire. The cultural homogeneity and gradual autonomy of the Dominions minimizes the value of their respective experiences of state-funded education with regards to the comparative nature of this dissertation.

As with the exclusion of the Dominions, the absence of the Scottish educational narrative requires explanation. Due to constitutional and legal barriers, Scottish education, offers a unique, independent narrative of state-funded education than shares few common links with the general evolution of British state-funded education. Scotland's uniqueness stems from the administrative isolation afforded its Presbyterian-dominated schools: unlike Ireland, which was absorbed into the United Kingdom as an administratively-dependent client, much of Scotland's administration remained autonomous throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As a result, case-studies of Scottish evolution offer few compelling links to British domestic and imperial education, as educationists and officials responsible

11. For more on this topic, see J. L. Granatstein, *How Britain's Weakness Forced Canada Into the Arms of the United States* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989) as well as J.B. Hirst, *The Sentimental Nation: The Making of the Australian Commonwealth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

for these systems were limited to observation and commentary on Scottish education, and nothing more. As such, this dissertation does not discuss Scotland at length, except to highlight the few moments of educational interaction and/or influence that occurred during this dissertation's scope.¹²

The final point under consideration in this chapter deals with the relative dearth of gender studies in this dissertation. Simply put, female education was not a primary concern of educationists and policymakers during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Where and when female education did occur – for example, industrial piece-work in Ireland in the mid-century – it was generally viewed as a pragmatic option, and failed to elicit ideological discussion. This stems from the fact that Victorian Britishness was, ultimately, viewed as the concern and domain of men. Catherine Hall tackles this issue directly in her work *Defining the Victorian Nation* (2000), in which she notes that female exclusion from Britishness and enfranchisement stemmed from the persistent belief that the female domain was the 'private' domain, and that ownership of this domain excluded women from Britishness (especially imperial Britishness).¹³ Examples of female education studied for this dissertation reinforce this point: Victorian discussions of schooling, teaching, and the benefits of female education revolved around the home, and the role of domesticity in shaping society. Britishness, therefore, was not shaped by female education during the nineteenth century, at least not in a way that affected education policy. These values were so ingrained in Britishness during this time that discussions of female education essentially treated this

12. There are quite a few works that deal with the evolution of education in Scotland. For more on this topic, see: Walter M Humes, and Hamish M Paterson, "Scottish Culture and Scottish Education 1800-1980," (1984). Jane McDermid, "Nationality, Class and Gender in Nineteenth Century Scottish Education : The Schooling of Working-Class Girls." (University of London, 2000).

13. For more on this, see: Catherine Hall, et al., *Defining the Victorian Nation: Class, Race, Gender and the British Reform Act of 1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). See also: Dale Spender, ed. *The Education Papers: Women's Quest for Equality in Britain, 1850-1912* (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987).

domesticity as a matter-of-fact, thus complicating the historian's ability to 'parse out' the impact of female education on Britishness.¹⁴

Gender dynamics did begin to change in the early twentieth century, however this time period falls outside of this dissertation's realm of study. Furthermore, this dissertation's primary theme is the interconnectivity of changing Britishness and state-funded education during the nineteenth century, a topic altered very little by the scant discussions of female education conducted at this time. Discussions of gender dynamics and the role of women in education are noted and discussed in this dissertation as such topics appeared in the source material, however, this dissertation avoids making any generalized arguments on the topic of gender. This decision was made in light of the scarce amount of source material related to the topics of Britishness, gender, and state-funded education.¹⁵

14. For example, the 1843 education report of the Committee of Council on Education noted that females were weighed based on the quality of their knitting and seam-work, not their knowledge of subjects like Algebra.

15. Author's note: the scarcity of discussions of female education and Britishness is a substantial topic in its own right, and deserves much more attention. Its limited applicability to this dissertation prevented me from dealing with the topic as thoroughly as it deserves, however I intend to pursue more thoroughly in later works that build off of the themes and arguments presented here.

Historiography of British Education

The historiography of British state-funded education is a relatively young field with origins in the post-World War II rise of social history. Prior to this time, histories and studies of British education, particularly those written in the nineteenth century, fell into one of two categories: political commentary and personality-studies. The editorial nature of the former, and the often-autobiographical nature of the latter, make these works profoundly useful from an evidentiary standpoint, however their historiographic utility is lacking. As such, the seminal works of the mid-twentieth century are the logical foundation of any study of British state-funded education. This chapter offers an overview of many of the most important works on state-funded education.

The material below is organized first by region – Britain, Ireland, India, West Africa – before moving on to topical collections on the relationship between education, class, culture, and religion. From issues of class conflict and political ideology to more nuanced discussions of over-education's impact on Britishness, these topics highlight that state-funded education had a broad impact on the trajectory of domestic and imperial history during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These topics are also indicative, however, of the relative isolation of each field. Irish studies, for example, trend towards topics exclusively Irish in cause or consequence, and studies of domestic education tend to treat the process of educational change in England in a vacuum. This dissertation's primary objective stems directly from this isolationist trend. Uniting disparate historiographic strands into one unified narrative generates a novel, insightful view into how Britons and non-Britons viewed the expansion of state-funded education, and highlights the constant ebb and flow of ideas, policies, and values from one imperial context to the next.

English state-funded education went almost wholly ignored by historians until the mid-1960s. Though not concerned specifically with education, E.P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963) catalyzed the study of English social history and was largely responsible for the outpouring of works on English education over the next two decades.¹⁶ Of these works, two of the earliest are Marjorie Cruickshank's *Church and State in English Education* (1963) and John Adamson's *English Education* (1964).¹⁷ These two works approach education from as follows: Cruickshank's work studies the steady decline of religious schools within British education during the late-nineteenth/early-twentieth centuries, whereas Adamson's work looks at the rise of nationally-funded schools during the same time-period. Both works argue that state-funded education in Britain was originally designed to support, not supplant religious institutions, and that the steady decline of religious schooling was a consequence of the political tension between Conservative and Liberal MPs as well as the gradual expansion of state power during the late-Victorian period.

For the next half-decade, studies of English education expanded upon, but did not revolutionize, the work by Cruickshank, Adamson, and others. Examples of this include Mary Sturt's *The Education of the People* (1967), Gerald Bernbaum's *Social Change and the Schools* and P.W. Musgrave's *Society and Education in England* (1967).¹⁸ Through an analysis of the relationship between industrialization, urbanization, and political enfranchisement, these works focus on the widespread ruling-class belief that state-funded education, administered responsibly, could 'cure' the ills of the industrialized working class and prevent catastrophic

16. E.P. Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*, 7th printing ed., (New York: Vintage, 1963).

17. Marjorie Cruickshank, *Church and State in English Education: 1870 to the Present Day* (London: MacMillan & Co. Ltd., 1963). John William Adamson, *English Education: 1789-1902* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964).

18. Mary Sturt, *The Education of the People*. Gerald Bernbaum, *Social Change and the Schools, 1918-1944* (New York: Humanities Press, 1967). P. W. Musgrave, *Society and Education in England Since 1800* (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1968).

social upheaval as a result of lower-class unrest or the overly-rapid expansion of the political franchise.

The next major innovation in the historiography of English education came in 1969, with the publication of G.A.N. Lowndes *The Silent Social Revolution*.¹⁹ Eschewing a top-down study of education, Lowndes looks at the language and ideologies of British education reformers 'on the spot' during the mid/late-nineteenth century. Lowndes's argues that the expansion of state-funded education cannot be understood without considering the origins as well as the evolution of accepted theories on the purpose of education and the relationship between education, democracy, and class. In other words, Lowndes is concerned with the methods and reasons behind the shifts in philosophies concerning education during the nineteenth century, as opposed to the relatively static theories on education put forward by Sturt and others. Lowndes's achievement is reflected in the next decade of the historiography of English education: works such as David Wardle's *English Popular Education* (1970) and E.G. West's *Education and the Industrial Revolution* (1975) pick up where Lowndes left off, focusing on the evolution of Fabian notions of social welfare and the decline in popularity of *laissez-faire* liberalism.²⁰ After 1975, the number of works published on English education declined rapidly, with a few lesser works, such as Scott and Fletcher's *Culture and Education in Victorian England* (1990) adding to, but not fundamentally altering, the arguments of Lowndes and others.²¹ In general, the historiography of English education has suffered no major ideological or argumentative rifts since its emergence in the 1960s, though this is primarily a reflection of the subject's insularity and relative stagnancy since the mid-1970s.

19. G.A.N. Lowndes, *The Silent Social Revolution*.

20. David Wardle, *English Popular Education, 1780-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970). E.G. West, *Education and the Industrial Revolution* (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1975). West's *Education and the Industrial Revolution* does pick up on themes first seen in West's previous book E.G. West, *Education and the State: Study in Political Economy* (London: The Institute of Economic Affairs, 1965), though, in the opinion of the author, his later work is the superior study.

21. *Culture and Education in Victorian England* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1990).

During the 1970s, the historiography of British education began to shift away from isolated studies of Britain towards generalized studies of imperial education. This trend was not unique to studies of education, as works such as D.K. Fieldhouse's *Economics and Empire* (1973) or Bernard Semmel's *The Rise of Free Trade Imperialism* (1970) indicate, each of which expanded British political and economic issues onto the imperial stage.²² One of the first works to mark this trend in the realm of education was Frederick Clatworthy's *The Formulation of British Colonial Policy* (1971), a work which looks at the ideas and individuals that sponsored the expansion of state-funded schools in Britain's tropical African colonies.²³ As noted by Clatworthy, most studies of the British imperial legacy in Africa dwelt almost exclusively on the consequences, but not the origins, of British colonial education policy.²⁴ Clatworthy's goal, therefore, was to discover who and what drove the expansion of British education in tropical Africa and why such policies resulted in Britain's debatably flawed legacy of education after decolonization. Clatworthy's conclusion, one echoed by a multitude of historians over the next few decades, was that British education policy, while sound in theory, was not financially or logistically feasible until well into the 1930-40s, by which point a haphazard education system (a mixture of state-funded and private institutions) had already emerged. Though Clatworthy opened many avenues of potential study concerning the political evolution of education in Africa, studies in imperial education underwent a radical shift with the publication of Martin Carnoy's *Education as Cultural Imperialism* (1974).²⁵ Carnoy's work, heavily influenced by the ideas of Foucault and others, dismissed the political school of im-

22. David Kenneth Fieldhouse, *Economics and Empire, 1830-1914* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1973). Bernard Semmel, *The Rise of Free Trade Imperialism: Classical Political Economy, the Empire of Free Trade and Imperialism, 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

23. Frederick James Clatworthy, *The Formulation of British Colonial Policy, 1923-1948* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan School of Education, 1971).

24. Considering that Clatworthy's work is one of the earliest on this topic, it is fair to assume that he is referring to the myriad of works by pan-African nationalists such as Kwame Nkrumah and others.

25. Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism* (London: Longman Group, 1974).

perial education developed by Clatworthy in favor of a study of education as a mode of imperial domination.²⁶ Carnoy argues that education, imperial, domestic or otherwise, was (and remains) a tool of oppression, control, and/or manipulation, and that education can only be understood when considered as part of the colonizer-colonized dichotomy. Carnoy's study was highly influential and spawned a number of studies over the next two decades that borrowed heavily from his ideas. Examples of this include: John Mackenzie's *Propaganda and Empire* (1984), James Greenlee's *Education and Imperial Unity* (1987), J.A. Mangan's three works *Benefits Bestowed?*, *Making Imperial Mentalities*, and *Imperial Curriculum* (1988, 1990 and 1993, respectively), and, lastly, Duncan Bell's *The Idea of Greater Britain* (2007).²⁷

Mackenzie, Greenlee, and Bell's works share a similar topic: the emergence, growth, and impact of imperially-minded volunteer organizations, educational movements, and cultural 'traditions' within Britain during the late-nineteenth/early-twentieth centuries. These three historians also make similar arguments: as the maintenance of Britain's imperial strength became increasingly dependent on the support of its domestic population, the interests of imperialists and education-reformers coalesced around the creation of an imperially-themed curriculum and the cultural/political union of Britain's domestic and imperial populations. Though these three works owe a historiographic debt to Carnoy, they offer a much more positive analysis of the relationship between education and empire than either Carnoy or Mangan. In fact, Mangan's studies (all of which are collected volumes con-

26. For more on Foucault see: Michel Foucault, *The Foucault Reader* (New York: Pantheon, 1984).

27. John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984). James G. Greenlee, *Education and Imperial Unity, 1901-1926* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1987). J.A. Mangan, *Benefits Bestowed? Education and British Imperialism*, Studies in Imperialism (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988). J.A. Mangan, *Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialization and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990). J.A. Mangan, *The Imperial Curriculum: Racial Images and Education in the British Colonial Experience* (New York: Routledge, 1993). Duncan Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future World Order, 1860-1900* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

tributed to and edited by Mangan) stick much more closely to Carnoy's notion that imperial education, regardless of intention, is inherently detrimental and/or destructive to the cultures and societies in which it operates. Mangan's works, therefore, serve as a link to earlier studies such as Clatworthy's because both historians admit (Mangan much more freely) that the rhetoric of British imperial education failed to match its application in reality. This conclusion is not exclusive to studies of imperial education: many works within the historiography of the late British Empire, such as Priya Satia's work on British intelligence in the interwar Middle East, entitled *Spies in Arabia* (2008), make the same argument, using many of the same themes.²⁸ This adheres to the argument noted above that comparative studies of domestic and imperial education are complimentary to general trends in British historiography.

The historiography of British education in Ireland defies the clear, structured organization afforded the English and general imperial historiographies discussed above. Considering Ireland's long-debated and often tumultuous relationship with Britain and 'Britishness,' such historiographic ambiguity is to be expected. Some historians discuss the development of Irish education using the themes and language developed by historians of English education such as Sturt or Lowndes, whereas others use the themes and language of imperial historians like Carnoy and Mangan. Within the former category resides one of the earliest and most influential works on the history of Irish education, T.J. McElligott's *Education in Ireland* (1966).²⁹ Though rather encyclopedic in style and content, McElligott's work is an invaluable study of the development of Irish education because it presents the development of the Irish state-funded school system as a consequence of Irish needs and demands (as opposed to a system simply imposed or forced on Ireland). For example, McElligott discusses

28. Priya Satia, *Spies in Arabia: The Great War and the Cultural Foundations of Britain's Covert Empire in the Middle East* (New York: Oxford University Press, U.S.A., 2009).

29. T.J. McElligott, *Education in Ireland* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1966).

the emergence of the Catholic 'hedge school' system and its gradual displacement by a state-funded school system during the mid-nineteenth century. Though influential at the time, McElligott's work, as well as the themes it represented, were shortly eclipsed with the publication of Donald Akenson's *The Irish Education Experiment* in 1970.³⁰ This work is viewed within the historiography of Irish education as a founding text because it addresses many of the themes, arguments and sources still utilized by historians in the present day. Akenson's work focuses on the origins of a state-funded Irish education system in 1831, a system which, as Akenson notes, 'seemingly arrived before it should have.'³¹ Akenson uses this point to address an essential question which McElligott never adequately considered: what was the British rationale for a state-funded Irish school system and, even more importantly, did it actually change Ireland? Akenson argues that the development of state-funded Irish education cannot be understood without considering the political relationship between Ireland and Britain as well as the relationship between 'Irishness' and 'Britishness.' In both cases, state-funded Irish education is viewed as a means of pacification and as a means of managing anti-Catholic feelings within Britain. Lastly, Akenson challenges the popular notion that the national (state-funded) education system culled a flourishing Catholic hedge-school system, noting that Ireland, though still largely illiterate by the end of the nineteenth century, was progressing far more rapidly under the state system than it ever had under the hedge-school system.

The last major work of early Irish historiography is J.M. Goldstrom's *The Social Content of Irish Education* (1972).³² Goldstrom's work shares many similarities with Akenson's seminal work, though its thesis highlights a strong thematic connection to Carnoy's work

30. Donald Akenson, *The Irish Education Experiment: The National System of Education in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1970).

31. *Ibid*, 3-4.

32. J.M. Goldstrom, *The Social Content of Irish Education, 1808-1870* (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1972).

discussed above. Goldstrom seeks to discover whether the state-funded system of education in Ireland was implemented to address weaknesses and/or problems within Ireland, or if its sole purpose was to facilitate the pacification and control of Ireland for Britain's ruling elite. After a thorough analysis of the development of the Irish education system, Goldstrom concludes that, though not nefarious on the part of Britain's ruling elite, the Irish education system did reinforce stability and peace within Ireland at the expense of economic modernization and political democratization. To conclude this section, it is important to note that the historiography of Irish education does not, in fact, end with or decline after Goldstrom's work. Rather, as seen with the discussion of African education below, the 1970s represented a major turning point within the study of education that, if relatively unnoticeable when considering the historiography of English education, had a major impact on how historians approached the topic of Irish education. The influence of Carnoy, combined with the rise of social history, pushed the historiography of Irish education to focus less on economics and bureaucracy and more on the racial, cultural, and class dimensions of state-education. Ultimately, this transition means that most works published after 1975 on Irish education are thematic studies of the link between culture and education *generally*, even if they are based on Irish education history.

Though state-funded education emerged earlier in Ireland than in India, the debates concerning education in India garnered (and continue to garner) a much greater level of attention. Most studied are the Orientalist debates of the 1820-30s, summarized in Macaulay's *Minute on Education* of 1835. Macaulay's *Minute* is viewed by many as the genesis of the Anglicist (English-language) philosophy of state-funded schools in India, however works like David Kopf's *The Bengal Renaissance* (1969) highlight that Macaulay was the culmination, not the catalyst, of the Anglicist school's decade-long struggle for dominance in Indian educa-

tion.³³ As with Macaulay himself, Kopf's work was not the genesis of this argument. Works such as Mukerji's *History of Education in India* (1951), Rawat's *History of Indian Education* (1956) and Nurullah's *A Student's History of Education in India* (1964) touched on this argument long before 1969.³⁴ These three texts, however, view Macaulay within the narrative of Indian education policy from the 1830s-on (arguing that Macaulay's final verdict sealed the fate of Indian education for the next century), whereas Kopf studies Macaulay as the finale of the longer, pre-imperial relationship between westernization, education and Indian elites. Kopf argues in favor of viewing the 'Indian Education Debate' less as a factor of European or British policy and more as a byproduct of a long-running tradition within Indian elite culture concerning the adoption and assimilation of outside ('invading') ideologies. These two trends (Indian education policy as a reflection of British desires and Indian education policy as a reflection of indigenous desires) dominate the historiography of Indian education, as almost all works from the 1960s-present deal with one or both of these themes.

In his work *Missionaries and Education in Bengal* (1972), Laird looks at the relationship between the Anglicist school, missionary independence and Indian demands for Western education, highlighting the powerful role of indigenous education schemes in shaping missionary and British policy during the early-nineteenth century.³⁵ Basu highlights the same phenomenon during the late-nineteenth century in his work *The Growth and Education of Political Development in India* (1974), a work which connects Indian nationalism with Indian de-

33. David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: The Dynamics of Indian Modernization, 1773-1835* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969).

34. S.N. Mukerji, *History of Education in India: Modern Period* (Baroda: Acharya Book Depot, 1951). ; P. L. Rawat, *History of Indian Education*, 4th ed., (Agra: Ram Prasad & Sons, 1956). Syed Nurullah, and J.P. Naik, *A Student's History of Education in India, 1800-1965* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1964). It is worth noting that the proximity of these texts to Indian independence, and the personal proximity of the authors to Indian nationalism and the Indian nationalist experience, does shape their argumentation. As such, these works are used as hybrid 'primary/secondary' sources in this dissertation.

35. Michael Andrew Laird, *Missionaries and Education in Bengal: 1793-1837* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

mands for the expansion of state-funded primary and secondary education.³⁶ Here, Basu argues (much like Mukerji and Nurullah before him) that Britain's idealistic education policy, and the staff implementing it, failed to prevent the emergence of Indian nationalism or accommodate the increasing demands of westernized Indians for political, social, and cultural power. Spangenberg's *British Bureaucracy in India* (1976) can be viewed as a timely riposte to works such as Basu's, as Spangenberg argues that British bureaucrats were not nearly as idealistic or blind to Indian reality as is often assumed.³⁷ In fact, Spangenberg argues, much like Bayly and Krishnamoorthi in the next two decades, that British administration and/or the Indian Civil Service were fairly pragmatic and 'sober' during the early years of education policy formation (pre-1860s), and that the more idealistic debates (such as the Orientalist-Anglicist controversy) should not be viewed as the norm (or even the defining values) of British policy-making.³⁸ By the late nineteenth century, however, British policy was increasingly defined by often-irrational racial, class, cultural, and gender prejudices, most of which stemmed from the fear of the 'over-educated Indian' that was a byproduct of mid-nineteenth century education policy. By the mid-1980s, the historiography concerning education policy in India began to shift towards social history (much like Irish and African education historiographies around the same time). This strand of the historiography will be discussed in greater detail below.

The historiography of British imperial education in Africa emerged in the 1960s concurrent with the emergence of social and cultural history as general fields of study. L. Cowan, James O'Connell and David Scanlon's *Education and Nation-Building in Africa* (1965) trans-

36. Aparna Basu, *The Growth and Education of Political Development in India, 1898-1920* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1974).

37. Bradford Spangenberg, *British Bureaucracy in India: Status, Policy and the Ics, in the Late-19th Century* (Columbia: South Asia Books, 1976).

38. C. A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, C. 1780-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). Sulochana Krishnamoorthi, *Modern Education and Its Impact on Society in Bombay (1854-1905)* (Mumbai: Himalaya Publishing House, 1999).

posed the social histories of education from other fields onto Africa and argued that British education programs played a direct role in the development of anti-British sentiments and African nationalism during the twentieth century.³⁹ Though their work studies British imperialism in general (and was written almost exclusively from the perspective of British officials), Philip Foster's *Education and Social Change in Africa* (1965) and Sonia Graham's *Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria* (1966) developed the same argument via more specific analyses of West Africa and the demand for education present among the region's inhabitants.⁴⁰ Of these works, Graham's is vastly more detailed in its analysis of British policy (in particular the policies of administrators Frederick Lugard and Hans Vischer), however Foster's work is notable because it is one of the first to offer direct comparisons between African, Indian and British programs of education. This same comparative framework is taken up by Eric Ashby in his work *Universities: British, Indian, African* (1966) which, though focused on upper-level education, represents an important milestone in comparative imperial studies.⁴¹ Ashby argues that university-level trends in education in Africa directly paralleled the shift from religious- to state-run education in Britain during the late-nineteenth century, thus laying the general foundation upon which this dissertation's study of primary education will be based.

During the 1970s, the historiography of British education in Africa followed the same trend that occurred in the Irish historiography. Studies like Vincent Battle's *Essays in the History of African Education* (1970) and A. Fafunwa's *Education in Africa* (1982) analyze the ideologies and consequences of British education in Africa instead of the practical applica-

39. *Education and Nation-Building in Africa* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965).

40. Philip Foster, *Education and Social Change in Ghana* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965). Sonia F Graham, *Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria, 1900-1919; With Special Reference to the Work of Hanns Vischer* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1966).

41. Eric Ashby, and Mary Anderson, *Universities: British, Indian, African— a Study in the Ecology of Higher Education* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966).

tion of education as an extension of British imperial power.⁴² Though the majority of works within this historiography have (since the 1970s) continued along this path (thus, as with the Irish historiography, drawing them closer to studies of race, class and culture), Apollos Nwauwa's *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism* (1996) returns to the topics popularized by Ashby, Foster, and others.⁴³ In this work, Nwauwa studies the British personalities, such as Lord Lugard, who shaped the implementation of education in West Africa as well as the rise of West Africa's Western-educated elite during the nineteenth-twentieth centuries. Nwauwa's argument, that the tension between European and African views of education catalyzed West Africa's nationalist movements, may indicate that this historiography is returning to its roots, though no major works have yet been written since the 1990s which challenge or redirect this notion within the context of education. In general, the historiography of British education in Africa, much like the historiography of Irish education discussed above, has focused more on studies of change over time within Africa, as opposed to change over time within a comparative, pan-imperial/domestic context (Ashby's work on universities the only exception).

Shifting to pan-imperial historiography, two of the earliest and most important works within this field are Bernard Semmel's *Imperialism and Social Reform* (1960) and Bernard Porter's *Critics of Empire* (1968).⁴⁴ These works share a focus on the late-nineteenth/early-twentieth century political debate between traditional imperialists, social imperialists, and anti-imperialists as well as the problematic relationship between domestic, Dominion, and imperial (i.e. African, Indian) interests within the British Empire.⁴⁵ These historians ar-

42. *Essays in the History of African Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1970).
Education in Africa: A Comparative Study (Boston: George, Allen and Unwin, 1982).

43. Apollos O. Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism: Britain and University Education for Africans, 1860-1960* (Portland: Frank Cass, 1996).

44. Bernard Semmel, *Imperialism and Social Reform: English Social-Imperial Thought, 1895-1914* (New York: Anchor Books, 1960). Bernard Porter, *Critics of Empire: British Radicals and the Imperial Challenge* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2008).

45. The general historiography of British racial, class and cultural attitudes is, not

gue that the rise of socialism in Britain, combined with the expansion of the franchise and the increasingly-vocal demands of colonized peoples, forced British statesmen to decide what the relationship between the ruler and ruled (metropole v. periphery, upper-class v. lower-class, etc.) truly was. As noted by Porter in later editions of his work, these topics and arguments generated a debate within the historiography of Britain's ideological outlook based on two opposed, if complimentary, trends: histories that focus on the development of Britain's ideological outlook, and histories that focus on responses to Britain's ideological outlook.

The first substantial studies of British imperial ideology emerged shortly after Porter's work with studies such as Christine Bolt's *Victorian Attitudes to Race* (1971), C.C. Eldridge's *England's Mission* (1973) and John Mackenzie's *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (1986).⁴⁶ Focusing on the emergence of Victorian racial- and class-values and the cultural influence of liberalism, Bolt, Eldridge, and Mackenzie outline the development of nineteenth century Britishness (i.e. how the British viewed themselves) and the creation of 'exportable' Britishness (i.e. the British values which could be bestowed or given to other cultures/levels of society). Though these two works are primarily concerned with ideology, works such as Daniel Headrick's *Tools of Empire* (1981) and *Tentacles of Progress* (1988) approach the same theme through the lens of industrial technology, thus applying a practical layer to an otherwise abstract field.⁴⁷ This field received multiple highly influential additions over the past

surprisingly, quite vast. As such, this section will discuss only the most influential works within the field. Furthermore, works which have a more regional or contextual focus will be placed within additional sub-headings below.

46. Christine Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971). C.C. Eldridge, *England's Mission: The Imperial Idea in the Age of Gladstone and Disraeli, 1868-1880* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1973). John M. Mackenzie, *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986).

47. Daniel R. Headrick, *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981). Daniel R. Headrick, *The Tentacles of Progress: Technology Transfer in the Age of Imperialism, 1850-1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

two decades, with works such as John Willinsky's *Learning to Divide the World* (1998), David Cannadine's *Ornamentalism* (2001), Duncan Bell's *Greater Britain* (2007), and, most recently, Catherine Hall's two works, *Civilising Subjects* and *Race, Nation, Empire* (2002, 2010 respectively).⁴⁸ Like Mackenzie and Eldridge's before them, these works have further illuminated the influences on and consequences of Britain's ideological outlook. Whereas historians such as Willinsky and Cannadine primarily study the way Britain's ideological outlook shaped its imperial expansion, Hall and Bell 'turned the mirror around' by focusing on the way Britain's imperial expansion shaped its ideological outlook. Though only Cannadine argues in favor of a 'holistic' study of British imperial ideology (and only implicitly at that), all four historians highlight that Britishness, both at home and overseas, was not simply defined by one attribute, but rather an 'ideological cluster' (to borrow Mackenzie's phrase) which drew from a limitless set of domestic and imperial values.⁴⁹ Hall's *Civilising Subjects* is particularly illuminating on this point, as her work stresses the necessity of combining the narratives of metropole and periphery and, critically, that the 'colonizer identity' was essential to the genesis of nineteenth century Britishness.

Continuing the discussion of Britishness and British identity, the following works, many of which are case studies, look at domestic and imperial responses to Britishness. One of the earliest works within this field is Richard Altick's *The English Common Reader* (1957), in which Altick describes the development of nineteenth century working-class culture within the contexts of education, hardening class values, literacy, and popular politics.⁵⁰ Altick argues that Britain's upper- and middle-classes, feeling threatened by the increasingly-literate

48. John Willinsky, *Learning to Divide the World: Education At Empire's End* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998). David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire*. Duncan Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain*. Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects. Race, Nation and Empire: Making Histories, 1750 to the Present* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).

49. John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, 2.

50. Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).

and vocal lower class, viewed education as a means of reinforcing the class divisions within Britain and, if necessary, giving newly-enfranchised portions of the lower-class an adequate intellectual footing so that they could effectively contribute to British society. E.P. Thompson picks up this theme in his seminal work *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963), a work which describes, much like Altick's, the emergence of working-class consciousness as a result of urbanization, industrialization, and the legacy of Jacobinism.⁵¹ As famously argued by Thompson, the English working class was 'present at its own creation' and was, therefore, able to create to its own values (as opposed to simply having values imposed on it).

The next major work within this historiography is Douglas Lorimer's *Colour, Class and the Victorians* (1978). Though focused more on race than class, Lorimer's work analyzes the evolution of Victorian racial attitudes and their gradual hardening towards the end of the nineteenth century.⁵² Lorimer connects the hardening of British racial values within Britain to the class-based challenges discussed by Thompson and Altick, noting that African 'gentlemen' (elites) were only treated as such so long as they did not threaten the supposedly-natural hierarchy of British society. Lorimer argues that racial characteristics had the capacity to both empower and disempower individuals within Britain's class hierarchy depending upon the social and temporal contexts. Nineteenth century Britishness, therefore, was inclusive as well as exclusive, and was repeatedly redefined as new threats or problems emerged. This same theme is taken up by Linda Colley during the Georgian and early Victorian eras in her seminal work *Britons: Forging the Nation* (1992).⁵³ Colley argues, much like the historians discussed above, that Britishness was a value-set defined by conflict and tension, one that, though ostensibly applicable to all inhabitants of the British isles, was de facto the value-set of Britain's ruling (or 'responsible') classes.

51. E.P. Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*.

52. Douglas A. Lorimer, *Colour, Class and the Victorians: English Attitudes to the Negro in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1978).

53. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*.

The last major work within this historiography is Stewart Brown's *Providence and Empire* (2008), a work which, though labelled with the word 'empire,' is actually concerned with the responses of British religious interests to the gradual expansion of Britain's state-funded, domestic-education programs during the nineteenth century.⁵⁴ Brown argues that Britain's religious interests, Dissenting, Anglican or otherwise, were fearful of the prospect of a secularized education system within the British isles. For Dissenters, the fear was twofold: compulsory secular education might simply be a roundabout form of Anglican influence or simply the catalyst for an amorally-educated working-class within Britain. Anglicans shared the latter fear (though, for obvious reasons, not the former), in particular the role that secularization on the domestic front might play in a future system of secular education within the British Empire. Thus, Brown argues, religious interests within Britain viewed education as their domain, a view based on the belief that education (especially lower-class education) was intended to moralize and stabilize, not intellectually stimulate. All of these works highlight the impacts of race, class, and culture on nineteenth century Britishness and, critically, the role of education as a tool of morality, national cohesiveness, subjection, and, near the end of the nineteenth century, indoctrination.

Unlike the British historiography discussed above, studies of British ideological outlooks with regard to Ireland spend far more time discussing race and religion than class. This disparity is a consequence of Ireland's stark religious differences with Britain (differences which make the Dissenter-Anglican conflict seem tame in comparison) as well as the British racial distinction between 'Anglo-Saxon' and 'Celt.' These points are taken up in Perry Curtis's *Anglo-Saxons and Celts* and *Apes and Angels* (1968 and 1971, respectively), works which greatly inspired the evolution of this historiography.⁵⁵ Curtis contrasts British notions

54. Stewart Jay Brown, *Providence and Empire: Religion, Politics and Society in the United Kingdom, 1815-1914* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2008).

55. Perry L. Jr. Curtis, *Anglo-Saxons and Celts: A Study of Anti-Irish Prejudice in Victorian England* (Bridgeport: Conference on British Studies, 1968). Perry L. Jr. Curtis, *Apes and*

of 'Anglo-Saxonism' (how they defined themselves) with the genesis of the racial category of 'Gael' (or Celt), categories which, in Curtis's own words, are "as different as black and white." In fact, Curtis notes that Britons often referred to 'Celts' as the "missing link between Anglo-Saxon and simian," a racial categorization consistent with depictions of Africans developed around the same time.⁵⁶ Curtis argues that these racial and cultural depictions emerged as the inverse of what Curtis calls 'Anglo-Saxonism,' a neologism that, of all the historiography referenced thus far, comes closest to being the holistic analysis of Britishness envisioned by this dissertation. For Curtis, Anglo-Saxonism is an ethnocentric viewpoint which transcends all other narrow categorizations, a thesis which, though on the right track, fails to account for class (as it is focused primarily on religion and race).

Curtis's works established the baseline for this historiography and led to a number of works, such as Richard Lebow's *White Britain and Black Ireland* (1976), which take the discussion of the Anglo-Saxon v. Celtic 'races' further.⁵⁷ For Lebow, British racial attitudes towards the Irish were not only intended to justify why the Irish were 'backwards' or 'brutish,' but also why Anglo-Saxons had a right (and obligation) to dominate and 'civilize' them. This argument reinforces the discussion of Irish initiatives in education discussed above, many of which set out 'civilize' or Anglicize the population of Ireland. Two other major works which address Curtis's notion of 'Anglo-Saxonism' are Joseph Lee's *The Modernization of Irish Society* and Robert Scally's *The End of Hidden Ireland* (1973, 1995, respectively), both of which look at the consequences of this ideology for Ireland during the mid/late-nineteenth century.⁵⁸ For these historians, greater governmental oversight, and the general 'colonial' attitude of

Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1971).

56. Ibid, 100.

57. Richard Ned Lebow, *White Britain and Black Ireland: The Influence of Stereotypes on Colonial Policy* (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1976).

58. Joseph Lee, *The Modernization of Irish Society, 1848-1918* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1973). Robert James Scally, *The End of Hidden Ireland: Rebellion, Famine and Emigration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

Britain during the nineteenth century catalyzed anti-British nationalism within Ireland and exacerbated the problems inherent in British rule. Similar problems are discussed by Nicholas Canny in his work *Making Ireland British* (2001), a study which traces the evolution of anti-Britishness in Ireland back to Elizabethan and Stuart attempts to control and coerce the Irish population.⁵⁹

Though social history is a fairly recent phenomenon within British imperial historiography, India was (and remains) one of the richest and most often studied fields with regards to gender, class, culture, and race. From the above-mentioned fear of the 'over-educated babu' to the early-nineteenth century controversy surrounding the ritual practice of sati, understanding the sociocultural tensions in British India is an essential aspect of understanding how the British viewed their empire and, ultimately, why the British Raj collapsed in the mid-twentieth century. One of the earliest works within this field is Misra's *The Indian Middle Classes* (1961), a work which, among other things, explores the delicate (and often perilous) relationship between the Indian middle classes, British sociocultural innovations and Indian traditions.⁶⁰ From the onset of British rule in India, Misra argues, India's non-princely elites were an essential cultural and political liaison, a role which gave them an increasingly powerful say in the shape of the British raj and, ultimately, the formation of Indian nationalism in the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Misra stresses, much like Thompson's working class in the English context, that the Indian middle classes were not 'created' by British rule, but rather reinvented themselves using the tools introduced by British culture and the traditions of pre-British India. Misra concludes that this reinvention, a synthesis of Indian traditions and westernized values, destroyed the once-immutable authority of the Brahmanic caste system and undermined the ideologies of rule created and embraced by the

59. Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

60. B.B. Misra, *The Indian Middle Classes: Their Growth in Modern Times* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961).

British Raj. Though suspiciously triumphalist, Misra's work introduced into British imperial historiography a number of themes that have appeared time and again over the past few decades.

Seal's work *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism* (1968) also takes up the banner of the Indian middle classes, though he is careful to stress that said classes were by no means unified in their desire to undermine the British Raj or their definition of Indian nationalism. Along the same lines, Seal, along with Raychaudhuri's *Europe Reconsidered* (1988), stress that British policies and imperial ideologies were by no means monolithic in their responses to Indian nationalism and/or westernization.⁶¹ As discussed below, multiple commissions on education and civil service advancement were called from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, each intended to address the looming problems associated with British imperial policy. With each passing policy revision, British ideologies concerning the people of India (especially the Western-educated ones) became more and more hardened and, as with Ireland, fell back on racial, cultural and social prejudices. D'souza's *Anglo-Indian Education* (1976) highlights that Anglo-Indians (mixed-race subjects in India), considered a vital part of the British imperial presence in India during the early-nineteenth century, were gradually marginalized as British administrators in India sought to distance themselves racially from their Western-educated (and therefore equally-qualified) subjects.⁶²

Ballhatchet's *Race, Sex and Class Under the Raj* (1980) and Sinha's *Colonial Masculinity* (1995) deal with a similar situation: early notions of sociocultural equality between Indians and Britons gave way to prejudices concerning gender (the 'effeminate babu'), race, class as well as culture (religion, language, et. al.). As seen in Metcalf's *Ideologies of the Raj* (1997), these prejudices were justified and reinforced through what was, essentially, an illiberal form

61. Tapan Raychaudhuri, *Europe Reconsidered: Perceptions of the West in Nineteenth Century Bengal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

62. Austin A. D'Souza, *Anglo-Indian Education: A Study of Its Origins and Growth in Bengal Up to 1960* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1976).

of autocratic government that viewed Indians as culturally incapable of effective self-rule or democratic competency.⁶³ Once Indians 'proved' themselves capable of embracing westernization, a more permanent prejudice, race, became a popular justification for British authorities in spite of the tension between liberalism, illiberalism, and Indian nationalism brewing during the mid-to-late nineteenth century.

One of the most recent works in the field of Indian education, Sanjay Seth's *Subject Lessons* (2007), looks at the beliefs surrounding Western education in India. Rather than taking the expansion of Western education in India for granted (as many, including Metcalf, had done), Seth explores the ideologies responsible for the continued expansion of Western education in India even after the 'overly-educated babu' had become a palpable threat to British sovereignty.⁶⁴ Seth argues that many British policymakers believed that Western education had the unique capacity to shape morality and character and was thus an essential, if potentially dangerous vehicle to keep even the most 'overly-educated' Indian from rejecting the Raj. Westernization via education was an important aspect of Britain's ideological outlook in India even if, indirectly, it led to the escalation of imperial problems.

Finally, it is important to address the major works of the historiography of Britain's ideological outlook with regards to Africa, the vast majority of which look at the evolution of Anglo-African racial relations. An early work with this theme is Dorothy Hammond's *The Africa that Never Was* (1970).⁶⁵ As seen in Lorimer's work above, Hammond highlights that British depictions of Africans hardened along racial lines throughout the 18th-nineteenth centuries. During the early-nineteenth century, for example, an African noble was depicted as the natural counterpart to a contemporary English aristocrat, a depiction that dimin-

63. Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*, vol. Volume 3, Part 4, The New Cambridge History of India (Cambridge University Press, 1997).

64. Sanjay Seth, *Subject Lessons: The Western Education of Colonial India* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

65. Dorothy Hammond, and Alta Jablow, *The Africa That Never Was: Four Centuries of British Writing About Africa* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1970).

ished, but did not disappear entirely, as Britons became more interested in exploring and 'categorizing' Africa. Race became a major preoccupation for Britons with the advent of colonial rule and, critically, the emergence of the 'westernize' African, an individual that threatened the imperial hierarchy.

These same themes are addressed in Paul Rich's *Race and Empire in British Politics* (1986), a work that explores British racial attitudes by comparing Caribbean and African histories during the nineteenth century.⁶⁶ Rich argues that racial attitudes within Britain concerning 'imperial' peoples (in this case, inhabitants of the British Empire in the Caribbean and Africa) were highly debated and repeatedly modified as the needs/desires of Britain changed. For example, Rich notes that some early socialists within Britain felt that it was hypocritical to demand social reform at home while ignoring the 'proletariat' in Africa and that racial 'chauvinism' was designed to prevent black-white worker solidarity throughout the empire. These arguments and themes are put to the test by P.E. Lovejoy and J.S. Hogendorn's *Slow Death for Slavery* (1993), Frederick Cooper's *Decolonization and African Society* (1996) and Muhammed Sani Umar's *Islam and Colonialism* (2006), each of which offer case-studies of racial, class, and cultural tension between Britain and its African colonies.⁶⁷

For Lovejoy, Hogendorn, and Umar, the difficult issue of slavery, bound to the legacy of the Sokoto Caliphate, Islam, and West African culture, tested the limits of Lugardian 'indirect rule' and the lengths to which Britain would go to enforce imperial policy. For Cooper, the rise of class-conscious, westernized, educated, and nationalistic Africans challenged the hierarchy of British rule during a moment of extreme imperial crisis (the postwar peri-

66. Paul B. Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

67. Paul E. Lovejoy, and Jan S. Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery: The Course of Abolition in Northern Nigeria, 1897-1936* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993). Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). Muhammad Sani Umar, *Islam and Colonialism: Intellectual Responses of Muslims of Northern Nigeria to British Colonial Rule* (Leiden: Kominklinjke Brill, 2006).

od), the consequence of which was, ultimately, decolonization. For all four historians, pre-conceived notions of Britishness led to tension between colonizer and colonized, the end result often being the softening and/or curtailment of British imperial aspirations. In Umar's work, for example, he highlights that British education administrators in West Africa were unable to penetrate the cultural barrier of Islam, the consequence of which was the uneasy cooperation between British and Islamic systems of education. This historiography highlights the interplay of class, culture and race within the context of nineteenth century Britishness, and the consequences of this ideological outlook for Anglo-African relations before and during the age of imperialism.

To conclude, the historiography of British state-funded education is quite diverse. With the many works and topics outlined above in mind, the most important themes of this historiography can be narrowed down to three major areas: political economy, the responsibilities of state and empire towards their citizens/subjects, and the complications associated with exporting Britishness.⁶⁸ The first of these fields, political economy, is a reflection of the rise and fall of liberalism during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, and its connection to Britain's mixed system of private and state-funded education. Understanding education's relationship with liberalism, and the general expansion of state power during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, is an essential foundation for any detailed study of state-funded education.

The second field, state and imperial responsibilities, highlights the link between the expansion of British power overseas, demands (educational, political or otherwise) presented to British authorities and the importance of these demands for the framing of domestic and imperial criticisms of British rule.⁶⁹ As the British state expanded its infrastructure – or, in

68. For more on this, see: John M. Mackenzie, *Imperialism and Popular Culture*. See also: Bernard Porter, *Critics of Empire*.

69. For more on this, see: Duncan Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain*.

the context of empire, its borders – demands and problems emerged, many of which were addressed with *ad hoc* solutions. The absence of a coherent, pan-imperial plan allowed for the genesis of a diversity of narratives on topics like state-funded education. This *ad hoc* nature also allowed for the development of unified narratives, as many British officials and policy-makers had influence on changes and reforms both at home and in the empire.

The last field, exportable Britishness, looks at three essential questions: what did British supporters of the expansion of education at home and in the empire hope to achieve through education? Could British education operate independent of British political power, or was it a vehicle for domestic/imperial authority? Lastly, did the purposes of education vary greatly depending upon geographic, cultural or temporal variances, or were Britain's policies of education viewed as universally implementable? These questions are essential to understanding the policies and outcomes of state-funded education with regards to Britishness and British imperial power. This dissertation seeks to answer as many of these questions as possible, and hopes to shed light not only on the consequences of British education at home and within the empire, but also on how education-minded Britons envisioned the utility and malleability of their own culture and history.

Chapter 1: Contextualizing State-Funded Education

I am quite ready to take the Oriental learning at the valuation of the Orientalists themselves. I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia. The intrinsic superiority of the Western literature is, indeed, fully admitted by those members of the Committee who support the Oriental plan of education. - Thomas Babington Macaulay, 1835⁷⁰

Macaulay's infamous conclusion concerning 'Oriental' literature (and, with it, non-Western knowledge in general) has, since 1835, served as model, whipping boy, and straw man for innumerable studies concerning the fallacies of Western imperialism, Western cultural chauvinism, and Western education in regions such as the Indian subcontinent.⁷¹ Reviled by some, supported by others, Macaulay's values, as expressed here, have been completely detached from the historical context from which they emerged. To understand why Macaulay said this, and the impact of this fatal blow to the Orientalists in India, it is essential not just to explore the background of Macaulay's experiences in India, but also the British cultural context that shaped the ideologies of future policymakers and administrators in India and elsewhere. With these goals in mind, this chapter will explore the developments in culture and politics in early-nineteenth century Britain, India, and Ireland, focusing specifically on the ideas and narrative elements that paved the way for the earliest theories and policies on state-funded education. This chapter offers an overview of the key

70. Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Minute on Education*, 107-117. See also: Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Speeches of Lord Macaulay* (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860).

71. Examples of this include: Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979). J.A. Mangan, 'Benefits Bestowed?'. David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire*. Syed Nurullah, and J.P. Naik, *A Student's History of Education in India*.

historic and cultural events of the early nineteenth century, all which help to contextualize the early developments in state-funded education discussed in Chapters 2-5.

Since its use by Edward Said in his highly influential work *Orientalism*, The term 'Orientalist' has lost most of its original, 18th-century meaning.⁷² Today, to be an Orientalist is to attempt, and inherently fail, to study and 'understand' a foreign culture. This failure is due to the scholar's inability to discard their own racial, cultural, or social prejudices and preconceptions while evaluating said culture. This is not to say, however, that 'Orientalist' scholars were incapable of meeting their goals. On the contrary, innumerable 'Orientalist' studies have been written, all of which seek to explain the successes and/or failures of a particular society based on cultural, historical or practical reasons. Specific topics include, but are not limited to, the impact of Islam on modern politics in the Middle East, the role of imperial conquest in the origins of Indian nationalism, the special narrative of European history during the early modern and modern period, or, even more broadly, the cultural incompatibilities of the modern world that continue to drive international strife.⁷³ According to the tenets of modern Orientalism, these topics, though valid on their own, are tainted by the cultural perspectives of scholars, most notably, for Said, the false perspectives of Western scholars studying non-Western regions of the world.⁷⁴

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the goals described above were the same, and Europeans scholars, no doubt, brought cultural prejudices and preconceptions into their studies. The modern, academic cynicism introduced by Said, however, was nonexistent, as

72. Edward Said, *Orientalism*.

73. Notable works that discuss or are part of this model include: Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, 4 ed., (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2011). Eric Jones, *The European Miracle: Environments, Economies and Geopolitics in the History of Europe and Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism*.

74. This explanation of Orientalism is not designed to condemn works that fall under this heading, nor to diminish their scholarly value, but rather to illustrate a collection of works that are considered Orientalist by those that follow the model outlined by Said.

the concept of 'Western prejudice' had not yet been categorized as problematic. The key difference between Said's definition and the 18th century usage of the term is the notion that one inherently fails this process of understanding because of cultural difference and Western prejudice. There is no learning curve, no possibility of true success when using the modern, widely-accepted definition of the term.⁷⁵

While Said's argument has merit with regards to empire in a general sense, it discounts the possibility that some Europeans could be interested in foreign cultures for reasons other than conquest. These discrepancies are essential to understanding the mission, either implied or admitted, of European 'Orientalists' studying in India in the eighteenth century. Many Europeans, as discussed below, came away from their studies of Indian culture with a disdain for India's supposed lack of sophistication or its 'medieval' political systems, however many more saw in India a vibrant culture that, for some reason or another, had stagnated at some point prior to European contact. The Orientalist mission was to discover the roots of India's supposed 'malaise' and to reinvigorate Indian culture much in the same way, they believed, that European culture had been revived by the influx of Greco-Roman culture during the Italian Renaissance.⁷⁶ Though this smacks of Said's definition of

75. Said argues that 'Orientalism' was little more than a smokescreen for conquest and imperialism, a fact that was reinforced by his analysis of European writings in and about the modern Middle East. This is also a strong theme in Carnoy's writing, though he moves beyond Orientalism to claim that all cultural interaction is a form of imperialism, by virtue of inequality. For more on this, see: Ibid.

76. An example of this comes from a report on writing Indian words in Roman characters published by the Sub-Committee of the Madras Literary Society in 1859. In this report, the committee outlines numerous methods of rendering Sanskrit, Arabic and other languages found in Madras. The goal, as noted in the following excerpt, was to create a common Roman alphabet for these languages to facilitate the correct transmission of ideas between British and Indian cultures: "The want of a recognized scheme for representing oriental words of daily occurrence, as long been felt...the barbarous names which crowd the face of the best Indian maps, bear witness [to this]...The object...[of the Committee is]to submit a system of notation, in which "each original (represented) sound should be rendered invariable by one appropriated symbol, conformably to the natural order of articulation, and with a due regard to the primitive power of the Roman alphabet, which modern Europe has in general adopted." (*Writing Indian Words in Roman Characters* (Madras: H. Smith and the

Orientalism, it does not discount the sincerity of all Orientalists. Sir Walter Elliot, for example, one of the first professed Orientalists and a champion of Indian culture, repeatedly warned his colleagues as well as his adversaries of the dangers of discounting India's cultural history because of its present 'backwardness.'⁷⁷ Elliot and others believed that India's best chance for a 'renaissance' was through a rediscovery of Indian traditions, languages, culture, and social mores. This is why the College of Fort William, a center for linguistic studies and vernacular publications, was founded in 1801, and why men like Elliot spent more time learning local languages such as Persian and Sanskrit than they did teaching English.⁷⁸

In contrast, there were a substantial number of Britons who argued the opposite and referred to themselves as 'Anglicists.' This group, with varying degrees of intensity, believed the primary task of the British presence in India (aside, of course, from trade) was to uplift Indians and purge Indian culture of its nonessential, dangerous, or destructive elements. Unlike the Orientalists, Anglicists saw little utility in Indian culture as a vehicle for its own revival. If Indian culture was stagnant in the present, Anglicists argued, would a reapplication not simply reinforce the stagnancy?⁷⁹ Based on this reasoning, Anglicists argued that

Fort St. George Gazette Press, 1859), 2.) See also: David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance*.

77. Another excellent example of the Orientalist mindset is the work of Dr. John Muir, a premier scholar of Sanskrit during the mid-nineteenth century. He published a volume of works on this topic starting in 1858, entitled *Original Sanskrit Texts on the Origin and History of the People of India, Their Religion and Institutions*. Muir's works are remarkable because of his emphasis on the connections between Hindu, Western and Central Asian cultures. This theme of cultural compatibility existed throughout Muir's life: in 1839, Muir was at the center of a controversy surrounding his work *Matapariksa*, a theologic attempt to draw similarities and connections between Christianity and Hinduism. For more on Muir, see: John Dr. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts on the Origin and History of the People of India, Their Religion and Institutions*, vol. I (London: Trübner and Co., 1858). Richard Fox Young, "The Matapariksa Controversy: A Case Study in Hindu Apologetics Based Upon Early Nineteenth-Century Sanskrit Treatises Directed Against Christianity" (University of Pennsylvania, 1980). Avril A. Powell, *Scottish Orientalists and India: The Muir Brothers, Religion, Education and Empire* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010). For more on Elliot, see: David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance*, 100.

78. *Ibid* 50, 67.

79. An illustration of the Anglicist argument comes from the Reverend T. Robertson in

the importation of non-Indian culture (in this case, British culture) was the most viable means of reviving India. Though this group would eventually 'win' the education debate with Macaulay's verdict in 1835, the Anglicists were not the exclusive interest in India. From the first glimpses of cultural exchange during the mid-eighteenth century well into the nineteenth century, the Anglicists were largely outnumbered by their Orientalist rivals. This leads to the following question: what policies did the Anglicists pursue to shift the balance of opinion within the British East India Company? Better yet, what policies did the Orientalists fail to pursue that led to their decline in influence? To answer these questions, a more thorough investigation of pre-Macaulay British India is required.

Though the earliest administrators and governors of the British East India Company have often been condemned for being corrupt, abusive, tyrannical, or condescending in their dealings with Indians (and, to be fair, other Europeans), the period from the mid-18th century up to the 1830s is widely regarded as the most 'equal' or open-minded period of Anglo-Indian cultural and social relations. There are a few key reasons for this: first, British power in Bengal, though increasing rapidly relative to her European rivals after 1757, was greatly dependent upon the benevolence of Bengali rulers and elites in the area. Thus, C.A. Bayly, in his work *Empire and Information*, argues that British power was reliant upon an 'autonomous

Burdwan in 1818: "...the children [in the seminary schools] know of no precedency but that which is derived from merit. The Brahman sits by the side of his ignoble neighbour, and must be content oftentimes to stand below him in his class. On the contrary, the boy of inferior caste, if he excel the Brahman, which he oftentimes does, begins to believe a maxim true which he learnt in his school both, that God hath not created men with rights differing from each other, but that he hath created all mean of one blood to dwell on all the face of the earth." This excerpt highlights the reformist attitude of the Anglicists, and the importance of Christian values in the process of creating a culture of meritocratic scholarship. William Adam, *Adam's Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar, Submitted to the Government in 1835, 1836 and 1838, With a Brief View of Its Past and Present Condition* (Calcutta: Home Secretariat Press, 1868), 5. See also: C. A. Bayly, *Empire and Information*.

majority' during this period and, therefore, had to respect (and understand) the cultural and intellectual values of the dominant political and economic forces in the area.

Second, many Bengali elites were accustomed to the process of incorporating and/or appreciating external cultures, as they had been exposed to this same process by the incursion of the Mughals, Islam, and the Persian language since the 16th century.⁸⁰ The processes which drove the 'Orientalist' exchange were already established in India prior to British arrival, thus making the introduction of yet another outside culture (and individuals interested in the region's indigenous culture) a relatively seamless affair.⁸¹

Third, Orientalism conferred a level of Mughal respectability on British officials and scholars working in India, a value which, when considering the two former points, gave Britain insight into the methods of acquiring and maintaining socioeconomic and political authority.⁸² In sum, the Orientalist position in India depended on three factors: the goodwill of Indian elites, the general compatibility of Anglo-Indian intellectual discourse and, critically, the necessity for British elites to work through (as opposed to over) Indian channels of power and authority; if any of these factors faltered, as they soon would, the foundations of Orientalism would crumble.⁸³

80. Ibid, 7, 28.

81. The prevalence of the Persian language was noted, with surprise, by Britons such as Rev. William Adam, an investigator of schools in the late-1830s: "The language in which the forms [investigation reports] were prepared was Bengali, Hind, or Urdu...In the Bengal districts Bengali was chiefly used, but in the city of Moorshedabad [sic] I found it necessary to have recourse partially to the Urdu language and Persian character. In South Behar...I should have experienced fewer difficulties if I had adopted both the Persian language and character, for those of my agents who were acquainted with Hindi only, although very steady and industrious, were peculiarly obtuse and unintelligent, and those who understood Persian were continually diverging into the use of that language in their weekly reports of work done..." William Adam, *The State of Education in Bengal; Including Some Account of the State of Education in Behar, and a Consideration of the Means Adapted to the Improvement and Extension of Public Instruction in Both Provinces*. (Calcutta: G.H. Huttmann, Bengal Military Orphan Press, 1838), 4-5.

82. C. A. Bayly, *Empire and Information* 52.

83. It is worth noting that these same factors can be directly tied to the success or failure of

In the late-18th century, catastrophe struck the agricultural and commercial economies of Mughal India as a result of drought, incessant war, famine, and trade disruptions.⁸⁴ Though the effects of famine and war were felt immediately, the depression of indigenous commerce had the longest-lasting effect on Mughal power in India, as it allowed for the gradual expansion of the British East India Company in eastern India.⁸⁵ As mentioned above, the British East India Company had been fairly dependent upon Mughal and local sources of authority since the mid-18th century; now, with the development of a vacuum of economic power, British merchants seized the initiative, intervened, and greatly increased their influence in eastern India. As a result of this, the British were, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, in a strong enough position to challenge and overturn political and economic policies contrary to their interests and thus abandon one of the foundational tenets of Orientalism, dependence on local authorities.⁸⁶ This sequence of

British state-funded education in India, as discussed later in this dissertation.

84. The most devastating event of this period was the great famine of 1770 in Bengal and Bihar, the total population loss from which was estimated at the time to be anywhere between 20-40%. This famine, preceded by the British receipt of the diwani of Bengal in 1765, created the tempestuous political social environment that gave way to the peasant revolt in Rangpur in 1783. This revolt, primarily aimed at property law modifications implemented by the British, created the atmosphere of instability and precarious political power essential to the reforms and changes of the early nineteenth century. Sugata Bose, *Peasant Labour and Colonial Capital: Rural Bengal Since 1770*, vol. Volume 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 18. Jon E. Wilson, "A Thousand Countries to Go to': Peasants and Rulers in Late Eighteenth-Century Bengal," *Past and Present* No. 189 (Nov. 2005), 81. Syed Nurullah, and J.P. Naik, *A Student's History of Education in India*, 52.

85. C. A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars: North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 90-1.

86. This gradual shift in opinion is embodied in the following excerpt of a letter from Richard Wellesley, 1st Marquess Wellesley and Governor-General of India from 1798-1805, to Lord Grenville: "I am resolved to encounter the task of effecting a thorough reform in private manners here [in Calcutta], without which the time is not distant when the Europeans settled at Calcutta will control the government, if they do not overturn it. My temper and character are now perfectly understood, and while I remain, no man will venture *miscere vocem* who has not made up his mind to grapple instantly with the whole force of government. Letter from The Earl of Mornington to Lord Grenville, November 18th, 1798. Found in: *The Wellesley Papers: The Life and Correspondence of Richard Colley Wellesley*, vol. Volume One (London: Herbert Jenkins Limited, 1914), 81-84. See also: P.J. Marshall, *Bengal: The British Bridgehead, Eastern India 1740-1828* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

events calls into question the sincerity of British Orientalism, as it makes Orientalists seem as if they were simply being pragmatic regarding local authorities and political power. The inverse relationship between the rise of British power in India and the decline of Orientalism seems to validate this, however, as discussed below, the resurgence of Orientalist arguments and ideologies in the mid-nineteenth century hints at a disparity between the political authority of the British in India and the ideological sentiments of its administrators. In other words, trends in the educational and cultural policies of Orientalism did not always follow the ebbs and flows of actual British power in India, and vice-versa.

Orientalism, though more open to challenge in the early-nineteenth century than ever before, remained the dominant ideological position of most British officials until the 1830s. In fact, the College of Fort William and Sanskrit College (founded in Benares in the 1790s) experienced a heyday of discourse and academic activity during the 1800-1820s, a period of rapid British imperial expansion.⁸⁷ The rise of the Anglicists cannot, therefore, be solely attributed to events in India. To fully understand why Orientalism declined, and the impact of its decline on state-funded education in India, attention must first be given to political and ideological developments in Ireland and Britain during the early-nineteenth century.

"...In the early years of the [Napoleonic] war[s]," Linda Colley argues in her work *Britons: Forging the Nation*, "the British government was – rightly or wrongly – as afraid of its

87. The expansion of this period was catalyzed by the threat posed by Tipu Sultan of Mysore. The constant enemy of Britain, and close ally of France throughout the late-eighteenth century, Mysore's aggression encouraged a British counter-response, one that resulted in the eventual seizure of Mysore and the dramatic expansion of British power into southern and central India. For more on the military engagements of this period, see: Christopher Hibbert, *Wellington: A Personal History* (New York: De Capo Press, 1999). It is important to note that this military narrative is tied to the school of Anglo-Indian historiography that sees British fiscal-military expansion in India as part of a general shift of commercial power in the balance of power in the subcontinent. For more on this, see: P. J. Cain, and A. G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism, 1688-2000*, 2nd ed., (Harlow: Pearson, 2002), 94. See also: David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance*, 67, 183.

own people as it was of the enemy."⁸⁸ This statement, reinforced by such actions as the Defense of the Realm Act of 1798 and the census of 1800, highlights one of the most subtle, yet significant consequences of the Napoleonic Wars for Britain: the changing relationship between the British government and the people it governed.⁸⁹ Though Colley's work ends with the fairly optimistic notion that the British nation 'awoke' as a result of two decades of intermittent war with France, the more somber conclusion, that these wars tested the bond between governor and governed, more accurately depicts the ideological unease which shaped the policies of many British officials after 1815.⁹⁰ For many such officials, their gravest fear was that 'Jacobinism' had infected or might still infect the minds of Britain's disenfranchised classes and, therefore, threaten the stability of the realm.

The specter of resurgent Jacobinism, defined by detractors such as Edmund Burke as an ideology centered around the destruction of tradition, morality, order, and stability, was resurrected by officials and established interests whenever the working classes would make demands, franchise-related or not, of the government.⁹¹ Such claims stemmed from the

88. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, 289.

89. The following excerpt of a 1797 letter from Lord Auckland to Richard Wellesley, 1st Marquess Wellesley, illustrates the precariousness of the Irish situation for Britain: "So much for England! I wish that I could speak in a similar way with respect to Ireland. The situation there has been infinitely more critical than when you left it. And at one period we were (privately) apprehensive that every post might bring to us accounts of some general insurrection and massacre...[aid has come by] the arrival of our fleet off Cork, which dispirits the insurgents, who have positive assurances from France that a French army shall land before the end of the present month...The Orange Boys, as they are called in Ireland, are growing numerous...they are a dangerous species of ally; however, to a certain degree it is necessary to use them." (*The Wellesley Papers*, 50-59.) See also: Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, 371.

90. See, for example, the following statement by character Mr. Flosky from the 1818 book *Nightmare Abbey*: "How can we be cheerful when we are surrounded by a reading public, that is growing too wise for its betters?" (*Culture and Education in Victorian England*, 68.)

91. Edmund Burke, in 1795, on Jacobinism: "...My whole politics, at present, centre in one point, and to this the merit or demerit of every measure (with me) is referable— that is, what will most promote or depress the cause of Jacobinism. What is Jacobinism? It is an attempt (hitherto but too successful) to eradicate prejudice out of the minds of men, for the purpose of putting all power and authority into the hands of the persons capable of occasionally enlightening the minds of the people. For this purpose the Jacobins have resolved to destroy

British perspective of the French Revolution, and the volatile affairs of the French Republic. From the execution of Louis XVI to the revolution centered around destroying France's religious and royal cultural ties, the Jacobins represented a supreme force of anti-tradition, anti-property and populist agitation.⁹²

Liberty-based revolution could not, however, be wholly demonized as dangerous: it was simultaneously the bedrock of British constitutionalism and the harbinger of republicanism, civil strife and, just a few years earlier, colonial schism.⁹³ Burke himself dealt with this issue in his treatise *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790).⁹⁴ Though written before the rise of the Jacobins, Burke's *Reflections* tackled the slippery-slope of the French Revolution, noting the dual-role of revolution described above, and the path he feared France might stumble onto. The following excerpt illustrates these points:

The manifest design [of the Revolution Society, a Gentleman's club in London] of connecting the affairs of France with those of England, by drawing us into an imitation of the conduct of the National Assembly, gave me a considerable degree of uneasiness. The effect of that conduct upon the power, credit, prosperity, and tranquillity of France became every day more evident. The form of constitution to be settled, for its future polity, became more clear. We are now in a condition to discern with tolerable exactness the true nature of the object held up to our imitation. If the prudence of reserve and decorum dictates silence in some circumstances, in others prudence of a higher order may justify us in speaking our thoughts. The beginnings of confusion with us in England are at present feeble enough; but with you we have seen an infancy still more feeble growing by moments into a strength to heap mountains upon mountains, and to wage war with Heaven itself. Whenever our neighbor's house is on fire, it cannot be amiss for the engines to

the whole frame and fabric of the old societies of the world, and to regenerate them after their fashion. To obtain an army for this purpose, they everywhere engage the poor by holding out to them as a bribe the spoils of the rich. This I take to be a fair description of the principles and leading maxims of the enlightened of our day who are commonly called Jacobins." (Edmund Burke, *Edmund Burke: Selected Writings and Speeches* (Washington D.C.: Regnery Publishing, Inc., 1963), 330-331.) See also: Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader*, 141.

92. For more on this, see: Lynn Avery Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2004).

93. For more on this, see: Mark Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed: Britain, 1603-1714* (London: Penguin, 1997).

94. Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, Reprint ed., (New York: Penguin Classics, 1982).

play a little on our own. Better to be despised for too anxious apprehensions than ruined by too confident a security.⁹⁵

Burke's concern, famously mirrored by Prince Metternich in his phrase "when Paris sneezes, Europe catches cold,"⁹⁶ was not so much for France, but rather for Britain, as he feared the internationalization of the instability and unrest currently operating under the guise of the National Assembly. Once the Jacobin movement took hold, Burke's predictions became, at least from a Conservative perspective, alarmingly real, thus solidifying the link between populism, economic unrest, and political instability.⁹⁷

The warnings of Burke lingered on in Britain's political imagination even after the collapse of the Jacobin republic and the Napoleonic Wars. Fears of populism, public assembly, demagoguery, and economic dislocation permeated political discussions of Britain's Poor Laws, influenced colonial policy, and critically, contributed to the growing suspicion many middle and upper-class Britons had of the 'underclasses' and working classes of Britain itself. Suspicion of Britain's 'underclasses' played a key role in the Peterloo Massacre of 1819, a moment E.P. Thompson linked to the 'common understanding' between Britain's aristocracy and its emergent middle class regarding the threat of the urban poor, an understanding

95. Ibid, 243.

96. For more on Metternich, see: Robert A. Kann, "Metternich: A Reappraisal of His Impact on International Relations," *The Journal of Modern History* Vol. 32, No. 4 (December, 1960).

97. Another excerpt from Burke's writings, this from his *Thoughts and Details on Scarcity*, captures the spirit of Burkean Conservatism emboldened by the events of the French Revolution: "The labouring people are only poor, because they are numerous. Numbers in their nature imply poverty... That class of dependent pensioners called the rich, is so extremely small, that if all their throats were cut, and a distribution made of all they consume in a year, it would not give a bit of bread and cheese for one night's supper to those who labour, and who in reality feed both the pensioners and themselves... But the throats of the rich ought not to be cut, nor their magazines plundered; because, in their persons they are trustees for those who labour, and their hoards are the banking-houses of these latter... When the poor rise to destroy the rich, they act as wisely for their own purposes as when they burn mills, and throw corn into the river, to make bread cheap." (Edmund Burke, *Thoughts and Details on Scarcity: Originally Presented to the Right Hon. William Pitt, in the Month of November, 1795* (Berkeley: University of California Libraries, 1800), 1795, 4.4.18-4.4.19.)

that generated the 'esprit de corps' that fueled the clash itself.⁹⁸ The Burkean fear of Jacobinism hardened not just class lines, but also cultural lines, the byproduct of which was, in August of 1819, a paranoid assault on a meeting of working class Britons on St. Peter's Field in Manchester by the local yeomanry. Considered symbolically, the Peterloo Massacre represents the emergent conflict between traditional, elite interests and liberalizing, supposedly Jacobin-influenced interests, the central contention being the relationship between social order, political stability, and the danger of populist ideology.⁹⁹

Not all, however, was quite so bleak. These same fears pressured Parliament to develop and pass two key pieces of legislation in 1829 and 1832: the Roman Catholic Relief Act and the Reform Bill.¹⁰⁰ Together, these contentious pieces of legislation were designed to ameliorate current or future agitation with regards to political rights, though not without significant political fallout and, from Burkean Conservatives like Sir Robert Peel, fears of destabilization.¹⁰¹ By virtue of the new demographics of the British franchise, these acts also

98. E.P. Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*, 455.

99. Thompson's work remains essential to the discussion of Jacobinism and working class agitation during the early-nineteenth century, even if it has been surpassed in some areas by more recent works. One passage in particular captures the novel role of Jacobinism in Britain: "Whatever Jacobin ideas persisted, and wherever hidden copies of Rights of Man were cherished, men were no longer disposed to wait upon the example of a Wilkes or a Wyvill before they commenced democratic agitation." (Ibid, 183.) The discussion of Wilkes allows for an immediate connection to works such as Colley's *Britons*, as the 'Wilkes' figure played a key role in her analysis of eighteenth century popular agitation. For more on this, see: Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, Ch. 3.

100. For the colonial dimension of the Reform Act of 1832, see: Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects*. For more on the politics behind the legislation of the early-nineteenth century, see: Richard Aldous, *The Lion and the Unicorn: Gladstone Vs Disraeli* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 2006). See also: Theodore K. Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation, 1846-1886* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

101. An example of this comes from a speech in Parliament given by Sir Robert Peel on July 6, 1831: "While, however, I admit the distinction between private property and the elective franchise, I must also say, that, if you take away this ancient privilege on any other ground than that of overpowering necessity, clearly established, you do shake the public confidence in the security of property itself...[if,] for the sake of visionary schemes of speculative improvement you establish a precedent, by which, at no distant period, the franchise of the peerage, and even the prerogative of the Crown, being public trusts, and forfeitable upon similar reasons of supposed public improvement, may be attacked upon the same ground,

encouraged British officials, for the first time, to consider the utility of education as an extension of state interests and, therefore, state financial investment. The argument in favor of state education was fairly straightforward: the burden of political responsibility and enfranchisement requires mental faculties capable of making rational, effective, and nationally-beneficial decisions. If disenfranchised members of the British public wish to have the former, they must first obtain (or prove capable of obtaining) the latter.¹⁰²

The reduction of anti-Catholic discrimination and the expansion of the electoral franchise were bold and controversial steps for British politicians, however they were not rash or hastily-considered decisions. In 1831, the National Board of Education was founded in Ireland and given £30,000 to mediate between Catholic and Protestant voluntary schools.¹⁰³ The rationalization behind this decision was almost identical to the argument mentioned above: Ireland, constitutionally bound to Great Britain in 1801, must be made culturally compatible with Britain if its inhabitants wished to enjoy the benefits of the union.¹⁰⁴ Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, a prominent British education official in the 1830-50s,

and for the same reasons." (Sir Robert Peel, *The Speeches of the Late Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel, Bart., Delivered in the House of Commons. With a General Explanatory Index and a Brief Chronological Summary of the Various Subjects of Which the Speeches Were Delivered.*, vol. Volume II (London: George Routledge and Co., 1853), 324-325.)

102. This argument was an essential element of the ideological compromise between Tory and Whig during this 1830s. It was, as argued by Kay-Shuttleworth and others, the best possible means of recruiting the support of the Conservative and landed interests of Britain regarding the education of the poor. P. W. Musgrave, *Society and Education in England Since 1800*, 59.

103. Though Ireland had an education commission prior to 1831, this moment represents the first major financial investment, and the first major policy initiative, by Parliament. The social impact of this establishment is discussed in the following works: Catriona Clear, *Social Change and Everyday Life in Ireland, 1850-1922* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 43. T.J. McElligott, *Education in Ireland*, 2-3. Robert James Scally, *The End of Hidden Ireland*, 141.

104. A speech in Parliament given in 1833 by Thomas Wyse, M.P., captures this 'argument by necessity' quite well: "Nor is this all: there is another social change, more powerful, perhaps, in its influence than either of the preceding. The Reform Bill is now law— the country has its legislation— therefore, its destinies— in its own hands. You have consecrated the right, and must soon admit the exercise of self-government, to its lowest detail. You cannot stop at the threshold of Parliament... Yes!—Parliamentary Reform I boldly assert, has

stated that state investments in Irish education would 'civilize' Irishmen, encourage a more savory cultural climate and, ultimately, be cheaper and more effective than policing.¹⁰⁵ This latter point is significant, given the considerable political debate regarding the emergence of municipal police forces in Ireland and Britain during the early nineteenth century. Though Kay-Shuttleworth argued that 'proper' education would eliminate the need for policing, the more common view held that education and policing were mutually beneficial, and would improve the efficiency (and efficacy) of each other through the maintenance of public safety and political security.¹⁰⁶

In both Britain and Ireland, therefore, a similar ideology was taking root: admission into the British nation (either forced or voluntary) required a certain level of socioeconomic and or intellectual 'civilization.' Because of the sociocultural hostility to this process within the existing cultures of Ireland and disenfranchised Britain, the process of 'civilization' was a task best administered by those who already understood Britishness and had a stake in the maintenance of its virtues: the ruling classes. This process would require some level of official oversight, however, considering what was at stake. Officials such as Kay-Shuttleworth viewed the expansion of state power in this regard as invaluable.¹⁰⁷ Processes such as increas-

rendered Education Reform indispensable...young England—young Ireland is still in your hands; you can still determine what shall be her character and her history; and if such be your power, what must be your responsibility? Upon you depends who shall be the future benefactors or criminals of your country." (Speech of Thomas Wyse, Esq. M.p. In the House of Commons, on Tuesday, May 19th, 1835, on Moving for Leave to Bring in a Bill for the Establishment of a Board of National Education, and the Advancement of Elementary Education in Ireland. Speech, *Mirror of Parliament*. Ridgway and Son, 1835, 7.)

105. J.M. Goldstrom, *The Social Content of Irish Education, 1808-1870*, 93.

106. For an excellent, authoritative analysis of the London Metropolitan Police, see: Philip Thurmond Smith, *Policing Victorian London: Political Policing, Public Order, and the Victorian Metropolitan Police* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1985). For a study on the Royal Irish Constabulary, see: Galen Broeker, *Rural Disorder and Police Reform in Ireland, 1812-1836* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1970). In both works, the interplay of politics, fears of social unrest and demands for police-enforced security is essential.

107. Though this topic will be discussed more below, it is important to note that Kay-Shuttleworth's stance on education stemmed from his experiences in Manchester as a doctor during the Cholera outbreaks of the late-1820s and early-1830s. As discussed in his

ing literacy or national consciousness would develop with or without state guidance, the latter likely to generate a half-educated population. Kay-Shuttleworth stressed that state oversight was essential for making sure that these processes were moving towards ends that were compatible with Britishness.¹⁰⁸

It would be remiss to assume that this new ideology was either universal or uncontested, given the popularity of *laissez-faire* liberalism and the bitter debates concerning franchise reform, tariff abolition, imperialism, religion, and other political issues during the early nineteenth century. Furthermore, officials, even ambitious ones like Kay-Shuttleworth, stressed the difference between state *oversight* of education and state *control* of education. The National Board of Education in Ireland and the Committee of Council on Education in Britain were originally designed as advisory committees, not authoritative entities, as early concepts of state-supported education believed direct intervention to be an anathema to Britishness.¹⁰⁹

A political institution with powers similar to the National Board of Education was not created for India until after the establishment of the Raj in 1857, though the introduction of such an institution in the metropole was, as discussed below, one of the political im-

semi-autobiographical work *Four Periods of Public Education*, Kay-Shuttleworth's investigation into the plight of the poor in Manchester was a catalyst of his interest in improvement, social morality and political reform for the working classes. For more on this, see: James Kay-Shuttleworth, *Four Periods*.

108. On this point, Kay-Shuttleworth wrote the following: "Alarming disturbances of social order generally commence with a people *only partially instructed* [original emphasis]. The preservation of internal peace, not less than the improvement of our national institutions, depends on the education of the working classes." (James Philip Kay-Shuttleworth, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester* (London: Frank Cass and Company Limited, 1832), 95.)

109. This topic is discussed in greater detail in later chapters. With similarities to the problems discussed above, Sturt goes on to argue that the Committee of Council on Education in Britain, much like the Board of Education in Ireland, encountered stiff resistance due to the contentions surrounding religion. Mary Sturt, *The Education of the People*, 77.

petuses behind Macaulay's *Minute of 1835*.¹¹⁰ This is part of the solution to the conundrum posited above: the shift from Orientalism to an Anglo-centric model of education in India was an indirect byproduct of British official fears concerning the detrimental effects of working class and Irish political consciousness. Such fears, and the reforms and policies implemented to combat them, formed the crucible of Britain's early education system at home and abroad. As with any new political innovation, however, establishment is only part of the story. To truly understand the origins and evolution of such administrative systems, the interest groups and ideologies which shaped Britain's early policies must be scrutinized.

110. Education policy under the British East India Company technically moderated by the Committee of Public Instruction, however it *de facto* managed on a province-by-province basis based on the whims of provincial governors. For more on this, see: C. A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars*.

Chapter 2: Societies, Ideologies, and Politics

When considering early-nineteenth century Britain, many historians would assume that one of the most widely-known personalities in the British Isles would be a Napoleonic war hero such as Nelson or Wellington, a contemporary politician such as Sir Robert Peel or, at the very least, a historical figure such as St. Paul. Studies, such as Belchem's *Industrialization and the Working Class*, have revealed that such historically-significant people were not, in fact, the most popular figures in Britain at this time. This honor went to individuals such as the infamous 18th-century rogue Dick Turpin, the inspiration for many of the works in the emergent 'penny dreadful' market, as well as the innumerable back-alley theatrical productions of this period.¹¹¹ During an era of gradually-increasing (but still quite minimal) literacy, and thus, the increasing popularity of cheap, often secondhand novels and novellas, the lack of formal education that could steer the public towards more 'tasteful' reading horrified educationists and moralists alike.¹¹² This example of disconnect between Britishness, British educationists, and the cultural reality of working class Britain is but one of many examples throughout the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, and is a consequence of educationist inability to accept the emergence of popular culture that does not conform to

111. As noted by John Springhall, the term 'penny dreadful' is somewhat of an anachronism here, as the term was not part of common discourse until the 1870s. For more on this, see: John Springhall, "Disseminating Impure Literature': The 'Penny Dreadful' Publishing Business Since 1860," *The Economic History Review* Vol. 47, No. 3 (Aug. 1994), 568. John Belchem, *Industrialization and the Working Class: The English Experience, 1750-1900* (Hants: Scholar Press, 1990), 56.

112. Other catalysts of popular literacy include the dissolution of the advertisement duty in 1853, the stamp duty in 1855 and the paper excise duty in 1861. Combined with technological innovations in printing, mass communication and transportation, these developments created an atmosphere ripe for popular literacy. John Springhall, "Disseminating Impure Literature.", 567-568. See also: A.N. Wilson, *The Victorians* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2003), 363.

Britishness and British ideals. As such, educationist responses (the desire to investigate, correct and reform) to these frequent cultural disconnects directly shaped private and public efforts in education. This chapter, building on the historical context provided in Chapter 1, looks at the societies, ideologies, and political reforms that occurred in early-nineteenth century Britain as a result of the cultural and social problems that formed during and after the Napoleonic Wars.

One of the more significant education-focused institutions to emerge in the early-nineteenth century was the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK). Founded as a Whig-leaning institution in 1826, the SDUK saw public ignorance of 'proper' history and the precipitous rise of the 'penny dreadful' as dangerous, potentially destabilizing trends, and thus sought to replace such problems with scientifically and morally-sound works.¹¹³ Such works include the 'Penny Magazine,' the 'Working Man's Companion,' and the *Library of Useful Knowledge*,¹¹⁴ all of which works emphasized ethics, political economy,

113. Members of the committee of the SDUK committee included James Mill, Lord John Russell, Lord Althorp, Joseph Hume, Robert Aglionby Slaney, and Augustus De Morgan. (Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, *Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge Papers*, vol. GB 0103, Ucl Archives Special Collection (London: University College London, 1826-1848)). Of note, one of the committee members was Zachary Macaulay, father of Thomas Babington Macaulay. For more on Zachary Macaulay, see the following biography: Iain Whyte, *Zachary Macaulay 1768-1838: The Steadfast Scot in the British Anti-Slavery Movement*, Liverpool Studies in International Slavery (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011).

114. An excerpt from the introduction of the *Library of Useful Knowledge* illustrates the ethos of the SDUK's mission: "It may easily be demonstrated, that there is an advantage in learning, both for the usefulness and the pleasure of it. There is something positively agreeable to all men, to all at least whose nature is not most, grovelling [sic] and base, in gaining knowledge for its own sake...Now, all this kind of gratification is of a pure and disinterested nature, and has no reference to any of the common purposes of life; yet it is a pleasure—an enjoyment. You are nothing richer for it; you do not gratify your palate or any other bodily appetite; and yet it is so pleasing, that you would give something out of your pocket to obtain it, and would forego some bodily enjoyment for its sake. The pleasure derived from Science is exactly of the like nature, or, rather, it is the very same. For what has just been spoken of it, in fact, Science, which in its most comprehensive sense only means Knowledge..." Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, *Library of Useful Knowledge: Natural Philosophy*, vol. I (London: Baldwin and Cradock, 1829), 1-2.

reason, and moralism. The rationale behind the SDUK's mission was quite similar to the rationale concerning education and enfranchisement discussed in Chapter 1, in that it related ignorance (or bad knowledge, with regard to 'penny dreadfuls') to irresponsible decision-making and immoral behavior.¹¹⁵ This belief was not exclusive to members of the SDUK: Charles Dickens, though not a member of the SDUK, also believed ignorance and crime went hand in hand, and that proper education for Britain's youth would eliminate future social evils.¹¹⁶

In spite of their lofty goals and ambitious publication collection, the SDUK, and other, similar groups, were far less effective than hoped. SDUK books, most of which were considered too bland or boring by their working class audience, fared poorly in a market

115. John Belchem, *Industrialization and the Working Class*.

116. Dickens published his opinion on the connection between crime and education in the *Daily News* in February 4th, 1846, a lengthy excerpt from which follows here: "...[An] effort [continues]...to introduce among the most miserable and neglected outcasts in London, some knowledge of the commonest principles of morality and religion...these [ragged] children pass and repass through the prisons all their lives; that they are never taught; that the first distinctions between right and wrong are, from their cradles, perfectly confounded and perverted in their minds; that they come of untaught parents, and will give birth to another untaught generation...
...Huddled together on a bench about the [ragged school] room, and shown out by some flaring candles stuck against the walls, were a crowd of boys, varying from mere infants to young men; sellers of fruit, herbs, lucifer-matches, flints; sleepers under the dry arches of bridges; young thieves and beggars — with nothing natural to youth about them: with nothing frank, ingenuous, or pleasant in their faces; low-browed, vicious, cunning, wicked; abandoned of all help but this; speeding downward to destruction; and UNUTTERABLY IGNORANT [original emphasis].

This, Reader, was one room as full as it could hold; but these were only grains in sample of a Multitude that are perpetually sifting through these schools; in sample of a Multitude who had within them once, and perhaps have now, the elements of men as good as you or I, and maybe infinitely better; in sample of a Multitude among whose doomed and sinful ranks (oh, think of this, and think of them!) the child of any man upon this earth, however lofty his degree, must, as by Destiny and Fate, be found, if, at its birth, it were consigned to such an infancy and nurture, as these fallen creatures had!" (Charles Dickens, "*Crime and Education*", vol. Volume 1, Miscellaneous Papers From 'the Morning Chronicle,' 'the Daily News,' 'the Examiner,' 'Household Words,' 'All the Year Round,' Etc. And Plays and Poems (London: Chapman & Hall, 1911), 25-29.) See also: *Culture and Education in Victorian England*. Ibid, 65.

flooded with scandalous and exciting works.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, due to meager incomes and the relatively high price of books, there was a vibrant second-hand and hand-me-down market for books, journals, and newspapers among the literate working classes, thus extending the market life-cycle of one text and reducing the overall consumption of individual books.¹¹⁸ The success of groups like the SDUK was beholden to the whims and interests of the working classes and these groups lacked the political capacity to pressure individuals to read 'morally-improving' books. This is why many of the earliest promoters of state-funded education came from groups like the SDUK, and also why, once policies for education became a political reality in Britain in the late 1830s, they encountered fierce resistance from religious and conservative interests (as the SDUK was not religiously-affiliated).¹¹⁹ To under-

117. According to Charles Knight, one of the key publishers of SDUK materials, "The millions were not ready to buy such books at a shilling, nor even at six-pence. They are not ready now." (Charles Knight, *The Old Printer and the Modern Press* (London: John Murray, 1854), 243.) See also: James A. Secord, *Victorian Sensation: The Extraordinary Publication, Reception, and Secret Authorship of Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 48. Jonathan Topham produced an excellent article on the SDUK which details, among other things, the work that went into more popular works such as the "Bridgewater Treatises:" Jonathan Topham, "Science and Popular Education in the 1830s: The Role of the "bridgewater Treatises"," *The British Journal for the History of Science* Vol. 25, No. 4 (Dec. 1992).

118. The notion of a second-hand market for books was a fairly novel concept, one pioneered by bookseller James Lackington (1745-1815). Lackington was famous for selling 'remaindered' books at reduced prices in order to encourage sales to the working classes of London. Though he died in 1815, his legacy undoubtedly had an impact on the goals of the SDUK. His autobiography is very informative on this topic: James Lackington, *Memoirs of the First Forty-Five Years of the Life of James Lackington, the Present Bookseller in Chiswell-Street, Moorfields, London* (London: Self-Published, 1792). For more on this topic, see the following work: *Culture and Education in Victorian England*.

119. Charles Knight's autobiography discusses the relationship between the SDUK and education reform: "This epoch [the emergence of the SDUK] was the great turning-point in our political and social history; that it was a period of wonderful progress; and that many of the distinguished men with whom I was associated can never be separated, by the future historian, from the course of that peaceful revolution has made the institutions of the country in harmony with the advance of intelligence...In this period, also, I became officially connected, as a Publisher, with those who originated and carried forward the Amendment of the Poor-Law and other cognate reforms; and I was thus necessarily called upon to give a close attention to the principles and practical working of measures which have so materially improved the Condition of the people." (Charles Knight, *Passages From the Life of Charles Knight* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1874), viii-ix.)

stand why religious and conservative interests were hostile to efforts such as the SDUK, it is essential to explore their ideological roots within the context of education and British politics.

By the early-nineteenth century, the connection between religion and education in Britain was firmly rooted in centuries of pedagogy and theology. Aside from religious training and university-based academics, the first formalized primary and secondary schools (known as 'Charity Schools') were established in the mid-18th century. These schools, privately-funded by local communities, churches, and national societies like the British and Foreign Schools Society, placed a strong emphasis on moral improvement, vocational training and social customs.¹²⁰ As with SDUK programs and publications, Charity Schools were voluntary, thus they suffered from below average attendance and high student turnover, facts explained by the rigorous work schedules of children and young adults living in a proto-industrial society.¹²¹ When the first hints of state education policy appeared in the

120. The British and Foreign Schools Society, led by Joseph Lancaster, and the National Society, led by Andrew Bell, were the two largest charity organizations of this period. Lancaster's society was not tied to the Anglican church, whereas Bell's society was – this religious division, compounded by the contested ideological primacy of the Bell and Lancaster systems, created much hostility during the early-nineteenth century. For more on these societies and their schools, see: Mary Sturt, *The Education of the People*, 10. Chapters 3-5 will discuss these personalities in greater detail.

121. Kay-Shuttleworth, in his 1846 retrospective on primary education, lists eight reasons why these early attempts at education failed: "1. There was only sufficient primary school-room for about one in every twelve of the population. 2. The character of the generality of the masters employed in the primary schools, was of the lowest possible description [original emphasis]. 3. There was not one good Normal school in the country for the education of masters. 4. The masters were miserably paid. 5. The masters were left in distant parts of the country, sometimes not visited or inspected by any one for five, six, and even ten years together. I could mention schools founded by benevolent societies, which were not visited by any stranger for even a longer period of time. 6. The masters of course received little or no encouragement, even where they were able and willing to conduct the school properly, and had no check upon them where they were actually demoralizing [original emphasis] the children. 8. There was no temptation offered to the parent to send their children to school, and of the few who actually attended, nearly all left before they gained anything else than a hatred for the name of education, and very injurious associations in connexion [sic] with the Bible, which was used as a text book in many schools' and also with the churches and chapels, to which they were driven on Sundays by masters whom they

mid-1830s, one might assume that religious education interests would have jumped at the opportunity for state-funding and, perhaps, some form of compulsory (or 'encouraged') attendance. The reality, however, was not so simple. Religious interests were generally in favor of state-funded education only if they also had control of the policies being implemented.¹²² Furthermore, when considering religious interests, it is important to remember that nineteenth century Great Britain contained three primary divisions under the aegis of religion: Anglicanism, the largest interest per capita, Dissenters, which included all non-Anglican Protestant groups, and, lastly, Catholicism, an especially powerful interest in large cities like Manchester and, of course, in Ireland. Uncertainties over religious authority, and political resistance to the idea of compulsion, meant that any early education policies would undoubtedly be advisory and/or heavily decentralized.

Within the scope of Anglicanism, the National Society, founded in 1811, and the Church Missionary Society (CMS), founded in 1799, were the largest and most influential. Thus, any education policy which affected 'religious interests' in general would almost assuredly involve Anglican input, a fact that made the idea of state-funded education extremely unfavorable for Dissenters and Catholics.¹²³ Because of this, there were some lobbies within Britain, a mix of Dissenters and Catholics, which were in favor of a secularized, or non-partisan, education policy that would bypass Anglicanism entirely. This policy was favored

hated." (James Philip Kay-Shuttleworth, *The Education of the Poor in England and Europe* (London: J. Hatchard and Son, 1846), 144-145.)

122. This topic is discussed at length in the following work: Mary Sturt, *The Education of the People*.

123. Such religious tensions are present in the writings of Joseph Lancaster on behalf of the British and Foreign School Society: "The author [Lancaster] is sorry to say, that his plans have been in many respects impeded through the effects of bigotry and prejudice. In the most material points, the designed injuries have been unavailing. He is happy to say, that those who attempted the greatest injury, by reporting that the king had withdrawn his patronage [from the British and Foreign School Society], have been totally defeated..." (Joseph Lancaster, *The British System of Education: Being a Complete Epitome of the Improvements and Inventions Practices By Joseph Lancaster: To Which is Added, a Report of the Trustees of the Lancaster School At Georgetown, Col.* (Georgetown: Joseph Milligan, 1812), viii-ix.)

by interests like the SDUK and the British and Foreign School Society because, in a zero-sum game of policy creation, they would inherit the influence of Anglicanism and push education towards a model of 'rational' (as opposed to Anglican) morality.¹²⁴ The secular interest was especially worrisome regarding any religious gains in education, as it would take away privileges that they had enjoyed for some time and reduce the potential influence of groups like the SDUK on social development generally.¹²⁵ As a result, the most common religious response to state-funded education was lukewarm at best, and hostile at worst, attitudes which, as discussed below, appeared not just with the emergence of state-funded education policies in Britain, but also in Ireland, India, and West Africa.

Mary Sturt, in her work *The Education of the People*, argues that the two greatest political influences on state education in Britain were the Act of Union of 1801 and the Poor Law Amendment of 1834 (also known as the "New Poor Law"). The former, Sturt explains, provided the political and organizational frameworks necessary for state-funded education throughout Great Britain, whereas the latter, a revision of the Poor Law of 1601, revealed

124. David Wardle, *English Popular Education, 1780-1970*, 4.

125. This is not to say that these groups were anti-religion, but rather that their educational message was not professedly religious. This argument is discussed by a political treatise written by Thomas Wyse on Dec. 9th, 1830 regarding religious education in Ireland. Though focused on the issue of Catholic influence, the argument applies to the British situation just as well: "A National system of Education should be applicable to every portion of the Nation. To be generally applicable, it should be generally acceptable. It should be especially so to the classes which most require it. There are the lowest classes in most communities. The lowest classes in Ireland are principally, and in many places, altogether Catholics. The Catholics are opposed, and are likely to continue opposed, to any system which labours under the suspicion of Proselytism. The system of the Kildare Place Society [the largest charity organization in Ireland] has laboured, and does labour, under this suspicion. The system of the Kildare Place Society can, therefore, never become National. Another system has become necessary...To effect this [education] must be good, it must widely diffused; it must be widely and permanently supported." (Sir Thomas Wyse, "Heads of a Plan for National Education in Ireland, Submitted to the Government – Dec. 9 1830. From: Sir Thomas Wyse, *Godless Colleges and Mixed Education in Ireland; Extracts From the Speeches and Writings of Thomas Wyse, Daniel O'Connell, Thomas Davis, Charles Gavan* (Belfast: Athol Books, 1992), 26.)

the necessity of state-funded social support and, critically, highlighted the contemporary individuals willing to push for it in Parliament.¹²⁶

Fifty years after publication, Sturt's argument remains valid, though this dissertation argues in favor of a third factor: abolitionism.¹²⁷ Some histories of abolitionism are content to conclude with the end of the African slave trade in 1807, ignoring, or at least assuming, the abolition of the institution of slavery in 1833.¹²⁸ While the end of slave-trading was critical, the latter date is of particular interest for two key reasons: the post-abolition extension of British missionary influence into West Africa and the empire at large, as well as the relationship between the religious interests of Great Britain, abolition, and social welfare. The first of these issues is especially important, as it is one of the key links which bound early-

126. Mary Sturt, *The Education of the People*, 64.

127. The three most influential works on the topic of British abolitionism are as follows: Roger Anstey's *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition* (1975), which is a cultural explanation of the popularity of abolition in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. (Roger Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760-1810* (London: Macmillan, 1975).) David Brion Davis's *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution* (1975) is equally important, and is, in many ways, complimentary to Anstey's thesis. (David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975).) Lastly, Eric Williams's *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944), one of the oldest works in this field, looks exclusively at the economic rationales for abolition (Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994).). Taken together, these works reflect the continuing debate over abolition: was it an issue of capitalistic diminishing returns, or a reflection of Britain's Christian/Enlightened cultural evolution during the late-eighteenth century? While the reality of abolition lies somewhere between these two extremes, the impact of these historiographic trends on this dissertation are two-fold: the emergence of abolitionism dramatically altered the relationship between British metropole and Caribbean/African periphery, and the moralism of the abolitionist movement was not exclusive to the colonial context.

128. This statement is not intended as a condemnation of works on the abolition of the slave-trade, but rather as an identification of a historiographic tendency to emphasize the ideological impact of the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 as the necessary precursor to the inevitable abolition of slavery generally in 1833. While this dissertation agrees that the procedural nature of abolition makes the former a logical 'first step' in achieving the latter, this should not diminish the ideological novelty of total abolition. For more on this issue, see: Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects*.

nineteenth century education policy in Britain to the development of education overseas, and vice-versa.

The momentum of support achieved by the abolitionists after their first success in 1807 did not dissipate with the second success of 1833, but rather was channeled into other abolition and morality-related concerns. In fact, the abolition of slavery in Great Britain and its colonies catalyzed the ascendance of a 'renewalist' ideology regarding recently liberated and repatriated slaves.¹²⁹ This ideology, supported by the missionaries of the CMS, viewed Britain's rehabilitation of slaves 'repatriated' to Sierra Leone and freed slaves in the Caribbean as a moral debt owed to Africa and Africans after abolition. For such a renewal to succeed, this argument continued, it would require the transplantation of Protestant Christianity (particularly Anglicanism), British values, and British economic culture into the communities of freed slaves.¹³⁰

This argument grew in importance as Britain's interests (imperial and non-imperial) in Africa increased, a fact illustrated by the importance of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which was founded in 1823.¹³¹ In 1884 this group, the largest national abolitionist interest in Europe, held a "Jubilee Meeting" in London celebrating fifty-years since the abo-

129. This argument is discussed in Edward Berman's *African Reactions to Missionary Education* (1975). Berman argues that abolition was a key catalyst of the missionary education movement in Africa, though developments such as scientific racism and the presence of Islam complicated this process. (Edward H Berman, *African Reactions to Missionary Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1975), 3.) See also: *Essays in the History of African Education*.

130. For more on the topic of post-abolition economic changes in West Africa, see the following work: *From Slave Trade to 'Legitimate' Commerce: The Commercial Transition in Nineteenth-Century West Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

131. Technically the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was founded in 1839, however it was declared the successor group to the Anti-Slavery Society founded in 1823, which had achieved its imperial aims in 1833.

lition of slavery in the British Empire.¹³² At this meeting, the 15th Earl of Derby, Edward Stanley, son of the late Lord Stanley, made the following statement regarding 'the Negro:'

the future of the Negro race is one with which we [Britain] are only indirectly concerned. What does concern us is that we should do our duty by them.¹³³

While by no means an explicitly 'imperial' manifesto or expression of official interest in the maintenance of a British administrative presence in West Africa, this statement, an echo of the founding ethos of abolitionism and post-abolition moralism, laid the foundation for Britain's future endeavors in West Africa during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

Though religious and anti-slavery groups were primarily occupied with overseas missionary activities and post-abolition moralism, there was also a substantial lobby of religious and secular reformers concerned with the improvement and rehabilitation of the 'undesirables' at home in Britain.¹³⁴ These undesirables, often referred to, scornfully, as the 'undeserving poor,' the 'rabble,' or the 'underclasses' of Britain, were a thorn in the side of Britain's early policies concerning education and social welfare and, until the advent of com-

132. British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, *Anti-Slavery Jubilee, 1884. Meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in the Guildhall, London*, vol. Reprinted from "The Anti-Slavery Reporter" (London: Kingdom and Company, 1884).

133. British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, *The Third Annual Report of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-Trade Throughout the World; Presented to the General Meeting Held in Exeter Hall, on Friday, May 13th, 1842* (London: Thomas Ward and Co., 1842). See also: Christine Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race*, 107.

134. The domestic and imperial schools of renewalist or reformist thought were not exclusive: there is evidence of overlap between these groups, thus reinforcing the argument that the reforms of this period were part of a general movement within British moral and cultural ideology during the early-nineteenth century. An excellent example of this is William Allen (1770-1843), a staunch supporter and committee member of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Allen helped to found the African Institution in 1807, an organization designed to help repatriated African settlers in Sierra Leone. William Allen was also a follower of Joseph Lancaster's model of education, and played a key role in the creation of the British and Foreign School Society in the 1810s. For more on Allen, see: James Sherman, *Memoir of William Allen, F.r.s.* (Philadelphia: Henry Longstreth, 1851), Chs. VI-VII. See also: British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, *The Third Annual Report of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*.

pulsory education in the 1880s, were treated as an insurmountable problem. The following excerpt, from the 1834 Report of the Parliamentary Committee on the State of Education, captures this view quite well:

A very important part of the population we cannot touch at all; I refer to the most degraded of the poor; I mean the children of the trampers, and beggars and gipsies [sic], and people of that kind. Sometimes by extraordinary efforts, we get some of those children into the school, but they are off again almost immediately; and those are the children from whom a very large proportion of our prisons are peopled. Now the difficulty is, how to get those children under instruction, and how to keep them under instruction.¹³⁵

As with the SDUK and missionary activities discussed above, the primary emphasis here is on the feebleness of voluntary-enrollment education, the relationship between ignorance and crime and, lastly, the potential benefit of compulsion as a means of increased attendance. The 'underclasses' of Britain could not, without the latter, be drawn into the schools, as they lacked the money to pay for their education as well as the understanding of its potential utility.¹³⁶ Until the end of the nineteenth century, these problems would remain an endemic flaw in Britain's state-funded education structure, a flaw that would be oft-noted by school inspectors as well as policymakers.

Though compulsion was believed by some, such as Kay-Shuttleworth, to be the most logical solution to the problems inherent in state-funded education, many policymakers disagreed. A substantial interest group, rooted primarily on the Conservative side of the political spectrum, believed that compulsory education, especially if free, would dilute the value

135. J. Stuart Maclure, *Educational Documents: England and Wales, 1816-1967* (London: Methuen Educational Ltd., 1968), 32.

136. The argument that the lowest classes 'could not understand' the utility of education was a common refrain throughout this period. As noted by Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools, Seymour Tremenheere, in 1839: "The parents are, therefore, apt to believe that their superiors are actuated by some selfish motive in endeavoring to induce them to send their children to school. They are averse to the trouble of making their children clean every day, in cases where they are sent to schools in which cleanliness is enforced." (Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1839-1840. Archival Records, ED. 17/3. Education Department, 1840, 212.)

of education in general and further reduce the utility of schooling as an institution of improvement.¹³⁷ The following comment, part of the same 1834 Parliamentary Report, reflects the sentiment of a this aspect of English opinion regarding compulsory education:

They who have argued in favour of such a scheme [compulsory education] from the example of a military-government like that of Prussia, have betrayed, in my opinion, great ignorance of the nature of Englishmen.¹³⁸

The 'nature of Englishmen' described above is the blending of four competing British political and cultural ideologies: Whiggish *laissez-faire* governmental policy, Tory reluctance regarding political innovation, religious resistance to state intervention in education, and the budding notion of British national exceptionalism and resistance to 'continental' trends. Ultimately, the 1834 Report concluded with little more than an ambiguous call to 'improve' education, and should thus be viewed more as a cross-section of English official opinion regarding education than a statement of future policy. In spite of this, a key conclusion can be drawn from this document: the concept of compulsory education, though rebuffed by English officials until the 1880s, was already circulating in the minds of policymakers in the 1830s. This is important, as it connects to the historiographic tradition linking the rising popularization of compulsory national education with British national and imperial competition with other states during the late-nineteenth/early-twentieth centuries, a topic that will be discussed below in greater detail.¹³⁹

137. On this, a speaker in the 1834 Report of the Parliamentary Committee on the State of Education stated, "I should fear, if the poor could have day school education for nothing, they would not sufficiently value it." (J. Stuart Maclure, *Educational Documents*., 35.)

138. Ibid, 40. The comparison of British to foreign education systems, though only briefly referenced here, played an important role in the formation of Kay-Shuttleworth's policies during the 1830-40s. See below for more on this. See also: R.J.W. Sellec, *James Kay-Shuttleworth: Journey of an Outsider* (Ilford: The Woburn Press, 1994).

139. This argument forms the bedrock of Viscount Haldane's *Empire and Education* (1902), a work which compares the education systems of Britain, Germany and the United States. In the Preface of this work, Haldane explains why he believes his study is critically important: "Today, at the beginning of the twentieth century, we as a nation have to face the problem of preserving our great commercial position, and with it the great empire which the great

A second significant conclusion can be drawn from the 1834 Parliamentary Report: education was not simply a party-line political issue. Education policy debates, unlike the vast majority of political issues during the nineteenth century, were rarely divided exclusively along Whig/Tory lines, as the core issues were rarely specific to any one political platform.¹⁴⁰ In other words, the core issue at stake throughout this period – should the state be involved in primary education? – had religious, economic and imperial dimensions that renegotiated and defied party lines.¹⁴¹ Even if the education debate was generally supported by

men of past generations have won and handed down to us...Around us is surging up a flood of new competition. If we are to hold the ground which our predecessors won...we shall require above all things enlightened views...[I insist] that not only elementary education in this country, but our secondary and tertiary systems must be thoroughly overhauled and coordinated if we are to be brought near to the existing level of Germany and that to which the United States are rapidly approaching...[we must also recognize] the double function of our educational institutions[:] the imparting of culture for culture's sake on the one hand, and the application of science to the training of our captains of industry on the other."

(Viscount R.B. Haldane, *Education and Empire: Addresses on Certain Topics of the Day* (London: John Murray, 1902), ix-xi.) See also: John M. Mackenzie, *Imperialism and Popular Culture*.

John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*. Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). Bernard Semmel, *Imperialism and Social Reform*. James G. Greenlee, *Education and Imperial Unity*.

140. An excellent illustration of the partisan nature of nineteenth century British politics can be found in the following work: Richard Aldous, *The Lion and the Unicorn*.

141. This argument is supported by many of the education debates in the House of Commons, particularly the watershed June 24th, 1839 debate regarding the first annual £30,000 supply towards 'national education' in Britain. During this week-long debate, Lord Mahon, a Tory, offered the following rebuttal to Lord John Russell regarding Russell's assertion that the 'other side of the house' was unanimously against funding education: "Throughout the whole debate of last week, aspersions, similar to that just now uttered by the noble Lord, had been cast upon the zeal of hon. Gentlemen on the Opposition side of the House, in the cause of education. The hon. Member for Liskeard [sic] went so far as to say, that the whole of that side of the House was opposed to all education of the people; and the hon. and learned Member for the Tower Hamlets, a learned Judge, thought fit to pass sentence against them on this point; but he gave judgment in a way unlike that in which he was accustomed to give judgment elsewhere—namely, without hearing or considering the evidence. Had those hon. Members looked to the lists of endowments and subscriptions for schools, emanating from Members on the Opposition side of the House? Looking at what was done in the cause of practical education by hon. Gentlemen around him, he must say, without meaning any disparagement to the exertions of hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House, that his hon. Friends need not shrink from the comparison. These were, after all, the real and practical proofs of zeal. He looked to acts, not professions. He respected the man who gave 50l. of his money to a school, or spent several hours of his time in superintending it, much more than the man who merely gave his vote to a vague and visionary Minute of the Board of Education" (HC Deb, Debate Regarding Supply for

more Whigs than Tories, debates rarely descended into discussions of party affiliation because the debates themselves drew upon the very foundations of the many political organizations, ideologies and parties that constituted the British political experience of the mid-nineteenth century. Education policy, therefore, is a valuable historical metric by which Britishness can be measured, primarily because education debates represent some of the few occasions during the nineteenth century in which Parliament was not cleanly divided along party lines. The impact of these policy and ideology innovations – and their direct implementation via early codes and reforms – will be discussed in the next chapter.

National Education. June 24 1839, Vol. 48). This statement clearly illustrates that party lines and political ideologies were not the sole root of divisions in the House of Commons regarding the implementation of state-funded education.

Chapter 3: Early Experiments in Education

The Irish Board of Education, established in 1831, was part of a much larger series of social reforms put forward by the Whig-dominated British Parliament of the 1830s.¹⁴² These reforms, the culmination of two decades of experimental, private/state endeavors in Ireland, represented Britain's first modern forays into social welfarism. The question – why was Ireland first to receive state-funded education? – was discussed in Chapter 1, however it is worth repeating: Ireland, Britain's Achilles heel during the Napoleonic Wars, was a constant source of worry and potential unrest for British politicians. This fact alone was enough to push the Act of Union of 1801 through Parliament, an act which, much to the regret of later officials, placed political expediency above administrative efficiency. During and after the Napoleonic Wars, some British politicians endeavored to 'pacify' Ireland through cultural assimilation, social appeasement and economic policies.¹⁴³ Of these policies, some,

142. For more on this, see: R.B. McDowell, *The Irish Administration, 1801-1914* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964), 26.

143. One of the better examples of this desire to 'pacify' Ireland occurred during the Parliamentary debates in February 1805 regarding the suspension of habeas corpus in Ireland. Lord Grenville, wary of the suspension, made the following statement: "It was a rule which ought always to be most rigidly adhered to, never to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act except in cases of the last extremity. Now, he would ask, was there an insurrection in Dublin? Was the danger so very imminent that no inquiry could be entered upon in consistency with a proper regard to the salvation of the country? Was a rebellion actually raging in Ireland? If there was nothing of this sort, then it was pregnant with the most pernicious consequences to the constitution, to agree to this measure without an enquiry." To this, Lord Mulgrave responded, "Every noble lord who heard him [Lord Grenville] must recollect, that at a time when Ireland was understood to be in a state of the most profound tranquillity, when the people were said to be perfectly loyal, and when the Habeas Corpus Act was not suspended, that an event the most alarming and disgraceful that ever occurred in any country took place [insurrection of 1803], that a dreadful insurrection broke out with circumstances of the foulest and most aggravated atrocity, and which were followed by the murder of one of the most upright and respectable magistrates who ever presided in a court of justice [Arthur Wolfe, 1st Viscount Kilwarden]; such was the secrecy with which conspiracies had been carried on in Ireland, that a state of apparent tranquillity could never

such as the suspension of *habeas corpus*, were believed injurious to Britain's constitution, and therefore could not be sustained beyond the duration of the conflict. A more permanent solution would have to be found, one that would do more than simply 'pacify.' Education, it was argued, was the foundation upon which a new relationship between Britain and Ireland could be forged, a relationship that was far less antagonistic and hostile.¹⁴⁴ The first two innovations in this process, enacted in 1813 and from 1819-1831, established a series of commissions tasked with overseeing the disbursement of endowments to privately-funded schools and education organizations.

The first education endowments in Ireland, most of which were controlled by the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, were highly competitive, thus engendering a feeling of hostility between endowed and un-endowed schools. Central to this hostility was the issue of faith: almost all privately-funded schools were backed by religious denominational organizations, the strongest variants of which were Catholic and Anglican. As in Britain in the 1830s, each faction feared the monopoly of education endowments, and thus political influence, by the other, an issue that reached fever pitch during the late 1820s. To relieve this tension, in 1829-1832 the House of Commons pushed for and eventually succeeded in creating a salaried national board for the oversight of educational facilities responsible for Ireland's lower classes.¹⁴⁵ This sudden surge of interest in Irish education can be explained when one considers Parliament's most recent major reform: earlier in 1829, Parliament passed the Roman

be considered as a proof of the loyalty of the people." (HC Deb, Debate Regarding the Suspension of the Irish Habeas Corpus Bill. February 21st, 1805, Vol. 3, 587-588.)

144. Here, one could step back even further, as noted by McDowell in his work *The Irish Administration*, and highlight that this argument was actually rooted in the Tudor-era plantation system. (R.B. McDowell, *The Irish Administration*.) While McDowell's argument is true from a precedent-based standpoint, the Act of Union changed the political relationship between Ireland and Britain to such an extent that it justified a break from administrative tradition. For more on this, see: Patricia Jalland, *The Liberals and Ireland: The Ulster Question in British Politics to 1914* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980). For the Tudor-era history of Anglo-Irish relations, see: Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British*.
145. R.B. McDowell, *The Irish Administration*, 231-243.

Catholic Relief Act which, among other things, repealed the ban on Catholics holding ministerial positions.¹⁴⁶ As with Britain after the Reform Act of 1832, many educationists believed that the potential instability caused by the enfranchisement of a new section of the population, even if small, could be remedied by the introduction of a proper 'British' education.¹⁴⁷ Influence over the Irish electorate, it was argued, was worth the £30,000 price of the British government's first major foray into state-funded education in Ireland.

The Irish education board, though little more than an oversight committee, was policy-bound to maintain religious neutrality in Irish education administration and to support a system of 'separate but equal' religious education for Catholic, Anglican, and Dissenter populations. Though 'neutral' from a policy standpoint, the demographic realities of early-nineteenth century Ireland meant that the vast majority of state oversight would concern

146. Though census records for Ireland in the 1820s are no longer directly available, I estimate that the Roman Catholic Relief Act of 1829, when paired with the the Irish Parliamentary Elections Act, enacted at the same time, enfranchised roughly 14,000-37,000 Irish Catholics out of a total Irish population of ~7,750,000. Since around 80% of Ireland's population was Catholic, I estimate that these two acts enfranchised 0.225%-0.596% of the Irish Catholic population. This should be compared to a British electorate of around 410,000-450,000 prior to the Reform Act of 1832. (Statistics drawn from: G. Talbot Griffith, *Population Problems in the Age of Malthus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926), 49. *Emancipation, Famine & Religion: Ireland Under the Union, 1815-1870*, Multitext Project in Irish History (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011). *Historical Dictionary of the British Empire* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996), 262. Frank O'Gorman, "The Unreformed Electorate of Hanoverian England: The Mid-Eighteenth Century to the Reform Act of 1832," *Social History* Vol. 11, No. 1 (Jan. 1986), 37.) For more on the topic of Ireland, see: Susan M. Parkes, *A Guide to Sources for the History of Irish Education, 1780-1922* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), 39.

147. "...there is another social change, more powerful, perhaps, in its influence than either of the preceding. The Reform Bill [of 1832] is now law—the country has its legislation—therefore, its destinies—in its own hands. You have consecrated the right, and must soon admit the exercise of self-government, to its lowest detail. You cannot stop at the threshold of Parliament...Yes! —Parliamentary Reform I boldly assert, has rendered Education Reform indispensable...young England—young Ireland is still in your [Parliament's] hands; you can still determine what shall be her character and her history; and if such be your power, what must be your responsibility? Upon you depends who shall be the future benefactors or criminals of your country." (Speech of Thomas Wyse, Esq. M.p. In the House of Commons, on Tuesday, May 19th, 1835, on Moving for Leave to Bring in a Bill for the Establishment of a Board of National Education, and the Advancement of Elementary Education in Ireland., 1835, *Mirror of Parliament*, , 7.)

Catholic schools.¹⁴⁸ Needless to say, these schools were terrified at the prospect of an English (i.e. Anglican) board dictating the direction of Catholic schools in Ireland. To maintain credibility with the Catholic majority of Ireland, the board was populated with a relatively equal mix of Catholic and non-Catholic members, including a two-person board chair, one of whom was Catholic and the other Anglican. Though not terribly efficient, this model granted the board enough legitimacy to remain the foundation of Ireland's education administration until the early-twentieth century.¹⁴⁹

Once established, the Irish education board's primary target were the hundreds of small Catholic primary schools scattered throughout Ireland (especially rural Ireland). These institutions, labelled 'hedge schools' because of their supposedly clandestine presence in Irish communities (they were rumored to exist in-between hedge rows), were believed by many to be the font of much anti-English and anti-Anglican sentiment in Ireland.¹⁵⁰ Once 'uncovered,' these schools were to be gradually assimilated into a standardized, religiously-neutral national curriculum. During this process, some of these 'hedge schools' would be dismantled or forced to consolidate with other schools, however the primary goal was the co-option, not the destruction, of Ireland's pre-regulation schools.¹⁵¹

148. For more on this, see: Susan M. Parkes, *A Guide to Sources*.

149. Curiously, the model of cultural neutrality coupled with administrative diversity pioneered by Ireland's education board was not implemented elsewhere in Britain or the British Empire until much later in the century. India, for example, received the policy of religious neutrality, but its education administration did not have a mix of religious officials (nor did these officials have any real power) until the end of the century.

150. For more on this, see: T.J. McElligott, *Education in Ireland*.

151. This policy of assimilation was by no means universally popular. Somerset Maxwell, an Irish peer, made a strong argument against the system of National Schools in 1860. As shown below, Maxwell believed that the National System, by virtue of avoiding a religious stance, had created a false unity of Protestant and Catholic in Ireland: "Ireland, at that time [1829] was pervaded by a system of education extending to thousands of her Roman Catholic youth the priceless blessing of a good secular education, combined with daily imparted Scriptural instruction, parents alike rejoicing with their children in possession of the precious boon [Biblical literacy]...the same strong arm of Parliament, which had opened the door of civil liberty to the parent [in 1829], must be put in requisition to bind the chains of spiritual thralldom on the child. The Kildare-place Society [a private, nondenominational

The board's secondary objective focused on the larger, more visible schools funded and administered by organizations like the Kildare Place Society. For these schools, the same policy applied: gradual consolidation and assimilation into a national system. Unlike the 'hedge schools,' however, the onus of state oversight, and thus state funding, fell on the schools themselves. School administrators had to petition to the Irish education board for admission into the state system of schools, and for access to state funds.¹⁵²

The tertiary, and final, objective of the board was the establishment of a model school in every county in Ireland. These schools, though few in number, were the institutions from which official policy emanated and, as the name implies, the model by which all other Irish schools would be judged. Though most elements of official policy focused on infrastructural considerations (structural considerations, classroom design, et. al.), some dealt with curriculum, particularly the role of religion in state-funded education. Though charity organizations such as the Kildare Place Society were open to both Catholics and Protestants, the Bible was used, agnostically, as a reading tool. National model schools replaced the educational use of the Bible with a 'separate but equal' policy, in which Catholics and Protestants would separate during the day for a brief religious lesson. While this policy was undoubtedly designed to minimize religious tension in Ireland, it angered members of both religious factions, particularly the more zealous Anglicans in favor of true Irish assimilation

school charity] must be sacrificed; the required victim is laid on the altar of expediency; and the present leader of the Conservative party becomes the immolating priest. Under its great successor, the National System of Education, Protestants and Romanists are invited so far to merge their differences, as to co-operate with Government in the, it may be, benevolent, but assuredly, the infatuated design to give thereby to distracted Ireland the blessings of a united education...the introduction of the National System...[has] manifested...a line of demarcation, broader and more pronounced than ever, [which] now exist[s] between the two great sections of the community." (Somerset R. Maxwell, *Reasons of an Irish Landlord for Not Adopting the National System of Education Under Any Modification of Its Rules and Regulations* (Dublin: William Curry and Co., 1860), 6-7.) See also: Robert James Scally, *The End of Hidden Ireland*.

152. Catriona Clear, *Social Change and Everyday Life in Ireland*, 43.

into Britishness.¹⁵³ Overall, the Irish education board was now responsible for the oversight of roughly 4,500 schools with an estimated registered attendance of 500,000 students.¹⁵⁴ Though the majority of these schools were quite small (less than ten students) and many 'registered' students were chronically absent, the British government, through the Irish education board, now held the predominant stake in Ireland's present and future national education system.

As with Ireland, the catalyst which inspired the extension of state power into English education was the expansion of Britain's franchise in 1832. Unlike Ireland, however, the extension of state power was not concurrent with enfranchisement and, when it did occur in the mid-1830s, it was limited to modifications of existing bureaucratic frameworks as opposed to the creation of entirely new offices like the Irish board of education. There are a few reasons for this which, incidentally, illuminate the relative prematurity of Ireland's education system, as well as the tardiness of Britain's. The first reason deals with the issue of

153. Though technically unaffiliated with a denomination, the Kildare Place Society was vehemently opposed to the National System, as it gave influence over grants and curriculum to both Anglicans and Catholics. The following excerpt, an official response of the Kildare Society published in the *Missionary Register* of the CMS, illustrates the conflicting political opinions of the era: "Although this Society has ever carefully abstained from any expression of political opinion, and, in truth, has never taken a single step or published a single line which could justly be represented as political in its tendency, yet it has not escaped the attacks of Political Leaders. We have been misrepresented— we have been assailed in unmeasured and uncharitable terms—unfounded charges have been made against us— petitions have been forwarded to Parliament complaining of the Kildare Place Society, but on such grounds as clearly showed that the petitioners were ignorant of our objects and of our system— the Roman-Catholic Prelates, anxious, as your Committee believe, to obtain the controul [sic] and direction of funds granted by Parliament, now opposed and denounced that plan of education, of which many of them had formerly expressed their approbation..." (Church Missionary Society, *The Missionary Register for 1832, Containing the Principal Transactions of the Various Tuitions for Propagating the Gospel With the Proceedings, At Large, of the Church Missionary Society* (London: R. Watts, 1832), 423.)

154. These numbers should be compared to the 1824 estimate of the official Commissioners of the Education Inquiry in Ireland: 11,833 schools and 568,964 students. These inflated numbers included the transient 'hedge school' population, and thus should be viewed as very rough estimates. (HC Deb, Supply – Education of the Irish. September 9 1831, Vol. 6, 1289.) See also: Kildare Place Society, *Twelfth Report of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland* (Dublin: Christopher Bentham, 1824), 155.

perceived necessity: Ireland, by virtue of its historical relationship with Britain, was culturally and socially treated as an 'imperial' territory in spite of its constitutional status as a part of the United Kingdom.¹⁵⁵ Irish culture had, so the argument went, proven itself more inclined to disobedience than loyalty, and was thus more susceptible to turmoil in the event of political change. This, in essence, justified the treatment of Ireland as a potential problem and the imposition of Britishness, especially the English language, via education as a means of pacification.¹⁵⁶

Britain was believed less prone to turmoil as Ireland, and its status as the cultural and political heart of Britain pushed education debates more towards the topic of improvement than pacification. The modification of the English franchise would not, it was believed, have as catastrophic an effect on the stability of Britain as it might in Ireland. Britain's slower education development was also related to the overpowering influence of *laissez-faire* politics during this time, typified by the political views of Lord Melbourne, Prime Minister during the 1830s. When asked about social legislation such as state-funded education, Melbourne

155. This point, discussed in the introduction to Colley's *Britons*, is used to explain away Ireland's connection to the 'forging' of Britishness in the eighteenth century. Ireland cannot so easily be excluded from the discussion of Britishness. Indeed, Ireland is essential to understanding Britishness because the Anglo-Irish cultural disconnect sharpened the definition of what it meant to be British and, critically, what it meant to be part of the ruling elite of the empire. This is an important issue to consider when one compares Anglo-Irish tension with Anglo-Welsh or Anglo-Scottish tension. While these issues go beyond the scope of this dissertation, Michael Hechter's *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1999). For more on these issues, see: Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*. Perry L. Jr. Curtis, *Apes and Angels*. Richard Ned Lebow, *White Britain and Black Ireland*.

156. The Earl of Desart, quoted in the *Dublin Evening Mail* in 1854, made this statement on Britain's establishment of education in Ireland: "...it was his belief that the appointment of such a committee would have the effect of satisfying the minds of a great [sic] many persons in Ireland, and that it might be able to suggest amendments which would make the struggling light of education in Ireland, instead of being, as at present, dimmed and obscure, lasting and permanent." ("Debate on the Earl of Eglinton's Motion for a Select Committee to Enquire Into the Practical Working of the System of National Education in Ireland." *Dublin Evening Mail*, Feb 17 1854 ED 7/1, Irish National Archives, Dublin.)

famously remarked that it would be a pity 'to bother the poor' and that state-funded education was neither a guarantee of success nor a curative for criminal behavior.¹⁵⁷

Melbourne's hostility towards social legislation, especially commonplace among Tory and religious interests, forced education reformers to pursue their aims within existing government institutions. The abundance of Parliamentary committees and reports on education during the 1830s can be partially attributed to this, while their failure to offer any meaningful recommendations on policy alludes to their understanding that Parliament was utterly hostile towards their endeavors.¹⁵⁸ In 1839, however, the ingenuity of education reformers finally bore fruit. By manipulating the laws concerning the crown's Privy Council, a committee on education could be grafted onto the Privy Council as a branch immune to Parliamentary erasure or budgetary restrictions.¹⁵⁹ This was the same means by which the Home and Colonial Offices were created in the previous century, and was thus seen by education reformers as the seed of a future, separate branch of the British government.

157. The exact quote, according to Melbourne's biographer David Cecil, is "Why bother the poor? Leave them alone!" (David Cecil, *Melbourne* (London: Constable, 1965), 271). See also, Mary Sturt, *The Education of the People*, 76.

158. If the debates on Irish education are included, there was at least one significant Parliamentary debate on state-funded education every year from 1831-1839. If excluded, there were significant Parliamentary debates on state-funded education from 1833-1835 and from 1837-1839. For detailed information these debates, see: Commons and Lords Hansard, the Official Report of Debates in Parliament. Commons and Lords Libraries, 1803-2005.

159. Kay-Shuttleworth discusses this political innovation in his autobiography: "He [Lord Lansdowne] disclosed to me the intention of the Government to found an Education Department, by an order in Council creating the Committee of Council on Education, which should at first, be charged only with the administration of the annual Parliamentary grant, the distribution of which since 1832 had been confided to the Treasury, who had hitherto acted on the recommendations of the National and British and Foreign School Societies...The Order in Council creating the Committee of Council on Education was issued together with Lord John Russell's celebrated letter to Lord Lansdowne in which he declared that it was "Her Majesty's wish that youth of this Kingdom should be religiously brought up and that the rights of conscience were respected." These acts were speedily followed by the Minute of April 11th 1839." (R.J.W. Sellec, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 59-60.) See also: Mary Sturt, *The Education of the People*, 76-77.

The serendipity of the Committee of Council on Education's creation was, however, partially an illusion. By the late-1830s, new, socially-aware liberal ideologies were competing with and overcoming classic *laissez-faire* liberalism. The root of this transition lies in greater public awareness of socioeconomic inequality, in particular the plight of female and child industrial labor.¹⁶⁰ Novels like Dickens's *Oliver Twist* (1839) offered bleak commentary on the connections between education, disease, and crime, and the recent 'New Poor Law' inquiry had revealed to Parliamentary officials the severity and extent of English pauperism.¹⁶¹ Smithian liberalism, a combination of Smith's notion of moral capitalism and classic liberalism, became popular in this new intellectual and political climate as a compromise between the expansion of state power over social reform and the *laissez-faire* status quo. Smithian liberalism stressed that education was an essential responsibility of the state because it gave the 'tools of reason' to those with the capacity for thought.¹⁶² By lifting the intellectual vista

160. For more on these topics, see: John Belchem, *Industrialization and the Working Class*. Theodore K. Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation*. Judith R. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class and the State* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991). For international and comparative works on the topic, see the following: Louise A. Tilly, and Joan W. Scott, *Women, Work and Family*, New Edition ed., (London: Routledge Publishing, 1987). Christina De Bellaigue, *Educating Women: Schooling and Identity in England and France, 1800-1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

161. Dickens often used his literary popularity to champion causes for the improvement of urban standards of living. This is illustrated by Dickens in a speech made he made in 1851: "Twelve or fifteen years ago, some of the first valuable reports of Mr. Chadwick and Dr. Southwood Smith [Cholera investigators], strengthening and much enlarging my previous imperfect knowledge of this truth [disease vectors], made me, in my sphere, earnest in the Sanitary Cause...Sanitary Reform must precede all other social remedies, and that even Education and Religion can do nothing where they are most needed, until the way is paved for their ministrations by Cleanliness and Decency." (Charles Dickens, *Speech of Charles Dickens, Delivered At Gore House, Kensington, May 10, 1851* (Boston: The Bibliophile Society, 1909), 8-9.) See also: Mary Sturt, *The Education of the People*, 87.

162. Thomas Carlyle was also very emphatic about the state's obligation to education its people: "Nay this one Bill, which lies yet unenacted, a right Education Bill, is not this of itself the sure parent of innumerable wise Bills,—wise regulations, practical methods and proposals, gradually ripening towards the state of Bills? To irradiate with intelligence, that is to say, with order, arrangement and all blessedness, the Chaotic, Unintelligent: how, except by educating, can you accomplish this? That thought, reflection, articulate utterance and understanding be awakened in these individual million heads, which are the atoms of your Chaos: there is no other way of illuminating any Chaos! The sum-total of intelligence that is found in it, determines the extent of order that is possible for your Chaos,—the feasibility

of the average Briton through education, so the argument went, their work ethic, reasoned morality, and commitment to social harmony would likewise be lifted.

At first glance, Smithian Liberalism's argument on education appears identical to the position held by the SDUK, however it placed an absolute premium on economy and indirect support for education. This discrepancy was a consequence of Smith's own emphasis on the interplay between self-interested individualism, social harmony and *laissez-faire* economics.¹⁶³ For a Smithian liberal, state-funded education was a justifiable investment in the gradual improvement of society, the long-term benefit being the rational, and therefore economic improvement of its constituents and, ultimately, a return on the state's initial investment. Like Smith's 'invisible hand' of the market, these investments would influence, but not force, changes within society. State-funding would be used to support existing schools and fund an inspectorate that, in addition to other concerns, would safeguard the state's investment through examinations and observation.¹⁶⁴ Smithian liberalism made the notion of state-funded education more palatable to Whigs like Lord Melbourne because it placed the

and rationality of what your Chaos will dimly demand from you, and will gladly obey when proposed by you! It is an exact equation; the one accurately measures the other.—If the whole English People, during these 'twenty years of respite,' be not educated, with at least schoolmaster's educating, a tremendous responsibility, before God and men, will rest somewhere! How dare any man, especially a man calling himself minister of God, stand up in any Parliament or place, under any pretext or delusion, and for a day or an hour forbid God's Light to come into the world, and bid the Devil's Darkness continue in it one hour more!" (Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present* (1843), Reprint ed., (London: Chapman and Hall, 1872), 228.) For more on this, see: John William Adamson, *English Education*, 148.

163. This concept is referred to in many of Smith's works, especially *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*: "And hence it is, that to feel much for others and little for ourselves, that to restrain our selfish, and to indulge our benevolent affections, constitutes the perfection of human nature; and can alone produce among mankind that harmony of sentiments and passions in which consists their whole grace and propriety. As to love our neighbour as we love ourselves is the great law of Christianity, so it is the great precept of nature to love ourselves only as we love our neighbour, or what comes to the same thing, as our neighbour is capable of loving us." (Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (London: A. Millar, 1759), I.I. 44.) For an excellent analysis of Smithian philosophy, see the following work: John Cunningham Wood, *Adam Smith: Critical Assessments*, vol. Vol. 1 (London: Routledge, 1984). 164. Nancy Ball, *Her Majesty's Inspectorate, 1839-1849* (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1963).

burden of actually educating students on private groups and retained the *laissez-faire* values of economic liberalism. These points become clear when considering the views of Kay-Shuttleworth with regards to state-funded education:

My Lords, conceive that the same motives which induce merchants and manufacturers to devote a portion of their annual profits to the insurance of the capital they employ in trade ought to be sufficient...a comparatively small annual expenditure, judiciously employed in introducing the elements of civilization and religion would render society harmonious and secure.¹⁶⁵

A veteran of the New Poor Law Commission and ardent supporter of education reform, Kay-Shuttleworth was a model of Smithian liberalism and, in 1839, became the first secretary of the Privy Council's Committee of Council on Education.¹⁶⁶ Armed with an amicable ideological climate, political clout via the Privy Council and the momentum of social reform started with abolition and the New Poor Law of the early 1830s, Kay-Shuttleworth was poised to become the chief architect of Britain's fledgling education system during the 1840-50s. Smithian Liberalism was thus essential to the rise of state-funded education in Britain. Kay-Shuttleworth is, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, a prime example of the importance of this ideology, as well as its impact on education: it encouraged him to see education as the most cost-effective curative for the ills of British society.

The influence of Smithian Liberalism was not confined to the British Isles. While Kay-Shuttleworth was developing his views on the social ills of Britain, an ideological clash had begun in British India over the a similar issue, a clash that would finally be settled in

165. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1840-1841. Archival Records, ED. 17/4. Education Department, 1841, 17. This excerpt is part of a Committee of Council on Education letter written in 1840 to Sir Thomas Phillips of Newport on the topic of founding a school in the region, referenced again at length in Chapter 6. See also: Mary Sturt, *The Education of the People*, 102. R.J.W. Sellec, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*.

166. Though James Kay did not become James Kay-Shuttleworth until his marriage in 1842, for the sake of consistency he will be referred to as Kay-Shuttleworth through this dissertation. Kay-Shuttleworth's biography, and his impact on the Committee of Council on Education, will be discussed more fully below.

1835 by Thomas Babington Macaulay. Separated by thousands of miles, these two narratives, domestic and imperial, are intertwined as a consequence of the ideological tenets that bound British education policy in Britain and India together during the 1830s.

To understand the significance of Macaulay's views on education, it is important to return to the debate between Orientalists and Anglicists that started in India in the 1820s. The influence of the Orientalists on Indian education, though strong, was waning relative to the emerging Anglicist movement.¹⁶⁷ The root of this transition was grounded in the ideologies and political developments outlined above, as some of the most hostile opponents of Orientalism were tied to the liberal and religious movements that championed education reform in Britain and Ireland. In fact, the same abolitionist impulse that drove missionaries into West Africa after 1833 (discussed below) was already at work in India in 1830. For example Alexander Duff, a Scottish Calvinist missionary operating out of Bengal, openly condemned 'Oriental' education and claimed that the only source of 'good' education rested at the intersection of the English language and (Protestant) Christianity.¹⁶⁸

167. One of the key influences on the emergence of the Anglicist movement was the popularity of James Mill's series *The History of British India* (1817). This series, heavily influenced by Utilitarianism, was both a historical survey and a prescription for the resolution of India's lingering social and political problems. The following excerpt highlights this: "They [Orientalists], who affirm the high state of civilization among the Hindus previous to their subjugation to foreigners, proceed so directly in opposition to evidence, that wherever the Hindus have been always exempt from the dominion of foreigners, there they are uniformly found in a state of civilization inferior to those who have long been the subjects of a Mahomedan [sic] throne...Should we say that the civilization of the people of Hindustan, and that of the people of Europe, during the feudal ages, are not far from equal, we shall find upon a close inspection that the Europeans were superior...they [Europeans] were greatly superior, notwithstanding the defects of the feudal system, in the institutions of government and in laws...in war, the Hindus have always been greatly inferior to the warlike nations of Europe...Our ancestors, however, though rough, were sincere; but, under the glosing [sic] exterior of the Hindu, lies a general disposition to deceit and perfidy." (James Mill, *The History of British India*, Third Edition ed., vol. Vol. 2 (London: Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, 1826), 179-188.)

168. According to Duff's more sympathetic associates and biographers, Duff was a fervent supporter of Anglicism and essential to its success in 1835: "Before Mr. Duff left Calcutta in July 1834 a great battle had begun between two opposing parties in the Committee of Public Instruction, —a battle in which he himself, though an outsider, had taken no mean share; and

Though a strong voice, Duff was not alone. The Anglicist interest within the British East India Company's Committee of Public Instruction was smaller than its rival, however, by the early 1830s, its relative power, either in the external influence of Duff or the internal support of men like Macaulay, was beginning to match that of the Orientalists. The Orientalists did have the legacy of Warren Hastings, Arthur Wellesley, and Francis Rawdon-Hastings to lean on, however behind this show of political bravado lay their biggest weakness: the support of the Hindu intellectual elites of Bengal.¹⁶⁹ At first glance, this seems to be the Orientalist group's strongest asset, assuming that the British East India Company wanted to maintain an amicable relationship with the wealthiest and most powerful members of Bengali society. It was, however, a liability, as the relationship between Bengali elites and British authorities was beginning to change during this time.

he had not been a twelvemonth in Scotland, when he heard the joyful news of the victory of that party with whom he thoroughly sympathized [the Anglicists]...He [Duff] greatly strengthened the hands of the Anglicists of the Committee of Public Instruction, with some of whom— especially with Sir Charles Trevelyan— he was on terms of familiar intimacy. Were the history of this controversy fully written, it would be found that the services which Duff rendered at this crisis were second only to those of Macaulay himself." (Lal Behari Day, *Recollections of Alexander Duff, D.d., LL. D., and of the Mission College Which He Founded in Calcutta* (London: T. Nelson and Sons, 1879), 52-57.) See also: David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance*, 259-261.

169. An example of such Orientalist support comes from the writings of Francis Rawdon-Hastings in 1817: "The foundation [of a new school in Barrackpore] is for the instruction of eighty native boys and sixteen European and half-caste girls. The boys are to be taught arithmetic and Hindostanee [sic], as well as writing in their own language, the Bengalee [sic]...Lady Loudoun made a collection of stories, apologues and maxims, all illustrating and recommending principles of morality, without reference to any particular religion...the principal natives at Barrackpore [sic], who approved it earnestly, and communicated the tenor of it throughout the neighbourhood. The consequence is, that the most anxious interest is made to get boys admitted to the school, and the children of Brahmins are among the most solicitous...were it [education] to go no further than their acquiring some notions of justice and humanity, which they would never otherwise be likely to attain, much good would be achieved...he [the educated student] will thence become an active instrument in dispelling the baleful superstitions of his countrymen..." (Francis-Rawdon Hastings, *The Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings, K.g., Governor-General and Commander-in-chief in India*, vol. Vol. I (London: Saunders and Otle, 1858), 156-158.) See also: David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance*, 145.

By the 1830s, with the specter of Jacobinism receding and Mughal power all but illusory, the need for Bengali elite approval, formerly based on the precariousness of the British East India Company's position in Bengal, was no longer valid. Furthermore, many Anglicists were wary as to why Bengal's elites supported Orientalism, especially when Bengali intellectuals such as Rammohun Roy argued that the fusion of Hinduism and Western learning could be a catalyst for Indian power under British rule.¹⁷⁰ Anglicists feared that Orientalism would facilitate the corruption of British education and culture in India and create a class of Indians competitive with, instead of subject to, British officials.¹⁷¹ As British administrative power increased during the early 1800s, competition over jobs between British officials and educated Indians increased proportionately, pushing many Britons towards an Anglicist model that championed their values over those of Bengal. This relationship, the foundation of British ethnocentric rule in India, might not have succeeded if not for the support of one final interest: the Utilitarians.

Utilitarianism, the supremely rational form of liberalism envisioned in the late-eighteenth/early-nineteenth century by Jeremy Bentham, James Mill, and his son, John Stuart

170. Though Roy produced a great number of written works, the most well-known work is his "Letter on English Education" written to Lord Amherst in 1823. Though condemned by many Brahmans for disparaging Hindu traditions, Roy's letter is representative of the Indian supporters of Orientalism during the 1820s and 1830s: "If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge, the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner the Sanscrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British legislature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction...I conceive myself discharging a solemn duty which I owe to my countrymen, and also to that enlightened sovereign and legislature which have extended their benevolent care to this distant land, actuated by a desire to improve the inhabitants..." (Rammohun Roy, *The English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy* (Bahadurganj: The Panini Office, 1906), 471-474.) See also: David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance*, 196.

171. The fear of Indian social mobility is a central theme of the following work: B.B. Misra, *The Indian Middle Classes*, 16, 74. In many ways, this fear can be compared to fears of social mobility in Britain and Ireland, topics which are addressed in the following work: *Culture and Education in Victorian England*, 148.

Mill, stressed the importance of rationalized and efficient government as a means of realizing the 'greater good.'¹⁷² Though English in origin and popular in idealist circles, Utilitarianism's practical impact and general popularity in Britain were fairly limited until the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁷³ In spite of this, Utilitarians were a highly vocal group, especially in their condemnation of British governance in India. James Mill was particularly hostile towards Orientalism, using his experience as a British East India Company administrator to justify his condemnation of the Orientalist's supposed veneration for the 'darkness' of barbaric Asia.¹⁷⁴ For Mill, British rule in India should not be seen as a romanticized 'self-imposed exile' into Asia (a view attributed to men like Warren Hastings and Robert Clive), but rather a chance to reshape India in a rational and efficient manner. This argument speaks to the fundamental Utilitarian argument that culture and government are mutually-linked institutions within a society, and that the rationalization/modernization of one will inherently reshape the other. India, therefore, could improve itself through the importation of English institutions and culture, not because they were inherently better from an ethnocentric standpoint, but because they were inherently better from a Utilitarian standpoint.

One could argue (as many have) that there is no distinction between British ethnocentrism and Utilitarianism, however a closer inspection of Utilitarian writings, and the influence of Utilitarianism on officials such as Macaulay, reveals that Utilitarians were not

172. For an excellent work on the relationship between Utilitarianism and India, see the following: Eric Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959). See also: Jennifer Pitts, *A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France* (2006: Princeton University Press, 2006).

173. For more on this, see: Theodore K. Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation*.

174. "...in professing to establish seminaries for the purpose of teaching mere Hindoo [sic] or mere Mahomedan [sic] literature, the Government bound itself to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely mischievous, and a small remainder indeed in which utility was in any way concerned. The great end of Government should be, not to teach Hindoo or Mahomedan learning, but useful learning." (James Mill, quoted from John Clark Marshman, *The History of India: From the Earliest Period to the Close of Lord Dalhousie's Administration*, vol. Vol. III (London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer, 1867), 64.) See also: David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance*, 238-9.

necessarily committed to British institutions, nor inherently hostile to Indian ones.¹⁷⁵ Referring back to the excerpt referenced at the beginning of Chapter 1, the line "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia" was less a condemnation of Indian/Arabian literature specifically than it was a condemnation of ancient and pre-modern texts in general, and a glorification of anything that was deemed modern, liberal, and enlightened. This argument, more than any other, was at the heart of Macaulay's *Minute on Education* of 1835, and justified his sweeping condemnation of anything that encouraged the maintenance of pre-modern tradition in favor of Utilitarian liberalism.¹⁷⁶ Macaulay's *Minute* was not, as some have argued, a sudden volte-face of British opinion, nor the genesis of the Anglicist view, but rather Macaulay's *Minute* was the conclusion

175. An excellent example of this distinction comes from a speech given by Macaulay to the House of Commons in July 1833: "If the question were, What is the best mode of securing good government in Europe? the merest smatterer [sic] in politics would answer, representative institutions. In India you cannot have representative institutions...Mr. Mill, was examined on this point. That gentleman is well known to be a very bold and uncompromising politician. He has written strongly, far too strongly I think in favour [sic] of pure democracy...But when he was asked before the Committee of last year, whether he thought representative government practicable in India, his answer was, "utterly out of the question." This, then, is the state in which we are. We have to frame a good government for a country into which, by universal acknowledgement, we cannot introduce those institutions which all our habits, which all the reasonings of European philosophers, which all the history of our own part of the world would lead us to consider as the one great security for good government." (Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Speeches of Lord Macaulay*, 135-136.)

176. "It is said that the Sanscrit and the Arabic are the languages in which the sacred books of a hundred millions of people are written, and that they are on that account entitled to peculiar encouragement. Assuredly it is the duty of the British Government in India to be not only tolerant but neutral on all religious questions. But to encourage the study of a literature, admitted to be of small intrinsic value, only because that literature inculcated the most serious errors on the most important subjects, is a course hardly reconcilable with reason, with morality, or even with that very neutrality which ought, as we all agree, to be sacredly preserved. It is confined that a language is barren of useful knowledge. We are to teach it because it is fruitful of monstrous superstitions. We are to teach false history, false astronomy, false medicine, because we find them in company with a false religion. We abstain, and I trust shall always abstain, from giving any public encouragement to those who are engaged in the work of converting the natives to Christianity. And while we act thus, can we reasonably or decently bribe men, out of the revenues of the State, to waste their youth in learning how they are to purify themselves after touching an ass or what texts of the Vedas they are to repeat to expiate the crime of killing a goat?" (Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Minute on Education*.) See also: David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance*, 245-249.

to a decades-long struggle between two opposing ideologies regarding the relationship between education and British rule in India.¹⁷⁷

To understand the importance of Macaulay's *Minute*, it is important to consider the document's immediate context. Parliament's renewal of the British East India Company's Charter Act in 1833 included, along with a general increase in education funding, a statement that positions in the Company were open to all educated members of Indian society, regardless of "religion, place of birth, [or] descent [sic] colour."¹⁷⁸ This Act also created the position of Law Member on the Governor-General's Executive Council, a post not unlike Kay-Shuttleworth's on the Privy Council, which was filled by Macaulay in 1834.¹⁷⁹ Increase in education funding aside, the Charter's statement regarding employment greatly increased the appeal of British education for Indians, in particular the hybrid, Anglo-Indian education offered at Orientalist colleges such as Fort William.

Though a boon for native Indians, the Charter was viewed as a threat to British supremacy within the Company and, as a result, catalyzed the Anglicist argument that Western education must replace, not assimilate with, 'Oriental' learning in order to preserve its

177. This debate is discussed in an excellent article by Natalie Robinson and Gerald Sirkin: Natalie Robinson Sirkin, and Gerald Sirkin, "The Battle of Indian Education: Macaulay's Opening Salvo Newly Discovered," *Victorian Studies* Vol. 14, No. 4 (Jun. 1971).

178. The admission of Natives into the British East India Company was noted, with favor, by James Buckingham, MP, in a Parliamentary debate on the East India Company's charter in 1833: "The King's Ministers should have taken the direct administration of the Indian government into their own hands, and added to their councils, if it were necessary, the men of talent now belonging to the East-India Direction. This would have been manly and open; as they would thus have taken upon themselves the full responsibility for the right or wrong administration of Indian affairs; from which they now shrunk, by taking shelter under the cloak of the Company—and, while exercising an indirect control, leaving to them the full accountability for the consequences. They ought also to have made some provision in the new arrangement, for the admission into the Supreme Council in India, of some few representatives of the British population in India as well as of the natives, in order to make a beginning, at least, of that system of self-government, to which they ought to advance all our colonies as fast as possible." (HC Deb, Debate on the East India Company's Charter. July 26 1833, Vol 20.) See also: P. L. Rawat, *History of Indian Education*, 205.

179. *Ibid*, 209.

efficacy.¹⁸⁰ Macaulay's appointment and, soon after arrival in Bengal, his additional responsibility as President of the General Committee of Public Instruction, were, therefore, viewed by both sides as an opportunity to end the debate once and for all.¹⁸¹

Macaulay's decision to side with the Anglicists remains a highly-contested issue, however current scholarship has settled on three key reasons for his behavior: the return on state investment in education, his belief in the supremacy of Western (British) culture and, most important, the utility of the English language as a means of learning and administration.¹⁸² The first reason, investment, is directly tied to the ideology of Smithian liberalism. If education is to be a state-financed endeavor, it should guarantee a sizable long-term return either directly (financially) or indirectly (morality, efficiency, loyalty), something only a Western-style education could supposedly do. This argument had already been used to justify state-funded education in Ireland in 1831 and, in 1839, would be used again by Kay-Shuttleworth in the British context. The second and third reasons, British culture and the English language, are expressions of Macaulay's liberal/Utilitarian world-view and were

180. The themes of professional competition and British hostility will be seen again in the context of the Indian Civil Service in Chapters 12-15.

181. According to the biographer of Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General of British India during the 1830s, the Committee was equally divided between the Anglicists and the Orientalists, with five members in support of each. Macaulay's appointment, combined with Bentinck's sympathy for the Anglicist (or British) School, thus pushed the Committee away from Orientalism. For more on this, see: Demetrius C. Boulger, *Rulers of India: Lord William Bentinck* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897), 149-158.

182. Historian C.A. Bayly stresses that, in spite of the innovatory visions of Macaulay, Bentinck and even Roy, such 'deep changes' to Indian society and India's economy did not come to pass until after the great railway investments of the 1860s. Some reforms, particularly agrarian and rural reforms, were enacted, though never on the scale envisioned by Anglicists like Bentinck. While there is significant historical evidence to show that insufficient funding and infrastructural woes limited the efficacy of reform not just in India, but throughout the British Empire, this dissertation will not take as strong of a stance on the issue of Bayly in light of research on the effects of state-funded education during this period. For more on Bayly's argument, see: *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire*, vol. II.I, The New Cambridge History of India (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 122, 136, 244. For more on the topic of education in mid-nineteenth century India, see: Tapan Raychaudhuri, *Europe Reconsidered*.

justifications commonly employed by Anglicists as a rebuttal to the Orientalists. Thus Macaulay's *Minute*, though a crippling blow to the Orientalist position, was not innovatory, but rather the keystone of the Anglicist interest catalyzed by the renewal of the Charter Act in 1833.

Unlike Kay-Shuttleworth, generally-regarded as the chief *architect* of Britain's state education system, Macaulay is best described as the chief *theorist* of India's state education system. His *Minute*, for example, did little to alter the practical state of education in India upon publication. The vast majority of primary and upper-level schools continued to teach in the vernacular and his ideas, though followed from a policy standpoint, had little tangible impact due to logistical impediments.¹⁸³ In fact, the first substantial applications of education policy in India were not attempted until after the Indian Mutiny of 1857.¹⁸⁴ These problems have forced historians to question the early historiography regarding the 'great reforms' of the 1830s-40s, leading many, such as Eric Stokes, to conclude that the 'reforms' of this era were simply the idle and unimplementable chatter between clerks and civil officials like Macaulay.¹⁸⁵ In spite of this, it would be unwise to discount the importance of Macaulay's *Minute* for the development of Britain's administration in India, if only because policy, even when unimplementable at inception, is a reflection of uninhibited intent. Furthermore, Macaulay's *Minute* made official the growing ethnocentric divisions with Company administration and Anglo-Indian society, all of which are essential to understanding not

183. This problem was not officially addressed until after the Indian Mutiny of 1857, during the administration of Sir Charles Wood. Wood's role in the expansion of Indian education will be discussed more thoroughly below. For more on this topic, see: R. J. Moore, *Sir Charles Wood's Indian Policy: 1853-66* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966).

184. The Indian Mutiny (or Sepoy Rebellion) played a major role in reshaping British policy after 1858. While the logistics of the Mutiny itself fall outside of the scope of this dissertation, numerous works have been written on the subject: Thomas R. Metcalf, *The Aftermath of Revolt: India, 1857-1870* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964). Eric Stokes, *The Peasant Armed: The Indian Revolt of 1857* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

185. Eric Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India*, 212.

just later innovations in education practice, but also the responses of educated Indians to policy after Macaulay.

In conclusion, the early-nineteenth century policies of state-funded Irish, British and Indian education were quite diverse in their implementations and practical origins. From the anti-'hedge school' policies of Ireland to the Orientalist-Anglicist debate in India, the number of unique sociocultural contexts highlights, if nothing else, the increasingly complex relationship between political authority, empire, social reform, and Britishness during the early-nineteenth century. In spite of these variables, the material above has revealed a core set of ideological values centered around liberalism, Protestantism, and British ethnocentrism that catalyzed and reinforced the individuals and organizations responsible for state-funded education policies in each scenario. These ideologies, far from monolithic, were the products of political and cultural debates regarding the short-term costs and long-term consequences of state welfarism, in particular the risks involved in state intervention in education. To fully comprehend the ramifications of these ideologies and the policies they generated, the views of educationists and those being educated must be compared to the views of officials and policymakers like Kay-Shuttleworth. It is to these perspectives, and their practical and ideological consequences, that the next chapter will turn.

Chapter 4: India, Britain, and the Monitorial Method

In 1787, Andrew Bell, a Scottish Episcopalian priest and superintendent of the Military Male Orphan Asylum in Madras, went on a ride. Bell had been assigned to the school earlier in the year by the Presidency of Bengal, a post he held on condition that the orphaned boys, now separated from the 'corrupt practices' of their Indian mothers, show noticeable improvements in morality and discipline and are "[raised]...above the mean and low vices, which besot and debase the ignorant..."¹⁸⁶ The traditional system of a schoolmaster with two or more ushers was, however, an inefficient template, one that Bell repeatedly tried to replace with his own failed experimentations. In Bell's own narrative, his next actions take on an almost prophetic dimension: while on an excursion in the greater Malabar region around Madras, Bell happened upon a small Indian school. Watching the students, Bell noticed that older students were simultaneously instructing numerous younger students via the repetitive practice of drawing letters and words in the sand. Upon witnessing this event, in the grandest of oft-maligned European 'moments of discovery,' Bell exclaimed "Eureka, I have discovered it," returned to Madras and, over the next few years, developed the educational system known as the Madras, or Monitorial Method.¹⁸⁷ This method, described by the President in Council of Fort St. George as "...a system of tuition altogether new," was quite successful in Madras and, when Bell returned to Scotland in 1796, he authored a series

186. Andrew Bell, *Instructions for Conducting a School Through the Agency of the Scholars Themselves Comprising the Analysis of an Experiment in Education Made At the Male Asylum, Madras, 1789-1796* (London: John Murray, 1813), 8.

187. A.J. Saunders, *The Problem of Religious Education in the Public School as Seen in the Bell-Lancaster Controversy* (Madras: Christian Literature Society, 1919), 18-20. Andrew Bell, *An Analysis of the the Experiment in Education Made At Egmore, Near Madras* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1807), 53.

of texts that would, beginning with *An Experiment in Education* (1797), completely revolutionize British schooling in less than half a century.¹⁸⁸

The symbolism and ramifications of this 'moment of discovery' cannot be overstated with regards to education and the Anglo-Indian imperial relationship. Bell never swayed in his vindication that he had discovered the system by his own merit, as highlighted in the introduction to *Mutual Instruction and Moral Discipline* (1823):

Those who have confounded writing on sand, with the Madras System, have imagined that it had long prevailed in India; but the fact is, that Mutual Tuition, in that country, as well in schools for the Natives as for Europeans, owes its origin to the Madras Report, and has been, for the most part, transferred thither by Missionaries and Preceptors trained in the Madras Schools at home.¹⁸⁹

In the same section, Bell argues that the concept of 'monitors' has precedents in British education (they existed, much like in India, but had not been experimented with as Bell had done) and, as his definitive evidence, Bell repeatedly referred back to this passage in the Gospel of John: "Jesus stooped down, and with his finger wrote on the ground."¹⁹⁰ For Bell, the Madras System was his model, discovered in India, perfected in Scotland, and destined to, in his words,

spread over the habitable globe, with a rapidity, and to an extent, [with] which there is no parallel in any school, ancient or modern...[it carries] along with it the means of civilization, and that most powerful of all means, the Gospel of Peace and Salvation.¹⁹¹

There is some truth in Bell's assertions: by the mid-19th century, the Madras, or Bell System and its variants had been widely implemented in Britain, the United States and much of western Europe as an efficient and cost-effective means of primary education. Yet

188. Andrew Bell, *Instructions*, 4-5.

189. Andrew Bell, *Mutual Tuition and Moral Discipline; or, Manual of Instructions for Conducting Schools Through the Agency of the Scholars Themselves* (London: G. Roake, 1822), II.

190. Andrew Bell, *Analysis*, 53.

191. Andrew Bell, *Letters to the Rt. Hon. Sir John Sinclair, Bart. On the Infant School Society At Edinburgh* (London: C.J. & F. Rivington, 1829), 3.

the issue of originality remains highly contestable: since Indian independence, historians of Anglo-Indian relations have pointed to this moment, alongside Macaulay's *Minute on Education* of 1835, as symptoms of Britain's emergent ethnocentric and orientalist view of India. Syed Nurullah, in his work *A Student's History of Education in India, 1800-1965*, challenges Bell's claim to originality, highlighting the irony that the indigenous system of education in pre-British India contributed greatly to Britain's educational expansion in the 19th-20th centuries, but played a minor role in India's own educational advancement during the same period.¹⁹² Nurullah connects this irony to the historiographical tendency to focus solely on Britain's contributions to Indian development, rather than India's contributions to Britain.¹⁹³ Other historians, such as Thomas Metcalf and Sanjay Seth, have tackled this issue through the lens of India as a 'laboratory of empire' regarding imperial ideology and culture, thus offering a corrective to the one-sided narrative of Anglo-Indian interaction.¹⁹⁴

In spite of the histories of Seth, Metcalf, and others, the Anglo-Indian relationship continues to lack a strong, unified discourse: interactions are still viewed as a one-way street, be it Indians borrowing from or being forcibly changed by Britons, or Britons changing because of India.¹⁹⁵ The narrative of the development of Andrew Bell's Madras System reveals the importance of studying not just the 'one-way streets' of Anglo-Indian imperial discourse, but also the co-evolution of all British state-funded education systems of schooling as a single, unified discourse on the role of the state in education. With this argument in mind, this chapter analyzes the seminal personalities, such as Bell, responsible for the education models that defined British state-funded education for much of the nineteenth century.

192. This theory will be discussed in greater detail below. Syed Nurullah, and J.P. Naik, *A Student's History of Education in India*, 50.

193. *Ibid*, 27.

194. For more on this concept, see: Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*. See also: Sanjay Seth, *Subject Lessons*.

195. For more on this topic, see: David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire*.

When dealing with pre-British (18th century) Indian primary education, one of the key problems is the scarcity of quantitative data.¹⁹⁶ Primary schooling was, much like in Britain at the same time, a highly decentralized and localized affair, maintained almost exclusively by private funds for small-scale deployment. If British schools were maintained by fledgling societies for the poor, church organizations and the rare wealthy benefactor, Indian schools were maintained by local religious groups (i.e. Hindu Pathshalas, Buddhist Bhutias and Islamic Madrassas) as well as wealthy Indian merchants and landed gentry.¹⁹⁷ Such schools varied in curriculum and structure, though, especially for the smaller village schools, the general emphasis was on practical knowledge, basic literacy, and arithmetic. Such schools, Britons like Rev. William Adam noted in the 1830s, came and went according to local needs and were generally open to children of any faith and based on the 'tutorial model,' thus complicating contemporary efforts to generate a census of Indian indigenous schools.¹⁹⁸ In the larger, more permanent schools located in Hindu-dominated towns and cities, a system of student-based monitored learning and repetitive exercise, the system appropriated by Bell, was widespread and highly popular. If there remains any doubt as to the falsity of Bell's assertion of originality, the commentary of Sir Thomas Munro regarding schools in the province of Bellary in 1822 dispels it:

The economy with which children are taught to write in the native schools, and the system by which the most advanced scholars are caused to teach the less advanced, and at the same time to confirm their own knowledge, is certainly admirable, and well deserves the imitation it has received in England.¹⁹⁹

196. This point is also noted by Syed Nurullah in his work *History of Education in India*, and is used to justify his reliance on early-19th century British reports on Indian indigenous education. Syed Nurullah, and J.P. Naik, *A Student's History of Education in India*, 1.

197. Dick B. Dewan, *Education in the Darjeeling Hills: An Historical Survey, 1835-1985* (New Delhi: Indus Publishing Company, 1991), 73. Syed Nurullah, and J.P. Naik, *A Student's History of Education in India*, 21.

198. *Ibid*, 2.

199. *Ibid*, 5-6.

These reports, concerned with determining the number of indigenous schools as well as their character and purpose in Indian society, represented the first official investigations into Indian primary education by British authorities, and were mirrored at home with the research of education officials such as Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth.²⁰⁰

Of such reports, the reports of Rev. William Adam, conducted throughout the 1810-1830s, are the most robust, and have the greatest similarity to the education reports of Britain from the 1830-50s. Like the British reports, which will be discussed in greater depth below, Adam's reports on the education systems of Bengal reflected the official mind of the British state (in this case, the British East India Company, or BEIC for short), and, in turn, influenced and directed the official mind towards specific ends.²⁰¹ This is especially clear in the case of Adam, as the paucity of thorough investigative reports aside from his own gave additional weight to their importance, as well as their influence on education policy.²⁰² This is particularly problematic, as Adam, a devout follower of the 'Orientalist' school of thought, wielded an air of authority on Indian culture that, with few exceptions, allowed him to define and generalize on Indian culture without the perceived need for an Indian voice to contextualize or counter his arguments. For example, in a series of written exchanges in 1823 with Dr. Henry Ware, a Professor of Divinity at Harvard College, Adam is asked the following question: "What is the real success of the great exertions which are now

200. R.J.W. Sellec, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 83, 134-135.

201. The idea of an 'official mind' of government, originally popularized by historians Robinson and Gallagher, is historiographically associated with British perceptions of the outsider, particularly the imperial subject (or potential subject, as it may be). For more on this, see: Ronald Robinson, and John Gallagher, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism* (Hong Kong: Macmillan Press, 1983).

202. Adam's influence on education is seen throughout this dissertation, as his writings were used by Indian, British, and Irish officials during the mid-nineteenth century to justify or contest education reforms. He is arguably the most oft-cited educationist and school inspector of this period, perhaps only second to Seymour Tremenheere. Most of these discussions were collected and published in the following compendium, which is referenced throughout this dissertation: William Adam, *Adam's Reports*.

making for the conversion of the natives of India to Christianity?"²⁰³ In response to this, Adam offers a sweeping generalization regarding the prevalence of Christianity in India and probability of its adoption:

As far as I have been able to observe and judge, high and low, rich and poor, learned and unlearned, are, with few exceptions, alike ignorant of the peculiar evidences and doctrines of Christianity, as well as the peculiar duties and expectations of Christians. An intelligent native will probably be found to receive few specific ideas respecting Christianity from the preaching of Missionaries. The general impression left on his mind will, I believe, be, that it is a system friendly to polytheism, but opposed to idolatry...inculcating a purer and stricter morality than his own.²⁰⁴

Though, as noted above, Adam was admired within the BEIC for his knowledge on Indian culture, this generalization stemmed from but three places: six years of experience working in India, communications with the few British missionaries in India, most of which were stationed in Calcutta, and what he refers to as 'Country-born sub-Missionaries,' or British missionaries born in India, of which he knew of only seven.²⁰⁵ Adam, relative to his British counterparts in India, was an expert on Anglo-Indian cultural interaction, however his assumptions, and conclusions, far outstripped his experiences, thus giving his many reports on education an element of debatable accuracy.

In spite of these caveats, Adam's reports are invaluable by virtue of their incomparable scope and uniqueness in the context of early British education in India, and should not be discarded outright. Furthermore, the reports made by Adam share the problem of 'debatable accuracy' with the reports produced by Her Majesty's Inspectorate in Britain during the 1840-50s.²⁰⁶ Inspectors were viewed as 'foreigners' (due to cultural, class, linguistic differences, or otherwise) and found themselves in the position of amateur anthropologist,

203. William Adam, *Correspondence Relative to the Prospects of Christianity and the Means of Promoting Its Reception in India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1824), 4.

204. *Ibid.*, 39.

205. *Ibid.*, 21-22.

206. For more on this, see Chapters 6-7.

documenting the exotic, the mundane, or even the shocking elements of popular culture that often escaped the gaze of the ruling elite and upper classes of British society. Such inspectors were, as many alluded, strangers in strange lands, forced to acknowledge both their own status as foreigners and, critically, their unfamiliarity with the culture of those they professed to have the knowledge to teach, civilize and write about.²⁰⁷ The utility of the reports discussed throughout this chapter is not the accuracy of their information, but rather the impact they had on official British perceptions of the lower orders of the societies they ruled, and British policy regarding state-funded popular education.²⁰⁸

Adam begins his reports with a discussion of the earliest education efforts in Bengal and Behar in the late 1810s, specifically the schools of Messrs. Pearson, Harley and May in the cities of Chinsura in Bengal and Bankipur in Bihar. These schools, with a combined enrollment of around 3,500 students at their respective peaks, were conducted on Bell's Madras System, and were partially funded via a Government subsidy of 800 Rupees per mensem.²⁰⁹ Adam does not clarify how or when these numbers were established, however he does note, interestingly, that many of the schools saw dramatic reductions in attendance as several similarly-designed schools were opened by Indians themselves. On this topic, Adam argues,

207. This speaks to the central thesis of Edward Said's *Orientalism*, as well as the crux of much of the imperial historiography that views Said's thesis – and the concept of 'orientalism' – as invalidating the work of inspectors like Adam. It is worth noting that this dissertation does not treat Adam's commentary, nor his statistical information, as objective truths, but rather a reflection of his outsider status and the British world-view with regards to non-Western education. As such, this dissertation agrees with the theory of orientalism, however it does not discount the value of Western perspectives on non-Western culture as a tool of historical study. For more on orientalism, see: Edward Said, *Orientalism*.

208. This argument applies to all primary sources related to education and Britishness used in this dissertation – most are employed for their impact on policy and Britishness, not their factual data.

209. There were 2451 students in 33 schools in Chinsura (16 of which were under the administration of Mr. May), and 1,266 students in 12 schools in Bankipur, to be precise. Furthermore, taking a rough conversion rate of 10 Rupee to 1£, monthly Government expenditure amounted to around £80.

[that the schools were opened by the natives], partly from motives of ostentation, and partly with view of opposition to Mr. May; but it soon became manifest that his plan of education was as inoffensive to their prejudices, as it was superior to their own mode of instruction, and its progress now exceeded his most sanguine expectation.²¹⁰

Adam's statement quoted above, a prime example of his propensity to overextend his limited knowledge on Indian culture, does, however, illustrate a few of the early problems of state-funded education in India, specifically the tense relationship between British education entrepreneurs like May and the emerging Indian interest in Madras System schools. Most of these new, Indian-funded schools were based on the Madras System which, as noted above, was a modified version of the Indian systems used prior to British rule. In addition, these schools used vernacular translations of British curricula and texts, most of which were created for the schools of Christian missionaries or entrepreneurs like Pearson, Harley and May. One such school was established sometime between 1816 and 1818 by the Rajah of Burdwan with the intended purpose of educating not just Brahmans, but also students of other, 'lesser' castes.²¹¹ This decision, though controversial, was typical of the Anglo-Indian effort towards expanding vernacular education in both Christian and non-Christian environments.²¹² The minimization of caste as a barrier to education, however, was not without drawbacks. By expanding the number of eligible Indian students, British officials bound themselves to a policy which required either a significant increase in state funding and infra-

210. In the same excerpt, Adam notes that "The endeavors...[approached] that adopted in the National Society's Schools in England, with the modifications suggested by local circumstances, and some ingenious and expedient additions made by the new managers." (William Adam, *Adam's Reports*, 3.)

211. Just a few years after establishment, the school at Burdwan was handed over to British superintendence. Adam does not state why, however, based on other examples, typical reasons for this are financial concerns. *Ibid*, 3.

212. Adam notes a scene in which Brahman students and teachers at the Rajah of Burdwan's schools protested loudly at the idea of a Brahman sitting next to a lesser caste on a floor mats. These complaints were eventually silenced, but they are indicative of some of the sociocultural changes affected by the Anglo-Indian education effort.

structure, or an even greater reliance on the vernacular and indigenous schools. Both avenues, as discussed below, were met with trepidation.²¹³

In 1823 Montstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, began an inquiry into the state of education facilities under his jurisdiction. Though subject to the same caveats as Adam's reports discussed above, Elphinstone's collected reports give a clear image of the culture of education in Bombay during the early-19th century:

In all the reports under consideration, there is no mention of a single school which was held in a house exclusively used for itself...Of the 86 schools recorded...28 were held in temples and the rest in private dwellings or sheds, etc...The schools had hardly any continuity and sprang up or vanished according to local demand or absence. The average number of pupils per school worked out at 15 and varied from 2 to 150, and most of the schools were single-teacher institutions.²¹⁴

This description bears great resemblance to British surveys of Irish education around the same time: in both situations, education was dominated by an informal network of temporary schools, most of which were conducted under a religious supervision. In Ireland, these schools were worriedly referred to as 'hedge schools,' and were viewed as a potential source of Catholic, anti-British subterfuge. The same could be said of the 'shed schools' in India, though the threat was not so much anti-British as it was anti-Christian or anti-modern.

Unlike Ireland's 'hedge schools,' 'shed schools' in India were not always condemned outright as dangerous or corrupting. For example, in 1821, G.L. Prendergast of the Bombay Governor's Council stated that,

I need hardly mention what every member of the Board knows as well as I do, that there is hardly a village, great or small, throughout our territories, in which there is not at least one school, and in larger villages more, many in every town and in larger cities in every division; where young natives are taught reading, writing and arithmetic, upon a system so economical, from a handful or two of grain, to perhaps a rupee per month...[it is so] effectual that there is hardly a cultivator or petty dealer

213. This was a major aspect of reports such as the 1882 Hunter Commission, in which British officials make clear their dedication to schooling for all castes, even if they – admittedly – could not and would not pay the amount needed to make this possible.

214. Syed Nurullah, and J.P. Naik, *A Student's History of Education in India*, 9.

who is not competent to keep his own accounts with a degree of accuracy...beyond what we meet with amongst the lower orders in our own country [England]...²¹⁵

The Board's knowledge, however subjective, of the economy and effectiveness of Indian schools explains why officials like Prendergast were in favor of the expansion and official support of indigenous schools as a bedrock of socioeconomic stability in India.²¹⁶ This statement also acknowledges that direct comparisons were being drawn between British and Indian schooling, and that, at least in this report, Indian schools were found to be superior.²¹⁷ This is, during an age of emergent Anglicist ideas, a surprising admission of Indian superiority, yet it must be contextualized. The relative superiority of Indian schools in this instance does not suggest that Indian schools were flawless, nor that British schools were hopeless: for both, limited resources, unqualified teachers, high levels of truancy and ineffective curricula greatly limited educational efficiency, so that the average primary-schooled Indian youth was, in spite of the larger number of British 'day schools' per capita, only marginally better-educated as the average primary-schooled British youth.²¹⁸

The relative parity of education of British and Indian youths point highlights a central flaw in the general historiographical narrative of Anglo-Indian education during the

215. Ibid, 17-18.

216. In a letter to friend Thomas Hyde Villiers in August, 1832, Elphinstone had the following to say on this subject: "One of the greatest boons which the Government could confer upon the people would be to have in every province a large grammar school and branch schools." (HMSO, *Special Reports on Educational Subjects: Educational Systems of the Chief Crown Colonies and Possessions of the British Empire, Including Reports on the Training of Native Races, Pt. 2*, vol. Vol. 13 (London: Wyman and Sons, 1905), 70.)

Sulochana Krishnamoorthi, *Modern Education*, 6-7.

217. The fact that Indian schools did not pose a threat to British interests in India (or so it was believed) explains the BEIC's willingness to allow and/or support them. This runs counter to the Irish hedge schools, which were – as noted in previous chapters, considered quite dangerous. Once these schools are viewed as threats, however, the terminology of 'hedge school' is applied to them as well.

218. As noted by Nurullah, the average number of 'daily and infant schools' per capita in England in 1833 is estimated around 1 in 12. This is compared to the Indian estimate from a decade earlier of around 1 in 73. See: Syed Nurullah, and J.P. Naik, *A Student's History of Education in India*, 43-46.

19th century. British officials like Macaulay are often criticized for their failure to support indigenous education in India as well as their failure to develop an effective state-funded alternative.²¹⁹ Setting the ethnocentric, Anglicist ideologies aside, this generation of British administrators, a generation that includes Elphinstone, Adam, Kay-Shuttleworth, Macaulay and others, was the first to even consider the possibility of state-intervention in primary education *anywhere*, let alone the implementation of a system of grants-in-aid or nationalized schools. Indeed, British state-funded education at home was not fully nationalized until the 1870-90s, and even then it did not see significant academic returns on the state's investment until the turn of the century.²²⁰ Thus, when considering British education policy in India in the early-nineteenth century, in particular state-funded education policy, it is important to remember that the same struggles were contemporaneously being fought at home, and, in both cases, the side of economic prudence and *laissez-faire* liberalism was far more politically powerful.

The reports of Adam and Elphinstone, though generally supportive of (and championed by) Orientalists within Britain's Indian administration, also laid the groundwork for the ascendancy of Anglicism in the 1830s through their discussions of the merits and deficits of vernacular education. Neither official intended for their reports to undermine the existing structure of indigenous, vernacular education, yet their respective arguments regarding the long-term benefits of the English language, and elite Indian interest in learning English, greatly supported later arguments by officials like Macaulay. For example, in his 1832 *Minute*, Elphinstone noted that

219. David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance*, 245, 249. Syed Nurullah, and J.P. Naik, *A Student's History of Education in India*, 63. S.N. Mukerji, *History of Education in India*, 5.

220. The following two works deal extensively with this topic: Mary Sturt, *The Education of the People*. John William Adamson, *English Education*.

As far as I have conversed with the natives [in Bombay], they are anxious that their children should be thoroughly grounded in the English language; some of the wealthiest would be glad to send their children to England for education, were it not for the clamorous objection of their mothers; nothing can be more favourable for commencing, or for the establishment of a good system of education, than such a disposition.²²¹

This line of argumentation is a common refrain for Elphinstone throughout his *Minute* – he repeatedly expresses admiration for the output of Indian schools, yet also believes in the importance of bringing English to India as a means of elite education and training. These two elements, Elphinstone argues, are part of his overall plan for the future of Indian education: support of vernacular education for the "lower or middling classes of society," and literary, or English, education for the higher ranks.²²² The goal of this combined approach is the creation of a responsible class of Indians who, in similar tone to that taken by Macaulay in the 1830s,

[by gaining] a knowledge of the sciences, a fondness for books, a desire of reading...[will learn] that commerce renders them wealthy one day and beggars the next; that in commerce prosperity is uncertain, that in the tenure of a landed state, it is secured for generations to come. The spread of knowledge will, of itself, produce the best encouragement in respect to the higher ranks; all forced excitements must be expensive, and will fail in the end, especially where they are administered by the government.²²³

This argument, though ostensibly concerned with education, directly connects to the emergent British interest in reforming the rights and prosperity of the Indian *ryot*.

As with Britain's relationship with indigenous Indian schools, government policy regarding the relationship between the *ryot* (peasant) and the *zemindar* (landowner) focused on increasing the economic flexibility of the *ryot* by concretely defining the limits of *zemindar*

221. Select Committee of the House of Commons, *Appendix to the Report From the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East-India Company, 16th August 1832, and Minutes of Evidence* (London: J.L. Cox and Son, 1833), 381.

222. *Ibid.*, 381.

223. *Ibid.*, 381.

power. British administrators saw in the *zemindar* the same problem they would later see in the Irish absentee landlord or urbanizing African elites: the abandonment of public duty, compounded by greed, economic dislocation, and the willful provocation of the lower classes towards civil disobedience. Education for the *ryot* would, as for the Irish peasant or the African laborer, give them the skills necessary to effectively manipulate the land and protect their own interests. Education for the *zemindar*, as with landlords or elites in Africa and Ireland, would inculcate the self-styled British concept of the gentleman's burden: fairness, combined with moral responsibility, as the best means of encouraging productive land and content citizens. Elphinstone saw education, indigenous or British, as the best means of reproducing a 'British' relationship between landed elites and peasantry in India. This process was, Elphinstone believed, the most effective catalyst for the achievement of Britain's ultimate goal in India: the transmission and adoption of British values, administrative or otherwise, within the Indian cultural context. Elphinstone proposed this as early as 1820, as shown in the following excerpt from a meeting he presided over in Bombay that year:

I have attended, as far as was in my power since I have been in Bombay, to the means of promoting education among the natives...I am perfectly convinced that, without great assistance from Government, no progress can be made in that important undertaking...If it be admitted that the assistance of Government is necessary, the next question is how it can best be effected; and there are two ways which present themselves for consideration. The Government may take the education of the natives entirely on themselves, or it may increase the means and stimulate the exertions of the society already formed for that purpose. The best result will probably be produced by a combination of these two modes of proceeding...It is difficult to imagine an undertaking in which our duty, our interest, and our honour are more immediately concerned. It is now well understood that in all countries the happiness of the poor depends in a great measure on their education. It is by means of it alone that they can acquire those habits of prudence and self-respect from which all other good qualities spring; and if there was a country where such habits were required, it is this...the dangers to which we are exposed to...[can only be remedied] by the diffusion of a rational education.²²⁴

224. Sir T.E. Colebrooke, *Life of the Honourable Montstuart Elphinstone*, vol. Vol. II (London: John Murray, 1884), 151-154.

Adam's reports echo and reinforce Elphinstone's arguments, particularly the importance of balancing British and indigenous education. In a letter from 1824, Adam noted that while "...[it] will not however, be supposed that English can ever supersede the Bengallee [sic]," he believed that English "...should be adopted as the *lingua Franca* of India, instead of the Persian..."²²⁵ This would allow for the dissemination of British values, believed to be inexorably linked to the English language itself, among the elites of India, thus fulfilling the Orientalist goal of blending Britishness into Indian culture and creating, in effect, an Indian elite that could be relied upon as allies, political or otherwise.²²⁶

Though the traditional historiographic narrative regarding Indian education asserts that British official interest did not truly begin until the late-1830s, there was, as evidenced above, a significant amount of energy, and money, dedicated to Indian education starting in the 1820s. From the reports of Adam and Elphinstone to school societies, government subsidies and private endowments, British involvement in Indian education was comparable to that occurring in Ireland, and at least equal to that occurring in Britain. This is why, when officials like Macaulay emerged as key figures within Indian education, it is essential to see this process as innovative, rather than emulative. The Indian education system that developed in the 1820s and 1830s was not 'British' in style, form or function, even if it was in-

225. William Adam, *Correspondence*, 98.

226. Adam confirms this sentiment many times throughout his reports, though perhaps nowhere as clearly as this excerpt from the Bengali Court of Directors he quoted in his Third Report on the State of Education in Bengal (1838): "In 1825...the Court [of Directors] made the following remarks:—'The Calcutta School Society appears to combine with its arrangements for giving elementary instruction, an arrangement of still greater importance for educating teachers for the indigenous schools. This last object we deem worthy of great encouragement, since it is upon the character of the indigenous schools that the education of the great mass of the population must ultimately depend (emphasis original). By training up therefore a class of teachers you provide for the eventual extension of improved education to a portion of the natives of India far exceeding that which any elementary instruction that could be immediately bestowed would have any chance of reaching.'" (William Adam, *Third Report on the State of Education in Benga; Including Some Account of the State of Education in Behar, and a Consideration of the Means Adapted to the Improvement and Extension of Public Instruction in Both Provinces* (Calcutta: G.H. Huttmann, 1838), 143.)

creasingly focused on the English language and British culture, as there was no discretely 'British' state-funded educational system at this time. It was a model of Indian education as interpreted by British officials, and thus the system that emerged had a far greater impact on educational systems at home and elsewhere in the British Empire than the reverse.

These arguments have already been illustrated in the case of Bell's Madras System, and are further reinforced by Adam's repeated references during the 1830s to proponents of Irish education, rather than comparable figures, like Kay-Shuttleworth, within the scope of British education. In his *Third Report*, Adam quotes from a book first published in 1832 by Thomas Wyse, Irish education reformer (discussed below) and future MP for Tipperary:

This peculiar public character [the moral physiognomy of nations]...acts in a very striking manner upon the character of the individual. But this action is still further affected by the changes of the times. A period of total quiet...leaves a very different imprint upon the national mind, from that which is the necessary consequence of a general breaking up of old principles...In the first instance an education of stimulants becomes necessary...in the second, steadiness, love of order, mutual toleration, the sacrifice of private resentments and factious interests to general good, should be the great lessons of National Education...' [Adam comments]...At no period in the history of a nation can lessons of steadiness, love of order, mutual toleration, and the sacrifices of private to public good be deemed inappropriate; but if any where an education of stimulants is necessary to the healthy activity of the body politic, it is here [India]...I propose to supply [this] on the basis of native institutions...²²⁷

In other words, Adam believed that Wyse's theories on education, born out of his own struggle for national education in Ireland, could also catalyze the emergence of a national education system in India. Together, developments in India and Ireland had a significant impact on the form, function and trajectory of national education in Britain during the 1830-40s.

By the mid 1830s, British official interest in education was in midst of extensive ideological and practical change. The introduction of the National Board of Education in Ireland in 1831 was a watershed moment in the legal process of bringing education under state

227. Ibid, 141-142.

supervision, and, as discussed above, it was preceded by decades of increasing interest in Indian education efforts. In both cases, the catalysts for interest in education centered around social stability, the fear of 'hedge' (or 'shed') schools, and the desire to inculcate British values in Irish and Indian youths of various social strata. The combination of these efforts brought a new method of organizing schools and disseminating knowledge to Britain via the Madras System, a precedent for state-sponsored inspectorial reports on indigenous educational efficacy, and the ideological rationales necessary to integrate expenditure on social welfare into a vehemently Liberal political system.

The last major barrier to true state-funded education, as education advocates like Sir Thomas Wyse were quick to point out, was a means to convert ideology and policy into action. Fears of over-education and mal-education supplied the necessary means, as they were the most cited illustration of the dangers of state failure to invest, or at least oversee, the education of the public. A lack of education would lead British youth down the path of vice and disregard for social custom, whereas over-education, as Bell notes,

[risks] elevating, by an indiscriminate education, the minds of those doomed to the drudgery of daily labour, above their condition, and thereby rendering them discontented and unhappy in their lot.²²⁸

For Bell, a system balanced between technical training and academic 'frivolity' was the most socially responsible, and politically reasonable, option available to Britain at this time. It follows, therefore, that the first significant education systems to take hold in Britain and Ireland would fulfill these criteria: Bell's own Madras System, followed closely by Joseph Lancaster's variation on the monitorial model, were widely adopted in England and Scotland, and experimented with in Ireland, during the early-19th century.²²⁹

228. Andrew Bell, *Analysis*, 90.

229. Michael Andrew Laird, *Missionaries and Education in Bengal*, 269. Andrew Bell, *Mutual Tuition and Moral Discipline*, 38. R.J.W. Sellec, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 136.

As noted above, the Bell and Lancaster systems were quite similar, however it is worth discussing the differences and controversies that divided these two models and fragmented Britain's early education system. First, a question of origin: as discussed above, Bell's Madras System emerged in India in the 1780-90s as part of an official education venture. Though Bell's system was praised for its efficiency and cost-effectiveness, it did not garner much attention at home until after his return to Britain in 1796, and had marginal impact beyond a few schools in Scotland and England.²³⁰

As Bell's model was slowly gaining traction, Joseph Lancaster introduced his model, known as the British System, in London.²³¹ Lancaster's theories were first published in 1797, and, a year later, Lancaster opened a school in Southwark in Central London based on his methodology. The differences between the British System and the Madras System are minute: the Madras System had a larger 'ideal class size' than the British System (around 24 for Bell, and 10 for Lancaster), and the British System encouraged the use of far more monitors.²³² Lancaster's model was also far more concerned with the organization and structure

230. The first schools to adopt the Madras System were 'schools of industry' and schools for the poor such as St. Botolph's school in Aldgate, just outside London, and the Kendal Schools of Industry in Cumbria. These schools opened sometime between 1798-1800, and are notable for their use of slates for writing, an education technique central to the Madras System, and adherence to the monitorial method of dividing students into regimented classes. (John Murray, *The Origin, Nature and Object of the New System of Education* (London: T. Davison, 1812), 25-6.)

231. A report made by the Education Commission of Scotland in 1868 corroborates the link between the Lancaster and Bell methods, though it is unknown if this report was simply reiterating popular assumptions, or basing this statement on concrete evidence: "He [Bell] remained for seven years in Madras, superintending this institution, after which, on his return to England, he published a pamphlet, entitled 'An Experiment in Education made at the Male Asylum of Madras... This pamphlet attracted little attention until Joseph Lancaster, a dissenter, commenced to work upon the system..." (Thomas Harvey, and A.C. Sellar, *Report of the State of Education in the Burgh and Middle-Class Schools in Scotland*, vol. Vol II – Special Reports (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable, 1868), 63.)

232. "The first, or lower class of scholars, are those who are yet unacquainted with their lower alphabet. This class may consist of ten, twenty, a hundred, or any other number of children...if there are only twenty of this description in the school, one monitor can govern and teach them; if double the number, it will require two teachers, and so on in proportion for every additional twenty boys." (Joseph Lancaster, *The British System of Education*, 6.) The

of the classroom itself, as it offered strategies for proper ventilation, ideal chair positioning, and efficient methods for students to wear, carry and hang their hats during school hours.²³³ These detail-oriented features are a hallmark of education reform during the early-nineteenth century, their prevalence explained by the popularity of emergent economic theories regarding rational space organization, work efficiency and time-management.²³⁴ Kay-Shuttleworth, for example, when designing prototype Model Schools for Britain in the 1830s, created elaborate architectural sketches detailing everything from recommended construction materials to the dimensions of desks, classrooms, closets and even chimney flues. Such ambitious designs and procedures, however, were rarely implemented in full, as, ultimately, schools based on the monitorial method valued cost-efficiency and cheapness above all else.²³⁵

The variety of granular (and often semantic) differences between the Madras and British systems mattered little in practice: both systems allowed class sizes to stretch into the hundreds as a cost-saving measure. Depictions of these early schools (such as Fig. 1 below) highlight the regimented method of instruction provided by the monitorial method. Such imagery evokes a symbolic link to the process of industrialization simultaneously emerging in Britain at this time— whereas artisanal craft was replaced with mass-production during industrialization, here we see the individual subsumed within a process of mass-produced education. Whether a Lancaster or a Bell school, this kind of scene was the educa-

Madras system, on the other hand, did not specify the quantity of monitors, merely noting that "you have a teacher and an assistant for every class..." (Andrew Bell, *Analysis*, 25.)
233. These examples, and more, are scattered throughout the first major chapter of the following work: Joseph Lancaster, *The British System of Education*.

234. For examples, see: Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1842-1843. Archival Records, ED. 17/6. Education Department, 1843. James Kay-Shuttleworth, *Four Periods*. Peter Gordon, *The Victorian School Manager; a Study in the Management of Education, 1800-1902* (London: Woburn Press, 1974); Ibid.

235. Committee of the Privy Council on Education, *Final Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire Into the Elementary Education Acts, England and Wales* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1888), 61-65.

tional norm during the first half of the nineteenth century, and for good reason: it was, as both Lancaster and Bell were quick to argue, the most cost-effective method of education available at this time, and was therefore most likely to be state-supported in a political atmosphere that was still resolutely Liberal.

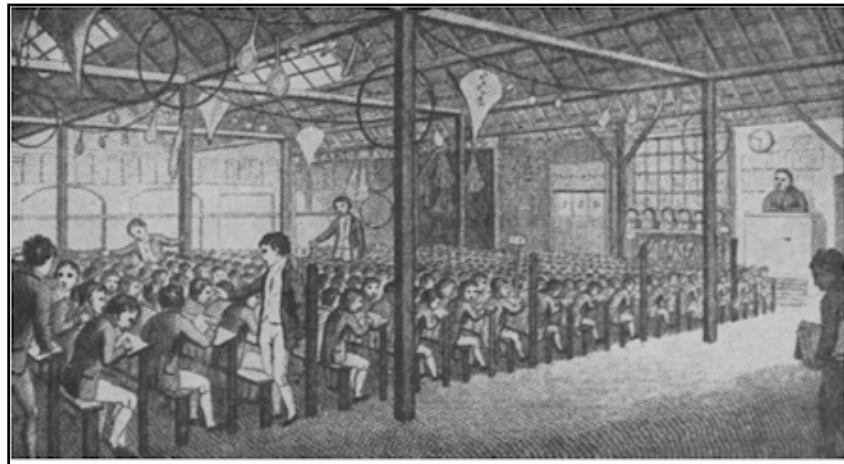


Figure 1: A Lancasterian School²³⁶

Despite their practical similarities, Lancaster was quick to champion his own model as an utterly distinct method from Bell's Madras System. Such distinctions, however, were not always present – in 1800, just a few years after the introduction of his education model, Lancaster admitted his admiration for, and inspiration from, Bell's plan:

...I lie under [obligation] to Dr. Bell of the Male Asylum at Madras...From [Dr. Bell's] publication I have adopted several useful hints [original emphasis]...I much

236. "Monitorial System: School in the East End of London, 1839." Hulton Archive, Getty Images. In 1863, J. Walter, M.P. highlights this industrial view of education in the early-nineteenth century in a letter to HMI Rev. J.P. Norris: "A school is a machine for turning out every year a certain number of well trained and well taught children. The State leaves it to be worked by private enterprise, and only engages to contribute a portion of the expense if the results are satisfactory. It employs its inspectors to ascertain those results, and upon their verdict the manager stands or falls." ("Correspondence Between J. Walter, Esq., M.p., and the Rev. J.p. Norris, Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools," (1863). , 2.)

regret that I was not acquainted with the beauty of his system till somewhat advanced in my plan; if I had known it, it would have saved me much trouble...²³⁷

This sentiment of respect, tied to a mutual desire to improve British education, led Bell and Lancaster to become friends in 1804, though it was a short-lived friendship.²³⁸ Their relationship soon turned to bitter rivalry for two key reasons: divisions over religious affiliation, and concerns regarding official patronage. For the former, tensions emerged in 1805, as Bell was beginning to align his model with the Anglican Church as a counter to Dissenter-led school programs. Lancaster, a Quaker, disagreed with this, as highlighted in the introduction to his *Improvements in Education, as it Respects the Industrious Classes of the Community* of 1805:

Therefore, it has been acknowledged, that education, as it respects those who are unprovided with it, ought to become a national concern...no doubt it would have become so, had not a mere Pharisaical, sectmaking spirit intervened to prevent it; and that in every party.

A system of education which would not gratify this disposition in any party, is requisite, in order to obviate the difficulty...fellow Christians of every denomination, you have been contending whose influence should be greatest in society, while a national benefit has been lost, and the poor objects of it become a prey to vice, to an extent, that all your praiseworthy, but partial benevolence, can never repair. — A national evil requires a national remedy...²³⁹

With these words, Lancaster had drawn a line in the sand— this, along with the foundation of the Royal Lancasterian Society (renamed British and Foreign School Society in 1814) in

237. *Landmarks in the History of Education: The Practical Parts of Lancaster's Improvements and Bell's Experiment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932), xxiii. See also the following article, which prints the quote directly: Phil E. Hager, "Nineteenth Century Experiments With Monitorial Teaching," *The Phi Delta Kappan* Vol. 40, No. 4 (Jan. 1959), 164.

238. A.J. Saunders, *Religious Education*, 32.

239. Joseph Lancaster, *Improvements in Education, as it Respects the Industrious Classes of the Community: Containing, Among Other Important Particulars, an Account of the Institution for the Education of One Thousand Poor Children, Borough Road, Southwark; and of the New System of Education of Which it is Conducted* (New-York: Collins and Perkins, 1807), Introduction.

1808, gave impetus to Bell's own school society, the National Society, which was founded in 1811.²⁴⁰

The supporters of Bell and Lancaster flocked to the support of their respective leader, each accusing the other of theft, malice, slander or religious intolerance. In one rather vicious attack in the early 1810s, Bell's supporters condemned Lancaster's method as 'godless,' a statement which led Lancaster's supporters to challenge the originality, and authenticity, of Bell's model.²⁴¹ The significance here is not the rivalry itself, as it quickly became a contest of petty semantics, but rather the rivalry's impact on British education: the fears and accusations of the 'godlessness' of Lancaster's model were at the heart of the implacable religious divisions discussed in Chapters 1-3; thus, until the advent of truly agnostic education in the late-19th century, Britain's state-funded education system was destined to be fragmented and less centralized relative to the national education system of Ireland.²⁴²

In spite of the personal divisions that emerged after 1808, the systems of Bell and Lancaster attained international popularity in the 1810-30s.²⁴³ A report made by the Educa-

240. The full name is actually 'The National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church in England and Wales.' Due to the length of this title, debates and documents from the time referred to this society by its abridged title, 'The National Society.' For more on this, as well as the Bell-Lancaster controversy, see: A.J. Saunders, *Religious Education*, 38-9.

241. An excellent example of this Lancasterian support can be found in this work: the Quarterly Professor Marsh, British, And Anti-Jacobin Reviews, etc., *A Vindication of Mr. Lancaster's System of Education* (London: Longman and Co. and Gale and Curtis, 1812).

242. This conflict also generated additional evidence regarding the unoriginality of Bell's Madras System, as noted by Professor Marsh in his vindication of Lancaster: "I now beg leave to refer to the declaration made by the opponents of Mr. Lancaster, as quoted above, that "Dr. Bell, whilst presiding over a school at Madras, invented a method, whereby he enabled a boy to perform the office of a master; and whereby, with the single exception of one presiding master, could educate one, two, or three thousand boys." From Dr. Bell's own account, nothing of this kind can be gathered; he merely introduced the Hindoo practice of writing ins sand, syl-la-bic spelling, and int he arrangement of his school, he placed the children exactly on the plan of the Westminster School, where every substance has its shadow..." (Ibid, 10.)

243. Ironically, as the nineteenth-century wore on, the systems of Bell and Lancaster were fused into a single system, especially overseas. This hybrid system was either referred to as the Bell-Lancaster method, the Monitorial method, or simply the mutual system.

tion Commission of Scotland in 1868 notes that, while Lancaster and Bell's models were increasing in popularity in Britain, they were also making gains in France, Holland and Germany, particularly Lancaster's model.²⁴⁴ The rapid proliferation of Lancaster's model was due primarily to patronage: after the third edition of Lancaster's *Improvements*, published in 1805, Lancaster's annual contributors included King George III, over forty peers, thirty-six members of parliament, as well as multitude of foreign dignitaries.²⁴⁵ Such support, regardless of contributed revenue, gave Lancaster international credibility, so much so that in 1821 the Marquis de Lafayette announced to the Legislative Chamber of France that "...the Lancasterian System is, since the invention of printing, the greatest step which has been made for the extension of prompt, easy and popular instruction."²⁴⁶ By the time of Bell's death in 1832, and Lancaster's death in 1838, their models were employed in most Western countries, redeployed in parts of India, and were also being adapted for use in African missionary schools— the Bell-Lancaster method was therefore the most globalized form of educational instruction of the early-nineteenth century.

244. Thomas Harvey, and A.C. Sellar, *Report of the State of Education*, 63. It is worth noting that the Committee of Council on Education issued grants and made reports on Scottish schools throughout the 1830-1860s. Their exclusion from this study do not reflect, therefore, their lack of importance, but rather than the Committee of Council's regulations and inspectorial model did not apply to Scottish schools as it did to English and Welsh schools. These reports were purely observational, and the grants were administered by Scottish school authorities. This discrepancy was a consequence of the religious authority of Presbyterians in Scotland. In fact, once religious-divisions in reporting ended in 1870, Scottish reports were no longer grouped with English and Welsh reports. For more on this, see: Minutes and Reports, Committee of the Privy Council on Education. Archival Records, ED. 17/1-62. Education Department, 1839-1899.

245. Unfortunately for Lancaster, the Committee he founded to oversee his schools eventually ousted him from power due to his mismanagement of funds. Disgraced, Lancaster moved to the United States in 1818 to oversee the opening of a Lancasterian school in Philadelphia, where he remained until his death in 1838. For more on this, see: *Practical Parts of Lancaster's Improvements and Bell's Experiment*.

246. Joseph Lancaster, *Epitome of Some of the Chief Events and Transactions in the Life of Joseph Lancaster: Containing an Account of the Rise and Progress of the Lancasterian System of Education, and the Author's Future Prospects of Usefulness to Mankind / Written By Himself, and Published to Promote the Education of His Family*. (New Haven: Baldwin and Peck, 1833), 33.

The Bell-Lancaster method's popularity can be traced back to the model's original popularity in pre-British India: it was a cheap, generally effective method of educating dozens (if not, as at some schools, hundreds) of students that relied on renewable supplies (slates, sand, chalk, etc.) and unpaid monitors. Beyond these fundamental values, however, the Bell and Lancaster models stressed an additional attribute: the monitorial method prevented 'over-education' because monitors, by virtue of being just slightly more advanced than their pupils, lacked the capacity to educate other students beyond their own knowledge.²⁴⁷ This factor, coupled with the economy of mass instruction, led to the rapid proliferation of monitorial schools during the mid-nineteenth century. Bell and Lancaster had charted the trajectory of British education that official policy would have to court or, if state officials disapproved, gradually and painstakingly divert from. As seen in the following chapters, deficiencies in the Bell-Lancaster model led officials like Kay-Shuttleworth away from the monitorial method, however the influence of the model of education would continue well into the twentieth century.

247. Nancy Ball, *Her Majesty's Inspectorate*, 53, 112-113.

Chapter 5: Personalities of Reform in Britain and Ireland

In 1839, Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, first Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education for England and Wales, authorized the inaugural series of official inspections of schools being funded by the state.²⁴⁸ Kay-Shuttleworth, as discussed in prior chapters, is a seminal figure in the history of British education: he played an integral role in the creation of the aforementioned Committee on Council of Education, and was responsible for the majority of policy and reform decisions into the 1850s.²⁴⁹ He was also one of the first officials to confront the dominance of the monitorial method, a challenge he undertook as a consequence of the inspectorate reports recorded and collected by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Schools throughout the 1840-1850s. These reports, taken from throughout England and Wales (and, it should be noted, from any and all schools that would let the inspectors in) commented on religious and moral curricula, the racial and social character of students in attendance, the training of teachers, masters, and monitors, as well as the quality of lessons and workbooks. The results, as with the Indian inspectorial reports of Adam and Munro, were generally hopeful, though the volume of anti-monitorial criticisms highlights the gradual shift of official policy away from monitorial method during the mid-nineteenth century. Buildings were ridiculed, due to poor ventilation, as vectors for disease; teachers and monitors were believed to be unfit for their positions due to a lack of training; and students, depending on the inspector under consideration, as 'heathens' and 'savages' no better or worse, it should be noted, than their Indian and Irish counterparts. Lastly, the curricular

248. Ibid, 53, 77. This topic is discussed throughout the following work: Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1841-1842. Archival Records, ED. 17/5. William Clowes and Sons, 1842.

249. Nancy Ball, *Her Majesty's Inspectorate*, 53, 77.

demands of the monitorial method, if theoretically laudable, were lamented for stressing efficiency over consistency, thus generating, in the words of many inspectors, pupils with a dangerous level of 'unfinished education.'²⁵⁰ The first few inspectorate reports of the 1840s convinced at least Kay-Shuttleworth that the current system, heavily dependent upon the monitorial method, was unserviceable to British interests, and that the British state must develop an official policy to move primary schooling beyond the shortcomings of the Bell-Lancaster model.

Kay-Shuttleworth's impact on the trajectory of state-funded education in the mid-century is immeasurable: it is fair to say that British state-funded schools still bear the genetic imprint of his policies and personal views on education. As such, a brief discussion of Kay-Shuttleworth's personal background and political leanings is worthwhile. Born in 1804, James Kay-Shuttleworth²⁵¹ was, like Joseph Lancaster, born into a family of Dissenters, a religious background which had great bearing on his later education.²⁵² In his younger years, Kay-Shuttleworth was educated by Congregationalist Rev. John Clunie, a man who, Kay-Shuttleworth later admitted, had a deep influence on his interest in mathematics and science. Kay-Shuttleworth followed this interest to the University of Edinburgh in 1824, where he studied medicine until 1828.²⁵³

250. James Philip Kay-Shuttleworth, *Moral and Physical Condition*, 95. For a general look at Kay-Shuttleworth's theories and values, his writings in the following collection are invaluable: Minutes and Reports, Committee of the Privy Council on Education, 1839-1899, ED, 17/1-62.

251. Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth was born with the name James Philips Kay, as 'Shuttleworth' was a title he took after marrying Lady Janet Shuttleworth in 1842. He was also made a Baronet of Gawthorpe Hall in 1849 in honor of his services to education, a title he held until it was passed on to his son after his death in 1877. For the sake of consistency, he will be referred to as James Kay-Shuttleworth unless otherwise indicated.

252. Some historians, such as R.J.W. Sellec, Kay-Shuttleworth's biographer, have argued that Kay-Shuttleworth's religious background might explain his later interest in reducing the educational authority of the Anglican church. Though it may have had an impact, neither Kay-Shuttleworth's autobiography nor his other written works emphasize this, thus the argument seems tenuous at best. (R.J.W. Sellec, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 6.)

253. Kay-Shuttleworth was in Edinburgh during the heyday of the popularity of Smithian

After taking a job in Manchester with the Adrwick and Ancoats Dispensary in 1828, Kay-Shuttleworth became interested in local politics, particularly in light of the large influx of Irish immigrants to Manchester occurring at this time. Though Frederick Engels would not bemoan the slums of 'Little Ireland' in his work *The Condition of the Working Class in England* until 1844, those slums had already begun to appear in the 1820s as a result of Irish agricultural labor emigrating to England, and men like Kay-Shuttleworth were taking notice.²⁵⁴

Kay-Shuttleworth was particularly concerned with Irish immigration, as the rapid expansion of Manchester's Irish population coincided with a series of Cholera outbreaks starting in 1832. Like many Englishmen, Kay-Shuttleworth believed that this was no coincidence, and began investigating the connection between urban squalor and epidemic disease, the result of which was a work entitled *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester* (1832), a work which Engels would later cite when crafting his own work on Manchester. Though this work was primarily an academic survey of Manchester's districts, slums and demographics, it also contained a revolutionary argument related to his 'theory on social pain.' Pain, Kay-Shuttleworth stated, revealed to the individual the existence of insidious evils and disease that, if not reversed, could prove harmful. Society, though constituted of many individuals, lacked a mechanism to detect

Economics, something which must have had at least a marginal impact on his education at the University of Edinburgh. Much like his Dissenter background, however, Kay-Shuttleworth makes no mention of Smith in his autobiography, nor did he complete any studies specifically concerning Smith while in Edinburgh. In spite of this, Kay-Shuttleworth's education policy bears great resemblance to the views of Smith, particularly the following sentiment: "The more they (the inferior ranks) are instructed...the less liable they are to the delusions of enthusiasm and superstition, which, among ignorant nations, frequently occasion the most dreadful disorders. An instructed and intelligent people, besides, are always more decent and orderly than an ignorant and stupid one." (Adam Smith, *An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1776), 264, 269.) See also: R.J.W. Sellec, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 36-37.
254. Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844: With Appendix* (London: John W. Lovell Company, 1887).

pain, thus "general efforts are seldom made of the relief of partial ills, until they threaten to convulse the whole social constitution."²⁵⁵

The solution to 'social pain,' Kay-Shuttleworth notes, was already being pursued in Prussia and France, though not in Britain: statistical models, reports, and investigations of the demographic and economic 'health' of the state's population.²⁵⁶ Such data, Kay-Shuttleworth believed, would allow British officials to move beyond 'approximate truths' and pursue actual cures for the social ills of cities like Manchester.²⁵⁷ Though this theory represents a pioneering step towards the modern statistical model, it also enabled Kay-Shuttleworth to claim that Irish immigrants were the source of Manchester's literal disease, an argument he outlined in brutal detail:

Ireland has poured forth the most destitute of her hordes to supply the constantly increased demand for labour. This immigration has been, in one important respect, a serious evil. The Irish have taught the labouring classes of this country a pernicious lesson...Debased alike by ignorance and pauperism they have discovered, with the savage, what is the minimum of the means of life, upon which existence may be prolonged...As competition and the restriction and burdens of trade diminished the profits of capital, and consequently reduced the price of labour, the contagious example of ignorance and a barbarous disregard of forethought and economy exhibited by the Irish, spread.²⁵⁸

Kay-Shuttleworth's conclusions are chilling, if only because they highlight the emergent British fears regarding over-immigration, urbanization and the effects of industrialization. Kay-Shuttleworth was not alone in this sentiment – Thomas Carlyle, for example, made a similar statement of fear:

255. James Philip Kay-Shuttleworth, *Moral and Physical Condition*, 4.

256. As noted, Kay-Shuttleworth's interest in statistics was an international development at this time. In the work *A Treatise on Man and the Development of His Faculties* (1842) Adolphe Quetelet developed a statistical model of the 'Average Man' that he believed would enable comparative studies of European countries. (Lambert Adolphe Jacques Quetelet, and T. Smibert, *A Treatise on Man and the Development of His Faculties* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).) See also: R.J.W. Sellec, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 83.

257. James Philip Kay-Shuttleworth, *Moral and Physical Condition*, 4-5.

258. *Ibid* 6-7.

Crowds of miserable Irish darken all our towns. The wild Milanese...is the sorest evil this country has to strive with...The Saxon man...may be ignorant; but he has not sunk from manhood to squalid apethood.²⁵⁹

Together, these hostile anti-Irish statements share the common assumption that poverty breeds disease, and that the ignorance of the Irish would, in time, make cities like Manchester uninhabitable for 'good' Britons.

Such fears, ignoring the racially-charged element, were not wholly unfounded: from the 1820s well into the late-nineteenth century, Irish emigration, to Britain, the United States and elsewhere, represented one of the largest episodes of mass migration in human history.²⁶⁰ For better or worse, the Irish presence was growing in cities like Manchester, and, in the absence of refined methods of statistical modeling or a valid theory on contagious disease, men like Kay-Shuttleworth were considered authoritative. Kay-Shuttleworth's work was so well received by Manchester authorities that he was made assistant Poor Law Commissioner in 1835, placed on the 'Select Committee on the State of the Irish Poor' in 1836, and the 'Poor Law Commission' of 1838, all of which solidified his status as a social reformer.²⁶¹ These appointments qualified Kay-Shuttleworth to be selected as the first Secre-

259. *The British Quarterly Review: August and November, 1849*, vol. X (London: Jackson and Walford, 1849), 39. See also: *Victoria's Ireland: Irishness and Britishness, 1837-1901* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004). Kay reiterated these sentiments in his work *Four Periods of Public Education*, in which he comments upon the development of Manchester in the thirty years after the publication of *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*: "But the population is swollen by the immigration of a large mass of semi-barbarous colonists, who are drawn thither by the unexampled demand for labour caused by the growth of the cotton manufacture during these thirty years...If to the deteriorating influence of this Irish population be added the similarly barbarising influence of uncivilised English immigrants, we have before us two powerfully counteracting forces which resist the influence of physical and moral agencies now at work." (James Kay-Shuttleworth, *Four Periods*, 176.) See also: David Lloyd, *Irish Culture and Colonial Modernity, 1800-2000: The Transformation of Oral Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 32.

260. For more on this, see: Richard Lawton, "Irish Immigration to England and Wales in the Mid-nineteenth Century," *Irish Geography* 4, no. 1 (1959).

261. R.J.W. Sellec, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 105. *The Irish in Victorian Britain: The Local Dimension* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), 109.

tary of the Committee of Council on Education in 1839; how he shifted from the Poor Law to education, however, bears explanation.

Kay-Shuttleworth's interest in education can be traced back to *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes*, in which he argues that any reduction in the hours of labor must be accompanied with an increase in education, otherwise "the time thus bestowed would be wasted or misused— would be spent in sloth, in dissipation, or in listening with eager and ignorant wonder to the declamatory dogmatism of political demagogues."²⁶² This belief— that shorter work days would lead to greater idleness — was but half of the solution: the other element, one that Kay-Shuttleworth would reiterate throughout the early days of state-funded education, stressed that better working conditions alone would not suffice:

A general and effective system of education must be devised— a more intimate and cordial association must be cultivated between the capitalist and those in his employ— the poor must be instructed in habits of forethought and economy...²⁶³

The relationship between capital, labor, and state-funded education was an ideological innovation of the 1830s intended by Kay-Shuttleworth to marry Smithian liberalism with early social welfarism.

Kay-Shuttleworth's rising political status in Manchester bolstered the influence of this ideological innovation such that, as the first Factory Bill was being brought before Parliament in July of 1833, the topic of state-funded education was a hotbed of political discussion. On July 5th, Lord Althorp, a key player in the success of the Reform Act of 1832, made the following statement with regards to the Factory Bill:

In any legislation upon the present subject there was, it was scarcely necessary for him [Lord Althorp] to observe, one great and paramount object to be kept in view— namely, the promotion of education. It must be evident that as children in factories were kept constantly employed throughout the day, it was impossible they could acquire education, and it should be therefore seen that in any measure on the

262. James Philip Kay-Shuttleworth, *Moral and Physical Condition*, 59-60.

263. *Ibid.*, 60-61.

subject, care was taken that an interval at a seasonable period of the day should be reserved for their education.²⁶⁴

Lord Ashley, an advocate of asylum reform and supporter of Lord Althorp, expanded upon this sentiment during the same session:

There was another part of the noble Lord's [Althorp] proposition which God forbid he should object to; namely, that which went to provide competent education to the children. The great moral defect in the existing condition of society arose from the want of any provision for the education of the lower orders; and he only wished that the noble Lord, availing himself of his influence as Minister of the Crown, would push forward and provide suitable education for all classes of children among the lower orders, whether employed in factories or otherwise.²⁶⁵

In the same month, discussions regarding national education— separate from the Factory Bill— were beginning in both British and Irish contexts. John Roebuck, MP for Bath, made this impassioned plea for national education on July 30th:

My purpose is, at the close of the few observations with which I mean to trouble you. Sir, to propose a Resolution, by which this House will acknowledge as a principle of Government, that the education of the people is a matter of national concern; that, as such, it ought to be the object of the most immediate, continued, and sedulous attention on the part of the Legislature,' and that, therefore, in the next coming Session, this House will earnestly endeavour to frame some plan for the universal education of the people.²⁶⁶

Roebuck's argument was immediately challenged by Daniel O'Connell, MP for Dublin, and Sir Robert Inglis, MP for Oxford, the latter claiming that, while "it was the duty of a Government to provide for the people, as it was the duty of a father to provide for his children," the religious and political implications of national education were too dangerous to affect.²⁶⁷

O'Connell, fresh from his successful campaign for Catholic emancipation, challenged the

264. HC Deb, Factories Regulations. July 5 1833, Vol. 19, 222-223.

265. Ibid, 224.

266. For the rest of his speech, see: HC Deb, National Education. July 30 1833, Vol. 20, 139-166.

267. Ibid, 170.

idea of national education by calling up the image of French secularism, drawing upon the very fears which had catalyzed the issue of national education after 1815:

the object of the liberal party in France, was to unchristianise [sic] that country. It was of little importance to them whether a man was a Diest or an Atheist. They were the party who endeavoured to enforce the education plan of the Normal school. The plan of the Normal school was to prevent that sort of education which the people wished to have...if the Government was to create a Normal school here [in Britain], it would give great offence to the people...nothing could be more destructive than to imitate the example of France, in respect to her system of national education.²⁶⁸

Here, we see the ideological clash over national education reduced to its most basic elements: the Liberal concept of a state's paternal responsibility, the challenge of secularism to religious dominance of education, and the latent fear of Jacobin-influenced radicalism. Because of the political potency of the latter two elements, education, though praised by Roebuck, Joseph Hume (MP for Middlesex), Lord Ashley and others, was incompatible with the political climate of the 1830s.

Aside from the ideological divisions over national education, there was also a key practical concern: could a truly 'national' system, with national curricula, schools, teachers and budgeting, be devised that would work for everyone? Sir Robert Peel expressed this concern during the debate excerpted above, stating, "...it would be necessary, in the first place, to decide what a national education would be in three countries which differed so much from each other, in many respects, as England, Scotland, and Ireland..²⁶⁹ Issues of religion, language and culture were the key concerns of Peel, as well as another overriding factor: the Liberal tradition itself. Much like O'Connell and Inglis, Peel was concerned that Roebuck had referenced not just France, but also Prussia, as sources of imitation, as the relative centralization of both seemed to be anathema to the liberty-oriented culture of Britain. On this, Peel states,

268. Ibid, 169-170.

269. Ibid, 172.

Free countries enjoyed many advantages; and so, too, did despotic countries, both in the management of their police and in their means of superintending public education. It was found, however, rather difficult to unite the advantages of both in one country...He [Peel] would himself give every facility to education. He thought that the diffusion of education would produce great benefit; but, in a country like our own, which was justly proud of its freedom, he doubted whether it ought not to be left free from control.²⁷⁰

National education seemed stillborn, for ideological as well as practical reasons. The fact that Ireland gained a national system in 1831, and Britain an education council in 1839, should be viewed not as fulfillments of a Whiggish march towards modern education, but rather as temporary aberrations from the welfare-hostile Liberal environment of the early-nineteenth century. This argument illuminates why the narrative of British state-funded education was not a simple upwards trajectory, but rather a series of steps, stumbles, and reversals, much like the other liberalizing movements of Victorian Britain. Education gained favor, and funding, when the balance between ideological/practical problems and the perceived necessity of education tipped (even if just temporarily) towards the latter. This occurred in 1831 in Ireland due to Catholic emancipation and latent anti-Jacobin sentiments, and it occurred in 1839 in Britain from the weight of multiple commissions on Poor Law and factory reform, as well as the revelation that Britain's self-funded education system was not performing as hoped. This latter point was stressed heavily by Kay-Shuttleworth and other educationists, largely as a consequence of their concerns over the efficacy of the Bell-Lancaster methods of monitorial instruction. As Kay-Shuttleworth notes in his semi-autobiographical work *Four Periods of Public Education*,

But what is most lamentable, we may say most fearful, is the fact which Professor Pillans and Mr. Wood have fully exposed, that the religious instruction consists, chiefly, if not solely, in committing to memory catechisms and formularies which are neither explained nor understood, and that thus not only are the great truths of Christianity not recommended to the rational capacity of the child, but the sympathies which they are calculated to rouse and to develop, and which form so

270. Ibid, 173.

essential a part of a lively faith and an operative sentiment of devotion are left uncultivated.²⁷¹

The two men mentioned in the above quote, James Pillans and John Wood, sought to study and improve the state of education in Edinburgh by adapting newer educational theories to the existing methods largely dominated by Bell and Lancaster. Such theories included the work of foreign educationists like Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi of Switzerland, whose work was largely focused on improving 'infant' (child) education by downplaying the mechanical process of memorization in favor of the cultivation of emotion, morality and compassion.²⁷² In essence, the generation of educationists after Bell and Lancaster believed that rote memorization created under-educated or mal-educated youths, as the absence of skills-training left students without the capacity to use memorized knowledge or gain new knowledge on their own. While the latter had the potential to be a danger (as self-education could lead to over-education), Kay-Shuttleworth and others praised the utility of such a goal:

Next to the formation of the character is, in our estimation, the general development of his intelligence. the extent of his attainments, though within a certain range a necessary object of his training, should be subordinate to that mental cultivation, which confers the powers of self-education, and gives the greatest strength to his reflective faculties...memory has never been stored, without the exercise of the reason. Nothing has been learned which has not been understood.²⁷³

The concept of training was central to Kay-Shuttleworth's education model as Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education, and can be traced to his relationship with

271. James Kay-Shuttleworth, *Four Periods*, 195.

272. In Pestalozzi's own words, "Thus, when affection and confidence have once taken place in the heart of a child...it is necessary...to fortify this moral principle which nature has placed in the heart of the child, and for this I know of but one means; it is practice...a power, whether physical or moral, will perform certain functions with so much the more assurance and success, as these functions have become more familiar by habit." (Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, *Letters of Pestalozzi on the Education of Infancy* (Boston: Carter and Hendee, 1830), 49-50.)

273. James Kay-Shuttleworth, *Four Periods*, 408-9.

Scottish educationist David Stow. In 1837, Kay had visited a Glasgow school managed by David Stow, the author of the 1834 primary-schooling handbook *The Training System*. This system, unlike the monitorial method, stressed lecture-based lessons, simultaneous, teacher-led instruction, highly-trained teachers, and schools designed around classrooms (rather than monitor halls). The goal, as with Pestalozzi, was training, not education. In Stow's words:

Early training is the only rational and hopeful experiment. It is so in the vegetable and animal – it is so in the moral world...give the child early and clear perceptions of elementary subjects, and correct habits of thought and action, and through life he will be able to teach and train himself.²⁷⁴

In Kay's opinion, Stow's model, by emphasizing behavior and conduct over simple knowledge-acquisition (the staple of the monitorial method), had the capacity to create docile youths that respected property and the hierarchy of British society.²⁷⁵

Though perceived as a novel innovation by Kay-Shuttleworth, Stow's model shared much in common with the Bell-Lancaster systems: where the latter had 'monitors' and 'halls,' for example, Stow's model had 'pupil-teachers' and 'classrooms.' Many of these similarities, however, were superficial: pupil-teachers were not just advanced students, but rather students that were being trained to become independent teachers in their own right. This was a key reason why Kay-Shuttleworth was interested in the Stow System, as highlighted by Kay-Shuttleworth's testimony before a Parliamentary Committee in 1838:

The most perfect school...is a school recently established in Glasgow, by the Glasgow Educational Society [Stow's organization], denominated the Glasgow Normal Seminary...[the school] consists of rooms for the instruction of children, and smaller apartments, in which miniature schools are conducted by the teachers who are undergoing training in the school. There are likewise rooms in which the rector of the school conveys information to the teachers, and instructs them privately in the principles upon which the various methods of training the children are based...two

274. David Stow, *The Training System of Education for the Moral and Intellectual Elevation of Youth Especially in Large Towns and Manufacturing Villages* (London: Blackie and Son, 1846), 7-8. R.J.W. Sellec, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 136.

275. *Ibid.*, 140.

objects [are fulfilled]...conveying general knowledge to the teachers, and the other making them theoretically acquainted with principles upon which the methods of instruction are founded, and giving them an opportunity of carrying those principles into execution by practising the method in a miniature school.²⁷⁶

By stressing the importance of teachers and teacher-training, Kay-Shuttleworth had found a means by which to circumvent the Bell-Lancaster monopoly on education and make a strong case for the necessary intervention of the state in education. If the existing system wasn't working, and there were no signs of substantial systemic change, the supporters of state-funded education could combine the message of parental responsibility with the fear of the social consequences of mal-educated youths. This sentiment is echoed in the words of Rev. Henry Moseley, one of the first of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools,

The social and political evils of that intellectual degradation of the labouring classes, of which it is the type, will, however, remain until other and more efficient means of elementary instruction than any which now exist, shall long have been in operation.²⁷⁷

If 1839 was the pivotal year for state-funded education in Britain, the preceding decade had witnessed significant strides in the context of state-funded Irish education. As noted in Chapters 3-4, the relative prematurity and centralization of the Irish state-funded system is largely attributable to the ideological anxieties surrounding Irish insurrection and Catholic emancipation. Such a narrative, however, ignores the efforts of educationists like Thomas Wyse, a figure whose impact, like Kay-Shuttleworth's or Macaulay's, goes far beyond the national interest for which he worked. Wyse's efforts ensured that the anxieties inherent in the Anglo-Irish relationship were channeled into education, an outlet through

276. Rev. William Fraser, *Memoir of the Life of David Stow; Founder of the Training System of Education* (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1848), 145-6. Kay-Shuttleworth was so taken with the Stow system that, in 1840, he opened his own teacher-training college in Battersea, a project that he would lavish much attention and funding on throughout his tenure as Secretary. This training school, known as Battersea College, came under the direction of the National Society in 1841, and operates to this day as part of the University of St. Mark and St. John.

277. J.A. Mangan, *The Imperial Curriculum*, 245.

which British interests could be assuaged and Irish interests could (eventually) plant the seeds of a renewed cultural agency. Wyse's efforts also placed national education in Ireland in opposition to leaders like O'Connell, an outcome with dire consequences for the Anglo-Irish relationship later in the nineteenth century.

Thomas Wyse held many of the same educational values as Kay-Shuttleworth, even though they shared little in common with regards to their respective personal histories. Wyse, born in 1791 in the town of Waterford of Munster, had the unique familial legacy of being both pro-union and Catholic.²⁷⁸ Wyse attended Stoneyhurst College in 1800 and Trinity in 1809, where, unlike Kay-Shuttleworth's scientific studies in Edinburgh, he pursued linguistic, historical and legal studies. Also unlike Kay-Shuttleworth, Wyse undertook a 'grand tour' of Europe after graduation from Trinity, during which, in 1821, he married the niece of Napoleon Bonaparte, Letitia.²⁷⁹ Wyse's eventual position as an Member of Parliament gave him greater political leverage than Kay-Shuttleworth (until the latter became Secretary in 1839), as well as a public platform for his agenda on education, whereas his status as both Irish and Catholic granted him the status of pariah, or at least upstart, within the British political elite.

In 1825 he returned to Waterford, at which point he became involved in local politics, particularly the cause for Catholic emancipation. Helping to establish Liberal clubs

278. The Wyse family traced their lineage back to a Devon family who, during the reign of Henry II, settled in the area around modern-day Waterford. James Auchmuty, Sir Thomas Wyse's biographer, argues that this lineage was largely responsible for the Unionist-Catholic position of the Wyse family, and often placed them on the opposite side of the political platform of men like Daniel O'Connell. For more on this, see: James Johnston Auchmuty, *Sir Thomas Wyse, 1791-1862; the Life and Career of an Educator and Diplomat* (London: P.S. King and Son, Ltd., 1939).

279. Letitia Bonaparte was the daughter of Lucien Bonaparte, the prince of Camino in Italy. The marriage lasted only seven years, after which the pair bitterly separated, leaving their two children in the care of their mother. This is worth noting because Wyse's grandson, Andrew Nicholas Bonaparte-Wyse, was also an educationist, and was one of the last educational officials of Ireland prior to Irish independence.

throughout Munster, Wyse was in favor of emancipation, though strongly opposed the leadership claimed by Daniel O'Connell, as, according to Wyse, O'Connell and his followers represented the violence and hostility of Irish political activism, values which sullied the integrity of Irish Liberals.²⁸⁰ In spite of this, O'Connell's campaign was successful, and Wyse, if he wished to have political support in his home county, knew he would have to work with O'Connell. The mixed relationship between Wyse and O'Connell continued during their respective careers in Parliament, as Wyse, though in the political shadow of 'the Liberator' O'Connell, was only willing to support O'Connell up to his demand for the cessation of the Union, and no further.²⁸¹ Once Wyse's position on the Union was known, he was loudly condemned by O'Connell's supporters as well as his own constituents.

Wyse's break with anti-unionists might have proven politically fatal had he not taken up the cause of education in 1831, particularly the abuses of school associations such as the Kildare Place Society. Thus, education, though an interest prior to his political career, was also a pragmatic means for Wyse to gain political clout with pro-unionist constituents after his anti-unionist support was lost during the break with O'Connell.²⁸² This decision aligned

280. Examples of this hostility stem from a section of *The Quarterly Review* concerned with the O'Connell's 1843 push to repeal the Act of Union. In this section, O'Connell and Wyse are contrasted as being on opposite sides of the repeal issue, with each accusing the other of treachery and treason. These political issues, and O'Connell's popularity in Ireland, are partially to blame for Wyse's failure to retain his Parliamentary seat, and his eventual diplomatic drift to the continent. (*The Quarterly Review*, vol. 75 (London: John Murray, 1845), 222-292.)

281. On this topic, Wyse was quoted as saying, "O'Connell I shall always ardently support, whenever I think him right, but not one little bit further. This I have told him in public ... The assumption of [his] leadership either in the House or out... I utterly spurn." (Sir Thomas Wyse. "Wyse to Grene," (Dec. 31 1830). *Ms. 15024* Wyse Papers.)

282. Details on Sir Thomas Wyse's personal life are scant due to his lack of an autobiography and the existence of but one biography, written in 1931. Thus, much of this biography was attained with the assistance of the Institute of Historical Research and the History of Parliament Trust, as well as the following work: *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1820-1832*, vol. Ref. 1820-1832 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

state-funded education with pro-unionist interests, a relationship that shaped Irish views of state-funded education throughout the nineteenth century.²⁸³

After his break with O'Connell in 1830-1831, Wyse's political future was uncertain. Political attacks were made on Wyse in both Parliament and in Dublin, family friends such as Edmund Scully questioned his loyalty to Irish interests, and even the Catholic Bishop of his home district of Waterford, William Coppinger, informed Wyse that he had 'given a great deal of dissatisfaction' over the issue.²⁸⁴ Wyse attempted a defense of his actions before Parliament on February 8th, 1831, stating that agitation for the repeal of the Union was most likely a consequence of French and Belgian pressure, and, since Ireland was (in his

283. "History tells us how limp and inert we were as a nation in the early years of the seventies, just when we were drifting into constitutional agitation. But it also tells us that in those days a movement was vigorously inaugurated in favour of the preservation and cultivation of the Irish language by patriotic men... A quarter of a generation had passed away, and the greatest recognised educationist in Ireland had been, for some years, in a position to give effect to his own recommendations, based on his experience of the educational wants of the neglected poor in the finest regions of what we call "Wild Donegal." Sir Patrick Keenan was elected Resident Commissioner of National Education in 1871. His evidence of three years earlier was immediately forgotten— except by the Children of the Nation. They do not forget it yet; nor do they intend to forget it.

In August 1883 the English House of Commons admitted that the condition of education in Irish-speaking districts was a matter of the highest consideration... The Commissioners in their official capacity forthwith issued a most misleading memorandum in February, 1884, in which they, with consummate audacity, set forth the number of exclusively Irish-speaking people, whom, they alleged, were scattered all over the country, and would consequently be soon "absorbed by the rest of the population.

...In 1886, however, the Chicago Convention took the running on our behalf, and by the fourth resolution of their convention stipulated that their support of Irish National movements would be conditional on our home support of the national language. Since that year the friends and advocates have been rather quiet. Now they are preparing for the fray, not only in London and at home, but at the approaching great Gaelic Convention, which will be held at Chicago next summer. There and then the programme of Irish National life will be formulated and adopted. There, too, will be outlined if not earlier, the programme of National Education, upon which will be based the future of our people. If English officials in Ireland and their supporters think fit to try to wear out the Irish Language people, they may well be commiserated." ("The Irish Language." *Independent*, Jan 3 1893 ED 7/11, Irish National Archives, Dublin.)

284. *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1820-1832*, 1820-1832. Sir Thomas Wyse. "E. Scully to G. Wyse," (Nov 30 1830). *Ms. 15024* Wyse Papers. Sir Thomas Wyse. "Stephen Coppinger to Wyse," (Aug 28 1830). *Ms. 15024* Wyse Papers.

opinion) divided over the issue, any attempt to force repeal would lead to "lawless rule of the mob, from which there was no haven."²⁸⁵

Amidst this political crisis, Wyse made his first steps towards public support for Irish education via an impassioned speech on March 30th 1831, one which offered an image of a poor, diseased, miserable Ireland, one beset by banditry, lawlessness, hunger and unemployment. With this bleak background in place, Wyse issued the following solution:

What, then, was the remedy? These evils had originated in want of employment, high rents, and partial burthens [sic]; substitute, then, employment, lower rents, and more equal burthens [sic]. The resolutions which it was his intention to have proposed yesterday, went first to the establishment of a Board on the principle just sketched by the noble Lord, consolidating all previously-existing Boards, but constituted on somewhat a different principle from his. It was intended to suggest, that it should be composed of three or more Members of Parliament, from each province, and an equal number of persons appointed by Government, as is the case in America. This body should be divided into three sections: the first for public works; the second for public charities; the third for public education. The province of the first should be all such works as the noble Lord has just stated, which come under the head of works of general utility, such as roads, bridges, &c. The other departments of the Board should attend to charity and public education.²⁸⁶

While Wyse's argument was largely ignored in the face of more pressing issues such as absenteeism, he continued his efforts well into the summer of 1831, at which point, in August, he broached the subject again, this time dredging up the specter of the dissolution of the Union:

The most plausible reason that had been urged for the dissolution of the Union was the difficulty of getting that House to pay attention to Irish questions, from want of time and knowledge to understand them. It was wise to allow self-government, wherever practicable, and he [Wyse] thought local establishments essential for understanding minute subjects... The Board he should desire to see established in Dublin would embrace three objects—the first, the care of public works, trade and agriculture; the second, charities, prisons and police; and the third, public education, and to have branches in the respective counties, to supersede the oligarchical influence of the Grand Jurors, who administered the provincial government in an arbitrary and extravagant manner.²⁸⁷

285. HC Deb, Proclamations of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. February 8 1831, Vol. 2, 334.

286. HC Deb, Distress and Relief of Ireland. March 30 1831, Vol. 3, 1215-1221.

287. HC Deb, Board of Trade (Ireland). August 16 1831, Vol. 6, 86-87.

Wyse's emphasis on local establishments even drew support from O'Connell, which gave Wyse a means of appeasing both his own interests in maintaining the Union and his fellow Irishmen. In addition, Wyse's efforts had born fruit: the issue of Irish national education was now – tentatively – part of the Irish political platform, thus placing state-funded education, as an ideological concept, at the heart of the discussion over the future of the Union. The interplay of these elements soon allowed for the establishment of state-funded Irish education years before Britain's state-funded education efforts elsewhere.

Less than a month after Wyse's August speech, Thomas Spring-Rice, member for Limerick, moved to request £30,000 to enable the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to "assist in the education of the people."²⁸⁸ The financial nature of this motion, Spring-Rice noted, placed it in the hands of the Secretary for Ireland, Lord Stanley, who, while amenable to the idea, was aware of the unprecedented nature of the request. "The question," Stanley stated,

to be brought under their consideration was not whether a sum of £10,000, or £20,000, or £50,000 should be granted annually out of the national income for the purposes of education in Ireland; but they had this important and delicate problem to solve, namely, how the sum granted could best be applied in promoting the welfare, prosperity, and happiness of the people for whose benefit it was intended...In looking at Ireland with reference to a question of this nature, or indeed with reference to any matter whatever, he could not regard it in any point of view as separate from the empire at large.²⁸⁹

Stanley's final point, though seemingly hyperbolic, was quite real: while the British state had spent money on education, especially higher education, for centuries, the concept of direct financial assistance and oversight was truly innovatory, and had potential ramifications for the funding of popular education at home and elsewhere in the empire.²⁹⁰

288. HC Deb, "Supply – Education of the Irish", 1249.

289. Ibid, 1249-1250.

290. For studies on early modern British education, see: Helen M Jewell, *Education in Early Modern England* (New York City: St. Martin's Press, 1998). See also: Rosemary O'Day, *Education and Society, 1500-1800: The Social Foundations of Education in Early Modern Britain* (Longman London, 1982).

Technically, provision for the funding of Irish education had been included in the Act of Union of 1801 for the purpose of keeping the peace, the fulfillment of which occurred through a single private organization, The Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor, established in 1811.²⁹¹ This society, referred to by the name of its first school on Kildare Street (or Place), came under increasing scrutiny throughout the 1810s-30s due to its ambiguous religious affiliation, thus calling into question the impartiality of the Irish government towards education. In 1812-13, commissions on education, led by the newly-established Board of Commissioners of Education in Ireland, were authorized to investigate Irish anxieties regarding groups such as the Kildare Place Society, and to suggest future government policy.²⁹² With each subsequent commission (leading up to the report of 1830), it was increasingly clear that Ireland's educational needs were being met neither by existing private enterprises nor the powerless Board of Commissioners, yet the issue of religious education made increased government intervention nearly impossible.²⁹³

291. Though not discussed in this dissertation, the first few reports of the The Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor offer insights into the nature of Ireland and Irish education during the 1810-1820s. They also highlight Protestant perspectives on Catholicism and Irish conversion, thus providing a useful guide to non-official Anglo-Irish relations during the early-nineteenth century. For more on this, see: The National Society, *First Annual Report of the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church* (London: Free-School, 1812).

292. Sir Robert Peel, Irish Secretary up to 1812, wrote the following letter on this issue to Leslie Foster, member for County Louth, in 1826: "I entirely concur with you in opinion, first, that we ought not to abandon or impair our existing means of instructing the people, until we are quite sure that some better mean can be devised; and secondly, that Parliament ought not to grant funds to the Roman Catholic prelacy or priesthood, for the separate education of Roman Catholics. If on fair terms they will accept a common education, well and good. If they will not, they have no right to expect, nor would it in my opinion be fair to give them, public aid for the instruction of Roman Catholic children apart from Protestants. By giving it we should be establishing by legislative authority a more marked line of distinction between Protestant and Catholic than even exists at present." (Sir Robert Peel, *Sir Robert Peel in Early Life, 1788-1812; as Irish Secretary, 1812-1818; and as Secretary of State, 1822-1827; From His Private Correspondence* (London: John Murray, 1891), 393-4.)

293. Michael C. Coleman's work, *American Indians, the Irish, and Government Schooling: A Comparative Study* (2007), offers insight into the views of the Irish commissions of the 1810-20s, noting that the language used by the Irish commissioners often mirrored the negative views American commissioners had of Native American education and culture

Wyse, also part of this scrutiny, condemned the Kildare Place Society in a speech on August 2nd, 1831, arguing that the society's connection to the Society for the Suppression of Vice, a group with strong Anglican leanings, made it unable to effectively educate Irish Catholics without risk of proselytization.²⁹⁴ Lord Stanley's concerns stemmed from this same fear: the risk of Anglican proselytization was one of the oldest, and most widespread fears of Catholic Ireland, as it recalled the violent and hostile moments of religious conflict that punctuated Anglo-Irish history.²⁹⁵ This is why, later in the same speech, Lord Stanley felt compelled to condemn the actions, and inaction, of the British government, and to call for a solution that would move education in Ireland beyond the control of the Kildare Place Society:

It was evident...that to establish a Society on the footing on which the Kildare-street Society had been established, was to exclude the Roman Catholics from it. But though that was the case, he [Lord Stanley] did not intend to lay any blame at the door of those who had the management of the Society, for no doubt they discharged their duty in that way which they thought most conscientious and desirable. The blame belonged properly to the Government, which, instead of adopting the means that would have made the Kildare-street Society a national benefit, had suffered its management to remain in hands unqualified for the task.²⁹⁶

To understand why the Kildare Place Society was condemned by Wyse, Lord Stanley and others, it is necessary to identify what elements of their educational model failed to ap-

during the nineteenth century. (Michael C Coleman, *American Indians, the Irish, and Government Schooling: A Comparative Study* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).)
294. HC Deb, Kildare Street Society. August 2 1831, Vol. 5, 587-588. Wyse reiterated this sentiment in a speech in 1835, noting that the Kildare Place Society, by virtue of its private nature, could only have private interests in mind. It was, therefore, not capable of fulfilling the public good as intended by the Act of Union of 1801, or the education fund of 1831. On this, he stated, "The failure of the Kildare Place Society [and by extension all other efforts up to this point] proceeded from a total ignorance of the state of Ireland, and of the laws of mind." (Speech of Thomas Wyse, Esq. M.p. In the House of Commons, on Tuesday, May 19th, 1835, on Moving for Leave to Bring in a Bill for the Establishment of a Board of National Education, and the Advancement of Elementary Education in Ireland., 1835, *Mirror of Parliament*, , 17-18.)

295. This issue is a major element of works on earlier periods of Anglo-Irish relations, such the following work: Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British*.

296. HC Deb, "Supply - Education of the Irish", 1252.

pease Catholic and Protestant alike. An oft-repeated criticism of the Society was that it organized its schools on the Lancasterian model, which, due to its association with Dissenter schools in England (and Lancaster himself), appealed neither Anglicans nor Catholics.²⁹⁷ In addition to this, the Kildare Place Society treated moral education as its paramount concern, as highlighted in *The Schoolmaster's Manual*, an 1825 publication of the Society:

...in Ireland the means of attaining...proficiency in reading, writing, and arithmetic, in hedge-schools, and from itinerant masters, are pretty generally diffused...[as stated by] the fourteenth Report of the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland (1812)...'such education has been objected to, under the idea of its leading to evil rather than good'...at present, in the great majority of schools for the instruction of the poor, there is a total neglect of morals...the Scriptures, without note or comment, shall be read by all the scholars...[to] *obtain information suited to their stations in life* [original emphasis]...²⁹⁸

Though the concept of moral instruction was widely praised in the early nineteenth century, the use of biblical reading, without catechism, lesson, or instruction, was worrisome for many, as it was believed such actions would result in the misinterpretation or desecralization of the Bible into little more than a primary reader. These anxieties could not be addressed without drawing the Kildare Place Society into overt religious affiliation, thus the progress of moral education was stymied. Furthermore, the emphasis on moral education, and the apparent relinquishment of technical instruction to hedge schools, cast doubt upon the practical utility of primary education as a means of improving the quality of life, productivity or skill of the Irish peasantry. The Kildare Place Society, though the primary recipient of public funds for education, was a failed experiment in Irish education, though

297. Commissioners of Irish Education, *Reports of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (From the Year 1834 to 1845, Inclusive)* (Dublin: G. and J. Grierson, HM's Printers, 1851), 267.

298. Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland, *The Schoolmaster's Manual: Recommended for the Regulation of Schools* (Dublin: Bentham and Gardiner, 1825), 14-15.

the lack of a suitable government alternative allowed it to persist until the vocal criticisms of Wyse and others foiled its patronage in 1830-1.²⁹⁹

If the Kildare Place Society was incapable, or unwilling, to move beyond a purely agnostic method of moral education, its effectiveness as the organ of state-funded education had reached the end of its utility by 1831. The amount of political pressure in favor of a shared, balanced system of education, one that was able to confront and overcome Anglo-Irish religious differences, had increased dramatically since the repeal of the Test Act in 1829, and men like O'Connell could only be silenced if the government created a means of Irish agency within the United Kingdom. These practical elements, united via the ideologies of liberal paternal duty and religious toleration, enabled the passage of Lord Stanley's motion in 1831. Once passed, a £30,000 fund came under the discretion of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and a Board of Commissioners, evenly divided between Protestants and Catholics, was created to oversee all educational matters in Ireland.³⁰⁰

The equal division of religious authority present in the Board of Commissioners was mirrored throughout the hierarchy of the emergent education system, so that schools, rather than avoiding the issue of religion via an agnostic curricula, were built around a 'separate but equal' model of moral instruction. The 'separate' element of this model referred to religious instruction, not general schooling, and was fulfilled by allowing children of different denominations and faiths to receive moral instruction independently during the school

299. An interesting retrospective on the Kildare Place Society was recorded by H. Kingsmill Moore in 1904. The work was one of the first to deal with the sources recorded by Kildare Place Society teachers and administrators. See: Henry Kingsmill Moore, *An Unwritten Chapter in the History of Education; Being the History of the Society for the Education of the Poor of Ireland, Generally Known as the Kildare Place Society 1811-1831* (New York City: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1902).

300. These details are reviewed in the following official report: Ireland Commission of Endowed Schools, *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners Appointed to Inquire Into the Endowments, Funds, and Actual Condition of All Schools Endowed for the Purpose of Education in Ireland* (Dublin: Alexander Thom and Sons, 1858), 158.

day, thus annulling the fears of proselytization and biblical de-sacralization.³⁰¹ While some problems, such as low funding, poor teachers, and supply scarcity would occasionally compromise this model, it was accepted by most as the best possible solution aside from total secularization which, given the arguments noted above, would have been very unpopular. Lastly, this model was simply policy, not statute or law, meaning that its adoption was voluntary: it was only mandatory if a school, or society, wanted to apply for funding. In other words, schools that still followed the older methods of instruction after 1831 were not illegal, they were simply ineligible for state funding.³⁰²

To support his continued efforts during his second tenure in Parliament, Wyse composed a collection of speeches, letters and treatises on the necessity of popular education. As with Kay-Shuttleworth, these works offer insight into the short- and long-term motivations that inspired him to support the cause of education, even if the respective backgrounds of Wyse and Kay-Shuttleworth varied greatly. Though Kay-Shuttleworth's writing occasionally focused on rhetoric over substance, his works are largely 'scientific,' in that he saw education as a means of statistical and practical improvement via moral and intellectual training. Kay-Shuttleworth's focus is a consequence of his academic perspective: his medical

301. Lord Stanley, Chief Secretary of Ireland in 1831, on this issue of separate schooling: "Irish System was never supported as the best possible education for Protestants taken separately; but as the most Protestant, because the most Scriptural education which could be given to Protestants and Roman Catholics jointly..." (James Murphy, "The Religious Problem in English Education: The Crucial Experiment," (1960), 64) For more general information on this topic, see: Mary J. Hickman, *Religion, Class and Identity: The Irish in Britain: The State, the Catholic Church and the Education of the Irish in Britain*, Research in Ethnic Relations (Wiltshire: Avebury, 1997).

302. Eligibility was managed very loosely – and subjectively – in early inspection reports, as the standardization model for examination was not clearly defined. Furthermore, desperation for private schools to fund meant that examination standards were generally quite lenient. By the second half of the nineteenth century, standardized examinations and criteria for grants (and specific grant quantities based on performance) made it easier for schools to be made eligible or ineligible for funding, however the same decentralized, voluntary model remained in place. For examples of this, see: Commissioners of Irish Education, *Evidence Taken Before Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry Into the State of the Endowed Schools in Ireland*, vol. Vol. II (Dublin: Alexander Thom and Sons, 1857).

background, and his interest in social statistics, pushed his models of education towards their industrial, practical, and technical elements, giving his studies a thematic style consistent with the work of Joseph Lancaster.

Wyse's works, on the other hand, are a reflection of his academic background in the liberal arts, history and law. For Wyse, the technical details of education were overshadowed by the moral and national purpose that education fulfilled. In 1836, Wyse pursued this theme in *Education Reform; or the Necessity of a National System of Education*, a work which sought to extend the model of education introduced in Ireland in 1831 to all of Great Britain.³⁰³ For Wyse, 'national education' was neither a legal term, nor a geographically-determined structure: it was a means to enrich and channel the national 'spirit' of Britain towards the common goals of cohesion and improvement. On this, Wyse states,

the people, when educated, must be surrounded with such circumstances as may allow this education to work to good...it is out of the nature of things, that a People who read will not soon learn to think, and that a thinking People will not, sooner or later, learn to act. But Education, on the other hand, is not less necessary to give value to these circumstances: it is to this interior world, to the enduring soul of man, that the legislator for millions and generations ought to look...to create this spirit—to make it what it ought to be – to make it national, is the highest end of the legislator and the educator...a world of order and beauty will rise out of the darkest confusion...Self-government, of all governments, becomes then the easiest and the best.³⁰⁴

In this passage, Wyse seeks to dismiss the concept of over-education, one of the central fears of those opposed to, or wary of, popular education. For Wyse, the process of education is natural, and therefore immutable—people will, given time, find a means of self-improvement via some form of learning. Wyse's concern is thus not one of 'education or no

303. For more on this, see: Sir Thomas Wyse, *Education Reform; or the Necessity of a National System of Education* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1836).

304. *Notes on Education Reform in Ireland During the First Half of the Century: Compiled From Speeches, Letters, Etc. Contained in the Unpublished Memoirs of the Right Honorable Thomas Wyse, K.c.b., Member for the County Tipperary and City of Waterford, From 1830 to 1847; Afterwards Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Greece; Also Senator of the Royal University of Ireland, Founded in 1849* (Waterford: C.P. Redmond and Co., 1901), 9-10.

education,' but rather the desire of the state to have influence over the direction of the natural process of education.³⁰⁵

The second issue addressed by Wyse is the concept of self-government. The significance and timing of this issue is not a coincidence: as noted above, Wyse lost significant political support due to his break with O'Connell over the repeal of the Union, a decision which led to his loss of the seat for Tipperary in 1832.³⁰⁶ Upon returning to Parliament in 1835 for Waterford, his home district, Wyse's primary goal was to champion education as both national necessity and, critically, the best means of accelerating the process of self-government. Unfortunately for Wyse, his belief in the link between Irish education, self-government, and the Union was tenuous, as the improvement of education, though it led to increased demand for self-government, also ultimately led to a decrease of the Union's appeal for many Irish.³⁰⁷ As discussed in later chapters, this relationship is not unique to Ireland: the interplay of education, politics, and political consciousness, pioneered during the 1830s, was a key feature of education's appeal, and danger, at home and throughout the British Empire.³⁰⁸

The narratives of state-funded British education up to 1840, though linked via the biographical and ideological analyses outlined above, retain one key element of disparity: why did elementary education move towards a national model in Ireland, yet remain relatively decentralized in Britain? In other words, why did the same Liberal ideology result in two strikingly different outcomes? The simple answer is politics: the political atmosphere of the

305. This idea – that people will be educated whether or not the state was involved – was heavily invoked in the case of West Africa. For more on this, see the Conclusion.

306. For an excellent biography on Wyse, see: James Johnston Auchmuty, *Sir Thomas Wyse, 1791-1862; the Life and Career of an Educator and Diplomat*.

307. The direct connection is between education viewed as 'British' (and therefore imperial) versus 'anti-British.' For more on this, see: Perry L. Jr. Curtis, *Anglo-Saxons and Celts*.

308. For more on Thomas Wyse's life, see: *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. LXIII (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1900), 272-276.

British Empire favored stability and peace above all else during the 1830s, a value born out of the revolutionary struggles that ended in 1815 and the sporadic agitations of post-Napoleonic Europe.³⁰⁹ It was not lost on Wyse, Kay-Shuttleworth, or others that concerted efforts towards state-funded education accelerated, and in the case of Ireland succeeded, in the wake of France's 1830 revolution and the emergence of Chartist and urban discontent at home. For example in 1842, just weeks after a failed assassination attempt on Queen Victoria, Sir James Graham, one of Sir Robert Peel's councilors during his tenure as Prime Minister, wrote the following letter to Sir Robert Peel on this topic:

The accounts from all quarters are good, and, by private letters which I see, the leading Chartists despair of any immediate success from open violence. The Queen spoke to me last night on the subject of her excursion [to Scotland] with evident pleasure and gaiety. She said that the recent tumults had been 'very bad— like those of 1839.' I said, 'More serious.' 'Yes,' she said, 'Lord Melbourne remarked they more resembled those of 1830 and 1831.'³¹⁰

The connection between social unrest and increased interest in education is clear; the key issue, one which will be discussed in later chapters, is not just the impetus behind education during times of fear or crisis, but also the trajectory of education once such crises began to fade.

Reducing state-funded education to fears of crises and instability alone, however, is a disservice to the efforts of early educationists, as it links such individuals to an agenda of manipulation and opportunism. The beliefs that education could improve the lives of Britain's lower classes, and that the state had a responsibility to ensure that such education occurred, were very real, and were born out of more than just political machinations. The definition of Britishness, and the British political landscape, were changing, whether or not the policies and practices of the government allowed it, and the old methods of pacification

309. This topic is discussed in the following work: George Dangerfield, *The Damnable Question: A Study in Anglo-Irish Relations* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1976).

310. Sir Robert Peel, *Sir Robert Peel*, 541.

and appeasement, most notably the Poor Laws, were beginning to lose their efficacy. The conflict between old and new methods of social control and support is readily apparent in the writings of Sir James Graham. In fact, in the same letter from 1842 excerpted above, Sir James Graham had the following to say to Sir Robert Peel on the issue of education:

The Clerk of the Council for Education [Kay-Shuttleworth] thinks that moral training and normal schools will restore peace. These instruments are not to be despised...but cheap bread, plenty of potatoes, low-priced American bacon, a little more Dutch cheese and butter, will have a more pacifying effect than all the mental culture which any Government can supply.³¹¹

In spite of this dismissal of Kay-Shuttleworth's educationist agenda, a year earlier Sir James Graham had admitted to Lord Brougham of the necessity of state-funded education:

I am anxious to assure you that I am alive to the interests which are at stake on this question of Education. The peace and order of society are involved in it, and there is even a still higher consideration — a wise policy on this subject may promote the temporal and eternal happiness of millions.³¹²

Here, the old model of social pacification – cheap food and sated stomachs – clashes with the emerging concept of direct governmental responsibility in social welfare, in particular the education of Britain's lower classes. Even if Sir James Graham believes that the price of food may serve as a palliative to social unrest, he is aware that education offers the best solution to instability, and that the state can no longer abstain from what men like Wyse and Kay-Shuttleworth argue is a necessary, if expensive and untested burden. This conflict explains why Sir James Graham, though a Tory, was a key sponsor of a new Factory Bill in 1843 that included compulsory education for all children employed in factories. In Graham's own words,

...the law which now provides for the instruction of children employed in factories is most defective, and that the ignorance of large masses of the population congregated in those districts is disgraceful to the Government, and inconsistent with the peace of the community...The law compels the factory children to attend schools, but it

³¹¹. Ibid, 541.

³¹². R.J.W. Sellec, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 339.

utterly disregards the quality of the instruction to be imparted; and the State renders no assistance in those localities where without assistance good schools cannot be provided, yet where the ignorance is most profound...

Experience in Ireland alarms me at the thought of Scripture [becoming a political issue]...[however] I deal only with an evil which cannot be denied, and with a scheme of education now compulsory by law.³¹³

Graham's Factory Bill, and the controversies that surrounded it, represented yet another Parliamentary contest through which the experiences and ideologies of state-funded education in Ireland, Britain, and elsewhere could once again be examined.

313. Ibid, 342-344.

Chapter 6: The Official Mind of the Inspectorate

In the classic work *Peasants into Frenchmen* (1976), French historian Eugen Weber quotes a Parisian from Balzac's 1844 work *Paysans* as saying, "You don't need to go to America to see savages. Here [in Burgundy] are the Redskins of Fenimore Cooper."³¹⁴ This statement, Weber argues, hints at the connection between mid-nineteenth century descriptions of the *classe dangereuse* (urban poor) and the rural populations of regions like Burgundy. *Peasants into Frenchmen* explores the rural element of this argument and rejects the nationalist mythology of France, with its roots in the populism of the French Revolution. After a lengthy analysis of the differences between urban and rural culture, Weber concludes that French national identity (adherence to a common language, culture and/or national awareness) was almost-exclusively the domain of urban elites until the end of the nineteenth century. To put it succinctly, France was only marginally French on the eve of the twentieth century.

Weber's work remains divisive because it attacks not just a core tradition of France's nationalist narrative, but also the general themes of nationalist historiography. The nineteenth century is, traditionally, the age of nationalism, a time during which kings were toppled by popular protest, Germans unified to create Germany, Italians Italy, and so on. If Weber is correct, and French national identity was a minority status until the early-twentieth century, then what did it actually mean to be 'French' during the nineteenth century? If French national identity was not populist, then who created it, and why?

314. Eugen Weber, *Peasants Into Frenchmen*, 3.

These questions are not exclusive to the case of France. If Weber's thesis has any value beyond the French case, it is as a call to arms for historians to reevaluate the nationalist mythologies – and nationalist historiographies – of the nineteenth century world. Of the many possible studies this call introduces, the British nationalist myth is one of the most pressing, by virtue of Britain's dual roles as an industrial modernizer and as a global imperial power. In addition to these roles, a survey of the historiography of British nationalism reveals few focused studies on the populist reality of British nationalism in the mid-nineteenth century. Though works on nineteenth-century British nationalism exist, there is no equivalent work in British history to that of Weber's *Peasants into Frenchmen*. This is largely a consequence of the continued vitality of Linda Colley's thesis in her work *Britons: Forging the Nation*.³¹⁵ Colley argues, much like the traditional French narrative, that British popular nationalism was forged during the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries – for Britain, this occurred as a consequence of wars against France and the United States, and as a result of sociocultural tension within the British Isles.³¹⁶

Other works, such as those by Catherine Hall, have introduced the variables of race, class and gender into British nationalist scholarship, yet the central issue – the pervasiveness of British nationalism within the general populace – remains largely ignored.³¹⁷ It is critical to note that this chapter does not offer a rejection of the tenets of nationalism as outlined by Colley and others. Such nationalist concepts, such as Anglicanism, the English language, imperialism, free trade and parliamentary government, stand at the heart of British nationalist historiography, and are largely applicable throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The problem, therefore, is not the nationalist ideology of Britishness, but rather its

315. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*.

316. It is worth noting that Colley intentionally excludes Ireland from Britons, noting that the Irish narrative of nationalism does not conform to the British narrative that she created.

317. For more on this, see: Catherine Hall, et al., *Defining the Victorian Nation: Class, Race, Gender and the British Reform Act of 1867*.

pervasiveness and adoption by the general populace. In other words, the question is not whether or not Britishness existed, as it assuredly did, but rather the extent to which Britain was itself British.

With these themes and questions in mind, this chapter analyzes the pervasiveness of Britishness via the lens of state-funded education in mid-nineteenth century Britain via a survey of the popular ignorance of the core tenets of Britishness through the reports and surveys of Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education. Using this same pool of evidence, this chapter also constructs an impression of the 'official mind' of British ruling elites regarding not just national identity and education, but also class, race, and culture.

The creation of the Committee of Council on Education in 1839 represented the first major foray of the British government into state-funded popular education at home. Prior to 1839, popular education had been exclusively the domain of religious and private organizations, the majority of which borrowed from the Bell and Lancaster systems of education. These systems, favored because of their cost-effective reliance on monitors as a support structure for the schoolmaster, drew criticism from the Committee of Council on Education for failing to produce students of a quality considered worthy of state-funded grants.³¹⁸

Criticisms of state-funded education in the 1840s were well founded, and they complicated the delicate political future of state-the Committee of Council on Education. The Committee of Council on Education was a hard-fought prize for educationists like Kay-Shuttleworth, yet its future was not guaranteed: Mr. Goulburn, MP for Cambridge University during the vote on the £30,000 supply for national education in 1840, argued in Parliament that investment of education in a board was a troubling precedent, and that "on a

318. This topic is discussed in the following work: P.H.J.H. Gosden, *How They Were Taught: An Anthology of Contemporary Accounts of Learning and Teaching in England, 1800-1950* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1969).

question involving the interests of all classes" direct legislative control was preferred.³¹⁹

Goulburn's argument was based on the assumption that the Committee of Council intended to influence and control the entirety of national education in Britain, a reality which Lord John Russell dismissed by stressing the limited scope of Her Majesty's Inspectorate. Nevertheless, Goulburn was not alone in his fears, and – throughout the 1840-1850s, anxieties over the Committee of Council on Education's extra-legal status continued to grow.

Comments such as those by Goulburn were a hallmark of education politics during the 1840s. The comments were driven by ecclesiastical fears of secular (state) intervention in education, and Parliamentary distaste for the independent nature of the Committee of Council. Annual votes for supply, as well as the Committee of Council's requisite submission of annual reports to Parliament, provided the primary platform for both sides to perpetuate dissent over the relationship between, church, state, education, and society.

Annual parliamentary reports were a potential liability for the Committee of Council, as the Committee's perceived efficacy was largely beyond their actual control due to decentralized control. Nevertheless, Kay-Shuttleworth was aware of their significance, particularly with regards to the reports produced by Her Majesty's Inspectorate. Inspectorate officials were appointed by the Committee and assigned regions in which they were to visit and evaluate all state-funded schools based on standardized criteria.³²⁰ The criteria was produced by Kay-Shuttleworth in his capacity as Secretary of the Committee of Council, thus the guidelines bear his thoroughness, his scientific, calculated style, as well as his adher-

319. HC Deb, Supply – Public Education. July 24 1840, Vol. 55, 975.

320. Ibid, 978. While the Committee of Council was technically free to appoint their own inspectors, Lord Russell stresses the integral role of the Established Church in the certification of inspectors. This fact explains why the vast majority of inspectors (until well into the late-nineteenth century) were affiliated with the church. A notable exception to this is Seymour Tremenheere, one of the first two inspectors employed by the Committee of Council in Education.

ence to mathematical models and statistics.³²¹ Though innovatory for Britain, Kay-Shuttleworth's inspectorate criteria were similar to the inspections of private and public schools conducted in India and Ireland during the 1810-1830s.³²² Inspectorates were also widely used in other European countries such as France, Prussia and Holland, the latter a subject of great interest to Kay-Shuttleworth during the generative process of his own model:

Holland has long enjoyed the advantages of an advancing civilisation...The inspectors form the medium of communication between the Government, the municipal councils, the provincial authorities, and the committees and directors of schools. It is their duty to foster the exertions of the local communities, and to direct them to useful objects...Holland is now one of the best instructed countries in Europe ; and the singular prudence, industry, moral habits, and religious feeling of the Dutch people are chiefly attributable to a system of education interwoven with the institutions and with the habits and feelings of the nation.....all [religions] appear to live together in perfect amity, without the slightest distinction in the common intercourse of life...³²³

Kay-Shuttleworth's open admiration for Holland's system is clear, however he was well aware that the centralized and hierarchical nature of this model was incompatible with the still staunchly-liberal British state. Thus, while devising an inspectorate model based on the

321. A good example of Kay-Shuttleworth's attention to detail comes in the Minute of 1840, in which he describes the desired organization and appearance of possible Normal Schools that would be managed by the state. Not content to simply ask for 'a building,' Kay-Shuttleworth specifies the size, shape and even material for every e of the building: "The timber is to be the best yellow Memel, Riga or Dantzic fir; the deals are to be the best yellow Christiana, Archangel or Gefle; the oak is to be English, hearty and well seasoned. All the timber, deals and oak are to be free from sap, shakes, large loose or dead knots, and every other defect. (No American timber will be allowed.)" While it can be assumed that Kay-Shuttleworth saw such attention to detail as a testament to the feasibility of his plans, it also had the effect of greatly increasing the cost of such proposals and, it should be noted, the vast majority of such schools did not meet the standards Kay-Shuttleworth expected (Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1839-1840, 1840, ED, 17/3, 84).

322. In Lord Stanley's October 1831 letter to the Duke of Leinster he wrote, "They will, at various times, either by themselves, or by their inspectors, visit and examine into the state of each school, and report their observations to the Board." (Commissioners of Irish Education, *The Nineteenth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, for the Year 1852, With Appendices*, vol. I (Dublin: Alexander Thom and Sons, 1853), xxxv)

323. James Kay-Shuttleworth, *Four Periods*, 217-220. For more on this topic, see Chapters 3-4.

aforementioned examples, Kay-Shuttleworth issued the following preface to Reverend John Allen and Mr. Seymour Tremenheere, the first of Her Majesty's Inspectors (HMI):

...when a system of inspection of schools aided by public grants is for the first time brought into operation, it is of the utmost consequence you should bear in mind that this inspection is not intended as a means of exercising control, but of affording assistance; that it is not to be regarded as operating for the restraint of local efforts, but for their encouragement; and that its chief objects will not be attained without the co-operation of the school committees; – the Inspector having no power to interfere, and not being instructed to offer any advice or information excepting where it is invited.³²⁴

Kay-Shuttleworth's emphasis on 'assistance, not control' is a byproduct of the novelty of this potentially-intrusive endeavor, and his belief that inspectors, if innocuous, might be able to inspect both funded and non-funded schools. Kay-Shuttleworth hoped that the inspectorate might afford the Committee of Council a means of surveying any and all of Britain's schools, thus building up a database of information not just on buildings, curricula and schoolmasters, but also the origins of private funds and investments, the character of students, and the culture of British cities, towns and villages outside of London.³²⁵

The importance of inspection as an administrative tool is immense, as inspectors like Tremenheere did far more than simply comply with Kay-Shuttleworth's statistical criteria: they wrote entire treatises on the culture and people of the regions they visited, offered descriptions of pauperism and vice (grounded firmly in the self-improvement rhetoric of mid-century Liberalism), complained bitterly about poor schools and rude customs, and, ultimately, crafted a vibrant cross-section of the experience of everyday life for those living outside of London.

324. Copies of All Minutes of Committee of Privy Council on Education, Arranged in Chronological Order, With Marginal Headings of Subjects; 1855-1858. Archival Records, ED. 17/1. Education Department, 1858, 11-12.

325. Nancy Ball, *Her Majesty's Inspectorate*, 13-24.

These works, much like George Orwell's *Road to Wigan Pier* (1937) or, contemporary to Tremenheere and Allen, William Cobbett's *Rural Rides* (1830), were not, however, without agenda.³²⁶ Ostensibly concerned with evaluating primary schools, most inspectors spent far more time conducting amateur anthropological studies of the cultures and customs of rural Britain. The significance of this is two-fold: on one hand, as noted above, their rhetoric was grounded in the language of Liberalism, particularly the notion of self-improvement, the goal of which was to direct the cause and consequence of poverty towards the lifestyles of the laboring classes throughout Britain. Self-improvement allowed the inspectors, and the culture they represented, to remain blameless in the face of extreme poverty and want of better standards of living.³²⁷ In spite of this, the school inspection tours of the 1840s-on were the harbingers of the British government's interest in demographics, ethnography, and public welfare, relatively new fields of social science. These school inspections, laced with Liberal ideology and political agenda, laid the foundation of the 'official mind' of Britain regarding the problems inherent in British society, the potential crises awaiting continued governmental apathy, and the solutions necessary to pull the cultures of Great Britain out of "inconceivable ignorance and barbarism."³²⁸

Kay-Shuttleworth's first set of instructions to Tremenheere serve as an illustration of this blend of optimism, Liberalism and anxiety, as well as an introduction to the purpose and perceived utility of the inspectorate. Issued in December of 1839, these instructions fo-

326. HMI reports also bear great similarity to the reports of imperial and overseas observers such Gertrude Bell and T.E. Lawrence during the early twentieth century. Such reports detailed the culture and habits of the people being studied far more than they delivered espionage, thus offering a unique perspective on British views of imperial and non-imperial peoples. For more on this, see: Priya Satia, *Spies in Arabia: The Great War and the Cultural Foundations of Britain's Covert Empire in the Middle East*. See also: George Orwell, *The Road to Wigan Pier* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1937). William Cobbett, *Rural Rides: In the Counties of Surrey, Kent, Sussex and Northumberland During the Years 1821 to 1832: With Economical and Political Observations* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1908).

327. John William Adamson, *English Education*, 148.

328. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1846, 1847, ED, 17/9, 228.

cused on the state of primary education in South Wales, particularly the counties of Monmouthshire and Hereford. Kay-Shuttleworth notes that this inquiry was due to requests for financial aid from the region, as well as a recent outbreak of labor unrest and social violence, much of which rallied beneath the banner of Chartism. The specter of Jacobinism, or so it seemed to Kay-Shuttleworth, had returned to Britain in the form of Chartism, and education would play a role not just in Chartism's undoing, but also as a social inoculation against future agitation.³²⁹

In November 1840, shortly after Seymour Tremenheere was sent to inspect the schools of Monmouthshire, Sir Thomas Phillips, of Newport, Monmouthshire, wrote a letter to the Committee of Council on Education explaining his dismay at the state of education in his region. According to Sir Phillips, the local mining proprietors, by virtue of their apathy towards education funding, would not mind if the state funded the creation of schools in the area.³³⁰ Kay-Shuttleworth, on behalf of the Committee of Council on Education, responded with the following letter:

Already the imminent danger of a great public calamity has proved that the security of property and the peace of society are liable to disturbance in that district [Monmouthshire]; and their Lordships conceive that it is consequently apparent that it cannot be the interest of a great body of wealthy proprietors that the labourers (by whose misguided turbulence this security and peace have been disturbed) should continue the prey of low moral habits, to a large extent without religion, in gross ignorance, and consequently the easy victims of the disaffected and of the emissaries of disorganising doctrines. Nor can it be the interest of proprietors, who have so much wealth at stake, that children of this population should grow up ignorant, irreligious, corrupted and misled. My Lords conceive that the same motives which induce merchants and manufacturers to devote a portion of their annual profits to the insurance of the capital they employ in trade ought to be sufficient (even without any reference to moral considerations of much greater dignity and importance) to deter sagacious men, from leaving their wealth exposed to the dangers of popular tumults and secret violence, when a comparatively small annual expenditure,

329. For more on Chartism in an international context, see: Michalina Vaughan, and Margaret Scotford Archer, *Social Conflict and Educational Change in England and France, 1789-1848* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971).

330. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1840-1841, 1841, ED, 17/4, 16.

judiciously employed in introducing the elements of civilisation and religion, would render society harmonious and secure.³³¹

This excerpt displays the official position of the Committee of Council on Education regarding the purpose of primary schooling, and the dangers inherent in its continued paucity in communities like Newport. The 'imminent danger' Kay-Shuttleworth describes is a reference to the Newport Rising on November 4th of the previous year, in which a collection of men, over a thousand, descended upon the town of Newport in an attempt to storm the Westgate Hotel where, it was believed, a collection of their fellow Chartists were being held prisoner. Though the assault failed after a skirmish with Newport's militia, news of the event led many Britons to fear that this was but the first of many such 'risings' that would occur under the banner of Chartism.³³² Kay-Shuttleworth, also susceptible to such fears, conclude his letter to Sir Phillips with the following statement:

...property has its duties as well as its rights, and that to neglect the opportunity to promote the well-being of a dependent population, by refusing to furnish them with the means of self-improvement, is an evil resembling the neglect of a parent to train up his child in the way he should go...³³³

Kay-Shuttleworth's paternalism comes from his aforementioned adherence to the Smithian-liberal concept of state obligation. For Kay-Shuttleworth, the Newport Rising was not a failure of the British working classes, but rather a symptom of the ruling elite's refusal to carry the burden of correct education.

331. Ibid, 17.

332. While in Monmouthshire conducting school inspections a year after the Newport Rising, HMI Tremenhare commented upon its effect on the region, as well as his surprise at the event's occurrence: "[it was an] unusual phenomenon...exhibited of large masses of the working population...[with] a well-organised [sic] plan for a combined attack at midnight on a populous town [Newport], distant from nine to eighteen miles from their habitations in the hill country." (Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1839-1840, 1840, ED, 17/3, 208.)

333. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1840-1841, 1841, ED, 17/4, 17.

Political opposition to the education continued apace throughout the mid-nineteenth century, though inspectorate reports like Tremeneere's were building an ever-growing pool of data showcasing the ignorance, and 'disease,' of Britain's working class population. Near the end of the mid-nineteenth century, these elements began to crystallize around the two pillars of education that are near-universally considered fundamental: compulsion and free attendance for all youths. Such pillars, however, were decades from political possibility, as support for such far-reaching state control was limited to a select few advocates of state-funded education such as Kay-Shuttleworth himself.

The palpable unrest on display in Newport, and commented upon by Kay-Shuttleworth, was part of a much larger series of Chartist movements throughout Britain occurring at this time. Of these events, few showcased the conflict between established power and Chartism as the trial of John Frost, leader of the rebellion at Newport.³³⁴ Though Frost attempted to defend himself against the charges of insurrection and treason, his case took on moral and judicial dimensions similar to the famous trial of Warren Hastings in 1788: this was a chance for Britain's political elite to explain, in no uncertain terms, the dangers of Chartism, and to warn against the breach in due process and tradition which Chartism represented.³³⁵ In this vein, the Solicitor-General of the trial had the following to say on the Newport Rising, as well as the potential threat that Chartism posed:

He [the Solicitor-General] repeated the charge...that, prior to the 4th of November, he believed there were large bodies of men in different parts of the country who were inclined to rise and rebel against the Government...[that John Frost wished to] take possession of the town of Newport...to supersede the magistracy and the law, and

334. For more on this, see: John F. Warner, and W.A. Gunn, *John Frost and the Chartist Movement in Monmouthshire: Catalogue of Chartist Literature, Prints, and Relics, Etc* (Newport: Chartist Centenary Committee, 1939).

335. For an interesting perspective on Hastings, his infamous trial, and the connection of this trial to concepts of British Liberalism, see: Jennifer Pitts, *A Turn to Empire*.

himself to exercise authority there...[this would be] a signal to other parts of the country to rise into rebellion, and thereby to change the Constitution.³³⁶

Whether or not Chartists actually intended to commit, or were even capable of such acts, is not debated here – such a statement is the manifestation of the widespread feeling of alarm created by the Newport Rising. This alarm harkened back to the fears of Jacobinism during the Napoleonic Wars, and formed the social backdrop of the 1840s through which education advocates found much of the fuel for their growing body of evidence in favor of increased state responsibility. Such evidence did not, however, necessarily lead (as they hoped) to education as the cure for Britain's ills. Though, in the mid-nineteenth century, the education debate did shift away from the question of 'education or no education,' it did not necessarily shift towards compulsory education. In fact, fear of Chartism pushed many to frame the debate as one of 'education versus coercion,' the latter referring to the emergence of constabulary, police, surveillance and information services both at home and in the empire.³³⁷

The seeds of the coercive model of social stability were sown long before the mid-nineteenth century. A growing body of evidence – much of which was provided by the education inspectorate – regarding the supposed relationship between violence, ignorance, and social immobility convinced many that, while education could possibly make the lower orders love the state, it could never make them fear it.³³⁸ This understanding of Britain's social

336. *The Chartist Riots At Newport: Second Edition* (Newport: W. N. Johns, 1889), 62.

337. For more on this topic in the context of India, see: C. A. Bayly, *Empire and Information*.

338. An example of this comes from an 1887 excerpt from the *Freeman's Journal*. This excerpt, from Mr. William O'Brien in Leinster, is entitled 'The Policeman and the Schoolmaster:' "Whatever the constabulary system did to enchain the limbs of the Irish people his system of National Education did still more to emancipate their minds and souls. The policeman proved to be an efficient ally of England, but the schoolmaster did not turn out so satisfactorily, and the schoolmaster is the more potent of the two when all is said and done. It is the young fellows whom the governing classes sent into the National schools to be turned into flunkeys and slaves— it is these very young fellows who have broken the power of the privileged classes in Ireland, and pushed them from their thrones...and even

dynamic played a role in the establishment of the Metropolitan Police under Sir Robert Peel in 1829, and, while Peel's model borrowed the argument from educationists that social unrest was an 'illness' to be cured, it generally sought to remedy this illness through palliative care and quarantine.³³⁹ The emergence of a practical, coercive model of social control – something which will be seen in greater detail in the later-nineteenth century – was a significant step forward for the expansion of state authority generally, reinforcing the state's capacity to condemn movements, such as Chartism, if not necessarily to cure the ills that created them.

As argued by E.P. Thompson in his seminal work, *The Making of the English Working Class*, there is a temptation to discuss historical movements such as Chartism as purely reactive entities, with little to no personality or dynamism of their own. Thompson's study of the English working class is, essentially, a case-study on this point: in his words, the English working class was not simply fashioned from the outside, nor was it simply the byproduct of socioeconomic policy; the English working class was present at, and part of its own cre-

the floor of the House of Commons. In the same way this Irish gentry believed that the policy of emigration was a stroke of genius to deliver them from a troublesome population. They believed that once the Irish peasant was embarked in a coffin ship they were done with him for evermore. But there came back from America a power more fatal to aristocracy and to privileged idleness than if these Irish emigrants had come back in line-of-battle ships and armies. There came back the principles of democracy and freedom which the emigrants imbibed in the great Republic of the West." ("Mr. Wm. O'Brien's Lecture in the Leinster Hall - the Policeman and the Schoolmaster." *Freeman's Journal*, Sept 9 1887 ED 7/7, Irish National Archives, Dublin.)

339. The complaints levied against the Metropolitan Police were quite similar to the complaints against state-funded education. For both, fears of government outreach and the erosion of constitutional rights were paramount, and private/parochial control were offered as alternatives. In 1830, for example, a poster was circulated in London that decried the emergence of the Metropolitan Police by issuing the following questions [emphases original]: "Why is a Commissioner of Police delegated to administer Justice? Why are the proceedings of this new POLICE COURT unpublished and unknown? Why is the Sword of Justice placed in the hands of a MILITARY man? Consider these constitutional questions...UNITE in removing such a powerful force from the hands of Government, and let us institute a Police System in the hands of the PEOPLE under parochial appointments." [emphases in original] (The New Police. Archival Records, HO. 61/2. Home Office, 1830, 1830)

ation.³⁴⁰ In the context of education, the same can be said of Chartism: Chartism affected, and was affected by the policies of the state, yet it also had its own set of policies regarding the education of the British working class, policies that affected the trajectory of education throughout the nineteenth century.

Chartist political agency fostered a complex relationship between Chartism and official educationists: the ideal end-goals of education – literacy, enlightenment, proper political consciousness – were shared by Chartism and reformers like Kay-Shuttleworth, however the former was surprisingly hostile to the latter's idea of state-funded education.³⁴¹ William Lovett, a key leader of the Chartist movement, condemned "those educationists" like Kay-Shuttleworth who, in Lovett's words,

seek to spread their own exclusive or sectarian notions, or by those who seek to train up the youthful mind of our country to be submissive admirers of 'things as they are;' but for establishing such a just and extensive system of education as shall ere long make our country intellectually great, politically free, and socially happy.³⁴²

Some of this hostility stemmed from the belief that 'state-funded education' was simply parochial schooling by another name, a fear that was shared by many Dissenter and Radical politicians. Recalling a point made earlier, this was one of the reasons why Daniel O'Connell was hostile to Thomas Wyse's support for a state-funded education system in Ireland, as he viewed any education policy coming from Dublin Castle as a potential avenue of Anglican authority, one even more damaging than the already-influential Kildare Place Society. Furthermore, the Chartist definition of 'proper political consciousness' differed greatly from

340. E.P. Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*, p. 9.

341. Stewart Jay Brown, *Providence and Empire*, 123.

342. William Lovett, and John Collins, *Chartism; a New Organization of the People, Embracing a Plan for the Education and Improvement of the People, Politically and Socially; Addressed to the Working-Classes of the United Kingdom, and More Especially to the Advocates of the Rights and Liberties of the Whole People as Set Fort in the "People's Charter."* (London: J. Watson, 1841), vi. See also: Michalina Vaughan, and Margaret Scotford Archer, *Social Conflict*, 90.

that of the state: whereas Kay-Shuttleworth believed the utility of education lie in the pupil's acceptance of their current status, Lovett condemned such ideas, stating,

But what faith can the people have in the professions of men who, while they talk of instructing them, are devising and executing the most infamous of laws for restricting the freedom of opinion, the right of public meeting, and the free circulation of knowledge? How can they expect any portion of intelligent workmen to join in any plan of education which excludes one of the most important branches of knowledge—a knowledge of their political rights and obligations? and how can this be taught to and appreciated by men, without the possession of the rights and privileges of freemen?³⁴³

Lovett's words represent one of the most public – and radical – arguments regarding the utility of education, and bears stark contrast to the parental values of Kay-Shuttleworth. They also represent one of the earliest examples of socialist argumentation in favor of education's capacity to do more than just mitigate insurrection; for Lovett, education was a tool of upward mobility oriented towards the improvement of the material life and intellectual faculties of Britain's working class. Lovett's words reflect the danger of over-education expressed by many of Kay-Shuttleworth's opponents, a concern that, as the expansion of state-funded education continued apace, would become an issue of both national and imperial importance.

Lovett had few allies outside of the Chartist movement, and even fewer among the political elite of Britain. Reviled as a demagogue, antagonist, Jacobin, or usurper, much like fellow Chartist John Frost, Lovett's views and actions reflected the growing tension between official views of the needs and utility of the British working class and the working class's view of itself. Though by no means a political Radical, Thomas Babington Macaulay, now a member of the Committee of Council on Education alongside Kay-Shuttleworth, validated many of the arguments and complaints lodged by Chartism in his own views on edu-

343. William Lovett, and John Collins, *Chartism*, 63.

cation and state-responsibility. Recalling the events of 1839 in Monmouthshire, Macaulay made the following speech in the House of Commons in 1847:

I would earnestly entreat every gentleman to look at...the report made by Mr Seymour Tremenheare [sic] on the state of that part of Monmouthshire which is inhabited by a population chiefly employed in mining. He found that, in this district, towards the close of 1839, out of eleven thousand children who were of an age to attend school, eight thousand never went to any school at all, and that most of the remaining three thousand might almost as well have gone to no school...And now for the effects of your negligence. The barbarian inhabitants of this region rise in an insane rebellion against the Government...We punished them. We had no choice. Order must be maintained; property must be protected; and, since we had omitted to take the best way of keeping these people quiet, we were under the necessity of keeping them quiet by the dread of the sword and the halter. But could any necessity be more cruel? And which of us would run the risk of being placed under such necessity a second time?

I say, therefore, that the education of the people is not only a means, but the best means, of attaining that which all allow to be a chief end of government; and, if this be so, it passes my faculties to understand how any man can gravely contend that Government has nothing to do with the education of the people.³⁴⁴

Macaulay's speech reflects the growing importance and political visibility of educational progress during the 1840s, a development that, in Macaulay's words, could only be ignored at the continued cost of British social instability. Beyond the political dimensions of Macaulay's speech, his position on the Committee of Council on Education illuminates the growing interconnectivity between the educational progress, and issues, of India and Britain.

Macaulay's personal views on Indian education bear great similarity to the excerpt above, particularly his emphasis on the irrefutable responsibility of the state to take a stance on education. In India, Macaulay was called to repair a system in crisis: Orientalists and Anglicists were vying for authority over British education efforts in India, while British education's long-term purpose in India was being obscured by the internecine strife. If such a crisis defined Indian education in 1830s, the same can be said for Britain in the 1840s. Two

344. Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Speeches of the Right Honourable T.b. Macaulay, M.p., Corrected By Himself* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1854), 471.

systems, one controlled by the state, the other by ecclesiastical bodies, struggled over the means of education while the long-term goals of education – social stability and self-improvement – remained elusive. The question, as Macaulay noted above, was not whether or not such peoples would become educated, but rather who would control what was learned, who would pay for it, and who would regulate it.

Though Tremenheere's brief description of the Newport Rising largely defined the reception of his report in Parliament, his analysis of regional culture in South Wales was far more significant to the trajectory of the education inspectorate in the long-term, as it set the standard for the subjective content that became the mainstay of most inspectors. As noted earlier, education inspectorate reports illuminate what the state knew, and did not know, about its population, thus forming a critical foundation for shaping the official mind of state-funded education. In the case of Tremenheere, his inspection of South Wales reveals that the state knew about as much about Monmouth and Hereford as Mungo Park knew of the Niger River: upon arriving in South Wales, Tremenheere had to receive directions from "gentlemen well acquainted with the county of Monmouth," as the Committee of Council's instructions lacked any element of direction or specificity. Tremenheere's mission to South Wales was primarily a reconnaissance expedition, in which he was to identify 'problem areas' and to offer suggestions of action to the Committee of Council. This is why, at the advice of the unnamed gentlemen mentioned above, Tremenheere ended up investigating the Newport Rising, and also why Tremenheere felt justified in including his notes on "collateral topics" such as the "moral and intellectual condition of the people."³⁴⁵

345. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1839-1840, 1840, ED, 17/3, 208.

These collateral topics are what gives Tremenheere's report its amateurish, anthropological style: for example, when outlining the demographics of the Welsh population of the valleys of South Wales, Tremenheere laments that,

the respective localities...are susceptible of but scanty culture; and are separated from each other by tracts of cheerless moorland. The people are for the most part collected together in masses of from 4,000 to 10,000...[most houses] afford most scanty accommodation for so many inmates [6+ people]...among these colonies in the desert.³⁴⁶

The connection to colonial adventures by Park and others is readily apparent:

Tremenheere's description of Welsh parishes like Merthyr or Mynyddislwyn, both involved, it should be noted, in the Newport Rebellion, were in his mind 'colonies in the desert,' isolated culturally and geographically from the Britain he knew.

Such isolation was, in Tremenheere's opinion, indicative of (and responsible for) the region's equally scanty and poor education. According to his statistics, roughly 70.8% of children in Monmouth failed to attend school of any sort, and those that did gained very little:

The [school]rooms were, for the most part, dirty and close...The books being provided by the parents, mere fragments, consisting of a few soiled leaves, appeared to be generally deemed sufficient...a pile of detached covers, and leaves too black for further use, often occupied [a corner]...In a few [schools] only did the size and cleanliness of the room, and the demeanour and apparent qualifications of the master, afford a probability that the instruction sought to be given would be imparted with effect.³⁴⁷

Unsurprisingly, such substandard conditions did not offer a compelling argument in favor of education, especially when access to education was based on annual fees. Thus, when Tremenheere met with parents of children that did not attend school, they offered the following explanation:

346. Ibid, 209.

347. Ibid, 210.

[They are] apt to believe that their superiors are actuated by some selfish motive in endeavoring to induce them to send their children to school. They are averse to the trouble of making their children clean every day, in cases where they are sent to schools in which cleanliness is enforced.³⁴⁸

For those children that did attend school, the irregularity of their attendance – due to seasonal work or familial income – minimized its efficacy greatly.³⁴⁹ When combined with the poor state of the schools, parental distrust of schooling created a generational problem in which uneducated children transferred their parents' apathy to their own children, thus continuing the pattern and further reducing the quality of education in the region.

The description of South Wales afforded by Tremenheere matches the accepted historiographical definition of grinding industrial poverty: cramped residences, poor sanitation, limited access to education, and low standards of living.³⁵⁰ In spite of this, Tremenheere discounts poverty as a potential cause of the societal problems outlined above. Using incomes rates given to him by local mining proprietors, as well as assurances from the latter that all workers could earn a decent living 'if they worked hard enough,' Tremenheere claimed that the actual root of the region's problems lay in the "habit of devoting to objects of immediate and sensual enjoyment almost the whole of the earnings not required for their actual subsistence."³⁵¹ Such behavior, Tremenheere insisted, was readily admitted to by the

348. Ibid, 212.

349. Tremenheere noted that most boys entered the coal and iron mines around 8-9 years of age, thus ending any future possibility of receiving formal education. Lamenting the culture, a woman interviewed by Tremenheere was quoted as saying that "her others [children] had gone there [the mines] young enough at eight; and after they once went there, they turned stupid and blind-like, and would not learn any thing, and did not know what was right; and now they were like the rest, they went to the public-houses like men." The inclusion of this quote, one of the few direct quotes in Tremenheere's report, was likely intended to reinforce the common belief among educationists that ignorance led to alcoholism and delinquency. (Ibid, 212.)

350. For more on this, see: E.G. West, *Education and the Industrial Revolution*.

351. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1839-1840, 1840, ED, 17/3, 214.

workmen themselves, thus placing both problem and solution in the hands of the laborers and their families.

By connecting the deficiencies of the population to moral, character, and societal vices, Tremenheere seems to absolve not just the mining proprietors (though, as noted earlier, they had little interest in funding schools themselves), but also the culture of early industrialization that facilitated child labor, payment-by-piece, and minimal state oversight. In reality, however, Tremenheere's commentary does not end with a condemnation of the population: he argues that mining proprietors, though providing fair wages, manipulate and restrict the choices of laborers via the 'truck system,' in which the proprietors control both the flow of income and the means by which laborers can spend their income. Monopolies on supplies and company stores "[weaken] the habits of forethought and self-regulation," thus proprietors "perpetuate the ignorance, the neglect of the proper education of the young, and the other moral and social evils at present conspicuous."³⁵²

The corrective offered by Tremenheere conforms to his Liberal views: eliminate the self-regulation of the mining communities and open them to free trade, thus enabling the emergence of a middle class, and middle class values such as education, religious morality and self-control. Some communities in South Wales have already undergone this process, Tremenheere notes, with the following effect:

Where a middle class exists, the scholars have the benefit of amore serviceable instruction. Where the school is entirely in the hands of labouring men, they confess the insufficiency of their means to do justice to the duty they have undertaken. Unsupported by superior countenance, and relying chiefly on their own resources, many individuals of the working population of this remote and little-noticed district persevere...[but such efforts] did not extend much beyond teaching to read.³⁵³

352. Ibid, 216.

353. Ibid, 216.

Tremenheere's conclusions mirror the values of Liberal educationists discussed above. First, proper education is asserted as having an intimate link to middle class values, values which cannot be transferred to the working class without an actual middle class to do so.³⁵⁴ Second, free trade is shown to have a direct impact on self-improvement, thus implying that the laboring classes of South Wales are not inherently bad, but rather pushed (or led) to make poor choices as a consequence of limited options and ignorance. Lastly, the emphasis on the efforts, however ineffective, of the laboring classes to educate themselves highlights that there is a pre-existing desire for self-improvement, one that can be harnessed and refined by the state via proper education. This final point is reiterated by Tremeneheere as a validation of the Committee of Council's agenda, and a refutation of Parliamentary calls for the elimination of state investment in schools:

Unquestionably these schools have done inestimable service in communicating widely among the rising generation the elements of religious knowledge...[nothing] would seem to justify the conclusion that this desire [for education] prevails either strongly or extensively enough among the working-classes of this district to lead to the hope that any attempt to introduce schools of any kind, on a scale at all equal to the present deficiency, would meet with support...It is hoped that the example of a few schools, on an improved system...[would] lead to a more just and general appreciation of the value...[of] a sound and comprehensive education...[and] enable them to combat, from their own stores, the fallacies that may be thrown out to mislead them.³⁵⁵

354. This argument, a common refrain within future inspectorate reports by Tremeneheere and others, also has an imperial corollary, particularly in the case of African colonization during the late-nineteenth century. This concept was also shared by French imperialists such as Hubert Lyautey, the originator of the colonial model of the *tache d'huile* ('oil spot'). French civilians and military personnel, by virtue of their concentrated presence in cities or regions, could affect immediate changes in the moral and political climate of the imperial territory they occupied, changes that would spread (like oil) to neighboring areas. The British equivalent to this is the presence of 'whiteness' (i.e. Britons themselves) as a catalyst of civilization and enlightenment. This idea will be explored in later chapters as British imperial influence, and state-funded education, take center stage in African colonial policy. For more on the French concept of *tache d'huile*, see: Frederick Quinn, *The French Overseas Empire* (Westport: Praeger, 2002).

355. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1839-1840, 1840, ED, 17/3, 217.

Tremenheere's emphasis on the disparity between interest and efficacy is critical, as it illuminates the Committee of Council's primary weapon against its political opponents: the fear of corrupting ideas and unrest. As Macaulay noted in his speech to Parliament in 1849, the education of the working classes of Britain was inevitable. The state's capacity to generate a genuine interest in 'good' education therefore depended on the expansion of state-funding, and the cultivation of the smaller educational efforts as seen in South Wales.

While playing on fears of unrest and bad education were common tactics in reports following Tremeneheere's analysis of South Wales, dismay towards student ignorance was used by many inspectors as a means of conveying the urgency of state-funded education. The concept of 'ignorance' was an easy metric by which to judge the quality of education in schools, as it fulfilled the criteria outlined in the Committee of Council's instruction to inspectors, and it touched on many of the same themes of Tremeneheere's above report.³⁵⁶ Stressing the severity of ignorance was also a means of furthering Kay-Shuttleworth's desire to discredit the monitorial method's reliance on unskilled student-teachers and poorly-trained teachers, as the majority of schools in Britain at this time used this system. Kay-Shuttleworth was particularly vocal with regards to his distaste for the monitorial method, preferring instead the Stow method.

356. The key element of the Committee of Council's instructions, as discussed earlier, was to limit interference as much as possible: "He will therefore generally announce his visit to the parochial clergyman, or other minister of religion, connected with the school, or to the chairman or the secretary of the school committee, and proceed to examine the school in their presence. He will abstain from any interference with the instruction, management or discipline of the school, and will on all occasions carefully avoid any act which could tend to impair the authority of the school committee or chief promoters of the school over the teacher or over the children, or of the teacher himself over his scholars." This was partially pragmatic, as the Committee of Council could not yet afford to maintain and/or enforce any demands on every school studied, however the bigger issue was that the Committee of Council could not be seen as a challenger to local authorities, especially at this early stage. If it were believed that the Committee of Council wished not only to oversee, but to control British schools across the country, the political fallout would have been devastating. (Ibid, 14.)

Additionally, ignorance was also a means by which the populations of Britain could be weighed and compared to each other, as it was one of the few 'standards' which could be applied regardless of educational method. This latter point is why, in addition to the basic inspection report issued by the Committee of Council, inspectors were charged with performing 'on-the-spot' examinations and performance evaluations in most schools. These examinations gradually standardized around a set of questions and educational goals as the inspectorate matured, however the goal was the same: discover the limits of British popular education, local knowledge of Britishness, and educational methods.³⁵⁷

As with Tremenheere's reports, many of the inspectorate reports of the 1840-1850s stressed the concept, and crisis, of popular ignorance. Indeed, the amount of inspectorate reports that discuss popular ignorance – be it ignorance of Christianity, geography, literacy, and/or normative social behaviors – is immense. When considered as a whole, these inspections, drawn from throughout England, Scotland and Wales, paint an image of Britain that, much like Weber's model of France in *Peasants into Frenchmen*, was only marginally British, in that very few pupils grasped (or even had access to) the key tenets of culture that defined respectable British nationalism. An example of this comes from HMI Rev. John Allen, co-inspector alongside Tremenheere, working out of Durham and Northumberland in 1840-1:

The great majority of the patrons and conductors of the...schools which I visited only profess to teach the children reading, writing, and arithmetic. The knowledge of the English language, natural history, geography, physiology, and the history of their country, are all excluded subjects. Upon none of those could I examine the children generally, because their teachers professed the total ignorance of the children respecting them...occasionally I heard that Liverpool was an island, that Lancashire was one of the great towns of England, and that Asia and America were the chief countries of Europe, I was led to expect this if I heard such grammatical inaccuracies

357. A turning-point in this process was the introduction of 'payment by results,' a model of educational funding and examination popularized in the later-nineteenth century as a theoretical means of tying funding to efficacy. Championed by Liberals such as Gladstone, the 'payment by results' method, much like the monitorial method before it, achieved great popularity at home and overseas before its intrinsic flaws were fully known. This method will be discussed in greater detail in later chapters.

as those contained in the following answers to questions put by me— 'Them as is good goes to heaven' — 'The men as was gazing up into heaven' — 'He drowned the whole world,' these were mistakes the teacher did not undertake to correct.³⁵⁸

The concern and surprise of Allen is apparent here, however, as he notes, these instances of gross ignorance represented the standard of education in Northumberland and Durham. National, biblical, and geographic ignorance are clearly on display, though not just from the students: the ignorance of the schoolmaster created an educational environment in which his/her pupils could not possibly rise above their own academic ignorance. One of Bell's professed 'virtues' of the monitorial method — that minimally-educated monitors could not overeducate — was now exposed as a significant liability to the future of popular education.

A second example, one even more powerful and shocking than Allen's, comes from HMI Rev. Henry Moseley's 1845 report on schools in the Midlands:

In the answers received to questions of the class...nothing has more surprised me than the ignorance they exhibit of the simplest and most obvious of those political relations which bind together the frame-work of [British] society.

I could scarcely have believed on any other experience than my own, that some hundreds of children taken from the highest classes of our National-schools [monitorial] should be so incapable of telling me the name of the country in which they live; or indeed, of attaching any definite idea to that question.

I have examined many who are ignorant [of] who governs this country; and when told it was the Queen, and requested to mention the name of Her Majesty, unable to do so.

Being asked which was the greatest town in England, they have given me the name of the nearest market-town. I have found them ignorant of the name of the county in which their village was situated, or of any other county in England. They have told me that the Queen of England was also Queen of France; that England was in Africa; that to reach Scotland it is necessary to travel southward, and to cross the sea; that the people there would be found black, and their language unintelligible. In short, there is no limit to the absurdities which, in their gross ignorance of all common topics, these children may not be made to utter. Children, too, not unfrequently conversant with Scripture, possessing the power to read, mechanically, with ease, and possibly well taught in writing and arithmetic.³⁵⁹

358. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1840-1841, 1841, ED, 17/4, 76.

359. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1843-1844. Archival Records, ED.

As with Allen, Moseley's disgust is matched only by the imperative that, if he had not been the one to witness such ignorance, he would not have believed it. Moseley's statement was likely intended to dissuade those who found the inspectorate an untrustworthy or politically-motivated body, though such declarations of shock threatened to undermine state-funded education (by virtue of linking inspection with bad schooling) as much as they condemned the monitorial method.

The other critical element of this excerpt is Moseley's final point: these students, those grossly ignorant of the fundamentals of Britishness (including the existence of a British monarchy), were mechanically-competent in reading and/or writing, and entrusted with the use and analysis of the Bible. Moseley professed that this reality was the most dangerous of all: such students, but monitorial automatons, would later be entrusted with the education and transmission of their own inferior knowledge, thus perpetuating (and possibly exacerbating) the fundamental flaws of the system itself. In short, the flaws in the monitorial method were systemic, the cure for which rested solely in the hands of the Committee of Council.³⁶⁰

17/7. Education Department, 1845, 245.

360. Earlier in the same report, Moseley issued a strong opinion regarding the difference between upper- and lower-class education, in which he highlighted that the intrinsic cultural and social divisions between the classes prevented the 'children of the poor' from attaining a true education: "They [lower-class children] may be taught to read mechanically, write and perform arithmetical operations as well as our own [upper-class children]; their knowledge of English grammar, etymology, history, &c., may be as great; all that education, in the ordinary and inferior acceptation of that word, can give, may be the same; and yet in respect to those common elements of knowledge which are supposed in the ordinary interchange of thought among educated men, and, being derived by our children from a constant contact of their minds with ours, are never made the subjects of special instruction, the separation will remain. Words familiar to the ears of our children, and recognized by them in their true meaning when they are first taught to read them, are strange to the children of a labourer, and unintelligible; and those more complicated modes of expression which are proper to elaborate forms of thought, and which exercise the reasoning faculties of our children from an early period, conceal effectually from the apprehension of the children of the poor the idea in the construction. Impressed with these views, I have attached more than a passing importance to the answers which I have received to questions of the simples kind which I have been accustomed to address to the children of the schools I have examined, on matters

The reports by Moseley and Allen are but two many examples of the inspectorate's general surprise – and dismay – at the ignorance of Britain's masses. As with the reports written by Adam in 1820s India, such inspections were often accompanied with generalizations regarding what Allen and others referred to as the 'racial features' of the myriad cultures of Britain. Though discussed briefly in the Introduction, the use of racial epithets in the context of Britons scrutinizing fellow Britons is surprising, if only because British imperial historiography over-emphasizes the monolithic nature of Britons with regards to the condemnation of non-Britons. That Britons would find academic comfort, or at least order, in the racial division of their own island, speaks to the different levels of 'Britishness' attainable by cultures within the British isles, as well as a means of class (and cultural) insulation from the inherent flaws made apparent by the inspectorate. Just as the British had used racial qualifiers to distinguish themselves from Irish, Indians, and Africans based on perceived sociocultural failures, so too did racial divisions within the British Isles exist to create a hierarchy that stretched from barbarism at the lowest, to civilization at the highest. To illustrate this point, see the following excerpt from Allen's 1840-1 report:

As a race the lead-miners [of Northumberland] are more intelligent than the coal-miners; the employment of the former offers constant prizes to such as are gifted with observation and judgment; their diet is simpler, their habits more frugal. Many of the workmen and boys attached to particular mines administer among themselves, in a very primitive manner, bye-laws, which act beneficially to the discouraging of quarrelling and drinking...³⁶¹

The anthropological language on display in this report is striking, yet it fulfills the hierarchical theory above via its creation of a three-step model. At the very bottom of this hierarchy

of general information...I have been fully confirmed by those answers in the opinion I entertain as to the distinctive character of the education proper to the children of the poor." Moseley's insistence that much of what constituted upper-class was simply 'unintelligible' to the lower-classes speaks to the great cultural divide in Britain at this time, a divide which reinforces the idea that Britishness was an exclusive, elitist value unable to be shared or transmitted fully to the populace. (Ibid, 245.)

361. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1840-1841, 1841, ED, 17/4, 64-65.

are the coal-miners who, though not distinguished by traditional racial modifiers (skin-color or ethnicity), are condemned for their lack of 'intelligence.' In this example, 'intellect' is defined by frugality, good judgment, and self-help, all of which are features of the Liberal ideological platform that underpins mid-century Britishness.

Liberal ideology also factored into Adam's views of the populations of India, particularly his discussion of the divisions between the respectable 'castes' of British-controlled Bengal and Behar. Adam's reports combined cultural, racial and personal qualifiers to create a hierarchy of the 'castes' of east India, a method also used by other BEIC officials, particularly regarding half-castes. According to a letter from Montstuart Elphinstone to Thomas Hyde Villiers in 1832, the hierarchically-ambiguous nature of half-caste men was a social catalyst for their own self-improvement, one which gave them a more ambitious character than the other races and castes of Bengal:

Men of education, half-castes, have gone out to India, and been compelled to return, because they could not brook the treatment they experienced. From the nature of the education the half-castes receive, and the principles in which they are brought up, they have a stronger feeling to improve their situation than Hindoos have. In the half-caste schools natives are employed to teach the native languages, by their proficiency in which the half-castes might be rendered instruments of great good to the country. The appointment of them to offices from which they are at present excluded, would raise them in the estimation of the natives, who are at all times disposed to identify them with their fathers... They are Europeans in the eyes of society; natives in the eye of the law.³⁶²

In the same year, the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company recorded evidence on the status of half-castes in Calcutta in its annual minutes. This report, combined with evidence on the status of natives in Bengal, focused on the position of half-castes within Bengali society, particularly with regards to marriage and education:

The majority of half-castes reside in Calcutta...if a half-caste marry a native, the children merge into the native population; if he marry an European woman, they lose

362. Select Committee of the House of Commons, *Appendix to the Report From the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East-India Company, 16th August 1832, and Minutes of Evidence*, 56.

the opprobrium of being half-caste; not if a half-caste man marry an European woman, but only when a half-caste woman marries an European man...The half-castes partake partly of the native, and partly of the European character. They are not naturally more intelligent than the native, but they have often a better education...They in general are not on a par with Europeans, but there are very many exceptions...The prejudice the natives entertain against them arises from their being in general the offspring of low-caste women, and from their being black than the native themselves...From their want of education...it may naturally be supposed that they must be exceedingly indolent and immoral.³⁶³

The interplay of legal and societal definitions of caste, gender, and race in these excerpts highlights the tenuous nature of half-caste status, which placed half-castes in a situation where individual merit was an essential prerequisite to improved stature. Such complications mirrored the relationship of the lead- and coal-miners of England in the eyes of British elites: exceptionalism via self-improvement could bring an individual, or a community, out of the folds of the 'indolent and immoral' vices that plagued the lower castes and classes.

In all of the cases discussed above, racial qualifiers, discussions of primitive or backwards behavior, and emphases on ignorance, barbarism, and morality were used to justify the superiority of Britishness, and thus the necessity of rule via Britain's political elite.³⁶⁴ There was no doubt of the intrinsic and inalienable - generally racial - differences between the ruling classes of Britain and those they ruled, and therefore the necessity of maintaining not just the hierarchy of status itself, but also the means by which this hierarchy was created. Compare, for example, the excerpts above to the following two examples of racial hierarchy, one from Ireland, the other from London. The first, recorded in *Punch* in 1862, condemns the stereotypical Irishman as the Darwinian 'missing link:'

A gulf, certainly, does appear to yawn between the Gorilla and the Negro. The woods and wilds of Africa do not exhibit an example of any intermediate animal. But in this, as in many other cases, philosophers go vainly searching abroad for that

363. Ibid, 55.

364. Irish and imperial examples of this amateur anthropological format will be discussed at length in later chapters, though it is worth mentioning that the severity of accusations, stereotypes and dismissals offered by these works is largely similar across all sources. For more on this, see: Perry L. Jr. Curtis, *Apes and Angels*. See also: Paul B. Rich, *Race and Empire*.

which they would readily find if they sought for it at home. A creature manifestly between the Gorilla and the Negro is to be met with in some of the lowest districts of London and Liverpool by adventurous explorers. It comes from Ireland, whence it has contrived to migrate; it belongs in fact to a tribe of Irish savages: the lowest species of the Irish Yahoo. When conversing with its kind it talks a sort of gibberish. It is, moreover, a climbing animal, and may sometimes be seen ascending a ladder laden with a hod of bricks.³⁶⁵

The second, an argument from 1797, is referenced by HMI Deane Pennethorne in 1875 as a still-valid point concerning London's poor:

I dined the Boro' with my friend Parkinson [and his family], and in the evening walked thro' some gardens near the Kentish Road [in London] at the expense of one halfpenny each. We went and saw a variety of people who had heads on their shoulders, and eyes and legs and arms like ourselves, but in every other respect as different from the race of mortals we meet at the West end of the town as a native of Bengal from a Laplander. This observation may be applied with great truth in a general way to the whole of the Borough and all that therein is. Their meat is not so good, their fish is not so good, their persons are not so cleanly, their dress is not equal to what we meet in the city or in Westminster; indeed upon the whole they are one hundred years behind hand in civilization.³⁶⁶

These quotes are clear indicators that the British concepts of race and civilization during the nineteenth century, generally linked within British historiography to a 'white v. nonwhite' dichotomy, needs to be reevaluated. Race was not a binary method of social division, but rather, along with class and 'civilization,' it was a means of creating a granular social hierarchy, with the notion of 'Britishness' at the top, and varying degrees of civility, racial quality, wealth and status below it.³⁶⁷ Race was part of this spectrum, capable of be-

365. The satirical nature of Punch complicates the utility of this source: is Punch relying on shock value to sell papers, or is there some intrinsic societal 'truth' in their depiction of the Irish? If satire, can one argue that satire is a reflection of societal values, or is too much analytical freedom placed in the hands of the historian? Historian Perry Curtis tackles this issue directly, noting that Punch's caricature of the 'Irish ape' was not an isolated incident during the mid-nineteenth century, and that the resonance of this depiction with British society speaks to the caricature's wide acceptance as truth (or, at minimum, willful societal view). For more on this, see: Perry L. Jr. Curtis, *Apes and Angels*, 100.

366. *Academy*, August 29 1874. See also: Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1875-1876. Archival Records, ED. 17/44. Education Department, 1876, 410.

367. In the 1850 Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, HMI Joseph Fletcher has the following to say on British and Denominational private schools, particularly those in Wales and western England of 1848-9: "The influence of race, too, can scarcely be doubted,

stowing status on those who might otherwise lack it, as with the half-castes of India, or taking it away, as in Ireland and with London's poor.³⁶⁸ Education was an essential element of this spectrum, with ignorance placing one on the 'savage' and 'brutish' end, and literacy closer to the British ideal on the other end. The majority of Britons, Irish 'apes' included, were excluded from the elite definition of Britishness in the mid-nineteenth century, as they were, according to Her Majesty's Inspectorate, firmly rooted on the 'barbarous' and 'savage' end of the spectrum due to their extreme ignorance, racial defects and/or immoral behavior. These conclusions, catalyzed and validated via the first decade of inspectorate reports, gave the Committee of Council on Education a clear goal: unveil the roots of Britain's popular ignorance, and develop an educational structure to remove British working classes from the 'brutish' world-view they shared with other imperial undesirables.³⁶⁹

Discussions of cultural and societal defects were frequently intertwined with illustrations of popular ignorance and attempts at rudimentary anthropological analysis. In most cases, cultural and societal defects, though varying in severity in each inspection and across regions, were linked to bad parental influence, immoral leisure activities, infrequent reli-

in contemplating many of the facts here brought to account, such as those which give a peculiar aspect throughout, to the Celtic populations of the west; whose ignorance, poverty, and excess of numbers in proportion to the produce of the soil, are as obvious as their relative deficiency of gross crime and improvident marriages, with only the average of incontinence in other respects, and a deficiency of savings in banks, which, however indicative of their genuine poverty, in no respect impugns the exceeding parsimony which characterizes the daily life of their peasantry; features which all indicate considerable popular misapprehensions as to the Celtic character, and the structure of society which it is calculated to produce." As noted in this section, the racial disparity presented between Celtic and non-Celtic peoples relies on quantifiable and qualitative means of difference, not physiological differentiation. This model of racial disparity is too widespread, and too often used, to simply be a factor of inter-British racial hierarchies. (Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1848-1850 (Volume II). Archival Records, ED. 17/12. Education Department, 1850, 340.)

368. These issues are discussed at length in the following work: David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire*.

369. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1850-1851. Archival Records, ED. 17/13. Education Department, 1851, 29.

gious participation, or the shift from agricultural to industrial labor. The statistical and sociological sciences that emerged during the early-nineteenth century unified these disparate elements into a coherent thesis: environmental elements, be they societal or familial, had a direct impact on an individual's moral and intellectual development. This thesis, often used to explain why 'improvement' via proper education failed in morally-bankrupt communities, downplayed a key tenet of Liberalism (that of wholly-individualized self-help) in order to emphasize why personal changes could only be affected on a larger scale. An excerpt from HMI Rev. Frederick Watkins's 1844 inspection of England reflects this emergent trend: in this year, Watkins toured schools in the Northern District of England, at which time he came into contact with Rev. W. Sinclair, a monitorial schoolmaster in Leeds. Sinclair, despondent about the quality of his students and their interest in education, placed the blame squarely at the feet of the parents of his pupils, stating,

Repeated household ministrations to produce, I trust, some little effect on the parents; but the precariousness of their livelihood and their reckless indifference to all but their animal wants, makes it very difficult to produce any lasting effects on their minds.³⁷⁰

Watkins, after making personal observations about the area, later reiterated this point in his own words:

...there are many of the poorer classes who have no care for the education of their children; never think of it at all; and some who attend to it only when it is urged on them, and paid for by others. And this arises, I believe, not so frequently from abject poverty as from utter carelessness, and almost inconceivable indifference to everything beyond the concerns of the merely animal life.³⁷¹

These statements reflect the concept of self-improvement that was later popularized in Samuel Smiles's 1859 work *Self-Help*, yet they also stress the significance of parental influence on a pupil's access to, and appreciation of education. In addition, such conclusions gave edu-

370. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1843-1844, 1845, ED, 17/7, 128.
371. Ibid, 129.

cationists and inspectors – men of status, if perhaps not wealth – a means of downplaying the role of Liberal economics in the creation of poverty in favor of societal factors.³⁷²

The use of societal factors to explain away poverty was a common tactic, especially when paired with more active 'vices' such as drinking, religious deviance, violence, or static 'vices' such as racial or ethnic difference. HMI Joseph Fletcher's 1848-9 report on British and Denominational Schools in Bristol captures this process perfectly:

The population [of Bristol] principally consists of the lowest Irish, whose adherence to the Catholic religion makes them look with suspicion on every attempt to serve them; and, as it to be expected where there is great poverty, drunkenness prevails there to an extent inconceivable to those removed from near acquaintance with those localities. The children were often in rags, because their clothes were pawned by their parents for drink, and they came starving to school, or staid [sic] away, because the mother was in the public-house...³⁷³

Linking pauperism and poverty with immoral behavior, religious nonconformity or racial inferiority was an effective method of explaining away the economic problems that industrialization had created in Britain, as it placed the power of improvement, and thus status, in the hands of the poor. Such conclusions were central to the longevity of Liberalism in the nineteenth century, as the quixotic flaws self-help were avoidable by falling back on passive, *laissez-faire* logic. In other words, self-help reinforced passive Liberalism, permitting the ideology to simultaneously emphasize the role of self-improvement in societal progress, and to discount the importance of societal improvement in the efficacy of self-help. Educationists

372. Though they downplayed the impact of exploitative labor in the creation of poor morality, writers like Smiles were very keen to note that positive economic change had a definite impact on one's moral advancement: "When [Josiah] Wedgwood began his labors, the Stafford shire district was only in a half-civilized state. The people were poor, uncultivated, and few in number. When Wedgwood's manufacture was firmly established, there was found ample employment at good wages for three times the number of population; while their moral advancement had kept pace with their material improvement. (Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help: With Illustrations of Characters, Conduct, and Perseverance* (London: Harper & Brothers, 1871), III.)

373. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1848-1850 (Volume II), 1850, ED, 17/12, 428.

understood this, and sought to unbalance the relationship between self-help and societal improvement by emphasizing the importance of the state's moral obligation, thus breaking down - slowly - the potency of *laissez-faire* values in the context of social Liberalism.

In addition to the discussion of societal improvement via the flaws of social Liberalism, some inspectors stressed the failures of economic Liberalism within the context of education and moral stability. Earlier in the same report excerpted above, Fletcher theorized that the process of industrialization (or 'large husbandry,' as he called it, in rural areas) was directly linked to an increase in crime and social unrest:

...I am induced to draw the conclusion, to be tested by further experience, that an IGNORANT [emphasis in original] people, engaged in rural industry, will exhibit a less amount of crime when that industry is organized on the plan of the small rather than of the large husbandry, and, as a necessary carollary [sic], from what has already been shown, that the introduction of an improved economy into the organization of agricultural as of manufacturing labour, demands for its security and the general welfare a higher moral development among the whole population than enabled society to exist in its ruder form.³⁷⁴

Industrialization was believed to be socially and morally more expensive than previous economic models, and must be met with stronger elements of social and moral training, elements that could not readily depend on private enterprise for their maintenance.

This argument was an essential stepping-stone of Smithian liberalism, in that Smith accounted for – and deemed essential – the creation of public institutions to stabilize socie-

374. Ibid, 304. In the same section, Fletcher offers an additional point on rural life, highlighting the disparity between educationist theory and demographic reality in the context of morality: "It is quite possible for a population of small proprietors to be mortgaged and sordid barbarians, or in other words, in much the same condition that small tenants generally are; and we have little evidence to a high moral standard prevailing among such a people, though it forms the most pleasing dream of human existence to associate the simplicity of rural life with the refinement which, as yet, has belonged only to a much more elaborate form of society or a higher grade of well-being. There is much evidence, it is true, to the deficiency of offences against property among peasant proprietors, but the relative moral and physical force of the nations of which they form the basis, has yet to be demonstrated." (Ibid, 304.) See also: Statistical Society of London, *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, vol. 12 (London: John William Parker, 1849), 193.

ty against the stressors of industrialization. The discovery of significant social and moral problems reinforced the necessity of this point; as the Committee of Council on Education would state in a memo in 1850, such discoveries were the most explicit rationalization for governmental intervention in primary education to date:

What is aimed at is this. To raise the degraded mass which ferments in the lower ranks of society from their present condition of utter helplessness to some sense of their duties to others and to themselves, and of their power to discharge them...His [the working class man] country has little hold on his affections, for he knows nothing of her history, and the range of his ideas cannot take in so much with which he has no active concern. His ideas of comfort are not sufficiently high to spur him to real energy for his own sake or foresight for his children. He lives recklessly from day to day; he marries recklessly without thinking he will provide for his family, and he returns to the workhouse in his old age, after having burdened his country with more like himself.³⁷⁵

Here, paternalism, moral responsibility, and popular improvement are combined, under the banner of education, to combat the apparent evils of industrial Britain, the result of which would be the creation of a responsible, nationally-conscious lower class. Without this shift away from 'utter helplessness,' the moral fibers of British culture would fray, the workhouses would be burdened with an excess of labor, and the nation, far from unified, would be sun-dered by disloyalty and vice. It would create, as HMI Rev. Allen described it, "[a] State of Darkness and Ignorance that would seem in happier Regions absolutely incredible."³⁷⁶

Allen's conclusions were reinforced by a series of maps, produced in 1844 as part of HMI Fletcher's report, which depicted several 'quantifiable' determinants of social and moral crisis in England and Wales. These determinants ranged from 'Ignorance' (see Fig. 2) to 'Bastardy' and 'Pauperism,' each illustrated by a gradient of shades, from light to dark, cast across the map.³⁷⁷ Though the maps differed slightly in severity on a county-by-county

375. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1850-1851, 1851, ED, 17/13, 58.

376. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1841-1842, 1842, ED, 17/5, 281. The metaphors of darkness and light noted here are explored in Chapter 7.

377. Considering that illustrations in other volumes in this series were in full color, the use of grayscale in these images, with darker colors representing greater severity, seems both

basis, a common theme was evident: large swaths of England and Wales were decidedly inferior, both in morals and social structure, to the standards established by the Committee of Council on Education.

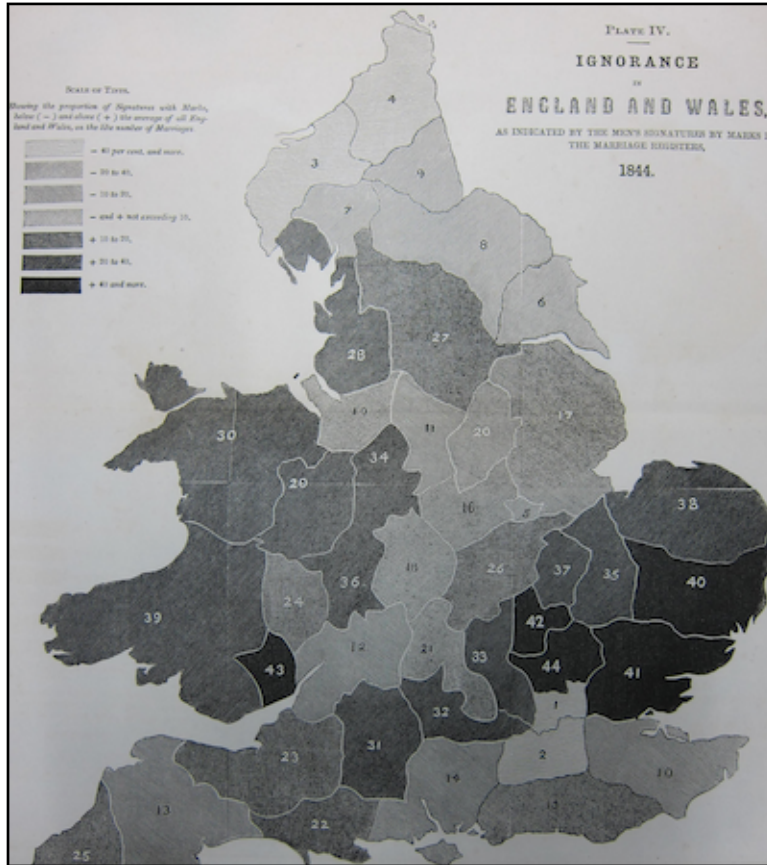


Figure 2: Ignorance in England and Wales, as Indicated by the Men's Signatures by Marks in the Marriage Registers (1844).³⁷⁸

From the 1840s through to the major structural revisions of the 1900s, the Committee of Council on Education struggled with the many racial, social, and moral issues deemed problematic. Though the Committee of Council was dedicated to the abolition of said problems, chronically abysmal attendance, under-funding, poor teachers, and impoverished

intentional and highly symbolic of the views held by inspectors like Fletcher. For more on this, see Chapter 7.
³⁷⁸ Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1848-1850 (Volume Ii), 1850, ED, 17/12, Plate IV.

student populations allowed these problems to persist in spite of the existence of state-funded education. The Committee of Council on Education, entrusted by the state to correct the educational problems of Britain, failed to adequately move Britain's primary school systems forward.

In 1875, almost forty years after Kay-Shuttleworth's first publication on ignorance and social problems (and just a few years before primary education was made compulsory), HMI T.S. Aldis made the following remark in his report on education in York:

Rows of children in country villages will affirm they have never seen the hawthorn. The first class in a town girls' school thus read me 'Boadicea.' Asked where Rome was, only one girl could give an answer, and that answer was 'Palestine.' They read and sing about our flag, and the red, white and blue, but I never met with a child who knew what the English flag is.³⁷⁹

Popular ignorance of Britishness, the root of the state-funded education movement that began in 1839, had hardly changed in York, even by the 1870s. Ignorance of the flag, reminiscent of the utter ignorance of Britishness seen in the 1840s, was but a symptom of the continued persistence of systemic educational failure. Furthermore, as many inspectors were reluctant to admit, the existing schools, even if poor, educated only a small portion of Britain's total youth population. HMI Rev. Watkins made this point in his 1844 report:

But there is an important fact...in almost all our manufacturing towns, and even in all towns of large population, there is a class of children which never enter into our schools at all, but live in a profound depth of poverty, and ignorance, and heathenism...where are the children of those who live in the many cellars of Liverpool, in the 'yards' of Manchester and Salford, in the undrained and unpaved localities of parts of Leeds, in the hut-like tenements of the overgrown villages of all the Northern coal-fields? Certainly not in our schools—not, I mean, in any proportion to their vast number.³⁸⁰

379. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1875-1876, 1876, ED, 17/44, 274.

380. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1843-1844, 1845, ED, 17/7, 128.

This observation, repeated often throughout the nineteenth century, was a key impetus behind the educational movement for compulsion, a movement that, though officially started in the 1880s, required the remainder of the century to produce meaningful results.

Considering the vast array of themes, reports, and topics taken on by educationists in the 1840-1850s, it is difficult to offer succinct conclusions on the impact of this period of state-funded education. To be sure, there is significant evidence to show that the reports made during this period were repeatedly referenced by politicians and educationists alike, from the 1840s-on, as a means of supporting or condemning state-funded education. Such a conclusion, however, sidesteps the impact of this period on the formation of the more esoteric concept of the 'official mind' regarding the tenets – and limits – of Britishness.

The 'official mind' of Britishness, if built on a monolith of purpose prior to the 1840s, was revealed to have significant problems as a result of the disparities in status and education highlighted in this chapter. The core tenets of Britishness, if still in existence, could not logically claim universal, or even popular acceptance, a problem that would persist into the late-nineteenth century. Britain, in short, was not entirely British, at least not in the way that education inspectors and the political elite of Britain defined Britishness. In the 1830-1850s, British elites knew roughly as much about their constituents as they knew of the BEIC's subject population in Bengal.

These conclusions explain the many similarities in the content of the inspections conducted in Bengal and Britain in the 1830-1850s, as well as the policies of state-funded education that were pursued in both regions during this time. It also explains the hesitance that preceded political reform in 1832, as well as elite anxiety regarding the rise of Chartism: all of these elements were catalyzed by an unknown entity – the emergent working class of Britain – and were the first of many 'leaps in the dark' that Britain encountered during the nineteenth century.

To conclude, the 1840-1850s represented a period of self-discovery, of internally-imperialist exploration that profoundly shaped the 'official mind' of Britishness. By plumbing the depths of supposed ignorance, barbarism, immorality and backwardness of Britain 'beyond London,' education inspectors clarified what it meant to be British, and the possibility (or impossibility) of distilling those tenets into lessons that could be shared with the greater population. Such efforts, inaugurated in Britain in 1839, were not, however, isolated to Britain itself. If inspectorate reports generated in Britain during this time helped to forge the 'official mind' of Britishness, the same process was occurring in the empire at around the same time.

Chapter 7: Imperial Anxieties and the Dangers of Ignorance

On January 29th, 1872, *The Times of India* published a small article entitled "An Old Mutineer Turning Up Again" that recalled an encounter between an unnamed Brahman and the Indian Army. This encounter, which occurred on the 18th of January, started simply enough: a detachment of soldiers decided to stop at the 'Attapillay Chatrum,' a waypoint en route to a military depot at Ooscottah. Once stopped, a local Brahman approached them and demanded that they leave, stating, "In 1858, I cut many a man like you Sepoy...into pieces, and now I'll do the same to you."³⁸¹ He attacked the soldiers, wounding one of them before being restrained and given over to the police. The article, whether or not actually true, concludes with the following editorial:

The above is, we have reason to believe, a perfectly correct account of what happened on the occasion, and we give it as simply another straw to show which way the wind blows...[and that] a deep seated and ever increasing antipathy to the British power exists through the whole country...³⁸²

This article is a prime example of the lingering hostility between Raj loyalists and dissidents in the decades after the Indian Rebellion, and highlights the growing hostility not only between classes and cultures of India, but also British authorities and Indian subjects. By the 1880s, such hostility had begun to manifest itself through Indian nationalist organizations such as the Indian National Congress, many of which were linked by British authorities to the legacy of the Indian Rebellion. Such a connection, however, discounts the much older divisions within British India, divisions rooted not in rebellion, but rather education.

³⁸¹. "An Old Mutineer Turning Up Again." *The Times of India*, January 29th, 1872

³⁸². Ibid

The transfer of knowledge and political authority through education was, from the very beginning, central to British power in India and, critically, the means by which Indians injected themselves into the British power dynamic. Control over education – be it the curriculum, students, teachers, or even the facilities themselves – was a central battleground and a source of anxiety in British India, one that officials like Macaulay were forced to address if Britain wished to retain its imperial hegemony. The condemnation of the Brahman in the excerpt above is indicative of this, as Brahman authority was often feared due to the caste's perceived widespread influence over indigenous education.

In the same vein, education and imperial authority were central to the Anglo-Irish relationship. As in India, rebellion and social unrest had punctuated and strained Britain's authority in Ireland during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, fueling discussions about the sustainability of the imperial relationship. This relationship was also marked by religious difference, particularly the question of Catholicism's place within the British Empire. In spite of the repeal of the Test Act in 1828, many Britons continued to fear Catholicism, and Catholic influence over education was a constant worry for educationists and politicians alike.³⁸³ Fears of clandestine Catholic disloyalty and subversive Indians generated the framework of anxiety necessary for Britain's forays into state-funded education at home and abroad during the nineteenth century.

383. On this, *The Morning Herald* made published the following editorial on October 4th, 1854: "Protesantism honors, and gives an undivided allegiance to its native Sovereign, following the plain command of Scripture. Popery gives, in fact, no allegiance to a heretical ruler, and carries over the duty it owes to its own prince to a foreign despot. Protestantism is distinguished by obedience to the law of the land, and the orderly demeanour of its professors; Popery, acting upon its well-known dogma– that the laws of heretical rulers may be evaded or opposed when opportunity serves, gives a forced and reluctant submission, and by the inculcation of such dangerous maxims among an ignorant peasantry covers the land with confusion and bloodshed.."

That the teachers of two systems so utterly antagonistic would unite in a common course of instruction the event has proved to be utterly impossible." (*The Morning Herald*, Oct 4 1854 ED 7/1, Irish National Archives, Dublin.)

The expansion of state-funded education in the mid-nineteenth century represented a political innovation equal in importance to the franchise reforms occurring at the same time. As with franchise reform, however, state-funded education was notable not just for its progressive aspects, but also for the fears and anxieties that it generated. State-funded education was a means of creating loyal Britons and British imperial subjects, however – in the wrong hands – it could be a potential liability. The lines between ignorance and over-education, or loyalty and disloyalty, were blurry and difficult to accurately define. As a result, educationists were keen to use education as a means of categorization based on one's degree of literacy and adherence to accepted norms of Britishness. Examples of this were illustrated in inspectorate reports and Parliamentary discussions in previous chapters, however those reports were confined to studies of Britain. The expansion of this newly-created model of 'educational categorization' onto the imperial stage generated an entirely new framework for the British 'official mind,' one that allowed educationists and imperialists alike to use schooling as a means of recruiting loyalists and defining difference.

With these themes in mind, this chapter traces the role of the educator in shaping British anxieties regarding the working classes, the expansion of Government, and the administration of Britain's fledgling educational framework at home and abroad. It also studies the impact of education on categorical definitions of difference, specifically the mid-century phenomenon of linking literacy and illiteracy to varying shades of darkness and light. Together, these themes – much like the inspectorate reports discussed in the previous chapter, provide an essential perspective on the evolution of Britishness during the mid-nineteenth century.

In March of 1836, the Protestant Bishop of Exeter went before Parliament on behalf of the cause of Irish education, wielding the most recent report of the Irish Commissioners

on Education, published just a few months earlier. In his speech, the Bishop quoted the following excerpt from the Commissioner's report:

Where [state-funded] schools...are found to work well, and to embrace the great mass of the population, I should be truly sorry to see an inferior one substituted. But in the many districts where the case is otherwise, it does seem to me highly desirable, that at least an attempt should be made to impart some useful knowledge to those who would otherwise either be left in hopeless ignorance, or would learn more evil than good, from, perhaps, some hedge-schoolmasters, who may be secretaries to a band of incendiaries...³⁸⁴

This excerpt – a strong condemnation of hedge-schoolmasters – is followed by a similarly-strong statement regarding the Bishop's understanding of the ultimate goal of state-funded education:

...teachers are not merely to benefit the people of Ireland...through the schools committed to their charge. Identified in interest with the state, and therefore anxious to promote a spirit of obedience to lawful authority...they would prove a body of the utmost value and importance in promoting civilization and peace.³⁸⁵

The Bishop's choice of contrast – incendiary hedge-schoolmaster versus obedient state-supported teacher – is a fair approximation of the general scope and symbolism employed by educationists to stress the importance of state-funded education. The former, dangerous due to poor learning and, from the Bishop's point of view, Catholic leanings, was a source of social insecurity in Ireland, one that had particular significance due to the recent threats of rebellion and French invasion during the Napoleonic Wars.

Anxieties like those presented by the Bishop of Exeter had historical precedence in the case of Ireland as well as connections to official concerns in other parts of the British Empire. An 1808 report of the Commissioners of Education in Ireland, for example, could trace the commission's efforts to the early eighteenth century:

The Charter for establishing Protestant Schools in Ireland, was granted...in the year 1733...[to end] the gross ignorance, disaffection and want of civilization that prevailed

384. HL Deb, Education (Ireland). March 15 1836, Vol. 32 , 279-280.

385. Ibid, 281.

among the Popish Inhabitants...[and] as one of the most effectual means of converting and civilizing the Irish natives; and in which the Children of the Poor might be instructed gratis in the English tongue, and the fundamental principles of true religion and loyalty.³⁸⁶

Such statements were not unique to the Irish case, as reports by British officials on Indian education during the early-nineteenth century share similar language and arguments. For example, Rev. William Adam, surveyor of schools in Bengal and Behar in the 1820-30s, lamented the status of indigenous education in the conclusion of his report, stating:

...[the] daily witnessing [of] the mere animal life to which ignorance consigns its victims, unconscious of any wants or enjoyment beyond those which they participate with the beasts of the field— unconscious of any of the higher purposes for which existence has been bestowed, society has been constituted, and government is exercised... While ignorance is so extensive, can it be matter of wonder that poverty is extreme, that industry languishes, that crime prevails, and that in the adoption of measures of policy...government cannot reckon on confidence on the moral support of an intelligent and instructed community.³⁸⁷

Adam's reports – the most comprehensive British studies of Indian indigenous education until well into the later-nineteenth century – were not wholly condemnatory, however. Adam saw great potential in indigenous schools, particularly if the schools, which numbered over 100,000 by his estimations, were supported with state funds. The core of Adam's model was "the old municipal system of the Hindus, by which each village had ...[a] hedge School-master called a Guru Mahashay."³⁸⁸ This position, and the elevated position of Pandit (terms often incorrectly interchanged by British officials), were viewed with concern by men like Adam, as they were well aware of the social and academic power wielded by such titles.³⁸⁹

386. Commissioners of Irish Education, *Reports From the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland, 1809-1812* (London: House of Commons, 1813), 15. It is worth noting that the existence of the Commissioners of the Board of Education in 1808 did predate the establishment of the national school system in 1831, however the former had limited capacity until 1831.

387. William Adam, *Adam's Reports*, 11-12.

388. *Ibid.*, 10-11.

389. It is worth noting here the use of the term 'hedge-school' by Adam, thus highlighting

Pandits and Guru-Mahashays were, much like the Irish hedge-schoolmaster, viewed by many Britons as "ignorant and consummately conceited" due to their reverence for non-Anglican (in this case, Sanskrit) texts, and were considered "painful living instance[s] of the truism, that some men however erudite, are utterly incapable of imparting their knowledge."³⁹⁰ In fact, Robert Thornton, Secretary of Government in the British East India Company, directly refers to the Guru-Mahashay as "[the] fac-simile [sic] on Indian ground of the Irish Hedge School-master..." and notes that "the Guru-Mohashay [sic] has got local influence, the parents have more confidence in him than they would have in a stranger, though [the latter is] a superior teacher."³⁹¹ In other words, Indian and Irish 'hedge' educators were viewed as important fixtures of their respective communities, even if they were treated with caution due to the perception that they were ignorant of proper knowledge.

Official concerns regarding the qualifications of Irish and Indian 'hedge schoolmasters' should not be viewed as a wholesale refutation of their respective instructional capabilities. At a time in which public education was viewed as a source of character development first and academic improvement second (especially when considering the monitorial defects discussed in prior chapters), the perceived morality of the schoolteacher was of preeminent concern. As such, the core problem with 'hedge schools,' and thus the root of the condemnations outlined above, was not what was being taught at such schools, but rather the moral integrity of the individual doing the teaching. An example of this distinction comes from the autobiography of William Carleton, a novelist from Tyrone, in which he describes the character of the typical hedge schoolmaster in the mid-century:

the proliferation of the term for schools of questionable character.

390. The Calcutta Review, *Calcutta Review, East India College - Miscellaneous Notices*, vol. Vol. IV (Calcutta: The Calcutta Review, July-December, 1845), lv-lvi, 18.

391. R. Thornton The Calcutta Review, *Vernacular Education for Bengal*, vol. Vol. XXII (Calcutta: The Calcutta Review, January-June 1854), 336.

They were as superior in literary knowledge and educational requirements to the class of men who are now engaged in the general education of the people [i.e. state school teachers], as they are beneath them in moral and religious character.³⁹²

Carleton's argument is reinforced by William Shaw Mason's illustration of the typical hedge school curriculum in 1814. As Mason notes, many teachers incorporated classic literature into their lessons, however they were also known to use biographies of 'robbers, thieves and prostitutes,' 'seditious histories of Ireland,' or, in the absence of better options, any works available to them to supplement their lessons.³⁹³ These choices were symptomatic of the limited supplies available to Irish teachers, and help to explain why, in addition to teacher training schools, funding for 'proper textbooks' was a priority for educationists during the mid-century.

In India, teachers occupied a moral 'grey area' similar to that of Irish schoolmasters. An illustration of this comes from a 'Brahman Controversy' covered by the *Times of India* in May and June of 1844.³⁹⁴ This controversy, centered around the conversion of an Indian youth to Christianity, generated much disdain for the Brahmans opposed to such evangelical activity. According to 'Hindoo testimony' provided to the *Times of India*, "Brahmins are well skilled in the art of moral coercion," a problematic attribute due to the British perception that Brahmans are dishonest and treacherous:

...Missionaries, even sailors, who are almost on a level with brutes, if they once put their signature to a paper will not change it. But these Brahmans who call themselves the teachers of the word...will say one thing one moment and the contrary the next...there are some men of truth and good morals among the Brahmans...[but] if

392. William Carleton, *The Life of William Carleton* (Coventry: Downey and Co., 1896), 19-20. See also: John I. D. Johnston, "Hedge Schools of Tyrone and Monaghan," *Clogher Record* Vol. 7, No. 1 (1969), 39.

393. William Shaw Mason, *A Statistical Account, or Parochial Survey of Ireland*, vol. Vol. I (Dublin: Graisberry and Campbell, 1814), 106. See also: John I. D. Johnston, "Hedge Schools of Tyrone and Monaghan.", 43.

394. "Spirit of the Indian Press: The Brahman Controversy." *The Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce*, Jun. 1, 1844 *The Times of India*, Bombay, 353.

one wicked man can be found among a hundred Christians, then ninety-nine out of a hundred Hindoos will be found liars.³⁹⁵

The belief in widespread Brahman falsity and immoral behavior explains why, during and after the Indian Rebellion, Brahmans were often characterized, as in the opening anecdote of this chapter, as rabble-rousers and incendiaries. Another example comes from a Parliamentary speech given in June, 1857 – the midst of the Indian Rebellion – by the Earl of Albemarle:

The rule and practice... [had been] in Bengal to enlist only high caste men, Brahmins and Rajpoots, to the exclusion of all other castes. This had a most deleterious effect on that army, every regiment of which became, as it were, a box of lucifer matches.³⁹⁶

If centuries of religious tension between England and Ireland led to the perception that Catholic teachers were inherently incendiary, one major event – the Indian Rebellion – convinced many Britons that Brahmans were not to be trusted.

Though immorality, insurrection, and discontent were common elements of discussions on the dangers of hedge schools in Ireland and India, such problems had parallels at home in England. Specifically, the quality and reliability of teachers in England was a constant concern of educationists. As noted in previous chapters, the reliance on untrained monitors and limited academic regulations for teachers allowed for the widespread employment of under-qualified educators. Though British schools were not regularly referred to as 'hedge schools,' they bore many of the same problems and anxieties regarding the quality of their education. An example of this comes from a speech given in Parliament in February, 1839 by Sir Thomas Wyse:

The quality of the education [in England] was not more flattering to our national self love than the amount. Bad teachers, bad methods, a very limited circle of subjects, and those taught in the worst manner, from a wretched supply of ill written books in

395. Ibid, 353.

396. Earl of Albemarle House of Lords, *The Mutiny in India – Question*, vol. Vol, 146 c.c. 512-25 (London: House of Lords, 29 June 1857), 524-525.

many cases, in the worst situations, and under the most unfavourable physical, and moral circumstances, such was the leading character of all inquiries lately made, either in or out of that House [of Parliament] upon that subject. Now what were the remedies which hitherto had been applied to these recognized evils, and how had they worked? The majority [of the House]...had been for altogether standing still...³⁹⁷

Wyse's sentiment speaks to official anxieties regarding 'bad education' as well as Parliamentary reluctance to heavily invest in state-funded education. While financial considerations played a notable role in this reluctance, of far greater concern were Parliamentary fears regarding religion, particularly the potential influence of non-Anglican faiths on state-sponsored moralism. This is why, as noted above, priestly control of Irish and Indian hedge schools were of such great concern to educationists, and why state-funded education policies in both regions prioritized the establishment of teacher-training schools and religious neutrality. The former, it was argued, would generate a class of persons deemed capable of transmitting Britishness, whereas the latter would undermine claims of government religious favoritism and dispel fears that state-funded education came with mandatory conversion to Anglicanism. Though well-intended, these arguments discounted the capacity of religious interests – Christian or otherwise – to work within the educational framework of the state, thus compromising key aspects of British education infrastructure.³⁹⁸ These arguments ignored the interests of the emerging class of state-sponsored educators, and underestimated the resistance of indigenous school systems in Ireland and India to state-sponsored reform.³⁹⁹

397. Thomas Wyse House of Commons, *Education*, vol. Vol. 45 c.c. 273-312 (London: House of Commons, 12th February 1839), 292-293.

398. This was, for example, a major problem in the context of West African missionary education, a topic discussed in Chapter 8.

399. *The Daily Express*, 28th January, 1856, on Irish education: "Lord Bernard proposed the next resolution. At the conclusion of his speech his lordship said– Mr. Napier, in his admirable speech, has well observed that aid is at present given in England to Wesleyans and Roman Catholics, and the books used in the schools are all submitted to a committee of those Wesleyans or of those Roman Catholics; that even the Jews are permitted to avail themselves of Government aid, without any sacrifice of conscientious scruples; that in India

Armed with the language of moralism and the support – if lukewarm – of the state, educationists saw opportunity and unlimited potential in the schooling of Irish and Indian youths. In a period fraught with the woes of urbanization, franchise expansion, and imperial unrest, education was seen in the mid-century as the gateway to self-improvement and loyalty to the state. Richard Dublin, writing to the Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin in 1832, stated the following on this point:

...Government, I conceive, contemplated beyond... [religious education] another, and strictly national object. Finding a great part of the Irish poor to be in a state of almost barbarian ignorance, while others of them obtain some small rudiments of education mixed up with lessons of faction and turbulence...I conceive [it is]...desirable, and possible, to improve...their condition...to advance them in civilisation, and to make them more orderly subjects, by imparting to them...[the] rudiments of education...⁴⁰⁰

The catalysts of this process of 'civilization' were the educators themselves. Sanctioned by the state to impart Britishness and remind the laboring classes, to quote Rev. Baptist Noel, "that lowly stations are honourable when connected with wisdom and with piety,"⁴⁰¹ this profession occupied a unique, and ultimately discordant position within the social and political hierarchies of Britain. Rarely wealthy enough, or appropriately-connected, to comfortably be considered 'middle class,' educators were expected to value and impart Britishness values without themselves qualifying for it on social grounds.

the beautiful theory of united education has utterly failed, and they are obliged to adopt with Hindoos, Mahometans, and infidels, the very system we ask them to adopt in this country (hear)."

Rev. Dr. O'Sullivan: 'We hear often of hedge schoolmasters and their evil influence on society. I believe the reports against them were exaggerated (hear, hear). But whatever they were, whatever their office, it could not be worse than the moral incendiarism which the National Board has exacted of its teachers.'" ("Church Education Society." *Daily Express*, Jan 28 1856 ED 7/3, Irish National Archives, Dublin.)

400. Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick, *Scriptural Education in Ireland: Memorials of the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's, Dublin and of the Clergy of the Diocese of Derry to His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin With His Grace's Replies* (London: B. Fellowes, 1832), 9.

401. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1840-1841, 1841, ED, 17/4, 73-4.

This new social class – what historian Richard Altick calls the 'amorphous stratum' between the middle- and working-classes – was not solely the domain of teachers, however they occupied a difficult position within it, as they were the distributors of the principal means of self-improvement.⁴⁰² Furthermore, as Irish writer W.C. Taylor stated in 1849, many people believed that it was "very possible, with the best intentions, so to educate a man as to disqualify him for his position in life."⁴⁰³ Taylor's statement, though directed specifically towards this emergent 'stratum,' is also applicable to state-sponsored educators in Ireland and India. An example of this comes from Major Lees, Acting Director of Public Instruction in India in the 1860s:

Some caution and foresight are necessary, lest in our well intentioned zeal...we...deluge the country with a large class of discontented men, dissatisfied with their position in society and in life, and disgusted with the world, themselves, and the Government that took them from what they were, to make them what they are. This would be to fill our bazars [sic] with socialism, and red republicanism instead of contentment and prosperity, and for the Government to incur a responsibility it is alarming even to think of.⁴⁰⁴

This warning is mirrored in 1835 in a statement regarding Irish schoolmasters by Anthony Richard Blake, a member of the Irish Education Board:

...in Ireland...the schoolmasters represent very strongly the extreme political opinions of the people...if the system proposed by the Board [of Education] should be carried into full effect, the same machinery which now is employed in leading the mind of the country...too much in favour of democratic rights, might then be employed...in a direction exactly the reverse...for the purpose of maintaining the legitimate influence and authority of the Government...⁴⁰⁵

402. Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader*, 82. "The national schoolmasters are not adequately paid– and here lies the great defect of the system– but assuredly they are in a much better condition than any race of peasant school-teachers that have gone before them in Ireland." (James Godkin, *A Hand-Book of the Education Question. Education in Ireland; Its History, Institutions, Systems, Statistics and Progress, From the Earliest Times to the Present* (London: Otley and Co., 1862), 63.)

403. W.C. Taylor, *On the Cultivation of Taste*, vol. Volume XI, *The Art Journal* (London: George Virtue, 1849), 3. Referenced in: *Culture and Education in Victorian England*, 148.

404. William Adam, *Adam's Reports*, 23.

405. Commissioners of Irish Education, *Reports of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (From the Year 1834 to 1845, Inclusive)*, 95.

While these statements reflect the hopes and fears of British officials with regards to state-funded education, they are also indicative of the problems posed by the emergent 'stratum' of educators, and the threat that educator-led discontent might pose in the future.⁴⁰⁶

The problem of 'discontent with one's station' is the inverse of the problem of ignorance: if incompetent or bigoted teachers could destabilize the working classes through immorality and bad education, over-educated teachers and students could do the same through political radicalism and class conflict, particularly if they were denied the fruits of their own learning. The critical importance of this dichotomy was quite apparent to British officials during the mid-nineteenth century. Rev. William Adam, for example, believed that "it is upon the character of the indigenous schools [alone] that the education of the great mass of the population must ultimately depend."⁴⁰⁷ Concerns over the loyalty of educators, and their delicate relationship with Britishness, are therefore central to both the successes and failures of state-funded education during the nineteenth century, as highlighted by this excerpt from *The Freeman's Journal* on 6th September, 1887:

He [Mr. Balfour] had not the effrontery to deny that the salaries of the Irish teachers are lower than the salaries of Scotch and English teachers. He admitted, as he had

⁴⁰⁶ *The Daily Express* printed the following exchange, titled "Loyalty of the National Schools," on the 24th of July, 1856: We have received the following letter from a highly respectable correspondent in the county Donegal:—

Sir, —Mr. Horsman, in his speech on Mr. Walpole's motion on the subject of Education in Ireland, is reported, in your paper of the 19th instant; to have said that—"Before the present century the schools (in Ireland) were noted for disloyalty and every kind of vice." This may have been literally a fact, but if he intended, by bringing it forward on that occasion, to contrast it in any way with the present state of the Government schools, I would suggest the serious consideration of another fact, not only of the present century, but of the present month.

The Constabulary of this town, a few nights since, arrested some five-and-twenty Ribbonmen [Catholic anti-Landlord movement]. Amongst them, strange to say, all the male National School teachers in the immediate neighbourhood, save one, as I am informed, are included (they are four in number); and from what I have heard from time to time I have not the least doubt but that if a similar "haul" were made in any other part of this county, at least, it would be attended with similar results." ("Loyalty of the National Schools." *Daily Express*, July 24 1856 ED 7/3, Irish National Archives, Dublin.)

⁴⁰⁷ William Adam, *State of Education in Bengal and Behar*; Ibid, 22-23.

admitted before, that they are lower; but he sought a justification in the assertion that the amount of work done, as estimated by the number of pupils, is double in England what it is in Ireland...Mr. Balfour [also] contended that the standard of education is lower among the Irish than amongst the English and Scotch teachers...The fact remains, as was again pointed out last night, that the Government willingly grant a million and a half of money to maintain the Royal Irish Constabulary, while they grudgingly dole out half the sum for the support and encouragement of the Irish National Teachers. No language could add force to that simple fact.⁴⁰⁸

As noted above, the vagueness of the division between ignorance and over-education was a source of constant worry for educationists, and this anxiety was reflected in their actions and views. Interestingly, these anxieties were commonly manifest, especially in writing, as a dichotomy of 'darkness' versus 'light.' Though color and shades of 'darkness' are generally associated with depictions of racial difference, color was more often used as an indicator of perceived civilization or literacy in the context of education. Such values, though often connected to race, were not exclusive to it: 'darkness' could be applied over a wide range of social divisions, including class, religious difference, language, and geographic location. Though seemingly obscure, analyzing the use of this dichotomy reveals much about Britain's imperial anxieties during this period. This dichotomy of darkness and light was rooted firmly in British moralism, Enlightenment notions of progress, and the ethnocentric vision of Anglo-Saxon superiority, values that, as the nineteenth century progressed, had an ever-greater impact on education policy at home and abroad.

The Enlightenment-influenced dichotomy of 'darkness' versus 'light' is built upon the assumption that one's 'civilization' is a quantity that can be studied, compared against a standardized (objective) value, and transferred across cultural and social barriers regardless of preexisting commonalities. The latter element of this assumption – transference – was of preeminent concern during the nineteenth century, as it was through transfer that the worth of a 'civilization' could truly be measured. Such a transfer could occur gradually as a

408. *Freeman's Journal*, Sept 6 1887 ED 7/7, Irish National Archives, Dublin.

result of extended cultural contact and trade, or via more direct means such as formal schooling. While the former was championed by some as a sign of Britain's civilizational preeminence abroad, political events and proto-sociological studies in early-nineteenth century Britain highlighted that informal measures were failing to spread Britishness at home, particularly among the lower classes. Chartist agitation, fears of nascent Jacobinism, and the unfathomable depths of cultural ignorance revealed by inspectorate reports combined to paint an unflattering image of Britain. As a consequence of this, Britain's rural and lower-class populations were relegated to the civilizational 'darkness' previously reserved for those outside of Britain and Britishness. Such cultural segregation was largely a defensive measure – many literate Britons made clear their aversion to being associated with the 'barbarism' of working-class Britain – yet it was also an offensive tool: 'darkness' was an unnatural and dangerous attribute that, if not dismissible indirectly, must be actively expunged.⁴⁰⁹

While religious conversion and evangelism remained important elements of British civilization (especially in West Africa, Ireland, and India), education overcame exclusively-religious activities as the primary catalyst of state-sponsored civilization during the mid-nineteenth century. Education – be it moral, academic, or technical – was believed the most practical, justifiable, and economic means of government intervention. Britain's imperial experiences elsewhere compounded this belief in education as a civilizational tool, as it was a system that could be readily adapted to the myriad cultures over which it governed without overly offending religious, ethnic, or social traditions. It was also commonly associated with darkness and light, as shown in the following editorial on Irish state-funded education published by *The Times* on August 23, 1848:

⁴⁰⁹. Macaulay, on this topic: "The destinies of our Indian empire are covered with thick darkness...it may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good Government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better Government" (K.N. Mitra, *England's Duty to India in Respect of the Education and Public Employment of the Native Indians* (Calcutta: New Town Press, 1889), 43.)

The System of National Education established in Ireland in 1831-32, under Lord Stanley's auspices, is the one bright spot where all else is dark and hopeless enough. Could we believe that twenty years hence the distinguishing characteristics of Irishmen would be changed, we should make up our minds to pull through with the present generation as best we might.⁴¹⁰

This editorial, an attempted validation of the virtues of direct state intervention versus the problems inherent in private enterprise, is indicative of the typical trajectory of debates on education in the nineteenth century, debates which were generally built around – or against – Liberal ideology. Private initiative in education was championed by many Liberals as the most financially-prudent, and therefore politically-responsible means of disseminating public knowledge, as the social value of literacy could be directly traced to its economic value in terms of school rates, subscriptions, and teacher salaries. If a community valued education, so the argument went, it would support a quality school; if not, the school would suffer and, if unpopular enough, be disbanded, much like a poorly-managed business. Though this argument was popular, a growing body of politicians, many of whom aligned with liberalism in other ways, rejected this notion, arguing instead that public education was, in the absence of effective private initiative, the state's obligation.

The concept of 'state obligation,' as discussed in earlier chapters, was built on Smithian liberalism, an economic concept adhered to by educationists like Kay-Shuttleworth for its pragmatic, political value. Smithian liberalism was also, however, an early source of metaphor regarding color, specifically 'darkness' and 'light.' When describing the relationship between education, religion and morality, Smith noted that illiterate people could not be effective members of society, as they were, in Smith's words, still locked in the "ignorance and darkness of pagan superstition" created by past cultures.⁴¹¹ Smith's mention

410. Frank Nevill, *Original Papers Relating to West Africa*, vol. IOR/L/PJ/3/1371 (London: British Library, 1882), 48.

411. Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 144. See also: *The Oxford Handbook of Adam Smith* (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 2013), 477.

of religion links his argument to the dichotomy between 'darkness' and 'light' employed in the context of Christian evangelization. Evangelism and parochial education relied heavily on the metaphorical link between conversion and 'light,' each interchangeable with 'civilization' and/or 'enlightenment' as descriptions of missionary purpose and Ecclesiastic education. An example of this link comes from Dr. Chalmers, an official involved in the education debate in Ireland in 1854:

It is not to turn an operative [student] into a capitalist, it is to turn an ignorant operative into a learned operative— to stamp upon him the worth and the respectability of which I contend he is fully susceptible, though he rise not by a single inch above the sphere of life in which he now moves— to transform him into a reflective and accomplished individual: not to hoist, as it were, the great ponderous mass of society up into the air, where it would have no foundation to support it; but supposing that mass to be stationary on its present basis, to diffuse through it the light both of common and of Christian intelligence.⁴¹²

Here, the relationship between Smithian and religious views on education is apparent: the utility of education is coupled with the virtue of 'Christian intelligence,' each built around the imagery of 'light' and the belief that elementary education was a revelatory process not unlike that of religious conversion.

Narrative descriptions of this process of 'education as conversion' are common throughout the reports on elementary schools during the mid-nineteenth century, many of which, it should be noted, were provided to the state by clergymen and other religious officials. For example, in 1843 Rev. F.C. Cook visited schools in Kensington, at which he recorded the following change in the behavior of the students:

Their countenances had undergone a change, the light of intelligence was kindled in their eyes; and the discipline, which at first could hardly be maintained with severity and unrelaxing attention, was this time evidently preserved by the influence of the master and, and of those children who had been long enough in the school to feel both deference and affection for him.⁴¹³

412. Commissioners of Irish Education, *Annual Report of Irish National Education, 1854-1855*, vol. II (Dublin: Commissioners of Irish National Education, 1855), 124.

413. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1843-1844, 1845, ED, 17/7, 71.

Such a conversion, as optimistically-envisioned by educationists like John Allen below, would move beyond simple behavioral changes and become the basis of a total elimination of the perceived defects of the working class:

...while education is not meant to raise the working classes above their condition, it may greatly multiply the comforts which they enjoy in it. It may preserve them from exchanging light, clean, and cheerful cottages for comfortless cellars; it may give them better clothes, better food, and better health; it may deck their windows with fairer flowers; spread cleaner linens on their tables, and adorn their dwellings with more convenient furniture...If in this way education may make the working classes happier, it is equally certain it may make them better; it may teach them to show civility to passing strangers instead of treating them with rudeness...It may further inspire them with loyalty to the Queen, and with love to their country; raise them above the temptation of a bribe in the exercise of any political rights which they may possess, and separate them from those who would seek any supposed amelioration of the laws by the methods of violence and injustice.⁴¹⁴

Here, we see the grand ideals of mid-century educationists at work: the educated, working-class Briton is an effective, loyal contributor to British prosperity, freed from temptation towards vice and keen to understand, and appreciate, the importance of social deference and manners. Such a transformation links together Smith's focus on economic value with Christian/Liberal concerns regarding religious and personal morality, the sum of which is best exemplified by Allen's figurative exchange of the 'comfortless cellar' with the 'light, clean, and cheerful cottage.'

Innumerable examples of the 'transformation' model can be found in texts on British education during the nineteenth century, each built on similar rhetoric, and goals, as that of Allen above. Though less descriptive than Allen's excerpt, another example comes from the *Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette* in 1884:

The darkness of ignorance is about to be dissipated [in Sunderland]. The day of intellectual culture for Sunderland is at hand. It is saddening to think how long the inhabitants of this town have groped in the dark.⁴¹⁵

414. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1840-1841, 1841, ED, 17/4, 73-4.
415. *Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette*, Friday, 4th January, 1884 Sunderland

The themes present in these examples were popular, and widely used, because of their adherence to the positivist, optimistic belief in gradual self-improvement: positive change is viewed in each as the unavoidable consequence of literacy and improved morality, the two primary goals of the intellectual and religious improvement of state-funded education.

If education had its own scale of 'darkness' and 'light,' so too did religion: for many Britons, adherence to any non-Protestant faith was a symptom, or cause, of 'darkness' not unlike that of gross academic ignorance. The most common examples of this emanated from the contrast of Anglicanism with Catholicism, a division as political for most Britons as it was theological. Ireland, by virtue of being predominantly Catholic, was the region most commonly condemned in Britain for religious 'darkness,' as seen in Stephen Dickson's 1792 *Essay on a System of National Education*:

...Latin is learned by the poor of Ireland with a very different view from that of illuminating their intellect by a ray from the effulgence of ancient Rome. Their sole aim is to qualify themselves for the darkness of modern Rome. They aspire to be selected for the priesthood, and repair from their hovels to some hedge-school-master in eager quest of the little smattering of ecclesiastical language which he can afford them, and in full expectation of being sent abroad with a stipend and returning to enjoy that indolence, and that controul [sic] over the minds of their brethren, which too often mark our vulgar clergy.⁴¹⁶

Dickson's disdain for Ireland's Catholic clergy is clear, as is his fear of the 'hedge school' and its potentially anti-British influence over the people of Ireland.

With the Act of Union in 1801, the relationship between Britain and Ireland became an issue of domestic politics, and Catholicism a key fixture of Anglo-Irish political relations, particularly with regards to the Test Act (and its repeal in 1828) and the establishment of Ireland's national system of education in in the 1830s. While the former issue created a great amount of immediate controversy, the latter was a source of heated debate up to Ire-

416. Stephen Dickson, *Essay on a System of National Education, Adapted to Ireland*, vol. Vol. 4, The Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy (Royal Irish Academy, 1792), 31.

land's independence, as the core features of Ireland's national education system were religious neutrality and 'united classrooms' for pupils of different faiths. Such an arrangement, though theoretically neutral, was believed by Protestants to give too much authority to Ireland's vast Catholic majority, leading some to call for a return to a divided system that would protect Protestant children. An example of this comes from an editorial published in the *Daily Express* on January 5th, 1856:

We [the Dromore Church Education Society] avow that the Scriptures should be the basis of all charitable education from the State, and why should we be looked down upon and scowled at for maintaining that principle, and for asking that for which is made the basis of all schools in England, and for contending for that freedom which is accorded to the Jews and Roman Catholics? (Applause) I put it to you if that is common justice, common honesty (hear). A very remarkable thing has also occurred with regard to education in India. They tried the combined system and it failed there as it failed in Ireland, and as it will always fail wherever the attempt is made... They had to give up the combined system in India as they found it would not work. The official report states, 'We have resolved to adopt in India the system of grants in aid which has been carried out in this country with great success.' ... Well, the Hindoo and Mahomedan of India enjoy these grants, but the Protestants of Ireland, an integral part of the United Kingdom, and the Protestant Church of England and Ireland, are denied that assistance.⁴¹⁷

This example not only highlights Catholic discontent with religious neutrality in Ireland, but attempts to frame said discontent in imperial terms. Protestants, such as Richard Whatley, Archbishop of the Church of Ireland, focused on the merits of the united system, noting its proselytizing potential:

The reading of the Bible...without any explanation to the children...whether well or ill-founded, would find its way, in addition to all the other topics calculated to foment political and religious animosity, into the separate Roman Catholic Schools, supported by their share of the government grant [of education in Ireland]. And what chance would then remain of the Irish peasantry ever being enlightened, conciliated, and reclaimed from ferocious barbarism?⁴¹⁸

417. "Down, Connor, and Dromore Church Education Society." *Daily Express*, Jan 5 1856 ED 7/3, Irish National Archives, Dublin.

418. St. Patrick's Cathedral, *Memorial of the Dean & Chapter of St. Patrick's of Dublin* (London: B. Fellowes, 1832); *Ibid*, 12-13, 17.

For Whately, the threat of Catholic influence was outweighed by his own belief that association with, and conversion to Protestantism would be the only means for Catholic students to escape the 'darkness and barbarism' of their faith. Such sentiments engendered hostility among Irish Catholics, leading many of them to similarly fear Protestant influence on the national education system.

The linkage of religious difference, morality, and education in Ireland explains why the dichotomy of 'darkness' and 'light' was employed so frequently during discussions of Ireland's national education system by both supporters and detractors. Opposite Dickson's above-mentioned argument lamenting indigenous Irish education, *The Nation*, an Irish newspaper, published the following editorial in favor of indigenous education in December, 1855:

Let us never forget, though the thoughtless and the unpatriotic may sneer at it as an idle folly, that Ireland was at one time a lamp amid the darkness – that when the whole continent of Europe was plunged in the thickest gloom, and even Italy had lapsed into barbarism, there were lights of splendid lustre and pure flame burning on Irish altars and in Irish shrines.⁴¹⁹

Such debates carried on throughout the nineteenth century, shaping not just the trajectory of Irish national education, but also, as this quote foreshadows, the language and historical roots of modern Irish nationalism.⁴²⁰

Just as Anglican-Catholic hostility was one of Britain's most conflicted domestic relationships in the nineteenth century, so too was religious tension a key element of Britain's

419. *The Nation*, December 22nd, 1855 Irish National Archives, Dublin.

420. Thomas Campbell, writing on Ireland in 1777: "We keep the Irish dark and ignorant, and then we wonder how they can be so enthralled by superstition; we make them poor and unhappy, and then we wonder that they are so prone to tumult and disorder; we tie up their hands, so that they have no inducements to industry, and then we wonder they are so lazy and indolent. No wonder that it should be part of the Irish character that they are so careless of their lives, when they have so little worth living for." (Thomas Campbell, *A Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland in a Series of Letters to John Watkinson* (London: W. Strahan, 1777), 253.) For more on this, see: Richard Ned Lebow, *White Britain and Black Ireland*, 67-78.

overseas experience. As with the examples above, the connection between religious conversion and academic education is paramount, particularly in regions like West Africa (discussed at greater length in later chapters), where missionaries dominated Britain's overseas education efforts. In 1818, for example, the Church Missionary Society issued the following instructions to Mr. and Mrs. Morgan, Taylor, and Bull, new recruits for missionary work in Sierra Leone:

Yet yours is a far nobler mission— a mission of mercy and love— not to kill, but to save men's lives— not a victory of man over man, but of the Children of Light over the Prince of Darkness...The situation of the Colony of Sierra Leone...presents a danger, which, having already impressed the minds of some of the Missionaries, it is right should be mentioned to you. The Negroes are just rising from barbarism into civilization, from total ignorance even of the common arts of life into some degree of knowledge; and this has been much owing, under the kind protection and assistance of his Excellency the Governor, to the labours of the Society's Missionaries. But do not mistake civilization for conversion. Do not imagine, when Heathens are raised in intellect, in the knowledge of the arts, in dress and outward decency, above their fellow-countrymen, that therefore they are Christians...⁴²¹

These instructions illustrate that the CMS was well aware of the necessity of combining education with conversion, and though these endeavors were interdependent, one did not necessarily lead to the other.

The potential danger of education without conversion (in other words, academic knowledge without moral training) was worth the risks outlined by the CMS, as most missionaries were convinced that the 'Prince of Darkness,' noted above, could not be removed from West Africa without them. The following excerpt, from a letter written by Rev. Frank Nevill, a CMS missionary to the Gold Coast in 1886, illustrates that this sentiment persisted well into the late-nineteenth century:

The darkness of the people is heavy, if the native Pastors and missionaries are to be trained well and are to be able to instruct the people, combatting this darkness, they must have the right men to do it. It will be long before the superstitions and

⁴²¹. Church Missionary Society, *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1818-1819* (London: L.B. Seeley, 1819), 227-228.

darkness of mind are thrown off by even the leaders, so they must have the best helpers it is possible to get.⁴²²

Nevill's conceptualization of 'darkness' paints it to be an entropic force that must be continually 'combated' through the civilizing catalysts of education and conversion. Failure would not, therefore, simply result in the cessation of education or conversion, but rather the gradual relapse of the educated and/or converted African to their 'natural' state of barbarism. Fears of relapse and 'natural barbarism' were common themes in many of the discussions of education in West Africa, particularly with regards to repatriated slaves and westernized Africans.⁴²³ Historian Raymond Tong discusses this in his 1958 work *Figures in Ebony*:

[the African] is himself completely entangled in this intermixture of opposing cultures. He remains truly a man of two worlds, anxiously absorbing all things new, feverishly groping for the white man's 'know-how,' yet never quite able to free himself from the compelling forces of his environment and the dark inheritance of his fore-fathers.⁴²⁴

Tong's argument connects the metaphoric notion of 'darkness as ignorance' illustrated above with the racial component of 'blackness as ignorance,' a corollary that is both impossible to ignore in the literature of this period and, historiographically, a link that binds together the education narratives of Britain and Africa during the nineteenth century. 'Darkness,' in its racial definition, was associated with ignorance, though its academic definition was not inherently static. In other words, it was believed that the educated African could overcome the 'darkness' of ignorance in spite of unchanging racial features. Such a belief was part of Sir G. R. Collier's Report to the CMS of 1824, in which he states:

422. Frank Nevill, *Original Papers Relating to West Africa*, Letter 6.

423. This topic is discussed again in Chapters 8, 14 and the Conclusion. For more on this, see: Bronwen Everill, *Abolition and Empire in Sierra Leone and Liberia* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). See also: Paul E. Lovejoy, and Jan S. Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery*.

424. Raymond Tong, *Figures in Ebony* (Benin: Cassell, 1958), 86. Dorothy Hammond, and Alta Jablow, *The Africa That Never Was*, 131.

...the intellectual condition of the African is not to be despised...among them [are] men of great strength of mind and quick perceptions. In a general sense it is even asserted that the intellectual powers of the African are as rich as the soil of his country, and, with the same attention, could be made as fertile. Some who have received even a narrow education in England, have evinced proofs of a quick and extensive genius, and, with few exceptions, have not only become useful members of, but ornaments to, society.⁴²⁵

The racial dimension of 'ignorance as darkness' becomes more complex when the language of education in West Africa is compared to that of the British Isles. A striking British example is found in an aforementioned editorial in the satirical magazine *Punch* entitled "The Missing Link." While *Punch* was often satirical, its depiction of 'Irish as savage' was directly linked to the popular association of the Irish with idleness, Catholic treachery, and academic ignorance, features which so appalled Charles Kingsley in 1860 that, in a letter to his wife, he stated,

I am haunted by the human chimpanzees I saw along that hundred miles of horrible country [in Ireland]...to see white chimpanzees is dreadful; if they were black, one would not feel it so much, but their skins, except where tanned by exposure, are as white as ours.⁴²⁶

Here again the issue of race comes to the fore: the Irishman, by virtue of his lightness of skin and perceived lack of civilization, is believed worse by comparison to the 'blackness' of the African, the latter believed understandably uncivilized by virtue of the association between physical blackness and ignorance.

These issues are muddled further when depictions of the Briton (specifically the Saxon, as distinct from the Anglo-Saxon) are condemned as 'dark' by the political and intellectual elites of Britain in spite of the accepted racial links between the two groups. In 1848

425. G.R. Collier, and Charles MacCarthy, *West-African Sketches: Compiled From the Reports of Sir G.r. Collier, Sir Charles Maccarthy and Other Official Sources* (London: Seeley and Son, 1824), 22.

426. Perry L. Jr. Curtis, *Apes and Angels*, 84. See also: Mary J. Hickman, *Religion, Class and Identity: The Irish in Britain: The State, the Catholic Church and the Education of the Irish in Britain*, 49.

Joseph Fletcher, Inspector of Schools, issued a report on the education and morality of Britain, the results of which were illustrated as maps shaded with various gradients of light and dark. Fletcher's report, condemnatory of the majority of the population of England and Wales, offers a powerful example of the connection between 'darkness,' ignorance, and immorality:

From the southern part of this region, too, a dark shade, which we find reproduced in almost every branch of delinquency, extends over the south midland and eastern agricultural counties, marking especially with those which have light domestic manufactures in the cottages of the poor, and attaining its darkest hue over Buckinghamshire. A medium tint occupies all the counties which lie between the metropolis and the English Channel. And although a darker tint is carried northward, along the course of mining and manufacturing industry, in Stafford, Salop, Cheshire, and Lancashire, yet in one only does there occur a darker tint than that of the medium southern counties between London and the Channel. This one is Cheshire, which stands alone in its inky blackness in every moral characteristic...⁴²⁷

Fletcher concludes his analysis with his discussion of "the darkest region of all," the south-midlands, noting,

In this map will be seen the general prevalence of a dark shade of crime as of ignorance over the intensely Saxon population extending from Dorsetshire to Norfolk...amidst which is projected a darker tint wherever manufacturing industry, accompanied by greater ignorance, prevails.⁴²⁸

Ignorance, along with immorality and irreligion, was the essential metric by which an individual's sociocultural standing was determined in nineteenth century Britain. As such, the incorporation of education into the historiography of the British Empire is essential, as education represents a more powerful influence on the nuances of Britishness than is traditionally allowed. This is not to say that education is more or less important than race, class, or culture within the hierarchy of Britishness, but rather that education was a uniquely dynamic and variable element. On one hand, one's level of education could change over time

427. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1848-1850 (Volume II), 1850, ED, 17/12, 302.

428. Ibid, 313.

based on self-improvement, unlike the static nature of racial and cultural categorization. On the other hand, it was socially-acceptable and encouraged to improve one's education, unlike the improvement of one's class. Education rested uneasily in the middle-ground between class, race, and culture, as it was seen as a vehicle for civilization, obedience, and self-improvement during a period in which Britishness was being strained and tested like never before. In the words of an Irish prelate interviewed in 1814 by the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Education, these factors made education "all the difference between wild beasts and useful animals, all the distinction between the Hottentot and the European, between the savage and the man."⁴²⁹ As shown in this paper, such differences and distinctions are built around the symbolic language of 'darkness' and 'light,' terms employed by the inspectors and observers of education to justify their own mission, and to distance themselves from those they aimed to 'civilize.' 'Darkness' and 'light' are representative of the most common symbolic imagery employed in sources on education, difference, and sociocultural hierarchy during the nineteenth century.

429. *Report of a Committee to the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland*, vol. Vol. 13, No. 72 (Belfast: Belfast Monthly Magazine, 1814), 49.

Chapter 8: Rethinking State-Funded Education

Looking back at the nineteenth century, it is easy to view the narrative of state-funded education as one of continual progress towards a single end: free, compulsory education. While this is, ultimately, the outcome of education in Britain, this reality should not overshadow the process required to reach this point. As shown in previous chapters, the concurrent developments of state-funded education in Britain, India, and Ireland were highly politicized, and quite public, as a result of their complex relationship with religious authority, state oversight, and liberalism. This situation generated an environment of reform in which changes to state-funded education were hard-fought, generally occurred in small steps, or – rarely – in big, anxious leaps. This reality perpetuates the illusion of steady, largely positive change, glossing over the many setbacks and complications that state-funded education was required to navigate during the nineteenth century. Using the studies of state-funded education developed in prior chapters as a guide, this chapter analyzes the 'hard-fought' progress of Britain's educational experiments in the mid-nineteenth century, specifically noting the impact of educationists like Macaulay and Kay-Shuttleworth on educational thought and practice both at home and in the empire. The views of these educationists are compared to the educational realities of their political careers, noting the roles of both success and failure in shaping state-funded education during the mid-nineteenth century.

Macaulay's education reforms were neither extraordinary nor revolutionary, but rather the byproduct of decades of struggles over the proper relationship between British imperial authority and indigenous education.⁴³⁰ As such, the decisiveness of Macaulay's

430. Macaulay noted in 1835 that the struggle over the future of Indian education had been a potentially-political issue since at least 1813: "As it seems to be the opinion of some of the

Minute of 1835 should not be overstated. Though a powerful example of educational idealism and British ethnocentrism, Macaulay's *Minute* was no more or less condemnatory of 'indigenous' education than Kay-Shuttleworth's view of Britain, or Wyse's view of Ireland. In all three cases, the term 'indigenous' implied that the education being discussed was anti-British, or at least anti-Enlightened, and was thus unworthy of the gamble that state funding represented. In his *Minute* of 1835, Macaulay illustrates this point, noting – in his rejection of the Orientalist argument – that the state was 'bound' to continue funding Indian arts and sciences:

I would rather err on the side of liberality to individuals than suffer the public faith to be called in question. But to talk of a Government pledging itself to teach certain languages and certain sciences, though those languages may become useless, though those sciences may be explored, seems to me quite unmeaning. There is not a single word in any public instrument from which it can be inferred that the Indian Government ever intended to give any pledge on this subject, or ever considered the destination of these funds as unalterably fixed...I consider this plea merely as a set form of words, regularly used both in England and in India, in defence of every abuse for which no other plea can be set up.⁴³¹

Macaulay's views, grounded firmly in Utilitarian Liberalism, bear great similarity to Wyse's charge that the Kildare Place Society was 'unworthy' of state-funding, and that the state's key obligation was to strike a balance between individual liberty, public good, and fiscal responsibility. Furthermore, it is clear that, in spite of Macaulay's condemnation of indigenous arts as being worth less than a 'single shelf of a good European library,' his purpose was not to shun Indian arts, but rather to find the most efficient and effective means of introducing positive, 'civilizing' change in Indian society. The subjectivity of Macaulay's un-

gentlemen who compose the Committee of Public Instruction that the course which they have hitherto pursued was strictly prescribed by the British Parliament in 1813 and as, if that opinion be correct, a legislative act will be necessary to warrant a change, I have thought it right to refrain from taking any part in the preparation of the adverse statements which are now before us, and to reserve what I had to say on the subject till it should come before me as a Member of the Council of India." (Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Minute on Education*, Section 1.) See also: Natalie Robinson Sirkin, and Gerald Sirkin, "The Battle of Indian Education."

431. Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Minute on Education*, Section 5.

derstanding of 'civilization' should not overshadow the fact that Macaulay's condemnation of 'uncivilized' countries did not end with India. Later in his *Minute* of 1835, Macaulay had the following to say on early modern Russia:

Within the last hundred and twenty years, a nation which had previously been in a state as barbarous as that in which our ancestors were before the Crusades has gradually emerged from the ignorance in which it was sunk, and has taken its place among civilized communities. I speak of Russia...The languages of western Europe civilised Russia. I cannot doubt that they will do for the Hindoo what they have done for the Tartar.⁴³²

This statement confirms that Macaulay's dismissal of the Indian arts and sciences was, in his mind, equivalent to the dismissal of his own 'barbarous' ancestors, as well as those of Russia. Macaulay's argument also aligns with the views of Orientalists and Anglicists regarding the purpose of education in India: regardless of language medium, all three agreed that British efforts in education in India should revitalize and modernize Indian culture. This, more than anything else, was Macaulay's point: if all three parties agreed that revitalization and modernization were the key rationales behind state-funded education, it seemed logical to use the language and model of education that had already 'civilized' Europe.

In spite of Macaulay's condemnation of indigenous education, the nature of state-funded education in 1840-1850s India was comparable to that of pre-1835 India. The amount of funding and state interest in indigenous primary education was waning (a process of benign neglect that would eventually condemn indigenous schools), however the sheer scale of India's pre-colonial education system guaranteed that imperial neglect – if detrimental in the long term – would not be immediately catastrophic.⁴³³ Indians with money to pay for ed-

432. Ibid, Section 16.

433. Rev. William Adam, British educationist in India in the 1820-30s, was convinced that British rule would be best served through funding India's massive indigenous primary education system. Unfortunately for Adam, his recommendations were part of the movement defeated by Macaulay in 1835. For more on Adam in the context of education in India, see: Tim Allender, "Learning Abroad: The Colonial Educational Experiment in India, 1813â1919," *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no. 6 (2009).

ucation continued, well into the late-19th century, to receive the same form of schooling borrowed by Bell in the 1790s and criticized by Macaulay in 1835.⁴³⁴ This is comparable to the problem encountered by Kay-Shuttleworth: his support for the Stow method did little to dampen entrepreneurial enthusiasm for Bell's monitorial method until the major educational reforms of the 1870-80s.⁴³⁵ For both Kay-Shuttleworth and Macaulay, their policies lacked the administrative capacity, and governmental support, to enforce immediate change, especially when dealing with an education system as diverse and expansive as India's. This fact was not lost on Macaulay; in his *Minute* of 1835, Macaulay hinted at this reality, and the solution which he and others believed was the only viable option:

We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern— a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect.⁴³⁶

This concept, so different from the grassroots, popular policies pursued by Bell, Kay-Shuttleworth, and others, sought to achieve the same end-goal as other education models by a process that would later be known as 'downward filtration.' 'Filters' – the class of interpreters noted above – would take British knowledge, combine it with Indian sociocultural values, and then transmit said information to the general populace via private education.⁴³⁷

In effect, Macaulay was an advocate of teacher-training much like Kay-Shuttleworth, however he was unwilling to capitalize on that training via state-funding of primary-level education. Such a model had many immediate benefits: it freed the state from the obligation of funding popular education (an obligation readily admitted, in an abstract sense, by

434. Dick B. Dewan, *Education in Darjeeling*, 90. Sulochana Krishnamoorthi, *Modern Education*, 32.

435. R.J.W. Sellec, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 175.

436. Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Minute on Education*, Section 34. See also: B.B. Misra, *The Indian Middle Classes*, 154.

437. *Ibid*, 151. As noted by Misra, the primary goals of education at this time were utility (i.e. economic utility) and English, both of which were to be transferred via downward filtration.

Macaulay), and reinforced the importance of British education as the primary concern of the BEIC. The downside of this policy – one which will not be realized until much later in the century – is that Macaulay essentially ceded the agency and authority over Indian elementary education to the private sector, thus minimizing the influence of British educational efforts on the vast majority of India's population. Furthermore, artificially limiting the state's influence on education to the upper echelon of society (those fit to be 'interpreters') guaranteed that the pace of education reform was firmly in the hands of those doing the 'downward filtering.' Changes to the education structure and policies of India were destined to be slow or, if not in the interests of those transmitting British knowledge, nonexistent.⁴³⁸

The disparity between Macaulay's conclusions regarding education in India and Kay-Shuttleworth's vision for Britain is surprising, as it seems to defy the inherent comparisons and similarities that have, thus far, linked together these two narratives. In truth, the disparity between these systems is largely theoretical: neither Kay-Shuttleworth nor Macaulay held the political or financial authority to truly enact the sweeping changes they envisioned. The importance of these early efforts, therefore, is less a factor of their immediate accomplishments, than the trajectories they forged, and the impact they had on education efforts elsewhere. For example, Macaulay's short-term efforts to limit administrative over-extension established a culture of anti-primary, decentralized education that persisted until the advent of Indian home rule in the early 20th century. Because of this, Macaulay's views on education were used as both model and foil for future educational endeavors throughout the British Empire, particularly in West Africa. Similar to Macaulay, Kay-Shuttleworth's efforts

438. Interestingly, the shift towards decentralized, *laissez-faire* education policy inaugurated by Macaulay occurred during a peak period of British interventionism in Indian culture. From the elimination of *Sati* to the freer admission of evangelical missionaries, Britain had never before taken so much interest in the modification of Indian society. For more on this, see: *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire*. See also: Jörg Fisch, "Dying for the Dead: Sati in Universal Context," *Journal of World History* 16, no. 3 (2005).

to expand the number of state-funded primary schools in Britain encountered fierce political and religious resistance, thus forcing the British model of state-funded education to operate in an advisory, indirect capacity until the end of the nineteenth century.

While significant in the British context alone, Kay-Shuttleworth's efforts were also of imperial importance. The resilience of the monitorial method, combined with limited funding, pushed Kay-Shuttleworth to produce compromised policies designed to cure symptoms, rather than actual problems. Kay-Shuttleworth was convinced that the central flaw of the monitorial method was its over-reliance on the monitor at the expense of a highly-trained teacher, a belief vindicated, in his opinion, by the inspectorate reports of the 1840s.⁴³⁹ Thus, in the Committee of Council's Minutes of 1846, Kay-Shuttleworth and the Committee of Council on Education outlined a new policy that directed the Committee's limited funds towards establishing teacher-training colleges, funding teacher-training apprenticeships for exceptionally-bright pupils, improving the pay and status of teachers, and managing a few 'normal' schools to serve as models for the private sector.⁴⁴⁰ Though the Committee of Council noted that some of their proposals, such as requests for additional school inspectors, were denied, the provision of apprenticeships was allowed, thus heralding in the next phase of education reform in Britain:

General Rule – The qualifications to be required of candidates [for teaching apprenticeships] and of pupil teachers in each year of their apprenticeship will be regulated by the following rules, in which the minimum of proficiency to be attained is precisely defined, in order to prevent partiality; but their Lordships reserve to themselves the power to reward superior merit by shortening the term of the apprenticeship, or by awarding the higher stipends...[to] enable them to pass the examination of one of the later years at an earlier period.⁴⁴¹

439. Kay-Shuttleworth confirms this in the later parts of the following work: James Kay-Shuttleworth, *Four Periods*.

440. R.J.W. Sellec, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 224-225. This is also discussed in the following work: Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1842-1843, 1843, ED, 17/6.

441. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1846, 1847, ED, 17/9, 4.

Kay-Shuttleworth believed the apprenticeship model, borrowed in part from Stow's Training Method, would undermine the monitorial system by eliminating the necessity of monitors as a crutch for poor teachers and, in the long term, create a class of Britons with the capacity to train lower-class students without over-educating or miseducating them.⁴⁴² The connection between Macaulay's *Minute* of 1835 and the Committee of Council on Education's *Minute* of 1846 is clear: Kay-Shuttleworth and Macaulay both knew that the success – or failure – of education rested in the hands of teachers, and that effective teachers were more likely to embody and transmit the British ideologies they valued, and to avoid the ideological pratfalls discussed in Chapter 7.⁴⁴³ For Macaulay, this would guarantee that the knowledge being 'filtered down' was appropriate for the means of British authority in India, whereas for Kay-Shuttleworth this would hopefully condemn the theories that underpinned the monitorial system.

The Minutes of 1846 were pivotal not just for British education, but throughout the British Empire. In the same year, Earl Grey called upon Kay-Shuttleworth to submit a brief

442. Stow's relationship with Kay-Shuttleworth, and the Committee of Council on Education in general, is limited, though he did issue a request for funding in 1841 on behalf of his school in Glasgow. Excerpted below is a letter from David Stow Esq. to the Right Hon. Sir J. Graham Bart, M.P., on 18th Dec. 1841: "As one of Her Majesty's Committee of Council on Education, and a Friend to the Training System established in the Glasgow Normal Seminary, I take the Liberty of noticing to you the peculiar Situation this Institution is placed in at this Moment in regard to Funds, and I do so, not officially as Secretary, but as a Friend to an Institution which I believe the present Government must be anxious to cherish. We have, as you know, spent a great deal of Money in establishing the System of training Masters for Great Britain and the Colonies...I believe above 200 Schools have been erected, and added to the Education of the Country, in England and Scotland, by our direct Influence...many of the teachers of the Mico Charity [in Jamaica] are trained by us...Mr. Latrobe...stated to me that the United Brethren in the West Indies had lately resolved that the Training System, as pursued in the Glasgow Normal Seminary, should be established in each of their Schools." (Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1841-1842, 1842, ED, 17/5, 22-23.)

443. Kay-Shuttleworth believed that improved teachers would also lead to the elimination of the monitorial-style 'schoolroom' (See Fig. 1), and replace it with the smaller 'classroom' comparable to the modern school classroom. For more on this, see: R.J.W. Sellec, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 135. See also: P. W. Musgrave, *Society and Education in England Since 1800*, 21.

outline of suggestions for education in Britain's colonies in the West Indies. Earl Grey's request stemmed from the recent abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1833: the Emancipation Act passed in that year was preceded by debates regarding the future of education in Britain's Caribbean colonies. Colonial and home officials alike feared the effect of the end of slavery on the sociocultural stability of the islands, and, in statements akin to those used in the context of Ireland just two years earlier, educationists argued that schools were the solution.⁴⁴⁴

While Parliament debated the future of education in recently-liberated colonies, many missionary education societies, similar to those operating in Ireland and India, voiced concerns that they would not be able to sustain their education efforts in the colonies after abolition without state funding.⁴⁴⁵ In 1835, these groups were able to acquire £25,000 for the support of education in the West Indies; almost as much as the funds placed at the disposal of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1831, or that given to the Committee of Council on Education in 1839.⁴⁴⁶ The similarities binding these three events together should not be over-

444. On June 3, 1833, Lord Sandon issued four resolutions in Parliament that he believed essential to the Abolition of slavery, the fourth of which dealt specifically with education: "That his Majesty be enabled to defray any such expense as he may incur in establishing an efficient stipendiary Magistracy and police in the colonies, and in aiding the local authorities in providing further religious and moral education of the negro population to be emancipated." (House of Commons, *The Debates in Parliament – Session 1833 – on the Resolutions and Bill for the Abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies* (London: Maurice and Co., 1834), p.264.) See also: Dorothy Hammond, and Alta Jablow, *The Africa That Never Was*, 68.

445. 'Negro' Education - Letter Collection. Archival Records, CO. 318/131. Colonial Office, 1837. ; Letters From Religious Societies and the Treasury on the Subject of 'Negro Education'. Archival Records, CO. 318/152. Colonial Office, 1837. The Mico Charity survives to this day as the Mico Foundation, a teacher-training institution in Jamaica.

446. Reports on the amount of money granted to the West Indies for education vary greatly. Some reports state £20,000, whereas others states £25,000 or £30,000. These figures should be compared to the estimates of property value that would be forfeit due to abolition: many members of Parliament estimated that Britain would be responsible for up to £100,000,000 in compensation. These figures are highlighted to stress that financial obligations were not sole reason that education encountered Parliamentary resistance. This point alone highlights that ideology, and political/religious views, were the predominant factors, and that money was simply a means of controlling or preventing the spread of governmental influence. For more on this, see: Dorothy Hammond, and Alta Jablow, *The*

looked: in each case, education was a means of assuaging societal or moral anxieties, each a byproduct of the significant changes in the landscape of Britishness and British political power occurring in the early nineteenth century. In the case of Britain, education funding in 1839 stemmed directly from the anxieties caused by the Reform Bill of 1832. In Ireland, the funds assigned to the Lord Lieutenant in 1831 were a byproduct of the repeal of the Test Act in 1829. In the West Indies, the abolition of slavery in 1833 led directly to the call for state-funded education that was fulfilled in 1835. The mid-Victorian understanding of education, either in practice or in principle, bound together these disparate events in a single narrative of problem-and-solution: the political landscape of Britishness was changing, and education offered a means of stabilizing and controlling that change. Education was believed to be the only long-term solution to Britain's problems. It held, as Kay-Shuttleworth adamantly argued, the only cure for Britain's social pain.

The emergence of the Mico Charity was an important turning point for education in the West Indies and Britain, as its emergence was directly connected to the political tension between religious and secular education that dominated the educational politics of the 1830s. During this period, the majority of education societies in the British West Indies were denominational. The Mico Charity, supported largely by the British and Foreign School Society, was formed as a counter to the predominance of the 'missionary schools' in the British West Indies, thus acting in a similar fashion to the Normal Schools proposed by Kay-Shuttleworth, or the National Schools outlined in the instructions on Irish education. Soon after the Mico Charity's foundation, however, tension between it and denominational societies began to escalate as a consequence of innovations in the Mico Charity's education process.⁴⁴⁷ Teachers within the Mico Charity system, though not formally missionaries, had

Africa That Never Was, 69. See also: HC Deb, Ministerial Plan for the Abolition of Slavery. June 3 1833, Vol. 18, 323.

447. For more the Mico Charity, see: James Latimer, "The Apprenticeship System in the

begun to 'preach' to their students, thus obscuring the difference between the secular Mico Charity and other, denominational schools, an act which drew the ire of missionaries in the colonies and politicians at home.⁴⁴⁸

In 1836, this issue came before Colonial Secretary George F. Dick, who, in a letter to Rev. G. Le Brun, a missionary in the colonies, stated that under no circumstances should teachers 'preach,' as it conflated them with clergymen and undermined the Charity's stated purpose of education.⁴⁴⁹ Le Brun disagreed, as he feared that, without increased moral instruction from teachers in the Mico Charity, the morality of the population would continue to decline:

The lower orders of the free coloured population have been so indifferent to their instruction and have become less subject to constraint, their moral [de]pravity has increased in a like proportion and if left in their present state, they will only form a dangerous accession to their number of Free Agents in this community. Of the ignorant, degraded and immoral state of the lower orders inhabiting both ends of the town, anyone may readily satisfy himself by going amongst them.⁴⁵⁰

Though contentious, these issues remained unresolved until the 1840s, at which point Parliamentary inquiries escalated the issue. Governmental intervention at this point was not viewed as overreach, as the primary concern was the validity of state funding in the West Indies. Since the introduction of state-funded education in 1835, the annual sum granted to West Indian education had declined on a year-by-year basis, reaching just £18,000 in 1843. Though much lower than the funds granted to education in Ireland and Britain, many in Parliament felt that this sum was still far too much, particularly in light of the supposed prosperity of the West Indies:

British West Indies," *The Journal of Negro Education* 33, no. 1 (1964). See also: Frank J. Klingberg, "The Lady Mico Charity Schools in the British West Indies, 1835-1842," *The Journal of Negro History* 24, no. 3 (1939).

448. This tension started as early as 1835, as noted in the letters sent from and received by the Colonial Office. ('Negro' Education - Letter Collection, 1837, CO, 318/131, 19-27.)

449. *Ibid*, 31.

450. *Ibid*, 32

One of these [items of contention] was the sum of £49,700, which was paid for the salaries of justices of the peace in the West Indies and the Mauritius; the other was the sum of £18,000 for the education of the negroes and to furnish their schools. When he [Mr. Williams] looked at the condition of the people in the colonies he thought that they ought to pay for their own magistrates and schools, and he was sure that they were better able than the people of this country [England] were to pay for them. The report of the committee of last session, proved that the condition of the negroes was most flourishing, that they were buying land, and were able to live without much labour. He wished that the people of England were as well off, and he appealed to the House to act justly, and as Christian men, not to tax the suffering people of this country to pay for these magistrates and schools, but to make the colonists pay for their own magistrates, and the negroes for their own education.⁴⁵¹

Lord Stanley agreed with Mr. William, noting that the remaining £18,000 would be phased out over the next three years and that, in accordance with the Emancipation Act, education would be picked up by the 'services of Christian teachers of all persuasions without distinction as to creed or nation.'⁴⁵² Such statements were in contrast to the protests of missionary educators and supporters of the Mico Charity, however the political climate of 1846, a watershed by virtue of the repeal of the Corn Laws, represented the resurgence of economic liberalism in Britain.⁴⁵³

The political and imperial contexts of the mid-1840s offer much insight into why Earl Grey, a long-time supporter of state-funded education, reached out to Kay-Shuttleworth at this moment.⁴⁵⁴ Economically-liberal politicians were on the rise – a resurgence bound to the Corn Law debates of this period – and were interested in imperial as well as domestic matters. The idea of self-sustaining colonies, and a general reduction in imperial financial overhead, had long been an ideal for Liberals; the innovation of this period was

451. HC Deb, Colonial Clergy – West-Indian Magistrates. April 24 1843, Vol. 68, 865-6.

452. Ibid, 869.

453. The politics and consequences of the repeal of the Corn Laws are discussed at length in the following work: David Kenneth Fieldhouse, *Economics and Empire*.

454. In addition to his parliamentary efforts for state-funded education, Earl Grey was also an early supporter of Kay-Shuttleworth's training college at Battersea. For more on this, see: James Kay-Shuttleworth, *Four Periods*. Commissioners of Irish Education, *Reports of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (From the Year 1834 to 1845, Inclusive)*, 160.

not, therefore, the interest in reducing overseas expenses, but rather the growing emphasis on a general reduction in expenditure, one that included state-funded education. If it could be proven that private education was as effective as state-funded popular education, the policies outlined by the Committee of Council on Education could be annulled – Britain, in other words, could more closely mirror the model of decentralized education offered up by Macaulay.⁴⁵⁵

This agenda was not lost on the supporters of state-funded education: Earl Grey and others knew that, if state-funded education were to avoid being snuffed out by a reduction in funds, they would have to once again make a case for the essentiality of a learned population. As with previous debates over education, supporters like Lord Ashley focused on the paucity of education per capita in order to stress that private education was not expanding quickly enough to meet Britain's demographic changes:

I do not deny, very far from it, the vast and meritorious efforts of the National Society; nor will I speak disparagingly of the efforts of some of the dissenting bodies; but in spite of all that has been done, a tremendous waste still remains uncultivated, 'a great and terrible wilderness,' that I shall now endeavour to lay open before you...[the number of people] without any daily instruction...[is] 1,014,193 persons...if we look forward to the next ten years, there will be an increase of at least 2,500,000 in the population; and should nothing be done to supply our want, we shall then have in addition to our present arrears, a fearful multitude of untutored savages.⁴⁵⁶

Such arguments, though statistically powerful, failed to tackle the ideological foundation of liberalism, particularly the strain of economic liberalism influenced by the work of theorists such as Thomas Malthus. Supporters of Malthusian economics did not see the disparity between educated and the uneducated as anything more than the normal operation of nature.

William Ferrand, MP for Knaresborough, challenged the link between Malthusian economics and British social policy in 1847 in a scathing speech in Parliament, during which

455. For more on this, see Chapters 3-5.

456. HC Deb, Condition and Education of the Poor. February 28 1843, Vol. 67, 48-50.

he accused his detractors of willful negligence and malice.⁴⁵⁷ As educationists feared with regards to their own interests, Ferrand believed that those opposed to the Poor Law had produced a report – called 'the dark document' by Ferrand – that illustrated a plan to defund and cripple the Poor Law so that its total abolition would become unnecessary. Though Ferrand's proof of this 'dark document' is limited, his impassioned speech highlights the rhetorical shift taking place during the 1840s. Moving away from the calculated, statistical argumentation of Lord Ashley or Kay-Shuttleworth, Ferrand attacks the institution of liberalism itself, condemning it as short-sighted, exploitative and, critically, contrary to the current trajectory of the British definition of liberty:

Now what is the price you have had to pay for the enforcement of this unconstitutional law [the New Poor Law] for fourteen years? You have had a rebellion in Wales; an outbreak in the north of England; incendiarism still rife in the south; a frightful and increasing system of child murder; coroners' juries charging the Poor Law Commissioners with destroying the poor; increase of rural police; 10,000 armed pensioners called out; gaols enlarged and new ones erected; sessions every six weeks instead of every twelve weeks; winter assizes; the statement of Judge Coleridge, that crime is rapidly increasing all over the country; central barracks erected at 981 Birmingham; a discontented people; peace only maintained by the military; and poverty and distress greater than ever before known in England...They [Parliament] had abolished negro slavery...[but] he very much feared that a short time only would elapse until they saw the condition of the poor of this country infinitely worse than that of the serfs of the Continent, or the villains of former ages; worse even than that of the West Indies, to whom they had given their freedom.⁴⁵⁸

For Ferrand, social welfarism was not an innovation to be considered, nor a favor to be bestowed, but rather a political right, one which guaranteed a base amount of liberty for Britain's poor. Poverty was anathema to political participation; it was not the cause of vice

457. Kay-Shuttleworth was, surprisingly, one of the individuals mentioned by Ferrand in his speech as a result of Kay-Shuttleworth's role as a Poor Law Commissioner in Manchester. Ferrand condemned with Kay-Shuttleworth's decision to encourage farmers from southern England to move to Manchester to be 'absorbed' into the working population, as wages in Britain's industrial towns were already quite low. (HC Deb, Poor Law Administration Bill. May 17 1847, Vol. 92, 965-977)

458. Ibid, 984.

and strife, but rather the effect of governmental apathy towards the plight of those that did not fulfill the ideal of Britishness.

Kay-Shuttleworth's response to Earl Grey's request, submitted in early January of 1847, shares many themes with the speech of Ferrand. Statistics and demographics continued to influence Kay-Shuttleworth's values, to be sure, however the themes of liberty, respect, and order were more prominent in his response than they were in his initial calls for state-funded education. Kay-Shuttleworth's response also borrowed heavily from the Committee of Council's recently-produced Minutes of 1846, in particular its emphasis on creating a class of socially-responsible youths:

...a wise Colonial Government [will not] neglect any means which affords even a remote prospect of gradually creating a native middle class among the negro population, and thus, ultimately, of compelling the institutions of freedom, by rearing a body of men interested in the protection of property, and with intelligence enough to take part in that humbler machinery of local affairs which ministers to social order.⁴⁵⁹

This statement is comparable to Macaulay's argument in favor of 'a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect,' and highlights again that, in spite of differing methods, the education systems of Britain and India were oriented towards the same goal: the creation of a loyal 'interpretive' class between political elites and the lower classes. It is also similar to Ferrand's speech, as it stresses the stabilizing and Liberal effects of a proper, British education.

Appeals to emotion and ideology were not Kay-Shuttleworth's only means of supporting education in the West Indies, however. In the same letter, Kay-Shuttleworth outlines a 'mode of instruction' which he deems most appropriate for the population of Britain's West Indian colonies:

459. Minutes and Reports, Committee of the Privy Council on Education, 1839-1899, ED, 17/1-62, 30.

While endeavouring to suggest the mode by which...negro children may be [educated]...the peculiarities of household life in this class [must be considered]...[we must offer] a closer adaption of the plans of the school to the wants of the coloured races...

Christian civilization comprehends this...and the school of a semi-barbarous class should be established on the conviction that these several forms of training and instruction mutually assist each other.⁴⁶⁰

As with mid-century inspectorate reports, the seamless use of terms identifying class, such as race, barbarism, or civilization, by both Kay-Shuttleworth and Le Brun, highlights that such definitions were part of a single continuum of values. Class, defined in both racial and civil terms, was an abstract descriptor of social standing and the moral/intellectual capacity to be a productive member of modern, British society. The essential factor in this definition was neither skin color, religion, nationality, nor wealth alone, but rather the culmination of these elements, all of which were defined by one's level of education. This is why, later in the same letter, Kay-Shuttleworth expressed hope that through education, the status of West Indians could change, even within a generation:

Certainly it is true that some time must elapse before the limits assigned in this paper to such instruction, even in the day-schools, can be reached; but less, that what is described could not be regarded as a transforming agency, by which the negro could be led, within a generation, materially to improve his habits...if the native labour of the West Indian Colonies is to be made...an industrious peasantry, no agent can be so surely depended upon as the influence of a system of...intellectual and industrial instruction.⁴⁶¹

As seen here and above, Kay-Shuttleworth divides education into two distinct types, intellectual/moral and industrial, the latter of which he stressed as the future of British education efforts. This emergent division was a consequence of Kay-Shuttleworth's growing distaste for the monitorial method as well as his desire to appeal to economic liberalism. Though appealing as a social ideal, intellectual education was a minefield of political and re-

460. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1846, 1847, ED, 17/9, 30.

461. Ibid, 30.

religious problems: morality and social responsibility were subjective values with little immediate or tangible benefit, aside from the promise of 'generational change.' Furthermore, intellectual education was most often found in monitorial and parochial models, both of which Kay-Shuttleworth believed inferior to his vision of a British educational model based on work ethic.

Industrial education offered a solution to these problems: it stressed immediate benefit via the training of rural labor in the methods and needs of industry, thus granting a tangible economic advantage to Britain's new economy. Industrial education was also believed to be a means of disseminating a form of moral responsibility through the establishment of modern work ethic. If 'barbarism' was accompanied by laziness and immorality, work discipline and training would soften these elements, preparing the 'brutes' of British society for the longer-term benefits of moral instruction.⁴⁶² In the context of the West Indies, industrial education was the antidote to the ambiguous consequences of emancipation; a proper education, one that blended 'intellectual and industrial instruction,' was the best means by which the ideals of abolition – moral and social responsibility – could be achieved.

As highlighted above, the complexities and political importance of the West Indies necessitated decisive, high-level policy for reasons beyond state-funded education. Earl Grey's education inquiry of 1846-7, born out of the intertwined imperial/domestic political

462. These sentiments were mirrored in an inspectorate report on industrial schools in England published in 1844. Tremeneere compares the development of English industrial schools with those in Ireland, stating, "We have exceeded our most sanguine expectations in this point [education of communities in Ireland]. No farming or other society has the same means of disseminating this important knowledge [of industry] so rapidly or so widely. In a very few years our 2,400 teachers will have been trained, and will have carried their knowledge into every part of the country; the rising generation will acquire a taste and a knowledge of the thing unknown and unregarded in former times and other countries, and I hope in a short time we shall be able to change the face of Ireland and the condition of her people, and convince statesmen that no system of national education is suited to an agricultural country which omits or overlooks this great and most important point." (Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1842-1843, 1843, ED, 17/6, 134-135.)

narrative of early-nineteenth century Britain, was the culmination of this process, and was thus poised to establish the role of state regulation and funding in far more than just the West Indies or at home. The central debates of regarding the Corn Laws, one of the largest political controversies of the early-nineteenth century, reflect this point. In May of 1843, Sir Robert Peel issued the following statement on this topic:

At present, our manufactured goods are admitted into the colonies on a footing more favourable to us than to foreigners. Whether wise or unwise, this is the nature of our colonial connection. This country said to the colonies, 'I will be responsible for your security and internal order, and the return I ask for is the favour and privilege of the admission of my manufactures.' This is granted; and for this we give the colonies corresponding advantages. This is the system which has endured for years; it is a system that may be unwise, and contrary to sound principle in the abstract, but would any sane assembly of legislators, knowing the extent of our colonial empire, consent by the adoption of the resolution of to-night at once to subvert, without delay or consideration, the whole of that system.⁴⁶³

For Peel, the Corn Laws were but a single element of Britain's legal and ideological role as the heart of its empire – their abolition, or maintenance, would shape Britain's relationship with its colonies, and thus its administrative responsibilities in economic and non-economic terms. In the wake of the abolition of the Corn Laws in 1846, therefore, all of Britain's administrative obligations were eligible for scrutiny or abolition. To combat this trend, Earl Grey used Kay-Shuttleworth's conclusions in a government circular produced just a few weeks after Kay-Shuttleworth's letter was received in January, 1847. In this circular, Earl Grey states that the "education of the negro race is the great means by which emancipation may be made to result," and that the freedom of the West Indies can only be based on "the channel[ing] of education and religious instruction."⁴⁶⁴ Earl Grey's differentiation between religious instruction, as provided by the many missionary societies operating in the West Indies, and education, as provided by the Mico Charity, is indicative of his belief that private organizations alone could not provide the amount of education needed to fulfill the

463. HC Deb, Abolition of the Corn-Laws – Adjourned Debate. May 12 1843, Vol. 69, 286.

464. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1846, 1847, ED, 17/9, 37-38.

desired outcome of emancipation. As he had argued in 1839, the state had an obligation to educate its population, even those brought under the aegis of Britishness by virtue of slavery and abolition.

The tense political issues described above won Kay-Shuttleworth few personal friends. Kay-Shuttleworth's position as Secretary forced politicians like Earl Grey to work alongside him, and gave his visions of Britain's educational responsibilities national as well as imperial scope.⁴⁶⁵ Unfortunately for Kay-Shuttleworth, Earl Grey's circular, published in January 1847, was concurrent with the most significant debate on state-funded education to occur in Parliament since 1839. Since that time, government financial support of education had increased, though slowly. In 1847, however, after almost a decade of inspectorate and Parliamentary reports, it was apparent that education was not progressing as planned. Additional money, however slight, was simply not leading to tangible improvement. For example, in the Committee of Council's Minutes of 1847, HMI Rev. Henry Moseley had the following to say on a collection of students in a school in the Midland District of England:

Of the 50 boys in the...school, 3 only could read with ease in the Epistles, and one only knew the multiplication table; 2 only could spell the word 'piece,' and one the word 'wheel.' None knew the names of the quarters of the globe; only one knew the name of the country in which he lives; and yet, by a strange contrast, these children knew a good deal of the geography of England. Only one knew who governs the country in which he lives, or, when told it was the Queen, could tell her name. Only one could repeat the answer to the question in the Catechism, 'What is your duty

465. For example, the document Kay-Shuttleworth produced for the West Indies, at Earl Grey's request, formed the foundation of Britain's overseas education policy and was referenced, either directly or in spirit, by officials as late as the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa of 1924 and the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940. These examples will be discussed in later chapters. For more on this topic, see: Colonial Office and Other Departments: Papers of Sir Christopher Cox, Educational Adviser. Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa: Minutes of Meetings, Memoranda, Reports and Correspondence. Archival Records, CO. 1045/1. Colonial Office, 1924-1928. Colonial Development and Welfare Grant - Records of the Colonial Office, Commonwealth and Foreign and Commonwealth Offices, Empire Marketing Board, and Related Bodies. Archival Records, CO. 96/777/4. Colonial Office, 1944-1947.

towards your neighbour?' And not one could tell the name of any one of our Lord's parables.⁴⁶⁶

Such evidence of British mass ignorance forced the issue of education once again to the fore, though the financial stakes were much higher than in 1839: in addition to a steadily-growing budget of well over £30,000, Kay-Shuttleworth maintained a substantial 'surplus' for the Committee of Council on Education, unbeknownst to the treasury, of over £200,000.⁴⁶⁷ This financial situation, compounded by frustrations with poor educational performance and resurgent liberalism, placed Kay-Shuttleworth's position, and the scheme of state-funded education he supported, in a very difficult position. These issues, and their solutions, will be discussed in Chapter 10.

466. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1846, 1847, ED, 17/9, 97. In the same year, a report on Welsh education was offered that, like its English counterpart, offered much evidence as to the popular ignorance of the region, though with the added dimension of demonizing the Welsh for their supposed linguistic deficiency: "'The evil of the Welsh language...is obviously and fearfully great in courts of justice...it distorts the truth, favours fraud, and abets perjury, which is frequently practiced in courts...it is nevertheless a mockery which must continue until the people are taught the English language; and that will not be done until there are efficient schools for the purpose.'" Language, like class, race, religion, etc., is here a factor in the status of the Welsh population versus the ideal of Britishness. (J. Stuart Maclure, *Educational Documents*, 62.)

467. Kay-Shuttleworth's political confidence had increased dramatically since 1839, leading him to believe that 'his' office was an official department of state, in spite of the legal reality that it was, in fact, still an extension of the Privy Council. R.J.W. Sellec, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 235, 240-1.

Chapter 9: Moralism and Imperial Obligation

The history of state-funded British education throughout Africa is a history of the interaction of Britishness and British educational methods from throughout the empire, and across generations. The vastness of Britain's colonial experiences in Africa guarantees this fact: from the settler cultures of the south and east to the empire of conquest that raked across the center and western edge of the continent, Britain's relationship with Africa, and African cultures, was incredibly diverse, and Britain's methods on how to run its African empire equally so. Furthermore, the colonial officials in charge of this empire came from a variety of domestic and imperial backgrounds, each imbued with the administrative (and thus educational) policies of their origin. This diversity of backgrounds, combined with the diversity of cultures and imperial experiences in Africa, enabled generations of missionaries, educationists and officials to pour the 'old wine' of British education – as they saw it – into the 'new bottle' of Africa.⁴⁶⁸ This process led to the implementation and operation of a myriad of education policies across the continent, some more official, viable, or enforceable than others. State-funded education in Africa was both continentally and regionally unique,

468. This quote is a reference to Matthew 9:17, used here because of its frequent implementation by missionaries in the context of overseas education. It is used, for example, in the following quote from the *Church Missionary Review*: "...not long before his death, Robert Noble's school contained 294 pupils, of whom 102 were Brahmins...no low-caste boys were admitted into his school...[yet] it was not a caste school, but a school for high castes. So far from being intended to abet caste...[it was] worked for the express purpose of extirpating caste from the minds of the pupils.

It was not the mode of action usually adopted – no, undoubtedly: it was fearlessly singular and it was a singularity which the Saviour Himself had recommended in such words as these– "Neither do men put new wine into old bottles; else the bottles break and the wine runneth over, and the bottles perish; but they put new wine into new bottles, and both are preserved." (Church Missionary Society, *The Church Missionary Intelligencer, a Monthly Journal of Missionary Information*, vol. II, New Series (London: Seeley, Jason, and Halliday, 1866), 327)

in spite of the fact that it represents the culmination of the many models and ideologies generated at home and in other parts of the empire during the nineteenth century.

In the context of West Africa, education policy and reform was filtered through missionary societies throughout the duration of Britain's imperial presence in the region. This additional layer of parochial administration – removed or replaced by educational schemes elsewhere in the empire during the second-half of the nineteenth century – gives West African education a distinctly religious and *laissez-faire* character. Analyzing the evolution of this missionary-dominated system, and its persistence in spite of secularization elsewhere in the empire, is thus of the utmost importance to understanding the long-term legacy of state-funded education in West Africa.

The defining feature of West African education, as noted above, is the persistence of private education's monopoly on schooling and Britain's *laissez-faire* education policy. Whereas commissions, reports and inspections were occurring in other parts of Britain's far-flung global empire as early as the 1810s, the first official, independent commission exclusively on West African education did not occur until the 1840s. The relative lateness of this commission is problematic, as it conflicts with the chronology of British education in West Africa: Britons were engaged in primary education in Sierra Leone as early as 1818, and higher education as early as 1787 at Fourah Bay College in Freetown.⁴⁶⁹

In spite of these examples of early interest, and the fact that official education structures followed unofficial education activities elsewhere in Britain's empire, it took over a half a century for Britain to outline a formal means of controlling West Africa's educational future. This is partially explained by Britain's official view of the region in the mid-nine-

469. For more on this, see: HMSO, *Special Reports on Educational Subjects: Educational Systems of the Chief Crown Colonies and Possessions of the British Empire, Including Reports on the Training of Native Races, Pt. 2*, 78-79.

teenth century: while it had interests in West Africa at this time, the official view of these interests was 'imperial,' but not 'colonial,' until the 1880s.⁴⁷⁰ In other words, British interests and imperial power in West Africa were not placed on the same scale of expenditure, or value, as Indian, Irish, or even Dominion interests, thus administrative elements, such as education, could be legally (and logically) delegated to private entities.⁴⁷¹

This *laissez-faire* attitude does not mean that British officials were completely silent on education in West Africa. British officials were keen to emphasize what missionaries and other private education organizations should be doing in West Africa, and, in some cases, the Government supported education in West Africa through limited funding. In light of this, and when considering the level of resistance to state-funded education at home, Britain's proclivity towards private education should come as no surprise in the context of West Africa's peripheral nature.

Proclivity towards privatization was not, however, the only reason for Britain's relatively *laissez-faire* approach, nor does it explain the persistence of missionary dominance into the twentieth century.⁴⁷² To understand why missionaries monopolized education in West

470. 'Colonial' references holdings in which direct governmental administration is required, whereas 'imperial' is directed towards regions in which British influence was largely passive or able to be maintained without the need for intervention. Another means of distinguishing between these two terms would be the concepts of 'formal' and 'informal' empire used by historians such as Robinson and Gallagher, or Cain and Hopkins.

471. The difficulty here is that Sierra Leone was, technically, a British colony. The only explanation for this hierarchical discrepancy is that Sierra Leone was simply not as economically or strategically important in the mid-nineteenth century as its colonial counterparts. In addition to this, the influence of liberalism on empire during this time ideologically allowed Sierra Leone's internal development to be 'privatized' without much governmental oversight. These trends can be seen in the following works: Colonial Office, *General Report on Schools, Sierra Leone, 1902* (London: Waterlow and Sons Limited, 1903); Department of Education, *Sierra Leone: Educational Policy in the Protectorate: Correspondence With the Secretary of State for the Colonies Together With Memoranda By the Director of Education* (Freetown: Government Printer, 1937); General Report on Schools, Sierra Leone. Report, Colonial Office, 1893; General Report on Schools, Sierra Leone. Report, Colonial Office, 1894.

472. Historian James Coleman argues that almost all education in Britain's African empire was controlled by missionaries until 1898. According to Coleman controlled 99% of schools

Africa far longer than anywhere else in the empire, and why British formal authority over education was slow to emerge in West Africa, it is necessary to outline the ideologies, personalities, and policies that predated Britain's colonial push into Africa in the 1880s.

As with the case of the West Indies in Chapter 8, initial British interests in education in West Africa stemmed from the abolitionist cause, particularly the concern that repatriation to Sierra Leone was but one part of Britain's obligation. Though full emancipation did not occur until 1833, the process of repatriation, and thus at least unofficial interest in education, started shortly after the abolition of the slave trade in 1807. Groups such as the Church Missionary Society (CMS) were the first to establish missionary schools in Sierra Leone, the purpose of which were, unsurprisingly, moral instruction based on Christian values. By 1818, the number of students 'enrolled' in CMS schools hovered around 574, many of these students attending the school only once or twice.⁴⁷³ Though missionary reports boasted of great strides in attendance and the translation of British books into languages such as Susoo [sic] and Bullom, concerns and warnings were issued alongside praise:

The situation of the Colony of Sierra Leone...presents a danger, which, having already impressed the minds of some of the Missionaries, it is right should be mentioned to you. The Negroes are just rising from barbarism into civilization, from total ignorance even of the common arts of life into some degree of knowledge; and this has been much owing, under the kind protection and assistance of his Excellency the Governor, to the labours of the Society's Missionaries. But do not mistake civilization for conversion. Do not imagine, when Heathens are raised in intellect, in the knowledge of the arts, in dress and outward decency, above their fellow-countrymen, that therefore they are Christians...⁴⁷⁴

until 1942, and 97% of all students in Africa were enrolled in mission schools at some point in their lives. While these statistical points may be true, this does not mean that the state had no interaction with students prior to 1942. For more on this, see: James S. Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971). Magnus O. Bassey, *Western Education and Political Domination in Africa: A Study in Critical and Dialogical Pedagogy* (Westport: Bergin and Garvey, 1999), 27.

473. Church Missionary Society, *Proceedings of the Cms*, 80.

474. This statement was included in a set of instructions to Mr. and Mrs. Morgan, Taylor and Bull of the CMS Department of Sierra Leone. *Ibid*, 228.

A dire warning, to be sure, but not extraordinary in the context of early-nineteenth century educational writing. Such sentiments were, as has already been seen, expressed in near-identical words regarding the civilizational development of Irish, British, and Indian populations, and the same fear – the danger of mismanaged education – is present in the context of West Africa.⁴⁷⁵

These fears formed the basis for Britain's ideological view not just of Africa, but also the civilizing power of formal education. This is shown in the following 1824 excerpt from the writings of Sir G.R. Collier, West African official:

A state of society [Africa] more miserably dismembered, and of which the elements seem less capable of combination, can scarcely be imagined. It must be remedied; it can only be remedied by foreign agency; Africa is unable to civilize herself.⁴⁷⁶

While this statement conforms to the historiography of Britain's 'Civilizing Mission' in Africa, it bears repeating that such sentiments were not exclusive to the British official view of Africa, nor were they inherently tied to the issue of race. In Dorothy Hammond's *The Africa That Never Was* (1970), she argues throughout the work that class, not race, was the defining means by which British explorers and administrators weighed and categorized Africans. To illustrate this, she references the Records of Captain Clapperton's *Last Expedition to Africa*, published in 1830 by Richard Lander. In this work, Lander makes the following comment:

475. A unique example of this fear comes from the journal of Rev. G.R. Nylander, writing about his experience with the Bullom tribe of West Africa: "Who has ever returned from the other world, to bring us intelligence?" I said, "We are taught in the Book of God."—"Did not men write the Book [Bible]? And how can they know what becomes of people after they are dead?"—These are cavils which they must have heard from some wicked European. It is not common for an African to put such questions. The man showed much of his heathenish unbelief: and I told him, that, whatever he had to say, I must tell him that his heart was as hard as a dry stick, to which I pointed... (Ibid, 255.) Though there are many variables which separate this example from the examples of British students given above, the level of pushback on display here is remarkable compared to other incidences of resistance to Western education.

476. G.R. Collier, and Charles MacCarthy, *West-African Sketches*, 5.

The features of the royal couple [of Boussa] bore a closer resemblance to the European than the Negro cast, and might be styled handsome, even in England.⁴⁷⁷

A few years later, in 1840, Thomas Powell Buxton published *The African Slave Trade and its Remedy*, a work that catalyzed the idea of the 'civilizing mission.'⁴⁷⁸ Buxton, a long-time supporter of abolition, firmly believed that the tragedies inflicted upon Africa by slavery and deprivation could be reversed through the dual power of Christian conversion and formal education. If successful in transmitting these values, Buxton hoped that they would lead Africa towards legitimate (i.e. non-slave) commerce, nation-building, global status and moral civilization, ideals which he outlined in the work's introduction:

I have no hesitation in stating my belief, that there is in the negro race a capacity for receiving the truths of the Gospel beyond most other heathen nations ; while, on the other hand, there is this remarkable, if not unique, circumstance in their case — that a race of teachers of their own blood is already in course of rapid preparation for them ; that the providence of God has overruled even slavery and the Slave Trade for this end ; and that from among the settlers of Sierra Leone, the peasantry of the West Indies, and the thousands of their children now receiving Christian education, may be expected to arise a body of men who will return to the land of their fathers, carrying Divine truth and all its concomitant blessings into the heart of Africa.⁴⁷⁹

The examples above highlight the delicate interplay of race, class, and education in Britain's perception the peoples and cultures it felt obliged to civilize. In the first quote, social status places the King and Queen of Boussa on the same plane as elites in England, thus building a hierarchy in which African elites are deemed superior to lower- and middle-class Britons, in spite of the racial differences that might otherwise define them. In the second

477. Richard Lander, *Records of Captain Clapperton's Last Expedition to Africa*, vol. 1 (London: H. Colburn and R. Bentley, 1830), 152. See also: Dorothy Hammond, and Alta Jablow, *The Africa That Never Was*, 37. Interestingly, African stereotypes were sometimes based on European examples: the Fula, for example, were referred to as the 'Jews of Africa, enterprising and shrewd,' whereas the Baganda were the 'Japanese of Africa.' Other times, racial stereotypes were based on perceived strength or masculinity, as with the Zulu and Masai. For more on this, see: *Ibid*, 63, 93, 165.

478. Thomas Powell Buxton, *The African Slave Trade, and Its Remedy* (London: Murray, 1840).

479. *Ibid*, 11. See also: Magnus O. Basse, *Western Education and Political Domination in Africa: A Study in Critical and Dialogical Pedagogy*, 28.

quote, we see the ideals of progress and change believed possible through proper, Christian education, as well as an optimism towards the racial capacity of the African that stands in stark contrast to later, more disparaging stereotypes. The significance of these early views lies in their persistence, and their imperial dimension: though recorded by Britons acting in unofficial capacities, these views, once the British Government became interested in overseeing education efforts in West Africa, shaped the 'official view' of the hierarchical dynamic between Britain and Africa.⁴⁸⁰

Though the first major, official commission on education in West Africa was called in the 1840s, it was not the first, nor the only report on education during the early nineteenth century. Missionary societies and enterprising individuals, for example, published unofficial reports on the activities of educationists missionary societies in West Africa. As with the earliest reports of Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education in Britain, these reports were generally observational and, if they included any policy at all, it was as a set of suggestions, not orders. The abolitionist African Civilization Society made one such report in 1842, drawing upon first-hand experience and publications produced by missionary societies operating out of West Africa. This report uses an excerpt from the *British and Foreign School Society Quarterly Paper* to highlight the progress achieved via Western education:

480. Buxton was particularly influential on the debate over Britain's relationship with Africa, as noted on the following excerpt from a letter to the editor of the *The Spectator*, a London-based weekly magazine. Coincidentally, this letter was written by MacGregor Laird, a Scottish merchant operating out of the Niger River and author of another excerpt below: "I am afraid that my anticipation is about to be realized; as, though the [House] Committee [on Africa] have been sitting some time, Sir T. F. Buxton has not been examined, and it is reported is not to be summoned as a witness. Why a gentleman who has taken such a prominent part in every thing connected with Africa and the Negro race—whose celebrated work, *The African Slave Trade and its Remedy*, is received as undoubted authority by the public not only in this country but throughout Europe and America—who founded the Society for the Colonization of Africa, and projected the late Niger Expedition—should not have been the first man to whom the Committee applied for information on a subject which so vitally concerns the present state of Africans and their future well being, is, to say the least, very surprising..." ("The House of Commons Committee on Africa." *The Spectator*, May 4 1842 , 13)

The colony [Sierra Leone] has improved more than ever within the last few years in religion and knowledge. It would, I doubt not, gladden the hearts of the pious people in England to see how the Sabbath is observed here – how the different places of worship are attended on that sacred day, and the deep attention of some of the hearers. Many adults can now read the Scriptures very well...I feel great pleasure in this important undertaking, and am willing to spend and be spent in teaching my fellow-creatures, particularly the young and rising race.⁴⁸¹

This report also references a memoranda by Macgregor Laird, a Scottish merchant based out of the Niger River basin, on 'Kroo Country,' the content of which bears striking similarity to the amateurish anthropological surveys of British inspectors like Tremenheere:

The inhabitants [of Kroo country] consist of two distinct classes, namely, Kroomen and Fishmen; the former being the best axemen...and the latter excelling as boatmen...In Sierra Leone they inhabit a village close to Free Town, and keep themselves apart from the emancipated Negroes, on whom they look down with sovereign contempt...Their [Kroomen] moral character is better than that of their brethren the Fishmen; but they are not so fine a race of men...The appearance of the Kroomen is much superior to that of any other races of Negroes on the coast...if they were properly educated, [they] might be made exceedingly useful as agents to forward the great designs of civilizing Africa.⁴⁸²

As with Tremenheere's inspections, the goal of this survey was to find a group – in this case a 'race of men' - best suited to receive Western education, and thus become a self-motivated catalyst for civilization. The Kroomen, as with the lead-miners in Northumberland, were deemed of superior stock due to their base level of intelligence, morality, and social status, qualities apparently lacking among Africans of different laboring classes such as the Fishmen. Together, these two excerpts show that British educationists, even in an unofficial capacity, sought to achieve the same ends at home as well as in West Africa: the creation of a class of persons capable of transmitting knowledge and morality essential to Britishness.

481. Committee of the African Civilization Society, *Report of the Committee of the African Civilization Society to the Public Meeting of the Society, Held At Exeter Hall, on Tuesday, the 21st of June, 1842*. (London: John Murray, 1842), Appendix P, xxxiii.

482. Ibid, Appendix Q, xxxiv-xxxv.

In addition to unofficial reports on education, a few smaller reports on the topic were issued by the British government prior to the major report of the 1840s. Though official, these reports relied on the cooperation of missionary societies both for evidence and policy implementation. One of the earliest such reports, a House of Commons commission on Sierra Leone, was issued in 1827.⁴⁸³ In addition to territorial, demographic and economic surveys, this report offers a glimpse into the workings of missionary education in West Africa, particularly regarding the capacity of missionaries to administer colonial affairs without government intervention. This concern was based on the fear, as expressed by commissioner-member Mr. Raban, that repatriated Africans were,

...Instead of rising on the scale of moral improvement, or even continuing at the point to which they had been brought in their former secluded situation, they [are] sink[ing] nearly to the level of those about them.⁴⁸⁴

Comparable to the fears expressed by Kay-Shuttleworth regarding Irish immigration in Manchester, this situation – whether realistic or not – threatened to dismantle abolitionist goals regarding Britain's obligation to emancipated Africans. To ward against this, the British government agreed with the missionary desire to create 'lay superintendents' to oversee communities in Sierra Leone. These individuals, entrusted with the organization of local education and administration, were superior in political status to clergymen (in spite of proposals by missionary societies to have that hierarchy reversed), and worked to limit any 'de-civilizing' caused by the integration of liberated Africans with local communities.

Unsurprisingly, this policy was not accompanied by any offers or intimations of state-funding for either superintendents or schools; rather, the government encouraged missionary societies to reach out to 'wealthy persons of colour [who] already sent their children to

483. House of Commons, *Report of Commissioners of Inquiry Into the State of the Colony of Sierra Leone, and Its Dependencies* (London: House of Commons, 1827).

484. *Ibid*, 66.

Europe for instruction' to establish schools in Freetown that could provide Western education without the expense of transport to Europe.⁴⁸⁵ To be fair, this report, published in 1827, was produced six years before the abolition of slavery, thus the acceleration of British efforts to 'repatriate and reintegrate' Africans in West Africa had not yet begun.

Placed in a greater historical context, education policy in West Africa in the 1820-1840s is similar to the policy of the BEIC regarding locally-funded schools in the 1830s, particularly those managed by wealthy Bengalis, as well as Kay-Shuttleworth's commentary on the role of mining proprietors in Wales in the 1840s. In all of these cases, the government's role was dependent upon the initiative of local forces as means of change and educational progress, and state interventionism only emerged once it became clear that local forces were not producing the kind of education hoped for (and promised by) official educationists.

The abolition of slavery in 1833 was a significant watershed for state-funded education in West Africa. To fulfill the promises of this abolition, Britain established 'Liberated African Departments' in the West Indies and West Africa, each endowed with funds for education and rehabilitative public works.⁴⁸⁶ In the early 1840s these departments came under official review by a Select Committee of the House of Commons. This official review weighed the efficacy of government intervention in the improvement of emancipated Africans, and the value of governmental expense against the capacity of private efforts in the regions under consideration. In 1842, this Select Committee produced a large, comprehensive report on the status of Britain's West African and West Indian interests, with state-funded education receiving a fair amount of attention.⁴⁸⁷ The education-focused elements of

485. Ibid, 66-70.

486. J. Miller, *Report on the Liberated African Schools, and the Other Government Schools of Sierra Leone* (London: Liberated African Department, 1841).

487. House of Commons, *Report of Select Committee on West Africa, 1842* (London: House of Commons, 1842).

this report are comparable in both scope and style to the official reports produced by the Committee of Council on Education in Britain at around the same time. Like these reports, especially the inspectoral elements, the education sections of the 1842 Report studied the impact of education on individual morality and prosperity, and the concept that education was an essential means of self-improvement.

In addition to these similarities, the 1842 Report offered sweeping generalizations regarding the cultures, communities, and peoples of West Africa and (as it focused on abolitionism in general) the West Indies. Some of these generalizations stressed the positive impact of education on the establishment of civilized societies, such as the following excerpt from Sir Metcalfe's correspondence with Lord Stanley in November, 1841:

With respect to the labouring population, formerly slaves, but now perfectly free, and more independent than the same class in other free countries, I venture to say, that in no country in the world can the labouring population be more abundantly provided with the necessaries and comforts of life, more at their ease, or more secure from oppression than in Jamaica...ministers of the Gospel for their religious instruction, and schools for the education of their children, are established in all parts of the island, with a tendency to constant increase...The thriving condition of the peasantry is very striking and gratifying. I do not suppose that any peasantry in the world have so many comforts, or so much independence and enjoyment...⁴⁸⁸

Metcalfe's conclusions are quite clear: education and religious instruction directly correspond to the liberty, stability and prosperity of Jamaica's former slaves, so much so that, in Metcalfe's opinion, they were unrivaled by any other laboring population in the world in terms of prosperity. The veracity of this statement notwithstanding, Metcalfe's words reinforce the ideologies of educationists popular at this time, and mirror the arguments in favor of state-funded education issued by officials like Earl Grey.⁴⁸⁹

488. *Ibid*, *xii-xiii*.

489. The history of the Morant Bay Rebellion of 1866 clouds the validity of Metcalfe's statement here, as one of the chief elements that led to this rebellion was the willful impoverishment of Jamaica's former slave population by the island's landed aristocracy, and government inaction on their behalf. The importance of Metcalfe's statement is, therefore, not its validity, but rather his implication that education was solely responsible for the

Metcalf's conclusions contrast sharply, however with similar observations made regarding West African societies. If education and religious instruction had, in Metcalfe's view, created a prosperous, free society in Jamaica, Sierra Leone, according to J. Blackwell, had no such benefits:

...we cannot doubt that, whether for the homeless Negro just rescued from the hold of a Slave Ship, or for the ignorant and uncivilised African who comes down to our Settlements...and [returns] to his barbarous home...to that [British] Government...the Liberated African cannot fairly be said to owe much. To the invaluable exertions of the Church Missionary Society...and also to a considerable extent, as in all our african Settlements, to the Wesleyan body, the highest praise is due...but a few ill-supported Schools and one Chaplain is all that has been contributed by the Government...

...in Sierra Leone, the newly liberated African is a burden to the British Government as well as to himself; and that, in the West Indies, not only would his own condition be improved, but he would become a source of wealth and prosperity to the Empire.⁴⁹⁰

The latter point – that liberated Africans would be better off in the West Indies – is reference to the belief that emancipated slaves were at risk of 'barbarization' if they were allowed to mix with indigenous African populations. This argument appears throughout the 1842 Report, with various government officials, such as Metcalfe, expressing concern that official intervention in the disparity between the West Indies and West Africa was becoming increasingly necessary:

[I am] Concern[ed] that lack of government oversight in process of West Indies/ West Africa emigration could lead to another 'slave trade' in a different name.⁴⁹¹

Metcalf's fear is that newly-repatriated West Africans, if not supported by the state in some fashion, would return to the West Indies out of desperation, thus greatly increasing

prosperity he believed existed. For more on this, see: Catherine Hall, et al., *Defining the Victorian Nation: Class, Race, Gender and the British Reform Act of 1867*. See also: Douglas A. Lorimer, *Colour, Class and the Victorians*.

490. House of Commons, *Report of Select Committee on West Africa, 1842*, xiv-xvi.

491. *Ibid*, xvi.

the 'unstable' population of Britain's island colonies and leading Britain to abdicate its responsibility to liberated slaves.

The conclusions made by Metcalfe and Blackwell were also discussed by Inspector of Government Schools in Sierra Leone, J. Miller, in his Report on the Liberated African Schools of 1841:

on the perusal of this sketch of them, it will probably occur, in the first instance, as a most unexpected anomaly, that a deliberate separation should be made of the liberated African children from those born in the settlement, in order to the two classes being reared and educated in separate schools...it is supposed...[that] combining the Sierra Leone and the liberated African child in one school, the progress of the former would be retarded...[it is assumed] that the welfare of the general community is best consulted by excluding from the schools of comparative civilization the considerable body of liberated African children, and relegating them all to their own semi-barbarous society in their own schools.⁴⁹²

Like Metcalfe, Miller is concerned that the continued separation and alienation of liberated slaves from a stable, educational environment is largely to explain for their continued backwardness relative to indigenous African communities in the region.

Though the fear of indigenous barbarization's effect on emancipated slaves was reiterated throughout the 1842 Report, some Britons in Sierra Leone argued the opposite. In the CMS Report of 1842 discussed above, for example, Macgregor Laird's report touches on this issue via his description of the coastal communities of 'Kroomen' and 'Fishmen' in Sierra Leone. Both Kroomen and Fishmen, though themselves separated by class (and, for Laird, also by race), "look down with sovereign contempt" on the emancipated slave communities in Freetown as, in Laird's words, Kroomen have "a certain air about them which proves that they were born free, and will remain so."⁴⁹³

492. Ibid, 385.

493. Committee of the African Civilization Society, *Report of the Committee of the African Civilization Society to the Public Meeting of the Society, Held At Exeter Hall, on Tuesday, the 21st of June, 1842.*, xxxiv-xxxvi. This sentiment was also referenced in a collection published in 1824 entitled *West African Sketches*: "...the intellectual condition of the African is not to be

For Laird, and many observers of West African ethnic interaction, the question of liberation was far more significant to the social standing of an individual than any other metric, including race. Laird's observations are comparable to the means by which Britons scrutinized and categorized Irish, British, and Indian communities, both in form and in consequence with regards to education: in each case, the static elements of a person – particularly race – mattered far less than those elements which could be shaped or expunged via the process of education in the key tenets of Britishness.⁴⁹⁴ In Ireland, Catholicism was viewed as a 'barbarizing' force, and was assumed to be a key reason behind the continued resistance against Britishness. In India, caste – though a more inflexible status than class – defined an individual's educational trajectory at first, however educationists like Adam made it clear that a long-term goal of British intervention in Indian culture was the abolition of caste, and the creation of a 'civilized' middle class. At home in Britain, the specters of Jacobinism and Chartist agitation were believed to be symptoms of ignorance, vice, and class conflict – education was the sole means by which such societal problems could be overcome.

HMI Rev. M. Mitchell, in his 1849 report on the regions of Norfolk and Cambridge, directly references these problems, issuing an excerpt from the *The Times* that, though discussing an British 'youth,' could serve as a model for the inhabitants of any of the regions noted above:

despised. In whatever way he may be considered in the West Indies, or in other countries in an enslaved state, in Africa he has been studied in his genuine aspect...among them [are] men of great strength of mind and quick perceptions. In a general sense it is even asserted that the intellectual powers of the African are as rich as the soil of his country, and, with the same attention, could be made as fertile. Some who have received even a narrow education in England, have evinced proofs of a quick and extensive genius, and, with few exceptions, have not only become useful members of, but ornaments to, society." (G.R. Collier, and Charles MacCarthy, *West-African Sketches*, 22)

494. For more on the topic of Indian-Irish cultural connections, see: Scott B. Cook, *Imperial Affinities: Nineteenth Century Analogies and Exchanges Between India and Ireland* (London: Sage Publications, 1993).

...the village youth dwells in utter darkness, amid every possible desolation of heart and morality...He is ignorant of the world. He knows nothing a day's journey from his village. America to him is only a name. Some biblical antiquities, and a little arithmetic, the geography of Palestine, and compound division, constitute the chief part of his intellectual acquirements. We describe him as he is, and as his country has made him. Whose fault is it that he takes root and breeds paupers in the soil that gave him birth? Not exclusively his own.⁴⁹⁵

Though Mitchell's 'village youth' is an archetype, examples discussed in this chapter, and Chapters 7 and 8, highlight that this archetype was quite real. Returning to the report of J. Miller in West Africa, it clearly illustrates that the experience of the liberated slave – separated from the indigenous communities of Sierra Leone – was a byproduct of the same kind of feeble interventionism that kept British youths from receiving a proper education:

But to any one who will consider patiently and in detail the advantages as a pupil which the Sierra Leone, or, if he may be so called, by comparison, the English child possesses, with the disadvantages under which the liberated African boy and girl labour...its singularity will appear still more singular...[compared to] the disciplined and invigorated intellect of an educated European...the savage and feeble mind of a liberated African child has not only to acquire a new language, and a language in a high state of cultivation and refinement, but to receive at the same moment the new ideas that language expresses, and to be then also made first acquainted with the very use of letters themselves...[consider also] the capacity of the Creole child and that of the emancipated slave boy, depressed and brutified as the nature of this last has been...by the worst of barbarisms...[it is] mere wonder that the only means which could exist [to fix this]...have been set aside...

...and have we forgotten how impossible we should deem it for children in Europe ever to attain to the knowledge of letters and of words, had they not already become long familiar with the spoken tongue[?].in many instances, the liberated child leaves school without having made any considerable progress...⁴⁹⁶

This excerpt, though laced with racial epithets, is less unfair to liberated Africans than it first appears. Miller stresses the relative difficulty of the liberated African's position not to condemn, but to empathize: the labor and time needed to bring the liberated African to the intellectual level of a student in Sierra Leone is greater not as a result of racial deficiencies,

495. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1848-1850. Archival Records, ED. 17/11. Education Department, 1850, 379.

496. J. Miller, *Report on the Liberated African Schools, and the Other Government Schools of Sierra Leone*, 386.

but rather the disparity in culture brought about by the separation of liberated Africans from indigenous communities. Miller's solution to this is to focus on the "removal of all those exclusive ideas and hateful distinctions of caste which have been fostered by slavery," a statement comparable to the stance on education taken in British India with regards to the class distinctions between Brahmans and those of inferior status.⁴⁹⁷ For both the European and African child in Miller's example, inferior status was defined by access to education, as well as the expectations of educational outcomes with regards to said status. This commonality is shared among all 'inferior statuses' under consideration in this dissertation: just as there was no expectation that the liberated African student would achieve the education level of an indigenous student, so too were Irish, British, and Indian youths of 'inferior status' only expected to achieve minimal levels of educational development. The educational status of the 'liberated' African – a status with class and racial elements – is representative of the status differences present throughout the British Empire at this time. This status was central to the relationship between indigenous and settler populations in West Africa, a relationship which ossified into the class-race structure that dominated Sierra Leone until well into the twentieth century.⁴⁹⁸

Together, the arguments and illustrations above speak to the difficult relationship between Britain, emancipated slaves, indigenous populations, and the future of British colonial interests in the West Indies and West Africa. The promises of abolition, and the tri-

497. This point was noted in Rev. William Adam's Reports on Vernacular Education, which looked at British India: "Nor did the higher class of natives in the vicinity withhold their confidence from the general scheme of education...From the earliest stage, one-third of the children in attendance at the schools [in Burdwan] were Brahmans. At first a Brahman boy would not sit down on the same mat with one of another caste. The teachers also made the same objection, which has of late been voluntarily relinquished." (William Adam, *Adam's Reports*, 3)

498. For more on the topic of Sierra Leone's class problems in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see: Bronwen Everill, *Abolition and Empire in Sierra Leone and Liberia*. See also: Richard Lyness Watson, *Slave Emancipation and Racial Attitudes in Nineteenth-Century South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

umph of the abolitionist movement in 1833, necessitated Governmental action to enforce and uphold their new moral standard. Yet this moral standard, centered around the vision of a 'civilized,' liberated slave, was believed dependent upon education, a process that, according to British official views on education during the 1830-40s, was as much a societal as an individual process. If education were to affect the change promised by abolition, and if Britain's West Indian and West African interests were to fulfill the Liberal ideal of the self-sustaining colony, safeguards against 'de-civilizing influences,' regardless of origin, were necessary.

In the case of West Africa, such influences were believed to exist within indigenous communities, even those believed to be of 'superior race' such as the Kroomen, as well as emancipated-slave communities. The mal-education of either community threatened to undo the investment and effort of private and state-funded education under the aegis of the Liberated African Department. These factors – abolitionist, moral, educational and imperial – form the foundation of Britain's relationship with West Africa, and represent the first foray of direct British imperial influence into the affairs of the region.

This argument allows the date of British imperial interventionism in Africa to be pushed to an even earlier time than that offered by A.G. Hopkins in his seminal article, "Economic Imperialism in West Africa."⁴⁹⁹ For Hopkins, economic interests, particularly the shift towards legitimate commerce and the fear of economic instability, preface Britain's late-nineteenth century imperial activity in West Africa. Hopkins thus places missionary and other informal operations in West Africa in an inferior position relative to economic concerns, making economic interests the prime rationale behind Britain's continued inter-

499. Education and abolitionist interventionism, however, had a much earlier, and a much more potent influence on British official policy in West Africa, as shown in this chapter. (A.G. Hopkins, "Economic Imperialism in West Africa: Lagos, 1880-92," *The Economic History Review* 21, no. 3 (1968)) See also: P. J. Cain, and A. G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism, 1688-2000*.

est in the region. In other words, financial gain drove Britain's continued presence in West Africa, and other concerns, such as abolitionism and education, were simply byproducts of British awareness of the supposed moral deficiencies of the region.

The problem with Hopkins's argument, one that has repercussions for the narrative of British imperialism in Africa generally, is the contention that Britain's continued presence in mid-century West Africa was economically beneficial.⁵⁰⁰ The fiscal reality of Britain's interest in West Africa is made clear in a substantial 1865 report from the Select Committee on Africa compiled by the House of Commons. The overarching conclusion of this report was that the long-term trajectory of British interests in West Africa should be towards self-rule and official withdrawal from colonial control.⁵⁰¹ Such a trajectory, however, was currently impossible, but not for financial reasons: the primary fear was that British gains in education and morality would be lost if British control were relinquished too soon:

The success of education of liberated Africans at Sierra Leone [by missionaries] seems questionable; and the suppression of barbarous customs, such as human sacrifice and custom of the dead, is everywhere described as ineffectual, that our withdrawal would instantly be followed by their revival.⁵⁰²

This fear is compounded by the fact that West Africa was not profitable in the 1860s. The colonies cost Britain around £14,000 per year, and trade interests in the region were not accelerating as desired. Trade was, therefore, not the driving force behind contin-

500. Historian Oliver MacDonagh, author of numerous seminal works in nineteenth century luminaries such as Daniel O'Connell, makes a similar argument with regards to the 'rigidity' of the thesis of Robinson and Gallagher in their work *Africa in the Victorians*. MacDonagh argues that their thesis ignores the fact that 'free trade,' a hallmark of Liberalism at this time, cannot be understood without placing it within a political framework of morality. Though contesting the work of Robinson and Gallagher, this argument reinforces the argument made in this Chapter with regards to A.G. Hopkins and economic imperialism in West Africa. (C.C. Eldridge, *England's Mission*, 11.) See also: Ronald Robinson, and John Gallagher, *Africa and the Victorians*.

501. House of Commons, *Report From the Select Committee on Africa (Western Coast); Together With the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix* (London: House of Commons, 1865), iii.

502. Ibid, xii.

ued British interest in West Africa; if it were, there would have been no compelling reason for Britain to maintain any interests in West Africa at this time. This point is made clear by the Select Committee in the opening pages of the Report:

If the promotion first, and afterwards the suppression of slave trade had not been the objects of those establishments, commercial enterprise would never have selected the Gold Coast for its locality, nor would the British have undertaken any settlement whatever in West Africa; still less would the Crown have implicated itself in government there, or in treaties of protection, nor indeed could any mere missionary enterprise have led to such consequences as have followed the work of liberation, such as the the transference of large bodies of Africans from one part of their country to another, and undertaking their settlement and care...

But the slave trade, the suppression of which is now the chief object of the British establishments in West Africa, is rapidly diminishing, by the diminution of any external demand for slaves.⁵⁰³

West Africa, in other words, was an experiment in moral and educational imperialism first, and an economic enterprise second. This outcome was not necessarily desirable: the Select Committee admitted that Britain should not have attempted direct intervention in West Africa, noting that "native customs...might have been eradicated by the gradual influence of commerce without such interference."⁵⁰⁴ Such statements, reflections of the anti-interventionist and anti-imperialist rhetoric of resurgent mid-century liberalism, were lamentations, not prescriptions, and are comparable to the debates over state-funded education that occurred in England at the same time.

Unfortunately for such Liberals, the dice had already been cast. Britain was involved in moral and educational imperialism at home as well as abroad, and even the most radical Liberals were reluctant to abandon such interests in the name of political ideology. This argument meshes with the arguments made by C.C. Eldridge in his seminal work *England's Mission*. According to Eldridge, the period 1815-1870 was long believed to be a time of Liber-

503. Ibid, *xiii-xiv*.

504. Ibid, *xiv*.

al anti-imperialism, followed by the sudden emergence of 'belligerent expansionism' from 1870-1914.⁵⁰⁵ The reality, as Eldridge argues, is that the entire period was one of accelerating imperial expansionism, thus the 1870-1914 period is not an aberration, but rather the continuation of former policies. Liberals such as William Gladstone may have wished for self-governance and a general reduction in Britain's overseas interests, but political concerns – such as Britain's obligations in West Africa noted above – prevented him from capitalizing on moments of potential disentanglement.⁵⁰⁶

The incongruity between Liberal desire and political action is due, in large part, to their fear of the ideological fallout concurrent with the retreat of imperial authority. While self-rule and decentralized imperialism were fiscally and practically appealing to Liberals, colonial realities prevented such objectives from leading to full decolonization, as the colonies were believed incapable of self-rule. Such incapacity was due to the belief that no suitable population existed to 'step in' and take over in the absence of British official power. Sir Charles Wood, a key political force in both British and Indian education in the mid-nineteenth century (discussed below), tackles this issue, as well as the role of state-funded education in its solution, in his 1854 Despatch to the Government of India:

Among many subjects of importance, none can have a stronger claim to our attention than that of education. It is one of our most sacred duties, to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge, and which India may, under Providence, derive from her connexion with England...

We have, moreover, always looked upon the encouragement of education peculiarly important, because calculated not only to produce a higher degree of intellectual fitness, but to raise the moral character of those who partake in its advantages, and so to supply you [Britain] with servants whose probity you may with increased confidence commit offices of trust in India.⁵⁰⁷

505. C.C. Eldridge, *England's Mission*, 3-4.

506. For an excellent study of mid-century Parliamentary politics, see: Richard Aldous, *The Lion and the Unicorn*.

507. Sir Charles Wood, *Education (India) – Despatch From the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor General of India in Council, Dated July 19th 1854*, vol. 49, Parliamentary

Wood's solution was not unique to the Indian case: the link between education, the expansion of Britishness, and the safeguarding of British interests was universal during the early and mid-nineteenth century.

To conclude, British commitment to abolition dovetailed with the support of missionary education in West Africa, the goal of which was, as elsewhere, the creation of a class of people who were capable of safeguarding the imperial commitments of the British government. Until the rise of nationalist imperialism in the late-nineteenth century, moral concerns regarding education dominated the financial and political direction of Britain's West African commitments. Education was one of few social expenditures (and in some cases the only social expenditure) undertaken by Britain during the nineteenth century, even in colonial regions such as West Africa, where there was little evidence to show that the state's investments were in Britain's long term financial interest. Education was a major catalyst of imperial commitment in the mid-nineteenth century, and the expansion of British imperial and governmental power in the latter half of the nineteenth century must be viewed in light of this.

Returns, 393 (London: House of Commons, 1854), 1-2.

Chapter 10: Compromises, Setbacks, Solutions

In 1861, Seymour Tremenheere submitted a paper to the Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education, Lord Lingen, in which he outlined the history and trajectory of British education over the past twenty years.⁵⁰⁸ Though built around an optimistic view of education's trajectory, Tremenheere's paper laments that education, inspection, and state investment have not had the impact that was envisioned twenty years earlier.

Tremenheere's evidence for this reflects the problems and flaws in education policy outlined in previous chapters: he cites poor instructors, misappropriated funding, parental apathy, and chronic truancy as the primary barriers to effective state-sponsored education, the result of which was a growing sense of political disillusionment with state-funded education as a whole. State-funded education was slowly changing Britain, thus the issue was not, therefore, the condemnation of past performance, but rather the evolution of education beyond its early, experimental model. On this, Tremenheere states,

Twenty years [ago] it was absolutely essential to the public safety and well-being that a great effort should be made by the Government to extend elementary education more widely among the labouring classes, to increase its amount, to raise the qualifications of teachers, and to produce a higher estimate of what could be effected for the moral and religious and the intellectual improvement of the labouring classes through the instrumentality of the elementary school. The large sum spent by the Government...is proof of the earnestness with which those objects have been sought...the great abundance of legislative measures during the last 20 years, all tending to remove legitimate causes of complaint, and to promote the welfare and comfort of the labouring classes, have put an end to the plea of paramount State necessity...the whole country can no longer be fairly called upon to pay the school fees of those...[who are] will to pay themselves.⁵⁰⁹

508. R.J.W. Sellec, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 313.

509. Education Commission, *Copy of Paper By Mr. Tremenheere, Addressed to the Secretary of the Education Commission* (London: House of Commons, 1861), 15.

Tremenheere's concern is two-fold: on one hand, Tremeneheere acknowledges the general progress of education in Britain since 1839 as largely beneficial; on the other hand, Tremeneheere views the first twenty years of education policy as a temporary measure centered around political issues unique to the 1830-40s. In other words, state intervention was necessary during this time due to social and political unrest at home and abroad, but such unrest did not make education a permanent responsibility of the state.

The remainder of Tremeneheere's letter reinforces this point by focusing on financial considerations: in the 1830-40s, when the education budget hovered around £30,000, the cost of the education 'experiment' could be overlooked or, at the least, dismissed as a small price to pay for public security. By the mid-1860s, however, and in spite of cost-saving policies adopted in the reforms of the 1850s and early 1860s, Tremeneheere predicted that the annual education grant would exceed £2m, thus eradicating the aegis of financial obscurity that had protected state-funded education from political ire up to this point.⁵¹⁰ To avoid wasting two decades of effort, and to secure for Britain a lasting system of state-assisted education, Tremeneheere concluded that the following question must be answered:

How are the elements of sound education to be diffused among the mass of the working classes without that cost to the Government which experience proves to be almost entirely thrown away?⁵¹¹

Without an answer to this question, or the urgency of state security to justify Britain's accelerating educational expenditure, Britain's state-funded education system was dangerously exposed, leaving it open to political attack and radical reinvention during a time of great political and imperial change. Though Tremeneheere's appraisal was aimed primarily at educa-

510. In reality, the education budget in 1858 was reported as around £800,000. Education Commission, *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire Into the State of Popular Education in England [Newcastle Commission]*, vol. 1 (London: George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1861), 36. Education Commission, *Copy of Paper By Mr. Tremeneheere, Addressed to the Secretary of the Education Commission*, 4.

511. *Ibid.*, 16.

tion in Britain, his concerns, and theses, apply broadly to the imperial educational models of the 1850-1870s. The themes of crisis and reinvention are essential to understanding the educational innovations and setbacks that affected British and Irish public education during this period. To explore the myriad ways that these narratives, and the tensions that underpinned them, are tied together, this chapter will survey the 1850-1860s via the same lens employed by Seymour Tremenheere: the limits of early state-funded education policy, and the sacrifices – or reforms – believed necessary to achieve effective, politically-viable education policies for Britain and its empire.

It is no coincidence that a new era of state-funded education was heralded in by the (forced) resignation of Kay-Shuttleworth in 1849 from his position as the Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education.⁵¹² Kay-Shuttleworth's passionate support for policies he approved of, such as his attempt to create an independent department of education without Parliamentary approval, earned him few allies during his tenure as Secretary, and his support for the condemnation of the Welsh language in reports in 1846-7 made him the subject of much political disdain.⁵¹³ In spite of these controversial issues, state-funded education in Britain bears the imprint of Kay-Shuttleworth more than any other early educationist, as he was one of the few educationists of this period with a direct interest in, and political capacity for, policy-creation, administration, and long-term planning.⁵¹⁴ His replacement with

512. R.J.W. Sellec, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 253.

513. In the Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the State of Education in Wales of 1847, the Committee of Council, led by Kay-Shuttleworth, supported the following statement: "The evil of the Welsh language...is obviously and fearfully great in courts of justice...it distorts the truth, favours fraud, and abets perjury, which is frequently practiced in courts...it is nevertheless a mockery which must continue until the people are taught the English language; and that will not be done until there are efficient schools for the purpose." (Committee of Council on Education, *Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry Into the State of Education in Wales, Appointed By the Committee of Council on Education* (London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1848), 62.)

514. Kay-Shuttleworth's biographer, R.J.W. Sellec, argues that Kay-Shuttleworth was one of the first educationists to envision a comprehensive plan of education – from infant to young adult – managed entirely by the state. (R.J.W. Sellec, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 362-3.)

Lord Lingen in 1849 was, therefore, less an issue of policy or personal capacity than politics. Kay-Shuttleworth's dismissal mirrors Tremenheere's above-mentioned conclusions regarding education policy in general: the uneasy tension between government policy and expenditure could only remain balanced if such policy was rooted in palpable fears of public insecurity, or if expenditure was so minimal as to warrant budgetary obscurity. As the former was fading, and the latter increasing, the resultant political tension profoundly influenced the trajectory of state-funded education in the 1850s and early 1860s, giving rise to Kay-Shuttleworth's dismissal and the numerous policy innovations that preceded the more profound changes of the 1870-80s.

Lord Lingen's tenure as Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education is notable for its relative uneventfulness compared to that of Kay-Shuttleworth. This was largely a byproduct of the political climate of the 1850-60s: in the wake of the abolition of the Corn Laws in 1846, liberalism entered a heyday of popularity that profoundly influenced British politics during the mid-century. Though Liberals and Conservatives contested control of the government throughout this period, the ethos of economic liberalism – particularly with regards to state oversight and free trade – was dominant, thus forcing proponents of state-funded education to enter a period of political retrenchment. The hostile relationship between resurgent liberalism and education was a consequence of what the latter represented as a model of 'state overreach,' even though it accounted for but a fraction of total state expenditure.⁵¹⁵ An example of this hostility comes from a Parliamentary debate between Sir George Grey and Mr. Thomas Barnes in July, 1855 regarding the annual grant for state-funded education. After the former finished outlining his estimates of education's financial need, Barnes challenged the overall funding amount, stating,

515. In his seminal work *The Mid-Victorian Generation*, Historian Theodore K. Hoppen argues that the state did little more (in terms of direct authority) in 1865 than it had done in 1790. For more on this, see: Theodore K. Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation*, 108.

...he [Barnes] believed that the grant inflicted great injustice upon a large portion of the inhabitants of the country, and failed to accomplish the object for which it was originally allowed. The taxes of the country were supplied by the whole of the people, but it could not be said that the grants of money for educational purposes were equally distributed among all those who paid taxes...The gradual increase of the grants for educational purposes was...establishing a system of education which had not been discussed in Parliament; and he thought the House was bound, by regard for its own dignity, to take care that no such system should be established without full consideration. He also considered that the manner in which the grants were administered involved a flagrant violation of the principle of religious liberty, for it was well known that in many parishes children were required to learn the Church Catechism, or to attend church on Sundays, as the condition on which they were admitted to the schools.⁵¹⁶

Barnes's challenges represent some of the more common complaints levied against state-funded education by Liberals during this time, particularly his points regarding the relationship between Parliamentary oversight, education, and religious neutrality. Such concerns were neither new nor unique to mid-century Britain, though the resurgence of liberalism gave these concerns a political force unknown since the 1830s. As discussed in previous chapters, religion was fundamental to conflicts over education in Britain, Ireland, and India in the early nineteenth century, and debates over the limits of state authority were common in domestic and imperial scenarios. While the former issue produced far more national headlines and public popularity, the latter was of greater Parliamentary concern due to Liberal interest in scaling back state authority and expenditure. Liberals were keen to point out that state-funded education, largely due to the policies and actions of Kay-Shuttleworth, had enjoyed unprecedented freedom of action since its inception in 1839, and that such freedom was anathema to private educational enterprise and the impartiality of the state with regards to religious difference.⁵¹⁷

516. HC Deb, Supply – Miscellaneous Estimates. July 26 1855, Vol. 139, 1400-1407.

517. In 1861, the Royal Commission on the Public Schools, also known as the Newcastle Commission, concluded that the government should focus on private school inspection and direct grants, instead of the establishment of state-run schools. This commission, and its impact on policy in the 1860-80s, will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter. For more on this, see: Education Commission, *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire Into*

Such views were, as noted above, responsible for Kay-Shuttleworth's dismissal, yet they also offer an interesting counterpoint to Liberal policy in other areas of state authority, particularly imperial autonomy. As noted in Chapter 9, mid-century Liberals such as William Gladstone espoused that the 'scaling back of the state' should extend to the colonial realm, and that Britain's overseas commitments should be handed over to local authorities wherever possible.⁵¹⁸ Though political practicalities and imperial events reduced Liberal anti-imperialism to little more than rhetoric, the existence of such rhetoric, and its similarity to educational policy, highlights the continued importance of links between imperial and domestic politics during the mid-nineteenth century.⁵¹⁹ Liberals were in favor of reducing state authority and expenditure in both domestic and imperial realms, in spite of the fact that one of the most common complaints against state-funded education was the lack of Parliamentary control. This discrepancy is rectified through Liberalism's focus on education as a factor of privatization, a concept stressed by John Walter, Liberal MP for Berkshire, in a letter to HMI Rev. Norris in 1861:

A school is a machine for turning out every year a certain number of well trained and well taught children. The State leaves it to be worked by private enterprise, and only engages to contribute a portion of the expense if the results are satisfactory. It employs its inspectors to ascertain those results, and upon their verdict the manager stands or falls. He has every motive, therefore, which self-interest can suggest for securing the services of an efficient and respectable teacher; and if he find that those

the State of Popular Education in England [Newcastle Commission]. See also: E.G. West, *Education and the State*, 179.

518. As noted by Historian C.C. Eldridge, Gladstonian pressure for 'self-governing colonies' (not, it should be noted, independent colonies) played a major role in what Eldridge refers to as the 'empire scare' of 1869-1870, during which Liberals were accused of attempting to dismantle the British Empire. Such public accusations led Gladstone and others to emphasize their attachment to the empire and Britain's global power, thus assuaging said fears for the time being. This event highlights that Liberal anti-imperialism was neither strong enough, nor necessarily committed to, the idea of decolonization, and that anti-imperialism and 'empire' coexisted in the mid-century. For more on this, see: C.C. Eldridge, *England's Mission*, 71-121.

519. An excellent example of the conflicted nature of Liberal anti-imperialism comes from an excerpt from a speech made by Gladstone in 1881: "While we are opposed to imperialism, we are devoted to the empire." (Francis Wrigley Hirst, et al., *Liberalism and the Empire: Three Essays* (London: R. Brimley Johnson, 1900).)

qualities are only to be found in a certificated master, of course he will soon be driven to employ such a person.⁵²⁰

Walter's description of the school as a machine is a return to the industrial metaphor employed by early educationists like Andrew Bell, and is indicative of the pragmatic view many mid-century Liberals held regarding schooling. If education was an industry for "turning out every a year a certain number of well trained and well taught children," as Walter stated, the solution to Parliament's lack of direct control over education was not more authority, but rather the privatization of existing direct involvement. This opinion was validated by The Report of the Comissioners Appointed to Inquire into the State of Popular Education in England (otherwise known as the 'Newcastle Commission') of 1858-1861 which, after an exhaustive survey of British schools, noted that the survival of private schools in England hinged on the government's primary focus going forward: state-funded schools, which would condemn private schools, or school inspection and grants-in-aid, which would spare them.⁵²¹

For most Liberals, the choice was clear: Britain could not, and should not, move towards a fully state-managed education system. As such, a shift away from state schools was both imminent and necessary. This conclusion is comparable to a Parliamentary statement on the colonies made by Gladstone in 1850:

...the principle on which he [Gladstone] intended to give his vote was this, that it was a most valuable and important object to attain to emancipate the colonial

520. "Correspondence Between J. Walter, Esq., M.p., and the Rev. J.p. Norris, Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools", 2.

521. J. Stuart Maclure, *Educational Documents*, 77. This point is also referenced by Historian E.G. West, in his work *Education and the State*, as the focus of a historiographic debate regarding the techniques and statistics employed by the Newcastle Commission, as well as the true status of literacy in mid-century Britain. For West, the Newcastle Commission is a flawed endeavor, especially when compared to the techniques and data of other mid-century commissions. Furthermore, West contends that the cost of the Crimean War placed immense pressure on the Government to decrease nonessential expenses, and thus pushed the Newcastle Commission to downplay the need for additional state funding. For more on this, see: E.G. West, *Education and the State*, 179-183.

legislatures altogether, in all matters purely of a local nature, from the control and interference of the Government at home, excepting upon defined and specified subjects, involving imperial considerations. That, he conceived, was an object of sound colonial policy, secondary to none in value and importance.⁵²²

Gladstone's colonial views mirror the conclusions of the Newcastle Commission, a connection that confirms the importance of considering resurgent Liberalism's influence on both domestic and imperial education policy during this period.

Liberal interest in the reduction of state authority and education expenditure should not be mistaken for a disinterest in the utility of educating British children, or for the rejection of education's centrality to the Smithian free market. As in former decades, inspectorate reports and government commissions continued to present compelling case-studies regarding the failures of current education methods, and the general paucity of literacy throughout Britain. These reports, once a chief asset of pro-educationists like Kay-Shuttleworth, were now also a tool of the political opponents of state-managed education, as the reports could be used to argue that the rate of educational improvement in Britain was not comparable to the increase in education expenditure since 1839, thus pinning blame on government policy as well as social deficiency. Such an argument was not a condemnation of state-funding in general, but rather the inefficiency of the current administrative model. The ad-hoc nature of British education administration and policy, so it was argued, had reached peak efficiency, thus any additional funding or state oversight would be wasteful.

While still, technically, a condemnation of British state-funded education, this changing rhetoric is indicative of the general shift in British politics during the mid-nineteenth century regarding the role of the state in education. Education debates were no longer focused on the state's absolute role in education (i.e. the utility of state involvement at all), but rather the costs and benefits associated with a British educational system that

522. HC Deb, Australian Colonies Government Bill. May 6 1850, Vol. 110, 1192.

might eventually become compulsory, advisory, free, wholly-managed by the state, or any combination of the four.⁵²³ It is fair to say, therefore, that the 1850s mark a watershed for British state-funded education, in that the utility of state-funded education was now accepted as a permanent, if flawed, extension of governmental responsibility. Such a shift, as discussed below, had profound implications for education policy at home and in the empire, as the central issue was now the formation, or reformation, of official policy to transition from an ad-hoc, experimental model to a permanent, efficient one.

The Newcastle Commission was the largest and most influential study of the mid-century to tackle the questions and themes outlined above, presenting, as with the major reports before it, a cross-section of the educational infrastructure, values, politics, and policies of Britain. Spanning five volumes, this work was the crucible of British education's transformation into the 'modern' (i.e. compulsory) form it would take during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Furthermore, this work represents Britain's most extensive analysis of foreign education to date, particularly that of France, Germany, and the United States, thus affording insight into how Britain viewed the emergent social policies of its industrial rivals and, critically, how these policies might affect the views of British statesmen with regards to their own domestic policies.⁵²⁴ A thorough analysis of the Newcastle Com-

523. An allusion to this trend is brought forward by Edward Baines, in a speech he gave in Leeds in March, 1847: "The question was not now what it formerly was— shall there be any education or none? but, shall there be an education founded on the parental feelings, and on the assistance Christian communities may render to their neighbours and those of their own communities; or shall it be founded on a system of state education? The president of the Committee of Council had very lately admitted that governments were the worst cultivators, the worst manufacturers, and the worst traders in the world, but his lordship might have gone on and said they were also the worst instructors. The moment they began to instruct, began to pay, they paralysed the exertions of those who had been instructing and paying up to the present time." ("Great Public Meeting At Leeds in Opposition to That Scheme." *The Bradford and Wakefield Observer, and Halifax, Huddersfield, and Keighly Reporter*, March 18 1847 Issue 663, p. 5. Bradford; Ibid, 5)

524. In the interests of brevity, comparisons of British education to the educational systems of other countries are not discussed until Chapters 13-15.

mission is therefore essential to understanding the evolution of education policy during the tenure of Lord Lingen, and the relationship between this transformative period and the later period marked by the adoption of a compulsory model.

The Newcastle Report, like others before it, is organized regionally, the statistical and analytical responsibilities for each region falling to local school inspectors employed by the state. As such, the tenor of each report differs slightly, complicating efforts to form universal conclusions regarding the state of British education in the 1850-60s, as well as prevailing theories regarding state education policy. The regionalization of British economic and demographic elements muddies this further, as reports regarding education in the London metropolitan area have a far different focus than those studying the Midlands, Wales, or Cornwall. In spite of these caveats, general problems, themes, and conclusions do emerge, particularly with regards to the trajectory of state-funded education. The most common concern is the supply and quality of schoolmasters: according to the Newcastle Commission, there were not enough well-paid and/or well-trained teachers in circulation in Britain to provide a standard of education deemed acceptable by the inspectorate. Rev. James Fraser, Assistant Commissioner of Schools in the Counties of Dorset, Devon, Somerset, Hereford, and Worcester, made the following statement regarding this issue :

The difficulties through which the endowed elementary school has to fight its way to excellence are obvious enough. The master probably, when once appointed, however his character may change for the worse, and whether his school thrive or dwindle in his hands, is irremovable, has a vested interest, or, if removable, only at considerable trouble and expense. He gets old and past his work, but there are no funds applicable to superannuation. The school is under no adequate supervision; its doors, by a very mistaken feeling on the part of the trustees, are generally closed against all inspection; its well doing, therefore, depends solely on the conscientiousness of the master, who by the very fixity of his tenure, and by the fact that no improvement in the school improves his income, has every temptation to be slovenly. There is, in almost all cases, a want of teaching power, as the endowers lived long before Bell and

Lancaster had conceived the monitorial, or Sir J. Kay Shuttleworth the pupil-teacher, system.⁵²⁵

Rev. Fraser's conclusion touches on many of the issues plaguing mid-century British schools, though his emphasis on the role of the schoolmaster is of particular importance. The schoolmaster was the autonomous controller of all affairs at a school, including the ledger, fees, examination, and curriculum until well into the twentieth century. An abrupt change in the schoolmaster's personal life, such as illness, and/or the replacement of a schoolmaster was ultimately of far more immediate importance to the success or failure of a school than any amount of governmental policy.⁵²⁶ This was not new necessarily new information, however it was further evidence (particularly for those hostile to state-managed education) that teacher training, and the foundation of 'model schools,' had not been as effective a use of state funding as believed, as such problems were theoretically supposed to be ameliorated by state policy.⁵²⁷ Fraser's conclusions are also reminiscent of the anxieties discussed in Chapter 7 regarding the potentially-dangerous authority held by teachers.

525. Education Commission, *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire Into the State of Popular Education in England [Newcastle Commission]*, vol. 2 (London: George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1861), 42.

526. An example from County Carlow, in early 20th century Ireland, reinforces this point. A Roman Catholic school at Rathnageera was regularly inspected from 1904-1909, during which time every improvement in educational quality was related to the hiring, or firing, of schoolmasters and assistants. In Hacketstown, a similar scenario was observed: a poor teacher held the school back until 1908, when the teacher was replaced and, according to the inspector, J. Dickie, there was a "dramatic improvement of [the] school." These are but two examples of a narrative pattern frequently found in all long-term inspectorate reports issued not just in Ireland, but throughout the British empire. (For more on this, see: Education Circulars to Inspectors. Circulars, ED. 8/1. Office of National Education, 1861.)

527. Inspector Allen, writing in 1845, had the following to say on the quality of British teachers: "The necessities of past times familiarized people to the notion that a few weeks' attendance at an organized school, where what was called the 'National system' might be learned, was sufficient to transmute a decayed tradesman, with some knowledge of writing and accounts into a National schoolmaster." (Education Commission, *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire Into the State of Popular Education in England [Newcastle Commission]*, 97.)

Armed with decades of inspectoral experience to draw upon, many inspectors offered potential solutions to the issue of teacher-training – A.F. Foster, reporting on schools in the Counties of Durham and Cumberland, argued in favor of an apprenticeship system for newly-trained teachers that would replace Kay-Shuttleworth's pupil-teacher system, thus guaranteeing that all masters and assistants in any given school had some element of formal training.⁵²⁸ Foster was concerned, however, that such an arrangement would be an impossible hardship for the teachers, as they would have already spent many years being trained without pay, thus he was not terribly optimistic about the feasibility of his idea. A similar problem was noted by Rev. Fraser regarding night schools for adults: in this case, the paucity of qualified teachers for night schools made the use of day school teachers appealing, however, as Fraser notes, day school teachers were barred by the Committee of Council from also teaching in night schools (due to the strain of teaching for so many hours at a time).⁵²⁹ Furthermore, Assistant Commissioner John Middleton Hare, writing on the Maritime District of Hull, notes that even trained or certified teachers are often dangerously deficient, thus their use in any capacity was not a guaranteed means of success:

...they [teachers in Hull] are generally very deficient, mere adventurers who have assumed teaching as a *dernier ressort*...[some people] describe them as good, 'men of respectable attainments, and generally efficient,' or, at any rate, 'an improved class, from the demand for competent teachers...' [others state that] when fit for nothing else, a man [such as these] sets up as a schoolmaster, and often succeeds, more to his own profit than to that of his scholars...school-keeping is often the last resource of the unfortunate and incapable...⁵³⁰

These issues placed Britain's educational infrastructure on a shaky foundation. One poorly qualified teacher could completely undo the work of the Committee of Council in

528. Education Commission, *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire Into the State of Popular Education in England [Newcastle Commission]*, 365.

529. Education Commission, *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire Into the State of Popular Education in England [Newcastle Commission]*, 63.

530. Education Commission, *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire Into the State of Popular Education in England [Newcastle Commission]*, vol. 3 (London: George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1861), 295.

any given school, yet the teacher-training system was not producing enough teachers to provide every school, let alone night schools, with proper educational staff. Frustratingly, a substantial number of teachers trained in state-funded colleges did not go on to teach in state-funded schools, thus incurring a direct drain on the state's attempt to recoup their investment in education. From 1847-1859, for example, the number of teachers in receipt of a training certificate was 12,604 (7,343 male, 5,261 female), however only 6,999 were teaching in state-funded schools.⁵³¹ Considering that the state was spending almost £200,000 per year to fund and manage this teacher-training program, a 56% 'success' rate was viewed as an unacceptable waste of state resources.

The question for educationists was, therefore, quite clear: was the state spending too much on teacher-training, or was it not doing enough to incentivize the transition from training to teaching in publicly-funded schools? This question was not necessarily new – reports discussed in earlier chapters outlined similar circumstances – however decades of investment in training schools, certification programs, and incentive systems seemed to have done little to address the chronic lack of quality teachers. The dearth of teachers was so severe that many reports on Irish education from the 1850-60s noted that teachers trained in Ireland were actively being sought by British schools out of need, as well as the belief that Irish training schools, and therefore teachers, were superior to those of England and Wales.⁵³² The steady drain of teachers from Ireland to England and Wales was, not, howev-

531. Education Commission, *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire Into the State of Popular Education in England* [Newcastle Commission], 676.

532. Irish teachers were also interested in working in England and Wales, as salaries were substantially higher than what they might earn in Ireland: "The Irish National Teachers do not, on the average, receive half this sum (£50-60 per annum); and yet many of them, having left their own country, have taken rank among the first teachers in England, in points of emolument and position." (Commissioners of Irish Education, *Annual Report of Irish National Education, 1854-1855*, 123.)

er, substantial enough to satisfy demand, leaving all three without the proper number and quality of teachers.⁵³³

Teacher-training and supply, though predominant issues, were often overshadowed in importance by the practicalities of government funding and direct intervention in the maintenance of schools. Indeed, of all state activities under scrutiny in the Newcastle Report, none produced as much open hostility as state-managed schools, as their ballooning costs made them a prime target for ideological fears of state overreach and fiscal waste. The report of Assistant Commissioner, Dr. W.B. Hodgson, on the Metropolitan District (London) offers an example of such hostility:

...the education of the country...is a piece of patchwork and hap-hazard, here a plethora, there a famine, and full health nowhere, the only attempt at a national system, to say nothing here of its defects, seems to have outgrown the power of centralisation, and to be in danger of breaking down through its very unwieldiness.⁵³⁴

Hodgson's condemnation stems from a common belief held by many commissioners and political figures: state-funded schools were only good for "providing for those who cannot provide for themselves," as state-funded schools stifled competition and shut out local invest-

533. In 1874-5, the National Education Commissioners of Ireland issued a report which highlighted the six biggest problems in Ireland:

1. Inadequacy of the remuneration of National School teachers
2. The disproportion which exists between the contribution of the State and of the localities towards the support of schools.
3. The want of a scheme of pensions for old and disabled teachers.
4. The want of suitable residences for teachers
5. The irregularity in the attendance of pupils at Irish National Schools
6. The vast number of untrained teachers employed in the National Schools

Of all the problems in Ireland's national system of education, 4 out of 6 primary issues dealt with teachers. Such a report is indicative of the damage caused by the drain of teachers to England and Wales, and the continued importance of teacher training for state-funded education in the 1870s. For more on this, see: Commissioners of Irish Education, *The Forty-First Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, for the Year 1874* (London: House of Commons, 1875), 2.

534. Education Commission, *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire Into the State of Popular Education in England [Newcastle Commission]*, 566.

ment in education wherever they were placed.⁵³⁵ Rev. A. Synge, of Ipswich, reaffirmed this point in the 1850s: "A good Government school leaves very little chance for private schools." Rev. W. W. Woodhouse, also of Ipswich, made a similar comment: "[private schools] will more and more [decline] as the excellency of the education given in the well-regulated schools becomes apparent to the working classes."⁵³⁶ The latter offers some praise as to the quality of education in Ipswich, though the initial point – that private educational efforts were in decline – was the primary concern.

In the examples provided by Woodhouse and Synge, government and private investment are portrayed as being mutually exclusive. An increase in the quality or quantity of one will, in other words, directly affect the quality or quantity of the other. There is some truth to this, in that private education for the working classes did generally retreat in the face of state-funded schooling, however such a statement implies that private educationists actually intended to provide an educational structure that could portray itself as 'national.'⁵³⁷ Simply put, private education, even when it called itself a 'national' system, was perceived by the public as being too parochial and fragmented to offer an open, neutral system of schooling. In 1851, a publication in the *Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review* discusses this problem, noting that religious affiliations greatly limited the efficacy of private education:

Private individuals cannot, like the State, or a municipality, assume in religion a neutral position. Every person attempting to set up a school for the gratuitous instruction of the children of the poor, is immediately identified as a Churchman, a Catholic, an Independent, a Baptist, a Quaker, a Unitarian, or as belonging to some one or other denomination. This leads to the supposition, whether correct or not,

535. Ibid, 566. See also, Education Commission, *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire Into the State of Popular Education in England [Newcastle Commission]*, 71.

536. Education Commission, *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire Into the State of Popular Education in England [Newcastle Commission]*, 267.

537. Earlier discussions of private education societies such as the SDUK, or the Kildare Place Society, reveals that these organizations were more interested in moral and rudimentary education than technical or industrial training. Once the concept of national education (i.e. nationalized curriculums) became popular, these early models of schooling drifted even further away from educational standards.

that his object is to propagate the religious opinions he entertains, and hence a disposition on the part of those who hold other sentiments, to draw the children away, and set up an opposition school.⁵³⁸

This opinion is reflected in the reality of schooling in the mid-nineteenth century, as almost all private schools were in some fashion religiously-affiliated, thus validating the scenario described later on in the same article:

instead of children being allowed to grow up together, cultivating charity, goodwill...they are early in life separated into hostile camps, and compelled to regard each other, if not with hatred, at least with suspicion and distrust...⁵³⁹

Considering the lengths to which educationists endeavored to make state-funded schools a source of social improvement, a privately-managed and parochial school system was anathema to their views. An example of this comes from Prussian educationist Dr. L. Wiese who, though an outsider, discussed the model of private education in Britain via a series of letters he wrote in the early 1850s. Dr. Wiese's letters were so well received by British educationists that they were translated and circulated throughout Britain in an attempt to validate state-funded schools. His letters represent one of the few outside viewpoints on British education during this period, and are directly connected to the new rhetoric and strategies that British educationists adopted during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Dr. Wiese's letters are varied in content and purpose, however the general tone is one of hostility towards Liberal adherence to private education, a message that, for clear reasons, resonated with British educationists.⁵⁴⁰ An example of this comes from one of Dr.

538. This publication goes on to make the following statements: "That this result is a consequence of the charity-school system, and would not be inseparable from any other, is evident from the fact, that in Holland and the German States, Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, are all taught in the same schools, and from the success which, notwithstanding some partial opposition, has attended the exertions of the Education Board in Ireland." (Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review, *Historical Sketch of Educational Movements Proceeding the Formation of the National Public School Association - Reprint From Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review for January 1851* (London: Groombridge and Sons, 1851), 7-8.

539. Ibid, 8.

540. Dr. Wiese was accused in Germany of being 'too soft' on English schools, leading him

Weise's early letters on British education, a letter he wrote during his first tour of England as part of a complaint about the difficulty of conceptualizing the school structure of the country:

...the entire absence of any organising bond of connexion [sic] between the separate schools [makes analysis difficult], which, with us [Prussia], are represented by one common superior authority, while in England there is neither a minister of instruction, nor anything corresponding to a district school committee...⁵⁴¹

Dr. Weise attributes this problem to the aforementioned British 'distaste' for government schooling, an attitude that, in his words, "left [the people] to the care of corporations and private individuals."⁵⁴² Dr. Weise goes on to praise Kay-Shuttleworth's efforts and, unsurprisingly, his admiration of Prussian schools, however Dr. Weise's final letters offer scant optimism for the current trajectory of education in Britain:

...there are in England and Wales 8,000,000 persons who can neither read nor write... more than half the children between five and fourteen years old go to no schools... between the years 1835 and 1846 the State has given £37,254,541 in poor relief, without counting the sums contributed by private benevolence...at the present time £5,000,000 per annum are thrown into this gaping abyss [poor relief]...⁵⁴³

Dr. Weise's conclusions, though strongly-worded, are supported by the returns of the education department. In 1861, Kay-Shuttleworth, though no longer the Secretary of the

to make a second research trip in 1876. During the interim between these trips, Dr. Weise was the director of education in Berlin, an experience which the *Pall Mall Gazette* believes played a role in his downward shift in opinion of English schools. The mild optimism of Dr. Weise's first trip was replaced with scathing condemnation in 1876: "The method of operating through examinations and prizes is looked upon in England as the most effective...English teachers in their schools...urged them [students]...to cram their memory with unconnected and often but half-comprehended facts [for exams], without acquiring any power of thinking independently. It is singular that the English, who attach so much value to the free development of a man's individuality, do not see that this overdoing of examinations is all against it." (*Pall Mall Gazette*, May 3 1877, 11-12.) See also: *The Athenaeum Journal of Literature, Science, the Fine Arts, Music, and the Drama* (London: E. J. Francis and Co., 1877), 358-9.

541. Dr. Ludwig Wiese, *German Letters on English Education* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1854), 8.

542. *Ibid.*, 168.

543. *Ibid.*, 175.

Committee of Council on Education, wrote a letter to Earl Granville on the topic that was included in the Committee of Council's Minutes of 1861-2:

Pauperism, which is the hereditary consequence of generations of ignorance, superstition, and the slow and partial emancipation of the people from a previous state of serfdom, costs £6,000,000 annually. This relief of indigence is simply a measure of police...

...But this [is a] system of police for the restraint of crime and pauperism, as [there is] little or nothing in it that tends to cure those disorders.⁵⁴⁴

By 1861, therefore, Dr. Weise's estimated £5m for poor relief had ballooned into at least £6m, yet the same complaints regarding financial waste and educational inefficiency remained. The connection between state-funded education and poor relief noted by Weise became a rallying point for educationists looking for a counterpoint to the resurgence of political interest in privatization.⁵⁴⁵

Poor relief and state-funded education were inextricably bound together in the public mind and the political character of social reform in Britain. As discussed in previous chapters, early efforts in state-funded education stemmed from political concerns over public health, public security, and worker's rights, each altering the scope and implementation of education on a fundamental level. The first, public health, shaped the methods of report-

544. R.J.W. Sellec, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 94-95.

545. The preface of the English version of Dr. Weise's letters includes the following editor's note: "Upon a question which, as all public school men know by painful experience, is almost universally misunderstood, – at a time like the present, when misrepresentation is added to misapprehension, – when Punch is publishing slanders upon Rugby School one week, and retracting them the next; while the Daily News gives utterance to the same silly falsehoods, founds upon them a silly leading article, and has not, like Punch, the grace or fairness to retract; when a gross abuse of the monitorial system at Harrow is being continually paraded as a specimen of a system, to the ordinary working of which every public school man must know to be a striking and melancholy exception, – it is quite refreshing to find a foreigner like Dr. Weise taking the trouble to examine carefully the real intention and practical working of those confessedly anomalous institutions of fagging, proëpostorial [sic] or monitorial authority, and the like; catching their true spirit, in short understanding them – as so very few Englishmen do, except those who have themselves had experience of the system..." (Dr. Ludwig Wiese, *German Letters on English Education*, vii)

ing, inspection, and analysis employed by education officials. The second, public security, affected the long-term goals of state-funded education, particularly those pertaining to class conflict and self-improvement. The last, worker's rights, linked education to improved conditions for factory workers and, critically, the gradual diminution of child labor in favor of formal schooling. Because these developments were directed towards the poorer working classes of Britain, and early educationists used poor relief as a vehicle for their own agendas, the connection between state-funded education and poor relief held strong, leaving education at the mercy of politicians hostile to government intervention in poor relief.

By the mid-century, the relationship between poor relief and education had, as Dr. Weise noted above, outlived its usefulness to educationists. This explains why many educationists sought to separate 'public education' from 'public security' by focusing on the fundamental differences between policing and personal improvement: state-funded education, if it were to continue to evolve as a public service, needed to be politically and financially viable on its own. This conclusion directly shaped the nature of education reform in the early 1860s, and specifically increased interest in two ideas that would, in turn, shape education in Britain and throughout the British Empire: the 'payment by results' system and the concept of 'schools of industry.' It is to these ideas, and their deployment at home and abroad, that this chapter will now turn.

'Payment by results' was similar in form and function to the preexisting concept of grants-in-aid (also known as capitation grants), in that it was a method of distributing state-funding to schools based on demographics and statistical variation.⁵⁴⁶ With this system, schools under government inspection were made eligible to receive funding based on the number of students enrolled in the school at the time of inspection. This was an economical

546. This was discussed in the following Parliamentary debate: HC Deb, Primary Education (Ireland) Commission, 1870 – Resolution. March 5 1875, Vol. 222. See also: Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader*, 156.

method of distributing funding to a wide range of schools, however, it did not take into account statistical variance due to chronic truancy, student transfers, or any other time-sensitive information. Statistical errors often led to artificially-inflated attendance numbers (sometimes done intentionally by the teacher), thus complicating the inspection process and allowing for funding inconsistencies.⁵⁴⁷ Such inconsistencies, it should be noted, appeared as early as the first inspectorate reports of the 1840s, and were thus exacerbated greatly as the number of schools under inspection increased throughout the 1840-50s. On this, the Committee of Council issued the following circular in November 1849:

Previously to the Minutes of 1846, and so long as a smaller number of training schools were liable to inspection, there was no difficulty in making the examination of the students coincide with a thorough inquiry into the state of the school pursuant to the scheme of inspection, dated 2 December 1842...

...Since that period, however, and especially since the publication of the Minutes of 1846, the increase of examinations has rendered it absolutely necessary to consolidate them; it being found practically impossible in any other manner so to economize the requisite labour as to bring it within the powers of the very limited staff of officers at the Lordships' disposal.⁵⁴⁸

Incorrect funding estimates such as these plagued the Committee of Council on Education well into the late-1850s and 1860s, as noted in the following excerpt from Rev. G.R. Moncrieff's 1857 Report on Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, and Westmoreland:

Not unfrequently [sic] the age [of students] is stated on no authority but that of the children themselves; and, even when the parents vouch for it, their statement is often no more than a loose guess. In a very few instances, in large towns, have I found an accurate system of registration...the cases which gave most trouble were generally those in which the parents removed, and the child left school, before the date of inspection, rendering the labour entirely useless...[because of this] the return

547. The 1870 Report of the Irish National Education Commissioners noted this problem in the context of attendance records, specifically pointing out that it was a widespread problem in Ireland as well as England. (Commissioners of Irish Education, *Royal Commission of Inquiry Into Primary Education (Ireland)*, vol. Vol. 1 (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1870), 296.)

548. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1850-1851, 1851, ED, 17/13, 29. It should be noted that the problem of 'limited staff' was of great importance to Kay-Shuttleworth during his time as Secretary, and explains why he went to such great lengths to increase the size of the Education Department without proper clearance from Parliamentary or Privy Council approval.

of ages of children on the books can be regarded as nothing more than an approximation...We count the same children over and over again in different schools for many short periods, instead of one child for the total school-time...a child who is absent on any given day costs as much, and has much to do with the outlay [of funding], as the child who is present. The true divisor would be the average number on the books— a number very easily to be obtained.⁵⁴⁹

Moncrieff's anxieties represent but a single aspect of the emergent political frustration with Britain's fledgling education system, and his focus on fiscal waste no doubt fed into the liberal desire to launch the Newcastle Commission in 1858. Of specific importance for the 'payment by results' system, however, is Moncrieff's final point: the Inspectorate, he believed, already had the tools and information required to more accurately distribute funding. All it needed was the political backing to implement a new system, one that could more efficiently weigh the quality of education in each school, the average number of students in attendance, and, ultimately, foster in teachers and students alike a personal investment in success.

Evaluating the sources discussed above as a whole, the dominant message is one of political and fiscal emergency brought on by decades of administrative inefficiency and, in some cases, negligence. The timing of the Newcastle Commission, and its central conclusions regarding the future of British education, represent both the liberal backlash towards state-funded education as well as the future line that educationists would take in order to solidify the utility of the Committee of Council. The median of these two views was, ulti-

549. The conclusions in this excerpt, by no means unique to Rev. Moncrieff's observation, highlights the unfortunate reality that most of the statistics provided by inspectors to the Committee of Council and, indeed, statistics available to historians, are largely built around assumptions and estimations. This complicates the precision of statistical analysis from a historical standpoint, and is, in part, why this dissertation has shied away from using numbers as definitive points of argument or evidence. R.J.W. Sellec, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 485-486.

mately, the Revised Code of 1861, and the official adoption of 'payment by results' as the Committee of Council's means of distributing funding.⁵⁵⁰

The Revised Code of 1861 was the most sweeping revision since 1846, and was also the first major policy revision of Lord Lingen since his appointment as Secretary in 1849. Though mounting political pressure in Parliament was largely responsible for the Revised Code of 1861, Robert Lowe, Vice-President of the the Committee of Council from 1859-1864, also played a substantial role in pushing Lord Lingen to back the measure. Lowe's investment in the Revised Code of 1861 stemmed from his interest in education as a means of combatting the emerging political power of the recently-enfranchised and still-disenfranchised classes. In a Parliamentary speech on July 1867 – the high point of the fierce debate over the Second Reform Bill – Lowe explained his perspective on education at length, thus rationalizing the aforementioned Revised Code and foreshadowing the much larger changes to education that he and others believed inevitable:

One word I should like to say on the subject of education. I have been one who thought that our institutions in that respect were as efficient as they could well be. I shrink from the notion of forcing education on people...All the opinions I held on that subject are scattered to the winds by this measure of the Government...it appears to me that before we had intrusted the masses—the great bulk of whom are uneducated—with the whole power of this country we should have taught them a little more how to use it, and not having done so, this rash and abrupt measure having been forced upon them, the only thing we can do is as far as possible to remedy the evil by the most universal measures of education that can be devised...I was opposed to centralization, I am ready to accept centralization; I was opposed to an education rate, I am ready now to accept it; I objected to inspection, I am now willing to create crowds of inspectors. This question is no longer a religious question, it has become a political one. It is indeed the question of questions; it has become paramount to every other question that has been brought before us. From the moment that you intrust the masses with power their education becomes an absolute necessity, and our system of education...must give way to a national system...it is not quality but quantity we shall require, although we shall thereby be doing a great injustice to those who have so warmly embarked their energies in the cause. You have placed the government in the hands of the masses, and you must therefore give

550. The educational and imperial consequences of the Revised Code of 1861 are primarily discussed in Chapters 11-13.

them education. You must take education up the very first question, and you must press it on without delay for the peace of the country.⁵⁵¹

Lowe's views on education match the shifting political framework of Britain during the mid-nineteenth century.⁵⁵² What was once anathema for many British politicians – state oversight – was now seen as the necessary consequence of the inexorable expansion of political responsibility. Lowe's support for the expansion of state-funded education was, more than anything else, a reaction to the unknown variable of enfranchisement, thus enabling the continued expansion of Britain's educational responsibilities in spite of ideological hostility.⁵⁵³

Views such as those by Lowe must be contextualized within the dynamic political changes of the 1860s, particularly the six-year gap between the 1861 Revised Code and the Second Reform Bill of 1867. Prior to 1867, as Lowe notes above, his personal views on education matched the rhetoric and conclusions of the Revised Code of 1861, which was generally focused on the privatization and 'limited intervention' recommendations of the Newcastle Commission. The rapid shift of Lowe's views on education was not unique: many Liberals professed similar feelings during debates on the Second Reform Bill, thus giving the percep-

551. HC Deb, Parliamentary Reform – Representation of the People Bill. July 15 1867, Vol. 188, 1548-1549.

552. The lack of interest in state-funded education beyond its pragmatic application to 'proper governance' and enfranchisement was mirrored by the persistence of imagery comparing the educational process to manufacturing. Inspector J. Walter, writing to Rev. Inspector J. P. Norris in 1863, offers an example of this, one that harkens back to the rhetoric of early educationists like Bell and Lancaster: "A school is a machine for turning out every year a certain number of well trained and well taught children. The State leaves it to be worked by private enterprise, and only engages to contribute a portion of the expense if the results are satisfactory. It employs its inspectors to ascertain those results, and upon their verdict the manager stands or falls. He has every motive, therefore, which self-interest can suggest for securing the services of an efficient and respectable teacher; and if he find that those qualities are only to be found in a certificated master, of course he will soon be driven to employ such a person." ("Correspondence Between J. Walter, Esq., M.p., and the Rev. J.p. Norris, Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools")

553. Though beneficial for educationists in the short term, the linkage of education to political crisis (in this case enfranchisement) adversely affected the trajectory of state-funded education outside of Britain, a topic that will be discussed later in this dissertation.

tion that the Newcastle Report was not substantially influential on the trajectory of British education policy.

The conclusions noted above have adversely affected the historiography of British education, as many historians tend to explain away the importance of the Newcastle Commission, and the Revised Code of 1861 by extension, by pointing to their relatively brief tenure as viable models of education policy.⁵⁵⁴ Such an argument is critically flawed, as it makes the assumption that British policy was inexorably and unavoidably drawn towards the increasingly-nationalized educational codes of the 1870-1910s.⁵⁵⁵ The issue of education's 'inevitable' nationalization is rooted in the narrative-driven element of British education historiography that originated during the late-nineteenth century. This element fosters a history that views the nationalized education model of the late-nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries as the proper focal point of state-funded education's evolution from the eighteenth century to the present.

The problem with this model, as shown in previous chapters, is that it makes broad assumptions about what educationists believed possible, or even desirable, during the nineteenth century, even on the very precipice of education's nationalization. It politicizes government education policies by placing them, regardless of the politics of their contemporary periods, in the context of what the British government does (or does not do) today. Further-

554. E.G. West discusses this at length in his work *Education and the State*, noting that contemporary historians such as G.M. Trevelyan greatly influenced the perception that the Revised Code of 1861 was insignificant. For more on this, see: E.G. West, *Education and the State*, 180-183.

555. This is an assumption, it should be noted, that was also held by many educationists during the late-nineteenth century. Francis Adams, writing in 1882, argued that as early as 1840 educationists knew that the state system was 'inevitable.' Such sentiments mirror the historical and political stylings of historian Sir Charles Trevelyan, who was famous for developing and popularizing the (somewhat ignominious) style of 'Whiggish' history, in which a chain of events was believed guaranteed by virtue of a perceived outcome. (Francis Adams, *History of the Elementary School Contest* (London: Chapman and Hall, Limited, 1882), 148.)

more, the concept of 'inevitability' further alienates education policy from the rest of state policy due to its failure to place education in a wider context. The fiscal frugality of the Revised Code of 1861, for example, was not necessarily unique to education policy: the exorbitant costs of the Crimean War (1851-1856) led to a general reduction of all non-essential government funding – education included – in the 1850-1860s.⁵⁵⁶ State-funded education, though a relatively 'young' branch of government compared to state involvement in trade or military affairs, was still susceptible to the same swings in budgetary volatility and political 'moodiness' as other areas of state investment. Without context, the sudden fiscal and political changes that affected educational policy appear to be far more specific, and potentially malicious, than they actually were.

In conclusion, Kay-Shuttleworth's decline, and the rise of men like Lowe and Lingen, represented more than just a change of political office: this transition marked a generational shift in the political landscape of mid-nineteenth century Britain. This shift had a profound and lasting impact on the policies and methodologies of educationists, a fact made clear by the passage of the Revised Code of 1861. This code was widely considered a 'step backwards' by educationists (especially when compared in retrospect to the Education Act of 1870), yet there was very little they could have done to prevent it. The waning political popularity of the old 'poor law' model had left educationists without a strong economic foundation to fall back on, and state-funded education's deep flaws made it ripe for renovation. The Revised Code of 1861 was a mild attempt at renovation, but it opened up the possibility for further 'renovations' of state-funded education that could, potentially, reduce state-funded education in Britain to the point of obscurity. This situation is precisely what Tremenheere, in the opening excerpt of this chapter, was referring to with regards to education's dire political situation in the 1850-1860s. The issues and crises described throughout this chapter test-

556. E.G. West, *Education and the State*, 181.

ed the limits of state-funded education policy. As shown in the next few chapters, the changing political atmosphere of Britain, and the ideologies of education that underpinned the Revised Code of 1861, played a critical role in the concurrent developments in Britain's Indian, Irish and West African educational systems.⁵⁵⁷

557. The *Tribune*, an Irish Newspaper, published the following excerpt from "Oratory, not Art: a Discourse" (1838) – a clear indicator of the connection between state-funded education and Irish nationalism – in November 1855: "I yearned to sit in the shade of some tree that had sheltered my fathers; I yearned to pluck the flowers where their infancy had played; I yearned to kneel at the grave of some hero of my own land– but there was no hand to guide me, no tongue to tell me the tale!

...Alas! In a country like ours, it is only at the tomb of the stranger, or son of the stranger, that such lessons could be read to and hoping and inquiring childhood...The tombs of our ancient saints and kings lie mouldering in contempt and ruin...Alas! It was not thus: and now– our home is desolate, our people starve, and our country is a byeword among the nations. We are, in fact, born slaves, and dare not breathe to ourselves, that our fathers ever aimed at being free. Not even of their graves do we bethink us!

...And if it be thus with us at home – if it be thus in thousands on thousands of homes– how is it with us at school? We learn Latin and Greek, and we study Roman history. We are taught from English spelling-books and reading-books– written by Englishmen and printed in England– perhaps, though I strongly doubt it, suited for Englishmen– certainly most unsuited for us. But of Irish history, we learn nothing, or worse than nothing...We learn the tale of our ruin at the knees of the power that ruined us." ("Unnatural and Anti-National Tendencies of Education in Ireland." *Tribune*, Nov 10 1855 ED 7/1, Irish National Archives, Dublin.)

Chapter 11: Challenges to Moral Education

In 1865, the Select Committee on Africa issued a report to the House of Commons regarding their conclusions on the state of British Africa, specifically Britain's West African responsibilities. The Select Committee's report surveyed numerous colonial topics, the most interesting of which were the sections on education, specifically the British Government's educational investments in West Africa. Though state funding was minimal compared to the educational outlays at home, it was enough to warrant Parliamentary investigation, and the discussions surrounding the issue merged with larger discussions about Britain's colonial responsibilities, specifically the drawbacks of Britain's global expansion during the nineteenth century. On this, the Committee stated,

Your Committee think[s] it would have been better if the actual assumption of government had in all cases been at first avoided in countries which the English race can never colonise, and where British law is inapplicable to native customs...which might have been eradicated by the gradual influence of commerce without such interference.⁵⁵⁸

This statement, connected to conclusions made in Chapter 9, is a testament to growing British skepticism regarding the value of transferring Britishness to non-Britons. It also

558. House of Commons, *Report From the Select Committee on Africa (Western Coast); Together With the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix*; Ibid, xiv. This quote reflects a strain of political thought that was antithetical to British imperialism, an opinion central to the historiographic debates of imperial historians Ronald Robinson, John Gallagher, Anthony Hopkins, Bernard Porter, and others. For some, such as Porter, these arguments reflected a widespread British disinterest in empire, whereas Hopkins, Robinson, and Gallagher saw it as a indicative of a strain of economic liberalism that would, ultimately, play a sizable (and somewhat ironic) role in British expansionism than direct calls for imperial growth. For more on this, see: Ronald Robinson, and John Gallagher, *Africa and the Victorians*. P. J. Cain, and A. G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism, 1688-2000*. Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists*.

highlights contemporary anxiety about the capacity of British education to impart Britishness to regions not already inhabited by the 'English race.'

The problem with the skepticism of this model is two-fold: first, transferring Britishness, either through immigration or education, was a cornerstone of the nineteenth century concept of empire and, therefore, global power. Abandoning this concept would concede ideological failure on Britain's part, an unthinkable conclusion during a period of growing linkage between empire and nationalism. Second, the time, energy, and money already invested in empire and education would be forfeit, leaving Britain poorer, weaker, and with little to show for its efforts.⁵⁵⁹ Earlier commitments to education, empire, and management could not, therefore, feasibly be reversed before their goals had been accomplished. This conclusion, quixotically, encouraged reluctance towards the further expansion of existing obligations, while also highlighting the necessity of expansion for the completion of the original goals.⁵⁶⁰ These points explain why the official conclusion excerpted above is a blend of remorse and acceptance – both colonial officials and educationists alike had to accept that generations of commitment to imperial expansion and state-funded educational made wholesale reversal of policy impossible.

559. The Commission notes this quandary in the introduction of the report, stating: "The success of education of liberated Africans at Sierra Leone [by missionaries] seems questionable; and the suppression of barbarous customs, such as human sacrifice and custom of the dead, is everywhere described as ineffectual, that our withdrawal would instantly be followed by their revival." There's clearly a mixture of regret and reticence at work in this report, one that, as noted above, reflects the general mood about state-funded education (especially overseas state-funded education). (House of Commons, *Report From the Select Committee on Africa (Western Coast); Together With the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix*; Ibid, xii.)

560. Such anxieties also weighed heavily on Britain's ability to effectively respond to the colonial and political crises of the twentieth century. This work does not delve far into the twentieth century, so discussions of decolonization are minimal, however it is worth noting here (as will also be done in the final chapter of the work) that decolonization, nationalist agitation, and education went hand-in-hand. For more on this, see: *Education and Nation-Building in Africa*. See also: Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society*.

If imperial and educational policies could not be wholly overturned, yet public mood was not in favor of the continuation of policy in the same fashion as before, innovation and/or reorientation were the necessary alternatives. As discussed in previous chapters, educationists had been battling this type of situation since the early nineteenth century, particularly with regards to financial considerations. Education reform in the 1850-1860s, though ostensibly about outcome quality, as in the example outlined above, was actually focused on finding a way to maximize and recoup state investment. This framework of obligation versus economic accountability defined the limits (positive and negative) of what education reformers could hope to accomplish, thus shaping the three major innovations that drove state-funded education out of its mid-century crisis: 'education as training,' 'education through investment,' and 'education through results.'

The first of these – education as training – drew upon educational systems that challenged the persistence of Bell-Lancaster models of rote learning by encouraging a redirection of educational resources towards practical and industrial knowledge. The second – education through investment – sought to maximize the efficacy of education's limited funding via the promotion of 'grants in aid' to semi-private institutions, thus expanding the number of schools under inspection while limiting the long-term overhead of the government. The third – education through results – shifted the focus of educational outlays away from a pure capitation model towards a system in which schools received funding based on student-by-student performance criteria ('payment by results'). Combined, the interaction of these elements reoriented the educational model of Britain during a period of intense fiscal and political scrutiny.

The impact of domestic education reform on the empire (and vice-versa) is essential to understanding the long-term consequences of educational endeavors, and the innovations of the 1860s are no different in this regard. State-funded education after the Revised Code

of 1861 was now viewed as a 'permanent' part of domestic policy, but it was not imperially standardized, and the channels of reform, funding, and political ideals did not equally flow from one zone of British influence to another. As a result, the 1860s was not only the formative period during which a modern, British education system was formed, but also the period during which the greatest amount of political and practical divergence would develop between the educational models of Britain and its empire.

In his 1844 Report on Schools in the Southern District, Rev. John Allen recorded the following morally-charged anecdote about a young girl and her experience with education:

It may seem, at first sight, that the labour spent upon teaching thoroughly to children their mother tongue has purely an intellectual aim, but the writings of Professor F. D. Maurice and others set this study of language in a truer light...A girl who had profited by the intelligent instruction she there received, and who was in the habit of taking books home to read of an evening to her family, was the means thereby of withdrawing her elder brother from the public house, where previously he had been used to spend his evenings; he became so interest in the subjects of his sister's reading, that he would on no account spend any time needlessly away from the family circle. We mourn over the condition of those below us, but if we do not provide means for their good instruction, how much of the blame rests with ourselves! The vacuity of the mind gives a wonderful advantage to our great enemy, and proves a temptation to intemperance and sensuality; while indulgence in these vices increases miserably the evil—clogging mens' spirits, making them still more gross, listless, and barbarous.⁵⁶¹

The language and ideals of the first generation of educational reformers is clearly on display in this excerpt. Moral imperative is the driving force behind social change, a change which, in an ideal state, would be imparted from those 'above' to those 'below,' and would transform bad habits into positive, beneficial behaviors. The themes of this anecdote, though commonly called upon by educationists in the mid-nineteenth century, were not the typical outcomes of educational efforts during this time, a fact which serves as a reminder as to why

561. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1843-1844, 1845, ED, 17/7, 44.

education underwent such dramatic changes during the 1860s.⁵⁶² The transformative power of morals were simply too abstract, too long-term, and too qualitative to wholly inspire the financial and political support of Parliament, not to mention the complications caused by the interaction between moralism and religious preference.⁵⁶³

Though Allen's views of education were somewhat old-fashioned by the 1860s, fears of 'over-education' remained prevalent during this period, primarily because of the strong connection between academic or literary education and personal improvement. The fear of over-education was a primary catalyst behind the shift towards a rhetoric of 'training' (ver-

562. Rev. Allen was not alone in his moralizing approach to education. Seymour Tremenheere was a devout follower of the educational model of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, and believed that the educational models of ancient Athens and Rome, with their supposed emphases on education as a public and moral good, to be of preeminent value. Robert Lowe also called upon this same theme many times, as shown in this 1867 letter: "The lower classes ought to be educated to discharge the duties cast upon them. They should also be educated that they may appreciate and defer to a higher cultivation when they meet it, and their higher classes ought to be educated in a very different manner in order that they may exhibit to the lower classes, that higher education to which, if it were shown to them they would bow down and defer." (Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1841-1842, 1842, ED, 17/5, 212.) See also: David Wardle, *English Popular Education, 1780-1970*, 25.

563. Seymour Tremenheere, as noted earlier, wrote on this topic extensively. First, on the long-term purpose of education: "But in addition to the Branch of Teaching, the most important of all, which alone can hope to reclaim Man's Nature, and in addition to that subsidiary Instruction which may have Utility for its primary Object, why should not Resources be opened from which the labouring Man could derive a rational Enjoyment? If the Peasant of Scotland, after his Day's Toil, can "read the sacred Page," (Burns's Cotter's Saturday Night), he can also "tune his Heart" to the Songs, and recreate his Mind with the History and Literature, of his Country." (Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1841-1842, 1842, ED, 17/5, 213.) Second, on the importance of education for morals: "Is the superior general usefulness of the Saxon, or workman of superior education, accompanied by any distinction of superiority as to moral habits? – Decidedly so. The better educated workmen we find are distinguished by superior moral habits in every respect. In the first place, they are entirely sober; they are discreet in their enjoyments, which are a more rational and refined kind; they are more refined themselves, and they have a taste for much better society, which they approach respectfully, and consequently find much readier admittance to it; they cultivate music; they read; they enjoy the pleasures of scenery, and make parties for excursions into the country; they are economical, and their economy extends beyond their own purse to the stock of their master; they are consequently honest and trustworthy." (Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1840-1841, 1841, ED, 17/4, 108.)

sus teaching) in British schools.⁵⁶⁴ It was also responsible for the gradual separation of religious and state-funded educational systems, a change believed inevitable by some educationists, but abhorred by others.⁵⁶⁵ Even after it was eclipsed by technical training during this period, educationist fixation on morality persisted due to the lingering sociological concept that ignorance and vice went hand-in-hand.⁵⁶⁶

Though it is tempting to condemn educationists for these views on moralism, it is worthwhile to remember, according to the cultural surveys of educationists, that 'wizards' and 'witches' were still roaming Norfolk in the 1840-50s, and that 'freak shows' featuring fake monsters were common sights in most cities during this time. Such curiosities were condemned as backwards and immoral by educationists and, whether or not true, they were used in the popular press to make a mockery of educationist claims of significant social

564. One of the earliest official examples of the rhetoric of training comes from an 1845 report by Edward Carleton Tufnell and Seymour Tremenheere to the Committee of Council on Education: "Fears have often been expressed lest we should over-educate our children, and by doing so raise them out of their proper position to supplant the class above them, or, perhaps, rear a colony of upstarts, unfit alike for their own, or any other station. I am far from thinking that these feats would be altogether unfounded, if the education proposed to be given in this establishment were of a wholly intellectual character. When, however, it is understood that our chief aim is the formation of character; training, rather than mere teaching, these fears must vanish. Who ever heard of a child being too carefully trained?" (Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1841-1842, 1842, ED, 17/5, 406.)

565. Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, a founding father of the state-funded educational system in the 1830s, despised this shift, as he believed it to be anathema to the central purpose of education: "I cannot conscientiously concur with them in seeking to establish [schools]...separate from the superintendence of the great religious bodies of the country." (Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review, *Historical Sketch of Educational Movements*, 27.) Such a sentiment reflects the issue at stake during this period – educationists were now divided generationally between moralists and 'technicalists.' Both viewed state-funding as an essential function of social development in some capacity, but neither could agree on the methodology through which this progress should be attained.

566. As an aside, it is worth noting that this argument, shared by Liberals and religious educationists in the nineteenth century, lingers on to this day. Parallels between moral depravity and educational failure remain the dominant method by which state-funded education is criticized, and is the filter which public policy is sifted through in the public domain.

progress.⁵⁶⁷ These curiosities, when combined with Chartist agitation and the much larger continental crises of 1848-1851, were collectively seen as direct dangers to British security.⁵⁶⁸ Appeals to morality, when countered by anecdotes and fears like these, failed to inspire the kind of political support educationists needed to move beyond the early, experimental elements of education. As shown in the previous chapter, a shift in rhetoric was in order, one that could overcome the common criticisms of the moral-educationist model.

Anxieties and fears over the moral failings of British society were not unique to the British Isles, nor were they exclusively an issue of class. Sir Harry Johnston, writing in central Africa in 1897, had this to say about the intersection of class, race, and education:

567. The full excerpt from Tremenheere's report: "A Rudeness and Discourtesy of Manners, a Want of Respect towards Superiors, and a Spirit of Disobedience, were said to have increased in a marked Manner. That there should exist a due Quantity of Superstition and gross Credulity might naturally be expected. Here a Wizard terrifying his Neighbors by the Power of inflicting Injuries by his Charms; there supernatural Appearances; in another Neighborhood, a Quack curing all Diseases by his Knowledge of the Stars. In a considerable Town on the Coast, Crowds very recently flocked to see, and paid for seeing, a "Monster," composed of a large Fish's Tail and a Parchment Body, very obviously and very clumsily sewn together and stuffed, – an Exhibition still apparently as acceptable as it was to the easy Belief of earlier Times...The more ignorant the Population the more immoveable they are found to be, and the more difficult to obtain their Co-operation in any Plans designed for the Improvement of their Circumstances, whether relating to the Formation of Clubs or Benefit Societies, or the Encouragement of Garden Cultivation, or Allotments, or the transferring them to more productive Fields of Industry." (Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1841-1842, 1842, ED, 17/5, 206-7)

568. Rev. H.W. Bellairs, Report on Schools in Western District, Feb. 1845: "Yet this very question, whether the school be successful or not, or, to make it general, whether the rising generation be educated, or not, whether, in fact, they be Christians or heathens, is the questions which lies deeper than all other questions, and nearer the heart and life of our country. The outbreaks of 1842 in the manufacturing districts were a partial answer to this question, which some men heard and heeded; others also heard, but have forgotten. But the rest of the answer was given in the conduct, at that alarming time, of those who had been educated, or were then under education in our Church schools. It is a circumstance not to be proud of – but to be thankful for, that none of them took a part in the riotous proceedings of those lawless days." (Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1843-1844, 1845, ED, 17/7, 147.)

I have been increasingly struck with the rapidity with which such members of the white race as are not of the best class, can throw over the restraints of civilization and develop into savages of unbridled lust and abominable cruelty.⁵⁶⁹

Johnston's fear correlates with the anxieties over West African education discussed in Chapter 9. The concept of 'relapse into barbarism' is pitted against the 'positive force of civilization,' the latter being specifically dependent upon the exertions of 'gentlemanly Britons.'⁵⁷⁰ An anecdote recorded by Rev. Henry Moseley, Inspector of Schools in the Midland District in 1846, captures this gentlemanly concept as it applies to self-improvement:

'I prevailed,' said he [a Gentleman from Bilston], 'upon a workman to begin a deposit in the savings' bank. He came most unwillingly. His deposits were small, although I knew his gains to be great. I encouraged him by expressing satisfaction at the course he was taking. His deposits became greater; and at the end of five years he drew out the fund he had accumulated, amounting, I think, to 13£, bought a piece of land, and has built a house upon it. I think if I had not spoken to him, the whole amount would have been spent in feasting, or clubs, or contributions to the trades unions. That man's eyes are now open— his social position is raised — he sees and feels as we do, and will influence others to follow his example.'⁵⁷¹

The gentlemanly burden on display in this excerpt smacks of derision, but it is important to contextualize this sentiment within prevailing anxieties about the necessity of this process.

Sir John Malcom, writing in Dhaporee, India in 1829, saw concerns over Britain's 'moral burden' as essential not just to morality and moral education, but also British power in India:

569. Dorothy Hammond, and Alta Jablow, *The Africa That Never Was*, 68-81.

570. Ibid, 184. This discussion also appeared in India earlier in the century, and carried on well into the early twentieth century: "The question, then, seems to be, by what means we are likely to wean them from such degrading propensities, and to recal [sic] them to the practice of those moral virtues which their own institutions exacted...[education] will go into the cabin of every villager, and while it conducts him to attainments which, without general instruction, we can hardly expect to see introduced among the lower orders, as objects of study, it must infuse into their minds ideas that will gradually subdue their superstitions and prejudices, and contribute to their elevation in the scale of civilization." (Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, *Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company; and Also an Appendix and Index*, vol. I (London: House of Commons, 1832), 428.)

571. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1846, 1847, ED, 17/9, 98-99.

we are lost...[as] our existence in India depends upon the general impression which the great population of that country entertain of our toleration, justice, and desire for the prosperity of all, not a part, of the inhabitants of our great empire.

These arguments and issues, and the moral imperatives surrounding them, were further complicated by mid-century reports and official investigations into the state of education in Britain and its empire. As discussed in previous chapters, these reports revealed that institutionalized, morally-focused educational efforts were not imparting the knowledge necessary to *directly* improve the daily lives of their students. Fringe cases, such as Moseley's anecdote, or the example above of the young girl "rescuing her brother from the pub", were too infrequent to validate the argument that teaching 'self-education through morality' was sufficient justification for state schools.⁵⁷² Constant reassurances that parents and students would someday recognize the value of this type of education failed to enlist support among an upper-class population that was, ultimately, more afraid of over-education than no education at all.⁵⁷³

572. Inspector Tremenheere perfectly captured the essence of this situation in 1842, as seen in this excerpt from one of his reports to the Committee of Council on Education: "Particular Illustrations might be taken from almost every School which I inspected or visited with those interested in it. In one, Twenty Boys who had been Two Years at the School could not read Words of Four Letters correctly; they ran one Verse into the other, disregarding Stops, and without the smallest Approach to an Attempt to understand the Meaning...When examined in Scripture History, only One Boy could answer and One Question, and his Knowledge did not enable him to say who led the Children of Israel into the Promised Land. None of them knew the Meaning of the Words Bible, Genesis, Exodus, although the Clergyman, who was present and put the Questions to them, stated that they had often been told. They did not know what County joined their own, nor the Direction of London, nor in what Quarter the Sun was in the Middle of the Day, nor the Direction of East, West, North, and South. These were Boys just about to leave School, and who will be said to have "received their Education" at a School supported at some Expense by a large resident Landowner. In a Fourth, the Mistress confessed she "could not teach much Figures;" and in speaking, she made frequent Faults in Grammar...the Excuse [often] given was, that the Monitors did not remain long enough to be of any effectual Assistance. These Five Cases embody Characteristics that I found very common in the rest, with but few Exceptions..." (Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1841-1842, 1842, ED, 17/5, 209.)

573. An example of the former issue comes from the Irish Commissioners Report of 1858: "In the end, as public opinion becomes more enlightened, the instructive value of a good

The political issues and moral crises discussed above were the catalysts that pushed educationists to embrace a model of education focused on technical training in lieu of moralism. Theoretically, the transition towards training schools can be viewed as the inversion of the concepts that underpinned Bell and Lancaster systems (as well as those that were built from these systems). These formative systems, which encouraged *moral* training through *industrial* methods (i.e. mass-produced repetition and memorization), were 'flipped on their heads' by advocates of training schools, as these advocates saw utility in *industrial* training through *moral* methods. If the end goal - properly educated and respectable Britons - was the same for both methods, the means of achieving said goal were quite different.

An early example of this shift in mentality comes from Seymour Tremenheere, who, in 1840, wrote extensively on the necessity of improving experience- and training-based education at the maritime-oriented Greenwich Hospital School. Tremenheere was disappointed in the quality of practical education provided at the Greenwich school, especially that which related to maritime study.⁵⁷⁴ Tremenheere discusses these issues in the context of education generally, noting that practical failures like these were a primary reason why

education will be generally recognized; and parents will consent to make present sacrifices in order to procure for their children those blessings of intellectual improvement and moral elevation which a good education will insure, irrespective of any advantages of a merely temporal nature." (Ireland Commission of Endowed Schools, *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners*, 261.) An example of the second comes from the Committee of Council's 7th Report: "Of the erroneous impressions prevalent in this class [tenant farmers and local elites], I may record the notion that the cultivation of the intellect unfits for manual labour, and the fear that education may destroy the present relations between master and servant, and substitute for no better. That instead of a plodding, hard-working peasantry, who do their labour much as the animals they tend, we shall have an effeminate class of persons, averse to rough work, conceited, and insubordinate." (Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1843-1844, 1845, ED, 17/7, 102.)

574. Tremenheere condemned the Greenwich Hospital School for failing to teach students how to read a compass or copy a navigational chart, elements that he considered essential to a truly 'maritime' education. (Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1840-1841, 1841, ED, 17/4, 111-124.)

landowners and industrialists viewed education as a waste of money, and were, therefore, reluctant to invest in or encourage it.⁵⁷⁵

Tremenheere's condemnation of 'impractical education' paralleled liberal and industrial views emerging during the mid-nineteenth century, thus foreshadowing the reinvigoration of educational efforts through the lens of training and industrial schooling. Such values were not unique to British schools – as noted by J. M. Goldstrom in his work *The Social Content of Irish Education*, educationists in Ireland were making similar arguments regarding the necessity of practical education in state-funded schools around the same time. Two members of the British and Foreign Schools Society, Henry Dunn and John Thomas Crossely, advised Irish students that, in lieu of the fact that "regulating wages by law— has been attempted – [and] always fails," the only effective method through which a "laborer can improve his lot" was through "increased skill...knowledge of the best markets for labors...[and] habits of forethought, temperance, and economy."⁵⁷⁶ The advantages of this argument are manifold, though the two most substantial benefits are as follows. First, arguments in favor of industrial improvement aligned much more naturally with mid-nineteenth century Liberal values, particularly those of economic liberalism. Second, this argument was far more 'agnostic' than the argument from morals, as it avoided the issue of religious moralism by making 'thought, temperance, and economy' byproducts of skills-training, not moral knowledge. This second point was essential to the application of British educational methods throughout the empire – without institutionalized agnosticism, education would have either remained in the hands of missionaries, or it would have generated a debilitating amount of sectarian strife.⁵⁷⁷

575. Ibid, 209-210.

576. J.M. Goldstrom, *The Social Content of Irish Education, 1808-1870*, 125.

577. This is not to say that missionary control of education (especially in Africa) evaporated in the mid-century, or that sectarian violence related to education was non-existent, but rather to note that without the transition away from biblical moralism, such obstacles to

Conclusions regarding the net benefit of training-focused education were reached, at varying points in the mid-nineteenth century, by many luminaries of education. Kay Shuttleworth and Thomas Macaulay, for example, each gravitated towards industrial education during this time, citing the 'civilizing' and 'natural' advantages of such a model within the context of imperial education.⁵⁷⁸ Such sentiments were integrated into official policy as early as 1855, though, as noted above, moral education did not wholly disappear with training education's rise. In July 1855, *The Tablet*, an Irish newspaper, published the following excerpt from the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland on this topic:

A passion for the education of the working classes is one of the characteristics of the times we live in. National education will crowd the empire with 'handy men,' whose dexterity in practicing mechanic arts without apprenticeships will realise [sic] the *summum bonum* of Adam Smith, and render skilled labour as cheap as that of ditchers and hedgers.⁵⁷⁹

Though expressing the same hyperbolic optimism as earlier sources regarding moral education, the excerpt above offers a clear illustration of what 'industrial training' represented to mid-nineteenth century Irish educationists. Much as the Irish school system pioneered state-funding in 1831, so too was it the first system to explore the merits of the training model.⁵⁸⁰ Ireland's early shift towards training schools was a byproduct of religious

state-funded education would have wholly blocked educationists efforts. The issue of missionary influence in Africa will be discussed below.

578. John Willinsky, *Learning to Divide the World*, 100-102.

579. "Report of the Commissioners of National Education." *Tablet*, July 2 1855 . A month earlier, the *Daily Express* published a statement in direct contrast to this one: "It may be taken for granted that England will never sanction compulsory or State education, nor yet any system of education that proposes to abolish the use of the Holy Scriptures." Technical training and industrial education were on the rise, however this indicates that moral educationists were by no means prepared to abandon their cause. (*Daily Express*, June 6 1855 .)

580. This recommendation occurred in 1837, just six years after the Commission's founding and two years before the Committee of Council on Education was formed in England. The recommendation is excerpted as follows. [The national school system should] "...bring forward an intelligent class of farm labourers and servants." (Commissioners of Irish Education, *Fourth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, for the Year Ending 31st March, 1837* (London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1838), 4.)

The commission follows this recommendation with the following explanation, one that was

tension between Catholic clergy, Protestant educators (operating through societies like the Kildare Place Society), and the Irish population. The former was particularly hostile towards the National Schools program initiated by the Commission, going so far as to wholly withdraw all support from the system in the 1840s due to "abuses that have been proved in the allocation of the funds intrusted [sic] to that body."⁵⁸¹ Claims of fiscal abuse stemmed from allocation of state funds to groups like the Kildare Place Society, which were, among other abuses, accused of proselytizing to Catholic children, and for insisting on replacing Irish with English-language education.⁵⁸²

While the veracity of these claims and counter-claims are difficult to weigh due to the subjectivity of contemporary sources, the central issue – mixing morality with education – is the primary root of these conflicts. Moral educationists did not attempt to make a clear distinction between religious and secular morality, thus moral education in Ireland, Britain, and elsewhere typically retained an evangelical (and thus contentious) frame of ref-

later excerpted by the Committee of Council on Education in England in 1843: "We intend that our normal establishment (in Dublin), which we hope will be completed in January next, shall consist of two departments – one for elementary, the other for scientific instruction...Considering too, the very backward state of agriculture in Ireland, and that it forms the only source of employment for a vast portion of the labouring poor, we think it is particularly desirable that a better knowledge of it should be promoted; and that the schools under us should tend, as far as practicable, to bring forward an intelligent class of farm labourers and servants." (Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1842-1843, 1843, ED, 17/6, 134.) See also: Yolanda Fernández-Suárez, "An Essential Picture in a Sketch-Book of Ireland: The Last Hedge Schools," *Estudios Irlandeses* 1 (2006), 49.

581. The full excerpt is as follows: "We, the undersigned [Roman Catholic clergymen refusing to cooperate], feeling that the system of National Education, as at present constituted, can never enjoy the confidence of the Irish people, and, considering the abuses that have been proved in the allocation of the funds intrusted to that body, do hereby, in conference assembled, withdraw ourselves from any further connexion with the Board of Education, and we request the Secretary to signify to the Commissioners, that we shall entertain no further communication or connexion with them." (Commissioners of Irish Education, *Reports of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (From the Year 1834 to 1845, Inclusive)*, 142.)

582. The Archbishop of Tuam condemned the National Schools for this reason in the 1840s. For more on this, see: Yolanda Fernández-Suárez, "An Essential Picture in a Sketch-Book of Ireland.", 46-7.

erence.⁵⁸³ This, combined with the tenacity of the hedge-school system, the obstinance of the Catholic clergy, and limited funding, left the Commissioners with no choice but to pursue a different path of educational methodology altogether.⁵⁸⁴

Though the discourse in Ireland shifted towards technical training relatively early in the state system's lifespan, policies related to training were implemented on a limited scale prior to the 1860s. Funding woes, combined with the powerful influence of the Catholic clergy on state policy, crippled efforts to implement more effective training systems prior to this time.⁵⁸⁵ This set of circumstances allowed the Committee of Council in Britain to catch up to, and surpass, the Irish National System, thus creating a dynamic in which British school practices borrowed from Irish concepts, and Irish school practices borrowed from British institutions. The Irish National System referred to their borrowed values as 'English Education', giving the impression that the Irish system was borrowing wholesale from British.

This practice discounted the two-way nature of the policy-practice relationship between the systems highlighted above, however it worked in the Irish Commission's favor

583. The argument, as presented in the following work: Marilyn Cohen, "Drifting With Denominationalism": A Situated Examination of Irish National Schools in Nineteenth-Century Tullylish, County Down," *History of Education Quarterly* Vol. 40, Issue 1 (2000), 64. "Although the agenda of the National Board was to separate secular from religious instruction, throughout the nineteenth century a sharp cultural distinction between religious and secular knowledge was not made. Religious themes permeated texts and religious or "moral" instruction was to be part of the school's function, albeit at a separate time by specific clergy."

584. The number of hedge schools in Ireland was not eclipsed by the number of state-funded primary schools until 1861 – even then, hedge schools would continue to exist into the twentieth century. (James Hoban, "The Survival of the Hedge Schools – a Local Study," *Irish Educational Studies* 3, no. 2 (1983), 32.) See also: Yolanda Fernández-Suárez, "An Essential Picture in a Sketch-Book of Ireland," 52.

585. *The Evening Packet*, writing on education in Ireland, made the following statement on this topic on March 20th, 1855: "Compromises may be made with Dissent which cannot be made with Popery... The Bill on which we are commenting is purely English in its character." ("Education in Ireland and Wales." *Evening Packet*, March 20 1855 ED 7/1, Irish National Archives, Dublin.)

from a political standpoint, as it provided Irish and British educationists with a touchstone of mutual support.⁵⁸⁶ It was, however, not without drawbacks for Ireland.⁵⁸⁷ Detractors of state-funded education feared the gradual replacement of Irish with English, a fear that was reinforced by the National System's adherence to the term 'English Education.'⁵⁸⁸ Furthermore, 'English Education' was still firmly rooted in moralism and, according to Irish inspectors, was poorly suited to the practical needs of Irish students. For example, in 1858, Irish Commissioners made the following report:

A knowledge of the geography of Great Britain and Ireland, and of our principal colonies and dependencies, is obviously of primary importance, yet, we regret to say, that its study is greatly neglected in grammar schools. We found, in some instances, that pupils who possessed a tolerable knowledge of the geography of England were wholly unacquainted with that of Ireland.⁵⁸⁹

For some inspectors, education in Britain and Ireland was believed so poor that the only solution was preparation for emigration. Rev. M. Mitchell, writing for the Committee of Council of Education in 1849, stated the following on this topic:

The children of the agricultural labourer should be encouraged to look forward with somewhat of hope to this end [emigration]. They should be taught how to make the most of an emigrant's life. I regret to say that very few labourers are in any way decently fitted to proceed to another country, and to carry with them the blessings of an extensive civilization. Their minds are entirely untutored, they neither know the advantages of of emigration, nor where to go to, nor what to provide for the

586. This practice was not lost on Irish Commissioners of National Education. They addressed their use of the term 'English Education' in their 1858 report: "Although the phrase, an "English Education" is sometimes narrowed and made to mean little more than reading and writing, we think that such an interpretation is very far from conveying its real significance. This is obscured by the prevalence of ideas, derived from an antiquated standard of education, and still to a great extent predominant in our grammar schools. Our conception of the real import of this phrase will be shown by the observations which we beg to submit under each of the above heads." (Ireland Commission of Endowed Schools, *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners*, 199.)

587. An additional reason for this borrowing of English Educational practices comes from the *Evening Packet* in March, 1855: "Compromises may be made with Dissent which cannot be made with Popery... The Bill on which we are commenting is purely English in its character." ("Education in Ireland and Wales." *Evening Packet*, March 20 1855.)

588. Commissioners of Irish Education, *Annual Report of Irish National Education, 1854-1855*, 89-90.

589. Ireland Commission of Endowed Schools, *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners*, 206.

voyage, nor for the residence in the strange country; and for the most part they have so foolish a love of home that they prefer starving here on the scanty pittance of the Union to rousing themselves and their energies that they may secure competency, nay, comparative wealth elsewhere.⁵⁹⁰

These examples highlight that early interest in technical training did not - and could not - translate into widespread adoption, and that innovations in the educational models of Britain proper were a requisite step in the shift from moral to technical models at home as well as abroad.⁵⁹¹

By the 1850s, inspectors and officials in the Committee of Council on Education had begun to explore training schools in earnest. Accelerated interest in training schools stemmed from the political and practical implications of the Council's statistical and inspectorial data compiled over the previous decade. As noted above, underperforming schools and limited social improvement spurred educationists to reevaluate the goals of state-funded education, a decision that pushed them to look for inspiration and guidance in novel places. For some, like Tremenheere, this meant a philosophical reevaluation of the relationship between education and the working class:

When the Agriculture of the Country was carried on by small Capitalists, the Labour of the Farm was chiefly performed by Servants in Husbandry, Male and Female, living in the Farmer's House, usually taking their Meals at their Master's Table, and not much removed from him in Manners or Intelligence...When he married...he had

590. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1848-1850, 1850, ED, 17/11, 379-380.

591. In addition to political and religious problems, there were also social issues. According to Tremenheere, parents in Norwich were reluctant to send their children to school: "Considering the Number of Children in Norwich attending Day Schools, whose Parents were probably unable to make any Payment, however small, for such Purposes, the Smallness of the Numbers at the Industrial School must be taken as an Indication of Misapprehensions existing in the Minds of those for whose Benefit it was designed. Accordingly, I found an Impression very widely prevailing among such Persons, that in laying out so large a Sum of Money in building Schoolrooms Mr. Geary could have been actuated by no other Motive than that of making Money by the Labour of their Children. Unfortunately, the Ignorance, and the suspicions and hostile Feeling towards their Masters, and towards all above them, so prevalent among the Mass of the Population, makes it the more difficult to help them by any Plan, however well devised, for their good." (Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1841-1842, 1842, ED, 17/5, 207.)

the Resource of the Common, by the Aid of which he was able still further to encourage the Prospect of rising in Time above the Condition of the mere daily Labourer. He probably could not read or write, but those in the Grade next above him could not do much more. His Mind was not stimulated either by exciting Topics, or by such as tended to its Improvement...Labour was not superabundant; or, if at any Time he was out of Work, he had probably some little Stock upon the Common on which he could fall back as a temporary Support. The Common also afforded him a Field for cheerful Recreation. Manners and Morals were, perhaps, alike rude and low, but the Structure of Society was composed of easy Gradations; the Labourer possessed something of his own, had some Object of Attachment and Interest, and was not without the Hope of placing his Children in a better Condition than that in which he had himself toiled...The high Prices of [the Napoleonic] War brought with them the Consolidation of Farms and the Enclosure of Commons. For this Process Men were required who could command larger Capitals, a Race of Farmers differing in Manners and Habits from their Predecessors. The Farmhouse was no longer the Home of the Farm Labourer...⁵⁹²

Perhaps overly romanticized, Tremenheere's musings offer a reminder of how some educationists viewed the plight of the laboring classes in the mid-nineteenth century, specifically the plight of those living in agricultural areas (which were often lamented as being the most 'savage' and 'backwards' regions at this time). Tremenheere's musings should not, however, be discounted entirely, as they were often reflected in more practical, evidence-based reports from inspectors in Britain and Ireland. An example of this comes from a report on the Athy Workhouse Agricultural School in County Kildare:

I fully concur in the opinions of my fellow-agriculturists, regarding the agricultural instruction of pauper children, being fully sensible of the difficulties that are experienced ere success can be attained, and that it is only by entering on the duty with zeal and energy that satisfactory results can be hoped for. The obstacles that operate most seriously against this department are— first, the uneducated state in which the boys enter the workhouse, this ignorance being frequently united with vicious habits; second, the habitual fluctuations in the attendance of the class. When a boy enters, there is no guarantee for his continuance in the house, and, perhaps, he demands his discharge at the very moment when any symptoms of improvement become visible; then, by mingling again with his former companions, forgets what he learned, and returns again as lamentably ignorant as at first. It is evident that the parents of these children allow them to grow up in idle or mischievous pursuits, that little attention is paid to their education, and that when they enter here in this neglected state it is hard to expect any immediate improvement.⁵⁹³

592. Ibid, 203.

593. Commissioners of Irish Education, *Annual Report of Irish National Education, 1854-1855*,

Such a sentiment reflected poorly on state-funded schools, and further pressured educationists to look beyond the moral model of education towards a system that could, theoretically, improve the working classes, assuage the fears of the upper classes, and sidestep the difficult political impasse created by religious issues.⁵⁹⁴ In other words, religious intransigence and political frustrations forced educationists to silence, bypass, and/or neutralize detractors through the training model, a development with broad implications for state-funded education at home and in the empire.

In 1844, Kay-Shuttleworth threw the weight of the Committee of Council on Education's support behind a Factory Bill that, later in the same year, became the basis of the Factory Act. Kay-Shuttleworth's fervent support stemmed from his personal hope that factory reform would be a vehicle for education reform, as the two had shared the same political space since the passage of the New Poor Laws in the 1830s.⁵⁹⁵ Unfortunately for Kay-Shuttleworth, the final Factory Act was stripped of all education-related elements due to religious unrest over the issue, leaving many educationists to believe that state-funded education had been delivered a fatal blow. In reality, the separation of education from factory reform presented educationists with an opportunity for redefinition. The basis of this redefinition, as noted above, was found in Ireland via the early experiments in technical training. In 1854, the Annual Report of Irish National Education highlighted the virtues of experiments in technical training, particularly in the context of female education:

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594. For more on this, see: Stewart Jay Brown, *Providence and Empire*, 123.

595. Kay-Shuttleworth was also quite keen on comparing British to European education, generally in order to discount the validity of the former model: "It is marvellous, that a superstitious adherence to the bare letter of the English idea of self-government should have been preferred to an interference which would have rescued from fraud, mismanagement, waste or pernicious application, a large part of a revenue exceeding a million and a half in annual value, and of which probably three-fourths of a million might be made the prolific seed of an efficient system of education for the middle classes and poor." See: R.J.W. Sellec, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 207, 362.

It must be admitted that the large measure of good effected through the instrumentality of this employment in diffusing manual skill, with careful and orderly habits, among the female poor, and implanting in them a certain degree of self-reliance, is not unmixed with disadvantage to literary education. When, from feelings of compassion for their extreme poverty, a portion of the scholars are allowed to devote their whole time of attendance to work, and when others are not required to attend the classes for grammar, geography, etc., the embroidery, with its attraction of immediate gain, appears to usurp the first place in the thoughts of the pupils. That the very poor class would not attend at all, were such inducement absent, is most true; but it is also certain that the encroachment upon the intellectual business, the inattention to lessons at school, and want of preparation at home, are constantly spreading outside the destitute section of the attendance. This state of things, deeply regretted by the Nuns, seems to have arisen most naturally from the indigence so widely prevalent among the population of town and country.⁵⁹⁶

In this example, we see that students were actively choosing piece-work over literary education, and that such a scenario troubled educationists and teachers alike. Reservations aside, the 'piece-work model' of technical training became quite popular, so much so that many school reports during the 1850-60s spent more time discussing profits and product quality than literary education.⁵⁹⁷ At first glance, the profit-oriented nature of the Irish technical model appears avaricious compared to the 'higher purposes' of moral models, however inspectors were prepared to explain away this potential source of scrutiny:

These materials [for piece work], when furnished to the worker, are of the purest and most brilliant whiteness— such, too, must be the piece of work formed from them, though, perhaps, a fortnight would barely suffice for its completion. How this can be accomplished I need not describe, but it is accomplished; and the fact is one which I think I ought to record, for it shows that the reproach which has been so often cast upon the lower orders of the people of this country [Ireland], though it may attach to the squalor of their poverty, cannot with justice be applied to their natural habits – a conviction which forces itself still more strongly on our minds, when we consider that this very work, which won high compliments from the English merchants, was executed not alone in the neat and tidy National School-room, but in the wretched homes of the work-girls. At worst it shows that, whether want of cleanliness be an acquired or natural defect of character, it is nevertheless

596. Commissioners of Irish Education, *Annual Report of Irish National Education, 1854-1855*, 18.

597. In 1857 the Committee of Council on Education devised a system of technical schools and night programs for adults and cotton factory workers, a scheme that borrowed from Irish experiments with piece-work and industrial training. (R.J.W. Sellec, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 340.)

capable of being remedied by education and proper training. Industrial Schools, undoubtedly, furnish the strongest inducements and the best field for such training; they have also the advantage of larger numbers to operate upon. But most important of all, they exercise their influence through the best possible medium – the female sex. For home is the theater of woman's actions– the same home where youth receives its ideas, and manhood its influences– the home which gives (what the philosopher looked for) a point from which the world can be moved. The value of these institutions, therefore, is not to be estimated according to the number of pupils who directly partake of their advantages, but according to the number of homes which such pupils influence.⁵⁹⁸

This lengthy excerpt is strikingly similar to the story of the young girl and her family discussed above, with one clear distinction: unlike the earlier story, which was almost apocryphal in its idealism, this excerpt is rooted in the observations of educationists and inspectors involved in many different training schools. In the absence of specifics on the domestic behavior of females attending piece-work schools, however, the fact that domestic life and school (in this case the piece-work itself) were interacting *at all* was the barest sign of this system's improvement over the moral model.⁵⁹⁹ Thus, some educationists argued, even if the elementary education being received was not of the same literary caliber as that of the moral model, it was at least imparting some element of structured learning, with a potential for domestic effect, during a formative period in the student's life.⁶⁰⁰ Such claims fed into growing educationist support for the training model, paving the way for the model's prominence in domestic and imperial education reforms during the later part of the nineteenth century.

The concept that education should have a practical purpose beyond 'lifting up' the minds of youths brought with it a need to reevaluate much of what defined and drove state-

598. Commissioners of Irish Education, *Annual Report of Irish National Education, 1854-1855*, 25.

599. "The progress of the children in useful requirements suited to domestic purposes, and in industrial tendencies, brings home to the understanding and to the comfort of the parents, very pleasing and practical proofs of their diligence and success at school, and of the habits formed there..." (Ibid, 29-30.)

600. This point was mentioned by Thomas Wyse in 1835: "People seem to think that, because we do not educate, no education is going on...everything is education; everyone, in reference to the young mind, an educator." (Sir Thomas Wyse, *Speech of Thomas Wyse, Esq., M.p. In the House Commons on Tuesday, May 19, 1835* (London: Ridgway and Son, 1835), 8.)

funded education. Moral and technical problems, like those discussed above, were elements in a much larger reevaluation of the state's role in education, one that dovetailed with rising interest in British nationalism and imperialism. One of the earliest catalysts of state-funded education, as noted in prior chapters, was the desire to stem the potential effects of Jacobin unrest in the decades after the Napoleonic Wars. Fears of an unruly, Jacobin-led working class peaked during the Chartist era, after which nationalism, radicalism, and ruling class British values coexisted uneasily, especially during the late 1840s. Benjamin Disraeli, discussing the Revolutions of 1848 in Europe, felt that the "new-fangled sentimental principle of nationality" was fundamentally bad for Britain and Europe, whereas others believed that Britain's resistance to continental upheaval was a sign that British nationalism was a force for stabilization.⁶⁰¹

Though many feared that the Revolutions of 1848 might reach British shores, the crisis bypassed Britain without incident, leaving British nationalism in a more positive light than its continental counterparts.⁶⁰² If domestic nationalism appeared stable, however, emergent imperial nationalism and anti-British sentiments were on the horizon. The aftermath of the Great Famine, for example, encouraged Irish nationals to further scrutinize their relationship with Britain, a process that laid the ground work for both pro- and anti-Union movements.⁶⁰³ In India, frustrations with British administration culminated in the

601. Peter Mandler, *The English National Character: The History of an Idea From Edmund Burke to Tony Blair* (Yale University Press, 2007), 62.

602. *Ibid.*, 65.

603. *The Irish Times* recorded this sentiment on the issue of British-Irish relations in 1873: "Twenty-three years since Lord John Russell brought forward a Bill for the better government of Ireland by reducing her completely to the condition of a conquered province. On Monday night Earl Russell once more introduced his measure in the shape of a second edition, with corrections and additions. Setting out with an admission that the government of Ireland cannot be carried on in accordance with the rules and maxims which are observed in England or Scotland, he ends by proposing to vest the education of the youth of Ireland in the hands of an English Board, at the last resort, and deprive us of the Viceroyalty, which is at least a witness that this is not a province but a kingdom..." (*The Irish Times*, June 11 1873 ED 7/6, Irish National Archives, Dublin.)

Rebellion of 1857, an event that reshaped British attitudes towards India and played a formative role in Indian nationalist values.⁶⁰⁴ In both cases, the intersection of education and nationalism played an essential role, either as a catalyst for anti-British reaction within the empire, or as a potential solution for perceived 'defects' in the character of Irish and Indian populations.

Though British nationalism and state-funded education began to move in lock-step during the second half of the nineteenth-century, political obstructions and administrative setbacks slowed the process significantly, especially in the empire. Irish education reform during this period suffered from a lack of political capital that allowed for its relatively-progressive model to be superseded by education reforms at home. The two most significant political issues in Ireland were the disestablishment of the Anglican Church of Ireland in 1869, and the Land League of 1879. The former strengthened the political sway of Catholic organizations over state-funded education in Ireland, while the latter, led by Charles Parnell, picked up the banner left by Daniel O'Connell, a long-time opponent of state-funded education by virtue of its implications for the Irish language and Irish culture.⁶⁰⁵ W.E. Gladstone, key engineer of Anglo-Irish political compromises during this period, feared the long-term implications of these issues with regards to home rule and the potential dissolution of the union.⁶⁰⁶ As a result, education reform in Ireland was stymied by political and social problems, a reality that left national education policies in a partially-implemented state throughout the rest of the century.⁶⁰⁷

604. For more on this, see: Eric Stokes, *The Peasant Armed*.

605. As noted in earlier chapters, O'Connell's opposition to state-funded education placed him opposite Thomas Wyse, an early supporter of Irish state-funded education. This confrontation greatly damaged Wyse's popularity at home, eventually leading to his reassignment to Greece. (Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review, *Historical Sketch of Educational Movements*, 16.) See also: Donald Akenson, *The Irish Education Experiment*, 316.

606. For more on this, see: James Loughlin, *Gladstone, Home Rule, and the Ulster Question, 1882-1893* (Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press Intl., 1987).

607. This is not to say that the Powis Commission failed, but rather than its

The fate of the Ireland's partially-implemented education system is representative of the problems faced in most areas of state-funded education during the second half of the nineteenth century.⁶⁰⁸ Abstract models of improvement (i.e. the training model of schooling), though based on ideals that appealed to political leadership of this period, faced difficulty moving from policy to practice. The primary reason for this difficulty was the scarcity of funding combined with factional resistance to change. Reevaluations of state-funded education were critically dependent on finding ways to reorganize the distribution of state funding so as to recoup the maximum amount of value for the minimum amount of investment.

This concept, pioneered by the Bell-Lancaster monitorial model and reinvigorated with technical/industrial training schools, achieved its primary goal, but failed to solve the most difficult issue still plaguing state-funded schools generally: academic motivation.⁶⁰⁹

recommendations did not become *formal* elements of policy, as the Commission had hoped. This excerpt from a speech by a Mr. O'Reilly in the House of Commons from 1870 captures the issue quite well: "It was a Commission [Powis] eminently calculated to command public confidence, being admirably constituted for the purpose it had in hand. It was presided over by an English Nobleman (Earl Powis) eminent for ability, industry, and impartiality: four of its Members were peculiarly qualified to speak on educational subjects; Sir Robert Kane and Professor Sullivan who were Irish, and Mr. Cowie and Mr. Stokes who were English. It comprised seven Protestants—including one Bishop and two clergymen—and seven Catholics, all laymen; and its recommendations are the more entitled to respect, in that of 14 Members 11 signed the Report, the only dissentients being three of the Irish Members of the body; although some others dissented from individual recommendations. No formal action has been taken to give effect to their recommendations, but many of the most valuable of them have been carried out by the Commissioners of National Education themselves. These recommendations were embodied in 129 paragraphs, and of these 18 have been carried out..." (HC Deb, "Primary Education (Ireland) Commission, 1870 – Resolution", 1289-1292)

608. An excerpt from the 1858 Commissioners Report on Education summarizes these problems very clearly. The "[c]hief causes of abuse and inefficiency" were 'want of inspection conducted with authority, want of properly trained masters, smallness of endowments, incomplete and unsafe modes of accounts of funds and revenues, and want of clear definition of public announcement of free admission' (Ireland Commission of Endowed Schools, *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners*, 267.)

609. In 1860, Dr. Morrell, inspector of schools, issued the following lamentation on attendance at schools. "The short attendance of children at school, and the early age at which they leave, are confessedly two of the greatest evils we have to cope with in the

Since its inception, state-funded education had rewarded teachers for 'quality' of education, however definitions of quality varied greatly from school to school. The standard inspection model allowed teachers to selectively choose which students were and were not 'tested' by the inspector, thus generating a bias towards educating and showcasing students most likely to perform well.⁶¹⁰ Teachers were also allowed to employ student monitors to manage the education of lower-tier students, thus enabling the teachers to exclusively focus on preparing their higher-tier students for inspectoral examination.⁶¹¹ Such activities fostered a culture in which schools with larger local subscriptions performed better, and were therefore more likely to receive the positive inspections necessary for state-funded grants-in-aid.⁶¹²

As discussed in earlier chapters, the Newcastle Commission of 1859-1861 attempted to correct these problems by replacing the grants-in-aid model with 'payment by results,' however educational disparities and budgetary problems would remain in place for decades to come.⁶¹³ Furthermore, the Commission's recommended standardization of education

development of a good education throughout the country. As far as I can learn, the plans hitherto devised for retaining the scholars longer have not had much appreciable effect upon the whole mass..." (Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1860-1861. Archival Records, ED. 17/26. Education Department, 1861, 153) This excerpt was part of the argument in favor of capitation, as it was believed that teachers would promote proper attendance if it had a direct effect on their educational outlay from the state.

610. Inspector John Allen discussed this at length in his 1842 reports on education in England. See: Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1841-1842, 1842, ED, 17/5, 263.

611. Ibid, 276. Historian P.W. Musgrave argues in his work *Society and Education in England* that these policies created a state-funded educational model that widened class divisions by virtue of providing differing qualities of education based on funding outlay. For more on this, see: P. W. Musgrave, *Society and Education in England Since 1800*, 26.)

612. The phrase "unto him that hath shall be given" was used in the *Westminster and Quarterly Review* to describe the relationship between grants-in-aid and local subscriptions in 1851. (*Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review, Historical Sketch of Educational Movements*, 18.)

613. In a speech to Parliament in May 1867, John Hubbard argued this same point, noting that much of the blame of 'over-use' of funding for education came from the steady inflationary rise of spending on policing: "While, however, the State undertook to distribute amongst the various educational agencies the amount of money annually voted by Parliament, it, left to the religious managers of schools the whole control of those schools and the responsibility of including in the education they gave that element of religions

testing, though deemed beneficial to state-funded education in the long-term, exposed the gross academic and administrative failures of the prior education model. Standardization, ultimately, presented educationists with a difficult question: what should be done with students that did not, or could not, meet the standards set by the Committee of Council on Education? These concerns were clearly outlined by Kay-Shuttleworth in a letter to Earl Granville in July 1861:

Scholars enter the school who are in a state of brutish ignorance, unreclaimed barbarism and incapacity, requiring many months of skilful [sic] elementary training. Even if they enter young, they cannot fulfil [sic] the requirements of the Code [of 1861]. But it would be worse than useless to reduce the standard of acquirements in the Code towards this class of scholars, who enter at nine or even seven years of age without the knowledge of a letter. Such a change would be, to fix the standard on the capacities and knowledge of savages, and on a transient remediable state of the population. Yet the reclamation of these children from barbarism is a good, greater far than mere technical instruction in the three lowest elements. This reclamation is not to be tested by mere technical examination.⁶¹⁴

For Kay-Shuttleworth, education reform wasn't just about making political compromises, it was about making sacrifices. In the case of this excerpt, leaving behind the 'savages' for the

instruction stipulated for by the Legislature. If they looked through the papers presented to Parliament from time to time upon the subject of education, they would find an explanation of the falling off in the Government grants. In 1859 an attempt was made to economize the national expenditure. This was, of course, desirable; but he must express his regret that the subject of education had been selected for the purpose of exercising that economy. For, while we had been saving hundreds from school grants, we had, perhaps, been expending thousands in the repression of crime, and in the establishment of reformatories." (HC Deb, National Education - Question. May 3 1867, Vol. 186, 1997.)

614. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1861-1862, 1862, ED, 17/27, 78. An excerpt from the *Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review*, January, 1851: "We know that, unhappily, whether the funds be large or small, whether the schools be few or many, the "voluntary system" has not given the humblest rudiments of instruction to the majority of the people of this country. One-half of the whole adult population of the United Kingdom, including Ireland, cannot read or write. One-half the female adult population, and one-third the adult male population of England and Wales, cannot, according to the returns of the Registrar-General, sign their names to a marriage certificate. What is failure, if this be success?" (*Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review*, *Historical Sketch of Educational Movements*, 5.)

greater good of British education was a necessary step in solving Britain's deeper education problems.

The 'payment by results' model, much like the training model discussed above, was the proposed solution to a problem that was both economic and academic. Prior to this system's adoption, students were being selectively taught based on their perceived potential in order to maximize school funding.⁶¹⁵ This scenario validated reports on the poor quality of education earned by students that 'graduated' from school by virtue of their age, profession, or parental decision. Now, school funding was based on a series of classroom examinations that, while not as personal as the inspectorate exams of the 1839-1861 period, were believed a more comprehensive method of weighing a school's potential grant and the general progress of elementary education in Britain.⁶¹⁶ These broader exams were also a byproduct of necessity, as the number of schools under inspection had exceeded the capacity of inspectors:

...since the publication of the Minutes of 1846, the increase of examinations has rendered it absolutely necessary to consolidate them; it being found practically impossible in any other manner so to economize the requisite labour as to bring it within the powers of the very limited staff of officers at the Lordships' disposal.⁶¹⁷

615. Payment by results, unlike grants-in-aid, relied on capitation, in which funding was distributed to schools based on a metric of attendance versus performance. Capitation suffered from its own set of problems – specifically the reliability of school records for attendance – however its emphasis on balancing quality with quantity was believed to be a curative to the over-reliance on monitorial methods.

616. By the end of the century, some educationists would come to lament the decline of the individual exam, as seen in the following excerpt: "...The old (Results) system was given up (in England) because it was associated with a bad method of paying the grant, but as far its educational use was concerned, I have never ceased to regret that the individual examination has been so much discouraged, and I don't think that, in the long run, schools will be so well estimated by the mere general impression even of the most intelligent inspector as they were when, as part of his report, he recorded the results of individual examinations." (Commissioners of Irish Education, *The Sixty-Sixth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, Year 1899-1900* (Dublin: Alexander Thom and Co., 1900), 28.)

617. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1850-1851, 1851, ED, 17/13, 29.

As part of the comprehensive recommendations (and subsequent policy changes) of the Newcastle Commission, 'payment by results' was subject to much political and academic scrutiny. Some, like C.H. Bromby, a Jesuit missionary, believed,

[that] The new Code [Revised Code of 1861] would also upset the present system in regard to Elementary Schools...[it will] send forth a race of raw schoolmasters to the work, undisciplined, unsoftened, and unimpressed with the missionary character of their office, is to undo all those good results which, effected in so short a time, had exceeded the expectations of the most sanguine...it [the R.C.] proceeds from a deeply-rooted hostility to the present system.⁶¹⁸

Bromby's scorn for this 'new race of raw schoolmasters' was a response to the Newcastle Commission's call for more teachers, specifically teachers not affiliated with a religious denomination. The Newcastle Commission also called for a greater diversity of state-funded schools, which would, much like the teachers themselves, avoid a direct link to a religious society.

To conclude, the changes and reforms discussed above reflect the growing divisions between secular and religious state institutions in the mid-nineteenth century. Shifting away from dependence on moralism and missionaries provided opportunities for direct state investment in education that did not devolve into sectarian conflict. This shift in policy was compounded by the accelerating need for new schools, schoolmasters, and state-funded infrastructure, all of which culminated in the Newcastle Commission. Though the Newcastle Commission is historiographically condemned for its connection to the Revised Code of 1861, this chapter, and Chapter 10, have highlighted that the commission's legacy cannot be tied solely to the Revised Code of 1861. The widespread ignorance and infrastructural failure uncovered by the Newcastle Commission stressed the urgency of real education reform, and the Revised Code of 1861, though short-lived, was viewed as a potential solution. The Revised Code of 1861's replacement in 1870 was not, therefore, a condemnation of the ideas

618. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1861-1862, 1862, ED, 17/27, 17.

embodied by the Newcastle Commission. It was, instead, an admission by the state that Britain's education problems needed more comprehensive solutions. Ultimately, the legacy of the Newcastle Commission is more closely tied to the education reforms *after* 1861, both domestic and imperial, than to the Revised Code of 1861 itself. It is to these topics, especially in the imperial context, that the next chapter will turn.

Chapter 12: Complacency and Criticism in India and Ireland

In spite of their shared origins and policy-level commonalities, the trajectories of education in Ireland, India, and Britain inexorably diverged during the 1860s. The policies of 'education through investment,' 'education by results,' and 'education as training' influenced state-funded education in each region, however their actual implementation - or avoidance - changed based on local sociocultural and political issues. In Ireland, Catholic resistance and rising Irish political consciousness hindered educationists from capitalizing on early innovations in technical and national schooling. In Britain, franchise reform and resurgent liberalism led to a series of false-starts and contradictory policy initiatives, with reticence towards full nationalization acting as a powerful roadblock for future reform. In India, the tumultuous transition of power in 1857-1858 exposed the deep flaws in Company education policy, yet emergent fears of religious unrest slowed efforts to address this via policy reform. In all three regions, the intersection of politics and culture simultaneously catalyzed and hindered education reform, allowing some breakthroughs (i.e. industrial training schools) while preventing others (i.e. normal schools, secular curricula). Throughout this period, however, one constant remained: full retreat from state-funded education was not considered a viable option in any scenario. Even in West Africa, where state-funded education was still relatively minimal in the 1860s, official conclusions on the subject deemed past and current investments too dear to simply abandon. As such, and in spite of setbacks and roadblocks, it is clear that state-funded education moved beyond 'experiment' during the 1850-60s to become an official element not just of domestic state power, but also Britain's imperial presence overseas. The implications of this for Britain are manifold, especially dur-

ing Britain's imperial expansion into Africa and, critically, the emergence of popular nationalism in Britain, India, and Ireland during the 1870-1890s.

In Ireland, the political and cultural repercussions of the Irish Potato Famine had an effect on Anglo-Irish relations similar to the impact of the Indian Rebellion on Anglo-Indian relations (discussed below). A political, ideological, and demographic disaster, the Famine was believed by many Britons to be symptomatic of Ireland's 'uncivilized' nature, and thus the need for more effective agricultural and industrial education. As with India, however, localized school control, rising nationalism, and feelings of betrayal shaped the trajectory of Irish education, moving the system out of Britain's semi-colonialist authority into the hands of an emergent, self-educating, and disillusioned Irish populace. This narrative is comparable not just to the rise of a nationally-conscious, Western-educated Indian population, but also Britain's own political transformation as a result of the Reforms of 1867 and 1884. The central aspect of this transformation is the Powis Commission of 1870, a thorough investigation of Irish education comparable to the Newcastle Commission discussed in the previous chapter.⁶¹⁹ As with the Newcastle Commission for Britain, the Powis Commission revealed the deep flaws of state-funded education in Ireland, yet it also marked a turning point for education policy in general. This chapter will analyze the origins of the Powis Commission, its central recommendations, and the consequences of these recommendations for Ireland and British education policy generally. From here, this chapter will also analyze the evolution of education in India post-mutiny, noting the common prob-

619. The Powis Commission was named for the Earl of Powis, the leader of the Commission. The Introduction of the Powis Commission states this clearly, noting that "the experience of 1861" showed the Commission many things to avoid, and also policies that were worth pursuing. ("Sir Rowland Blennerhassett on Irish National Education." *The Freeman's Journal*, Nov 9 1892 ED 7/11, Irish National Archives, Dublin, 14-15) For more on this, see: John Coolahan, *Irish Education: Its History and Structure* (Newark: Institute of Public Administration, 1981), 160. See also: Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists*, 24.

lems – and potential solutions – shared by Irish and Indian education efforts during the mid-nineteenth century, and their respective relationship with education reforms currently underway in Britain.

Though the Irish national school system was founded on a non-denominational platform, innumerable reports and studies had shown that teachers, textbooks, parents, and communal cultures had collectively made secularism impossible. Simply put, there were not enough state-trained teachers or purely state-funded schools to facilitate the exclusion of parochial and/or missionary influence, thus, as was admitted in an 1837 Commission of the House of Lords:

...in cases where the master is a Protestant, or where he is a Roman Catholic, may not the master give an explanation of the extracts different from the tenets of the other persuasion? – Undoubtedly he may; and that might be urged as an objection to any system by which children of different communions are brought together...[if] the person who is teaching them is desirous to insinuate his own doctrine he will be sure to find an opportunity of doing so.⁶²⁰

620. Commissioners of Irish Education, *Royal Commission of Inquiry Into Primary Education (Ireland) (Powis Commission)*, vol. I (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1870), 43. Except from Mr. Blake's Testimony to the R.J.W. Sellec, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 86. As of 1849, the requirements for elevation to Pupil-Teacher status in Model Schools in Ireland were as follows:

- Read with ease and expression, knowledge of principles of elocution
- To write out with correct spelling and punctuation
- To write a good current hand
- To parse and analyse any passage selected from the National Lesson Books
- To know the general Geography of the great divisions of the Globe
- Readiness in mental calculations
- Prefixes and affixes, and the principles of Greek and Latin roots
- Examine and teach the rudiments of a Reading or Arithmetical lesson
- Know first four sets contained in Board's treatise on book-keeping
- First and Second books of Geometry
- Elementary rules of Algebra and Simple Equations
- Rules for measurement of plane surfaces
- Prepared for examination in spelling, geography, money, reasoning, lesson books, agriculture

These requirements were extensive, and thus offer a partial explanation as to why the number of new non-denominational teachers was not dramatically increasing during the 1830-40s. (Ibid, 203.)

Another example, coming three decades later, is from a Powis Commission return written by Rev. L. H. Robinson regarding the religious demographics of state schools:

Few, if any, of the National schools can be said to unite the children of different creeds in the same school, for most of the schools where Protestants are in attendance are of as sectarian a character and as exclusive as any schools [that] can be conceived. The general character of the National schools in the country of Armagh is that they are either exclusively Protestant or exclusively Roman Catholic. There may be one or two exceptions, but that is the general rule.⁶²¹

These examples reflect *the* fundamental problem of Britain's state-funded school policy, one that many educationists had railed against since state-funded education's emergence in the early-nineteenth century: funding and policy without requisite oversight allowed for too much decentralized discretion, thus leading to situations (such as those described above) where state intention fails to match local reality.

Policies regarding religious neutrality and co-religious intermingling seem to have failed, largely due to the inability of the state to enforce policy. These disparities – the consequence of minimal enforcement of policy – damaged the popularity and feasibility of the same policies. As noted in Chapters 10-11, this pushed the state towards an ideological impasse: should the state escalate oversight and funding to match policy, or should policy be relaxed in order to match current oversight and funding? This question, and the practicality of excluding religious preference (i.e. truly 'non-denominational' institutions) from state-funded schools in Ireland, informs and contextualizes the recommendations provided by the Powis Commission.

In addition to the issue of policy-enforcement, the Powis Commission also collected evidence and arguments centered on the disparities between Irish and non-Irish educational systems, especially other systems within the British Empire. The comparison of Irish educa-

621. Commissioners of Irish Education, *Powis Commission*, 73. It is worth noting that the same complaints were leveled against the Kildare Place Society.

tion to other British systems is of particular import, as many pieces of evidence produced by the Commission note that the common bond of 'Britishness' in all British systems makes such systems applicable in any 'British' context, even Ireland. A letter sent to Sir Robert Peel in 1845 by the Lord Primate of Ireland reflects the Commission's later acknowledgement of the widely-held belief that a 'double-standard' regarding religious influence on schools operated in Ireland and Britain:

In England it is not judged to be inconsistent with the advancement of education to give aid to two societies, conducted on different systems. I am unable to perceive why aid should be placed under greater restrictions in Ireland...Even in the colony of New South Wales, where the Irish system of national education has been introduced, the aid of Government is not limited to schools conducted on that plan.⁶²²

The Lord Primate accompanied this excerpt with a statement of mass disapproval of the National System from over 3,000 members of Ireland's Catholic elite. This statement of disapproval centered on the issue of *actual* versus *intended* religious neutrality in schools, a problem that many believed could be solved by shifting to Britain less restrictive model or, taking the issue upon themselves, the establishment of a non-governmental 'public' system of Catholic schools, such as those managed by the Church Education Society.⁶²³

Peel's response to the Lord Primate – particularly the implication that Ireland is arbitrarily being forced to adhere to their current system – offers a glimpse into how the state viewed the Irish school system. It is also, notably, a reminder of the lingering effects of

622. Ibid, 104. Religious issues like this were lampooned in Irish newspapers at the time, as shown in this example from *the Daily Express* on February 4th, 1856: "Mr. Whiteside: 'You may read the Koran in your schools if you like, but if you read the Word of God we will withdraw the grant.' So says the board, according to this influential speaker – a legislator – one who takes an especial interest in the subject..." ("National Education, to the Editor of the Daily Express." *Daily Express*, Feb 4 1856 ED 7/3, Irish National Archives, Dublin.)

623. The Church Education Society was the primary catalyst of this process, as it managed a large collection of non-national schools that offered an educational environment comparable to that of the pre-national Catholic schools of the early-nineteenth century. For more on this, see: Commissioners of Irish Education, *Powis Commission*, 105.

Irish rebellion and intransigence from the early nineteenth century. Peel contends that "the very peculiar circumstances of Ireland" dictate the nature of the current system, and that the schools managed by the Church Education Society cannot possibly replace the National System by virtue of their "religious scruples."⁶²⁴ Peel goes on to defend the Irish system against the Lord Primate's claims, stating,

...we must take our choice between the upholding and encouraging of a single system of instruction, founded on the principles of that which is now receiving the sanction of the Government, and the granting of public aid to at least three different societies in Ireland, by each of which secular instruction should be combined with religious instruction in the particular doctrine of each communion...In such a case all hope of mixed education must be extinguished, and a line of demarcation would be drawn between the children of different religious persuasions more marked than has hitherto existed at any period.⁶²⁵

The Powis Commission notes that "the claim resisted by Sir R. Peel [in 1845] has never been conceded," thus offering explanation as to why Irish Catholics continued to demand such a change well into the 1860-70s.⁶²⁶ The importance of this note should not be discounted, as its mention at the start of the Powis Commissions' report hints that the Commission's policy recommendation will not, ultimately, overturn the existing model. An excerpt from the Commission's proposed amendment to the Irish education system makes this perfectly clear:

32. That all schools open for instruction of the poor, under proper management, may receive aid from the National Board on condition:-

...(d.) Of being such as all children can frequent without interference with their religious belief.⁶²⁷

624. Ibid, 105.

625. Ibid, 105-6.

626. An example of this comes in January 1866, in which a collection of Bishops and Archbishops of Ireland made the following argument to the House of Commons: "In England the denominational principle pervades all primary education; none other would be tolerated. Seeing it is so good for England, why not apply it in Ireland too, only adapting it to the different circumstances of the country?" (Ibid, 186.)

627. Ibid, 324.

This excerpt was the last significant official statement of Ireland's religious policy regarding state-funded schools until the end of the union. Religious neutrality in schools, even if impractical in reality, was inexorably tied to the evolution of religious conflict and Irish nationalism in Ireland from the 1870s-on.

Ireland's policy of religious neutrality in schools placed the National System in a difficult position in the second half of the nineteenth century: religiously-neutral schools remained unpopular due to public perceptions that they were 'Godless,' and therefore immoral institutions, however denominational schools were unable to access state funding, thus limiting their efficacy (especially in rural regions) and their proper inclusion in state assessments of Irish educational development. Together, these issues made Irish national education a no-win scenario for Britain, as neither method of education resulted in the creation of a 'people prosperous and happy' with their position in the British Empire.⁶²⁸

The controversy regarding religious schools – centered on the discrepancy between British and Irish national systems – influenced not just the conclusions of the Powis Commission, but also Irish notions of 'Irishness' as distinct from Britishness. This is not to say that Irish nationalism was created by national education, but rather that education sharpened and guided increasing national interest in uniquely Irish culture. The defining element of this renaissance of Irish culture was the internal emphasis on difference, particularly those differences which distinguished Ireland from all other elements of the British Empire.

628. Full quote from Adam, with regards to the potential discontent caused by education: "Some caution and foresight are necessary, lest in our well intentioned zeal and anxious endeavours to render this great Empire wealthy, and its people prosperous and happy, we do not deluge the country with a large class of discontented men, dissatisfied with their position in society and in life, and disgusted with the world, themselves, and the Government that took them from what they were, to make them what they are. This would be to fill our bazars [sic] with socialism, and red republicanism instead of contentment and prosperity, and for the Government to incur a responsibility it is alarming even to think of." (William Adam, *Adam's Reports*, 23.) Though referencing British India, this quote, by Major Lees, Acting Director of Public Instruction in the 1860s, applies very clearly to the Irish case studied throughout this chapter.

Religious difference, for example, was a major point of self-identification in Irish society throughout the later-nineteenth century. Already revealed to have been a major element of Ireland's educational controversy, religious difference also greatly affected Catholic opinion of Ireland's union with Protestant Britain, and Protestant Britain's opinion of their Catholic brethren. Though reports such as the Powis Commission offer great insight into official language on this controversy, Irish newspapers and periodicals from the second half of the nineteenth century offer an important secondary perspective on the issue. This perspective is essential to understanding why education's national importance in Ireland accelerated throughout the nineteenth century, and, ultimately, why the complex relationship between Irish national education and Irish nationalism developed.

In September 1854, the *Daily Express*, a Protestant-aligned newspaper based out of Dublin, reprinted an August 1853 letter from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland – Lord Eglinton – to the Archbishop of Dublin. Though specifically directed towards the contemporary debate on the incorporation of a national (i.e. British) school system in Scotland, Lord Eglinton's letter referenced the following excerpt from the Irish Education Inquiry of 1827:

...the commissioners, one of whom was a Roman Catholic, had found books in the schools in Ireland which were of a most objectionable nature, and calculated to keep alive every feeling of religious hostility to Protestants, and political hatred to England. One of these, specially mentioned, is a[n inflammatory] sketch of Irish history, compiled by way of question and answer, for the use of schools...⁶²⁹

This quote was used by Lord Eglinton to encourage the expansion of mixed-denominational education in Ireland as a buffer against Catholic agitation, a sentiment that, as noted earlier in this chapter, did as much to divide the different religious backgrounds of Ireland as it did

629. "Copy of a Letter Addressed in August, 1863, By the Lord Lieutenant to the Archbishop of Dublin." *Daily Express*, July 28 1854 ED 7/1, Irish National Archives, Dublin. Lord Eglinton, serving for just one year in his capacity as Lord Lieutenant (1853-4), is generally remembered more for his romanticized attempt to revive chivalry via the Eglinton Tournament in 1839 than he is for his tenure in Ireland.

to unite them. If nothing else, Lord Eglinton's letter reflects the persistent Protestant fear that Ireland's obstinance is but a mask, under which 'true' Irish agitation and anti-Protestant sentiment continued to seethe.

Though the *Daily Express* leaned towards pro-Unionist views, the newspaper's attempt at wider appeal dampened its rhetoric somewhat, leaving the more vitriolic content to other newspapers. One such example is the *Morning Herald*, a British newspaper with strong anti-Catholic leanings. In October 1854, this newspaper published the following observation on education in Ireland:

Protestantism honors, and gives an undivided allegiance to its native Sovereign, following the plain command of Scripture. Popery gives, in fact, no allegiance to a heretical ruler, and carries over the duty it owes to its own prince to a foreign despot. Protestantism is distinguished by obedience to the law of the land, and the orderly demeanour of its professors; Popery, acting upon its well-known dogma— that the laws of heretical rulers may be evaded or opposed when opportunity serves, gives a forced and reluctant submission, and by the inculcation of such dangerous maxims among an ignorant peasantry covers the land with confusion and bloodshed...

That the teachers of two systems so utterly antagonistic would unite in a common course of instruction the event has proved to be utterly impossible.⁶³⁰

This sentiment is an echo of the common refrain regarding the incompatibility of Catholic and Protestant educational methods. It is also a reflection of the general public tendency to condemn, without offering a solution to, the Irish education problem. Such a public attitude towards heated issues is not uncommon, particularly in newspapers, however its capacity to de-legitimize an already-feeble experiment in education should not be discounted, especially since the *Morning Herald* was not alone in its condemnation:

The system of national education has rendered the peasantry so much more insolent and dangerous than they were before, that by this time Ireland would have been reconquered by a sanguinary civil war, had not that system carried with it one corrective – it taught all the more energetic and enterprising to emigrate from a country in which they could not live save as the serfs of priests...⁶³¹

630. *The Morning Herald*, Oct 4 1854.

631. "Saunders." *Standard*, Oct 28 1854 ED 7/1, Irish National Archives, Dublin.

This excerpt, from *The Standard* in 1854, is a reminder that the old, Napoleonic-era link between education and social rebellion was alive and well in the mid-nineteenth century. Here, though, the issue of rebellion does not stand alone: it is combined with the equally-worrisome problem of an Irish 'brain drain,' a fear made even more problematic due to Ireland's recent demographic collapse during the Famine.⁶³²

In 1855, concerns such as those highlighted above came to a head during a series of high-profile debates on education in the House of Commons. These debates were prompted by the introduction of an education bill by Sir John Pakington in the same year. This bill, though largely focused on education in Britain, strongly influenced the trajectory of Irish educational measures up to the Powis Commission. Furthermore, Pakington's bill, though resoundingly defeated in the House of Commons in short order, was predictive (in terms of content and theme) of the educational reforms that occurred in the 1870s.⁶³³ The reasons for Pakington's failure are numerous, though the limited popularity of his proposals and the bill's unfortunate political timing (the Crimean War – an economic and military disaster for Britain – ended the following year) were the two key factors. As seen in other public debates on education during this period, opponents of religious neutrality were the most vocal antagonists. An excerpt from the *Tablet*, a Catholic newspaper published in London in May, 1855 reveals an element of the hostility directed towards Pakington's measure:

632. This is not the first instance in which the issues of 'over-education' or 'wasted education' have been used against state-funded schooling. In previous chapters, concerns that education would remove individuals from their 'social station' were quite common, the root of which was the academic (instead of practical) nature of education that was common in many mid-century schools. For more on this, see: B.B. Misra, *The Indian Middle Classes*. See also: Mary Sturt, *The Education of the People*.

633. The failure of Pakington's bill, much like the historiographic rejection of the Powis Commission, often leads historians to ignore and/or paint it as a 'necessary hurdle' towards the inevitable educational changes of the 1870s. As noted in previous chapters, however, this is a dangerous narrative line to follow, as it assumes that nationalized education is the unavoidable outcome of Britain's educational experiment. HC Deb, Education (No. 2) Bill – Adjourned Debate (Second Night). June 11 1855, Vol. 138, 1805-1808.

Catholics, Jews, and heretics are expected to meet together in sublime harmony, and learn in common the duties they have to perform and the obligations they have all contracted...If all these are to be taught by one and the same person, the teaching must clash with their elementary notions of right and wrong, and, in that case, liberty of conscience is tampered with, or it must be so vague and general as to be, on the one part, erroneous, and on the other hand worthless. Indeed, worthlessness will be the highest praise which it can ever merit.⁶³⁴

In spite of the hostility displayed by the *Tablet* and other newspapers, not all newspapers and public debates treated Pakington's bill as indicative of flaws inherent to state-funded education. The *Dublin Evening Post*, a fairly popular daily newspaper, expressed optimism towards the future of national education in Ireland as well as in Britain:

It is one of the signs of the times that the obstacles that had so long stood in the way of the education of the masses are rapidly disappearing. We say this more particularly in reference to England, where ignorance and irreligion have unfortunately prevailed to an enormous extent, whilst Ireland—owing to the fortunate establishment of the National System in 1833—has been making steady progress, and her peasantry, whether they remain at home, or emigrate to other lands, are distinguished by their intelligence and a superior capacity for all industrious pursuits.⁶³⁵

Though the *Dublin Evening Post*'s claims do not match the reality described in prior chapters, it was not alone in its optimism. *The Nation*, a newspaper founded on professed 'nationalistic' grounds, praised the merits of national education in Ireland, stating,

In every country in the world the education of the people is now considered a matter of paramount importance. In many countries the State not only encourages, but supports and even enforces a system of public education for the young. In Ireland the National Schools have, from their first establishment, been regarded as a blessing, and our rulers must admit that if the inhuman legislation of other times, the aim of which was to degrade and to barbarize our people, has often been held up to execration and pleaded [sic] in our behalf, the merits of the present system have never been denied.⁶³⁶

634. "The Education Scheme of Mr. Pakington." *Tablet*, May 12 1855 ED 7/1, Irish National Archives, Dublin.

635. "Public Education, the Established Church in Ireland." *Dublin Evening Post*, August 25 1855 ED 7/1, Irish National Archives, Dublin.

636. *The Nation*, Oct 6 1855 ED 7/6, Irish National Archives, Dublin.

The points stressed in these two excerpts serve as a reminder that national education – in spite of its detractors and failures – was believed by many to have already had a positive impact on national literacy and school attendance rates, even though the scheme was just a few decades old.⁶³⁷

Newspapers and periodicals are essential to the study of political issues such as state-funded education, however they cannot be considered wholly representative of the public's views. The political, religious, and cultural relationships between publishers and their constituents greatly affected the content of these sources, leaving the actual 'opinions' of the population obscured or mis-represented. Due to limited resources and illiteracy, few sources written by the beneficiaries of state-funded education exist, and that those that do were generally recorded by official inspectors. As such, the veracity of individual sources must be accounted for by considering the themes and general trends in such sources, rather than the individual experiences within them, as these experiences may have been altered by the individuals recording them.

These caveats aside, one of the more common elements of reports and sources from the mid-nineteenth century is, interestingly enough, indifference to state-funded education. This theme was referenced by Tremenheere in the document excerpted in Chapter 10. Tremenheere specifically blamed "the exigencies of parents, or their indifference," for the failure of state-funded education, a statement echoed by many school inspectors and educationists.⁶³⁸ This apathy confounded most inspectors, as they could not understand why their

637. As noted earlier, statistical models from the mid-century lack the demographic veracity that would emerge in the 20th century. That said, the models are useful for looking at year-on changes as well as relative modifications.

638. Education Commission, *Copy of Paper By Mr. Tremenheere, Addressed to the Secretary of the Education Commission*, 2. Rev. John Allen, also an inspector, made a similar statement when discussing the apathy of absentee landlords in Dore and Castleton in 1841 (Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1841-1842, 1842, ED, 17/5, 261-2), as did Rev. J. Le Brun with regards to the 'free coloured population' of Jamaica in 1836 ('Negro' Education - Letter Collection, 1837, CO, 318/131, 32).

educational ideals were not being positively or enthusiastically received by the British public.⁶³⁹

The disconnect between educationists and the general public was born of three false assumptions: first, that working class people had as much to gain from time spent on academic education as educationists believed. This assumption was built upon official perceptions (based on Britishness) of what the working classes wanted or needed to provide for themselves. This problem was essentially universal during this time, as Britishness's definition of 'success' was not filtered based on nationality or culture. For example, in 1864, the Clarendon Report on Education in Britain made the following conclusion regarding the ultimate benefit of education:

The old roughness of manners [in the working class] has in a great measure disappeared, and with it the petty tyranny and thoughtless cruelty which were formerly too common, and which used indeed to be thought inseparable from the life of a public school...⁶⁴⁰

The phrase 'roughness of manners' was widely used within the sphere of education: from concerns over 'respect to one's betters' to the capacity for self-education, 'manners' were deemed an essential first step towards the general improvement of the working class.⁶⁴¹ The

639. Historian Leslie Williams, in 'Visualizing Victorian Schooling: Art as Document and Propaganda,' noted that school-age children (especially rural ones) were often depicted as apathetic or unable to learn as a means of typecasting them as 'inferior specimens of Englishmen.' (*Culture and Education in Victorian England*, 68.) This can be contrasted with a quote from *Nightmare Abbey*, a mid-century novel by Thomas Peacock: "How can we be cheerful when we are surrounded by a reading public, that is growing too wise for its betters?" The working class is condemned in both instances, one for being too ignorant to learn, the other for being too bold due to learning. For more on this, see: *Ibid*.

640. J. Stuart Maclure, *Educational Documents*, 87.

641. William Adams, inspector of Indian education, made a similar statement, noting the importance of the process of 'self-improvement' in the grand scheme of education across all classes: "Improvement begins with the individual and extends to the mass, and the individuals who give the stimulus to the mass are doubtless generally found in the upper, that is the thinking, class of society which especially in this country is not composed exclusively nor even principally of those who are the highest in rank or who possess the greatest wealth. The truth of the maxim does not require that the measures adopted should have reference first to large and then to small localities in progressive descent. On the

value educationists placed on 'manners' was not reciprocated by many in the working class (especially rural Britons), as the most common educationist complaint against the working class was its tendency to remove its children from school before the schools were able to effect 'real change.'⁶⁴²

The second assumption of educationists was that concerns regarding religious affiliation and curriculum were only important to those that managed and operated the schools themselves. Whereas educationists often attempted (as shown above) to discount religious issues as simply 'clerical concerns,' it is clear from inspectorate reports and newspapers from the mid-nineteenth century that religion was a major concern of the working classes, particularly in areas with substantial denominational minorities. One of the primary directives of Irish education officials was, as noted above, that "...no child shall be compelled to receive any religious instruction of which its parents disapprove within any school in its connection."⁶⁴³ The latter element – parental approval – existed as a result public pressure, as noted by Rev. Cook in his 1845 report on Norfolk:

contrary the efficiency of every successive higher grade of institution cannot be secured except by drawing instructed pupils from the next lower grade which consequently by the necessity of the case demands prior attention." (Marquess of Hastings, *Summary of the Administration of the Indian Government From October 1813 to January 1823* (London: William Earle, 1824), 139.)

642. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1843-1844, 1845, ED, 17/7, 102. Rev. Cook made a similar argument in the same volume of inspectorate reports: "Although I am not able to support the assertion by statistical tables, I am convinced that the proportion of boys in the metropolitan schools who have reached the age of 11 years is singularly small; and I think it is probably that the proportion has been for some years decreasing. It is said the work of boys is much cheaper than that of adults, and equally valuable in certain employments. They are more docile— more easily moulded to the will of a master; and, on the other hand, their parents avail themselves at the first opportunity of throwing off the burden of their maintenance. Take the case of a youth educated on the best imaginable system to the age of 11, and then turn him adrift, send him unassisted, without guidance or government, into the society of the ignorant, the sensual, the irreligious and the vicious, and what, in all human probability, will be the result?" (Ibid, 68.)

643. Rev. Henry Constable, *The Irish Church and National Education* (Dublin: Hodges, Smith, and Co., 1860), 5.

Some parents not only found their objections to the Church Catechism on conscientious scruples, but will hardly permit their children to learn, or to use the form of prayer, ordained by our Saviour...

I am far, however, from holding a low comparative estimate of the condition, feeling and capacity of the labouring class in this county. The peasantry [in Norfolk] are, upon the whole, reported to be a hardy, industrious and intelligent race.⁶⁴⁴

The third and final assumption of educationists was that the current model of national education was benefitting the population in an appreciable manner. Reality did not match this assumption: mass-illiteracy still plagued Ireland in the 1860-1870s, and national schools seemed barely capable of increasing literacy faster than demographic growth. Statistical evidence collected by Irish inspectors in 1875 corroborates this: In 1867, less than 30% of pupils on roll were examined, and, of those examined, only 18.6% passed in reading, 7.8% in writing, and 6.2% in writing from dictation.⁶⁴⁵ Comparative statistics for Britain were slightly better, but were still well below average: 42% passed in reading, 40% in writing, and 36% in arithmetic (the latter was not calculated in Ireland).⁶⁴⁶ These statistics were used as a reminder of the poor state of generations of Irish who never had access to schooling, and, unsurprisingly, served as powerful argument in favor of a more robust system of examination and training for teachers and students.

These three false assumptions were due to official detachment from the actual needs of the working classes. Issues of religious protest, absenteeism, and apathy were generally considered defects in working class character that would be corrected, via education, in time. By the 1850s, however, educationist sympathy for the working classes was beginning to change, largely in response to growing concerns that state-funded education was not per-

644. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1843-1844, 1845, ED, 17/7, 77.

645. HC Deb, "Primary Education (Ireland) Commission, 1870 - Resolution", 1292-1294.

646. Ibid, 1320-1321.

forming up to promised standards. Educationists were looking to explain the failures of their system by diagnosing working class behaviors and opinions towards education.

Since inspectors had the most experience engaging with the working class, it is unsurprising that such diagnoses would originate in their reports. One such report, by Rev. Mitchell in 1850, made the following recommendation:

The knowledge requisite to form a town boy, an agricultural labourer, a factory hand, or a sailor, is widely different in each class. And perhaps it may be the best means of removing the indifference to education prevalent amongst the working classes, [is] to put into their children's hands subjects which the parents feel in after life will most conduce to their children's profit; th[os]e which, in fact, they feel profitable to themselves.⁶⁴⁷

This statement represents a significant departure from early educationist perspectives on the working classes, and reflects the potency of working class education with regards to the trajectory of state-funded education.⁶⁴⁸ Whereas educationists like Kay-Shuttleworth and

647. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1848-1850, 1850, ED, 17/II, 380. Rev. Mitchell made another, equally bold statement just prior to this one: "The following extract from the Times will be recognised unhappily as no fancy portrait:

"But when our economists urge upon our young labourers the duty of remaining single under the circumstances of the present day, they cannot possibly have considered what those circumstances are. Wandering from master to master, lodging six in a bed-room, over a beershop, or for quiet's sake over a stable, having no place to spend his evening, summer or winter, but the 'tap,' or the smithy, or wherever the rude spirits of the village resort, the village youth dwells in utter darkness, amid every possible desolation of heart and morality. To such a marriage, be it ever so imprudent, is a natural and honorable ambition. He marries for a home, and a station; a locality, and an existence in the social scale. What is there in his circumstances, or in the institutions of his country, to draw him the other way? But little indeed. He is ignorant of the world. He knows nothing a day's journey from his village. America to him is only a name. Some biblical antiquities, and a little arithmetic, the geography of Palestine, and compound division, constitute the chief part of his intellectual acquirements. We describe him as he is, and as his country has made him. Whose fault is it that he takes root and breeds paupers in the soil that gave him birth? Not exclusively his own." (Ibid, 379.)

648. The opinions of 'petty landowners' and lower-middle-class Britons were also becoming more vocal during this time: Of the erroneous impressions prevalent in this class [tenant farmers and local elites], I may record the notion that the cultivation of the intellect unfits for manual labour, and the fear that education may destroy the present relations between master and servant, and substitute for no better. That instead of a plodding, hard-working peasantry, who do their labour much as the animals they tend, we shall have an effeminate class of persons, averse to rough work, conceited, and insubordinate." (Minutes for the

Macaulay saw state-funded education as something 'to be given to' or 'filtered down' to the working classes, here it becomes clear that education was as much an economic issue for the working classes as it was in Parliament.

Historiographically, this is an unsurprising conclusion, as historians such as E.P. Thompson have already shown just how important social agency was to the self-development of the working classes in the nineteenth century. For contemporaries of Kay-Shuttleworth and Rev. Mitchell, however, the consideration of working class opinion within public policy was a radical departure from typical methods of social legislation. In spite of this development, educationist policy did not immediately depart from its previous trajectory and, even when it did change, it was not always towards the benefit of the working classes. Regarding the former, Kay-Shuttleworth's rhetoric of upper-class obligation and parental responsibility persisted into the twentieth century. For the latter, compulsory education was seen, as early as the 1830s, to be the ultimate solution to chronic absenteeism and parental apathy, one that could bypass the scruples and concerns of the working class.⁶⁴⁹

Aside from the crisis of the Indian Rebellion of 1857, political issues concerning India rarely reached the same levels of concern as those of Ireland. As a result, the greatest problems for education in India were chronic mismanagement and under-funding as a result

Committee of Council on Education, 1843-1844, 1845, ED, 17/7, 102.)

649. In spite of the 'permanence' of compulsory education as a conclusion, enforcement continued to be an issue into the twentieth century. An example of this comes from a report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland from 1899-1900: "Our laws seem to me inconsistent; they prohibit, under heavy penalties, the employment of children at easy work in factories, but parents may work their own children in the fields "from early morn to dewy eve..." An effort was recently made by the teachers to induce the district councils to put the Compulsory Act in operation, but, though favourably considered at first by the councillors, it met with so much opposition from the people that nothing decisive has, I understand, been done." (Commissioners of Irish Education, *The Sixty-Sixth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland*, 23.)

of Parliamentary apathy. Macaulay, lamenting the neglect of India in Parliament in 1833, had this to say on the issue:

The House, it is plain, has not the necessary time to settle these matters [on India]; nor has it the necessary knowledge; nor has it the motives to acquire that knowledge. The late change in its constitution has made it, I believe, a much more faithful representative of the English people. But it is far as ever from being a representative of the Indian people. A broken head in Cold Bath Fields produces a greater sensation among us than three pitched battles in India. A few weeks ago we had to decide on a claim brought by an individual against the revenues of India. If it had been an English question the walls would scarcely held the Members who would have flocked to the division. It was an Indian question; and we could scarcely, by dint of supplication, make a House.⁶⁵⁰

As noted in prior chapters, Macaulay would soon (in 1835) play a critical role in shaping state-funded education in India, thus his concern is a reflection not just of education's slow progress in India, but also personal disappointment in the apathy of others. In this way, Macaulay's impact on state-funded education was comparable to Kay-Shuttleworth's: each promoted optimistic, almost utopian views on education's potential, and each found themselves, and their ideas, without the financial and administrative support needed to bring them to fruition.

This conclusion should not be taken to mean that Macaulay was uninfluential. On the contrary, Macaulay's legacy effectively split educationists into two competing camps for the duration of the British Raj. Similar to the early 'Anglicist versus Orientalist' division, these camps were not necessarily divided by race, class, or religion, thus debates were rarely distilled down to a 'British versus Indian' dichotomy. Furthermore, the nature of educational content was less important, or at least less frequently discussed, than the means by which it was transmitted to students. As such, Macaulay's promotion of the English language and 'top-down' (i.e. university-based) education shaped the means by which educationist policy

650. Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Speeches of Lord Macaulay*, 137.

could be pursued within India and/or shared with educationist developments elsewhere in the British Empire.⁶⁵¹

Indian education post-Macaulay hinged on the issue of transmission, specifically the application of the British East India Company's limited education funding to universities instead of vernacular schools. From a theoretical standpoint, this was a matter of long-term planning: supporters of university funding firmly believed in the potential of 'downward filtration.' In this model, British education (especially the English language) would be transmitted to the best, brightest, and highest caste students in India, each of which would then 'translate' their acquired knowledge for the caste, class, religion, or grade of student beneath them.⁶⁵² This process would, with minimal state intervention, educate all Indian students based on the requirements of their station in life, and avoid interfering in Indian culture directly. Though the 'downward filtration' method was coined in India, the end goal of 'education based on one's station' mirrored the ideals of all of Britain's education models. Furthermore, the desire for limited state-intervention paralleled the liberal values at home in Britain, especially with regards to religious neutrality.⁶⁵³ These elements, combined with the fact that limited intervention was the path of least resistance (and cost) for the British East

651. Syed Nurullah, and J.P. Naik, *A Student's History of Education in India*, 63, 85. It is worth noting that historians like S.N. Mukerji believe that Macaulay did not create the filtration theory, but rather inherited it from existing education policy in the British East India Company. For more on this, see: S.N. Mukerji, *History of Education in India*, 79.

652. From the Indian Education Commission Report of 1883: "From Bengal by its example, and from England by direct instructions, pressure was brought to bear on Madras in favour of extending higher education. The theory of "downward filtration" obtained complete ascendancy; and even in 1841, the President of the University Board, in an address to Lord Elphinstone, gave expression to the popular view when he remarked that "the light must touch the mountain tops before it could pierce to the levels and depths." (Report of the Indian Education Commission, Appointed By the Resolution of the Government of India Dated 3rd February, 1883. Report, India Office Records, 1883, 88.)

653. For more on mid-century British liberalism, see: Theodore K. Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation*.

India Company, made the university-centric model the *de facto* policy of the company until the upheavals of the 1850s.

Opposition to downward filtration originated within the 'Orientalist' camp, as they contested the primacy of the English language as the best method of expanding education efforts in India. By the late 1830s and 1840s, this opposition expanded to include distaste for the influence of Christian missionaries in India, frustration with the state's neglect of primary education, as well as concern over the transmission of British concepts regarding education to the Indian subcontinent. A select number of officials, such as Sir Thomas Munro and Rev. William Adam, became vocal detractors of the model, arguing that the Company's decision to predominantly fund universities was responsible for the atrophy of indigenous education across India.⁶⁵⁴

The situation described by Adam and Munro was comparable to that of hedge schools in Ireland around the same time. In both situations, indigenous systems languished in the absence of state (or Company) funding, though the system of national schools in Ireland provided an alternative form of elementary education largely unavailable in India.⁶⁵⁵ The dearth of alternative educational facilities, and Company reluctance to provide them, was the critical issue that plagued educationists during the tenure of the Company, an issue that remained problematic during and after the establishment of the Raj. An example of this scenario appeared in the 1832 Minutes of Evidence of the House of Commons, in which Montstuart Elphinstone – President of Bombay – and a Mr. Prendergast discussed the merits and deficits of funding schools in Panwell (Panvel), in the "Northern Concan"

654. Nurullah's argument on this point approaches polemic, as it was his opinion that such neglect was tantamount to malice. (Syed Nurullah, and J.P. Naik, *A Student's History of Education in India*, 28, 63.)

655. The British East India Company did support a select number of primary schools, however it was quite selective, and the amount of funding was extremely limited, even when compared to funding outlays in Britain and Ireland in the 1820-30s.

(Konkan) of Bengal.⁶⁵⁶ In 1827, two schools were brought under control of the School and School-Book Society, a Company-supported organization comparable to the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK) in England. Elphinstone supported the notion of financial support from the Company, however Prendergast – citing facts that he believes "need hardly [be] mentioned" – rejects the proposal, stating:

[it is] precisely the spot where such institutions are least necessary, for on this island [Panwell] there is already abundant facility for young natives acquiring the English language...

I have no doubt if this application is complied with, further aid from Government will ere long be applied for; and if the system is, as contemplated, extended to our other towns and territories, it will grow into an intolerable burthen (sic) on the Honourable Company's finances.

...every members of the Board knows...that there is hardly a village, great or small, throughout our territories, in which there is not at least one school, and in larger villages more; many in every town, and in large cities in every division; where young natives are taught...upon a system so economical...and at the same time so simple and effectual, that there is hardly a cultivator or petty dealer who is not [more] competent...[than] the lower orders in our own country...[and] the more splendid dealers and bankers keep their books with a degree of ease, conciseness, and clearness I rather think fully equal to those of any British merchant.

...therefore [I] consider the institution of the two schools at Panwell unnecessary.⁶⁵⁷

Prendergast's conclusion, that native schools were 'good enough' to disqualify them from Company support, was commonly held during this period. Company officials could point to Rev. William Adam's estimated 100,000 schools in Bengal as a clear sign that there was neither room nor need for Company intervention on a local level.⁶⁵⁸ This set of conclusions absolved the Company from fiscal and administrative responsibility for primary education, thus enabling downward filtration to persist unhindered.⁶⁵⁹

656. House of Commons, *Appendix to the Report From the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East-India Company* (London: J.L. Cox and Son, 1832), 300-302.

657. *Ibid.*, 301-302.

658. William Adam, *Adam's Reports*, 10-11.

659. William Adam, *First Report on the State of Education in Bengal* (Calcutta: G.H. Huttman, 1835), 19. Adam has been criticized heavily for this over-estimation. This argument chiefly centres on the interpretation of the word 'school' in reports by Adam and others. If the expression is used in its modern sense, viz. an institution of a more or less permanent nature conducted by a person who teaches a certain number of the children of the locality in return

As in Britain, unofficial educationist ideas developed alongside official education models and policies of India, particularly in regions with significant British interest, such as Bengal. These movements were not necessarily isolated to India, even if the problems or solutions proposed by them were India-centric.⁶⁶⁰ As such, the formative period of Indian education shared many similarities with that of Britain and Ireland, particularly the links between religion, liberalism, and morality. For example, Adam, a noted supporter of vernacular and primary education, was eager – much like Kay-Shuttleworth – to link criminality to immorality and ignorance:

...a great deal more must be done in order to eradicate the seeds of those crimes, – the real source of the evil lies in the corrupt morals of the people...if we would apply a lasting remedy to the evil, we must adopt means of instruction for the different classes of the community, by which they may be restrained, not only from the commission of public crimes, but also from act of immorality by a dread of the punishments...Some remains of the old system of Hindu discipline still exist...⁶⁶¹

Adam's investigations of education in India led him to conclude, however, that education alone could not guarantee the level of Anglo-Indian cooperation that the BEIC desired. To accomplish this, Adam fell back on the Utilitarian model of India:

The people of this country in their present condition cannot understand any other language than that of command proceeding from Government. They do not perceive the possibility of their standing in any other relation to their rulers than in that which requires obedience.⁶⁶²

for fees and perquisites from the pupils and/or a remuneration from the community, it is correct to conclude that the idea of 100,000 schools in Bengal is an exaggeration of facts. It is possible, however, that Adam used the term 'school' to refer to any local gathering centered around education, a model that could much more easily fit Adam's estimation. For more on this, see: Syed Nurullah, and J.P. Naik, *A Student's History of Education in India*, 21.

660. Bell's monitorial system, discussed extensively in previous chapters, was the most successful of these 'transplantations' during the nineteenth century. For more on this, see: Michael Andrew Laird, *Missionaries and Education in Bengal*, 269.

661. William Adam, *Adam's Reports*, 259.

662. *Ibid*, 252.

Sympathy and appreciation for vernacular education did not, as this quote shows, prevent Adam from disparaging the current status of Indians in a manner that was quite common among Britons at this time.

In spite of downward filtration's popularity, Adam's emphasis on the importance of vernacular, elementary education was not wholly ignored during the 1830-50s. As a Baptist Missionary, Adam's interest in education was partially inspired by the denomination's professed intention to expand missionary schools into India during this time.⁶⁶³ Other missionary organizations acted similarly, leading to a surge in religious elementary schools – many based on Bell's Monitorial method – in Company-controlled provinces.⁶⁶⁴ The rationale behind this is two-fold: first, as in other regions of the British Empire, education and religion went hand-in-hand during this time. Second, evangelical activity, formerly restricted by the Cornwallis Code of 1793, was permitted during and after the 1830s, thus the increase in missionary schools was part of a general upswing in British evangelical activity in India.⁶⁶⁵ Though not 'vernacular,' these schools represented the majority of non-university interactions of the Company with primary education during this time.⁶⁶⁶

In the 1840s, the first significant development in state-funded, vernacular education was implemented by James Thomason, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western

663. For more on this, see: Peter C. Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-Governing Church: A Study in Victorian Missionary Strategy* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990).

664. Michael Laird, a historian of missionary education, refers to India during this period as a 'laboratory for educational theories' as a consequence of the rapid proliferation of schools and school-techniques. For more on this, see: Michael Andrew Laird, *Missionaries and Education in Bengal*, 270-1.

665. CS Adcock, *The Limits of Tolerance: Indian Secularism and the Politics of Religious Freedom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 27.

666. To be fair, the Company was not completely dismissive of Vernacular education. Lord Hardinge, when Governor-General of India, founded 101 Vernacular schools. By 1854, however, the vast majority of these schools had withered and disappeared, leaving only 26. This state of affairs was partially responsible for Sir Charles Wood's interest in their revitalization. For more on this, see: Henry Woodrow, *An Indian Career: A Memoir of the Late Henry Woodrow, Esq. Director of Public Instruction, Bengal* (London: W.B. Whittingham and Co., 1878), 5-6.

Provinces. Thomason, much like Adam, believed that "to produce any perceptible impression on the public mind...it must be done through the medium of the Vernacular languages."⁶⁶⁷ This opinion, borrowed directly from the work of Adam, was a controversial decision in light of Adam's public resignation in 1839 due to political fallout over his conclusions. In that year, the Bombay Presidency formally rejected Adam's plan to fund vernacular schools, stating:

They [the Presidency] were of opinion that the execution of the plan would be 'almost impracticable'...our efforts should be at first concentrated to the chief towns...and to the improvement of education among the higher and middling classes of the population; in the expectation that through the agency of these scholars, *an educational reform will descend to the rural Vernacular Schools, and its benefits be rapidly transfused among all those excluded in the first instance by abject want from a participation in its advantages* [emphasis in original].⁶⁶⁸

Thomason used his authority as Lieutenant-Governor to implement an education system that relied upon inspection, centralized schools, and lending libraries of approved vernacular texts.⁶⁶⁹ In spite of the Bombay Presidency's recent rebuttal of Adam, these initiatives were praised by the Court of Directors of the Company in 1846, leading to an upswing in popularity for vernacular education during the 1850s.⁶⁷⁰

Building on the work of Thomason, Sir Charles Wood – a staunch Liberal and supporter of state-funded education at home in Britain – was placed in charge of the Board of Control in 1852 and tasked with reframing the Company's education policy.⁶⁷¹ Wood pre-

667. William Adam, *Adam's Reports*, 13.

668. *Ibid*, 12.

669. Inspection goals according to Adam: "Two important points were aimed at—the imparting to the peasantry certain plain practical everyday knowledge," and that "the popular mind having been aroused by a keen sense of personal interest, a higher system of intellectual culture may be universally introduced." (*Ibid*, 13.) See also: Suresh Changra Ghosh, *Education Policy in India Since Warren Hastings* (Calcutta: Naya Prokash, 1989), 21-24.

670. This discrepancy in official rhetoric was a byproduct of shifting Company policy regarding Indian land and commerce regulations, a topic discussed at length in earlier chapters. For more on this, see: William Adam, *Adam's Reports*, 12-17.

671. Suresh Changra Ghosh, *Education Policy in India Since Warren Hastings*, 23-24. It is worth noting that Charles Wood's support of state-funded education at home conformed to the

sented his plan, later referred to as Wood's Despatch, in 1854, touting its emphases on vernacular education, grants-in-aid, inspection, payment by results, and national schools as indicative of the importance of education to the Company.⁶⁷² Though an innovation in policy for the Company, Wood's Despatch borrowed heavily from the ideas of Thomason and Adam, as well as the existing models of education operating in Britain and Ireland at this time.⁶⁷³ These changes, Wood argued, would help reorient state-funded schooling in India towards technical and practical education, thus avoiding an overemphasis on preparation for government service.⁶⁷⁴ This reorientation depended on the creation of state-funded schools below the university level, a conclusion borrowed directly from Adam's reports, as well as education funding for students who, due to class or caste reasons, were unable to provide for their own education.⁶⁷⁵ In 1863, nine years after this despatch was published, Wood reaffirmed his commitment to this ideal:

Those principles are that, as far as possible, the resources of the State should be so applied to assist those who cannot be expected to help themselves, and that the

standards outlined in Chapters 9-10, in that he was not keen on the continuation of denominational education. For more on this, see: JA Jowitt, "From Whiggery to Liberalism: Sir Charles Wood and Halifax, 1832-1865," *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society* (1994).

672. Sampson Low, *The Charities of London: Comprehending the Benevolent, Educational and Religious Institutions* (London: Sampson Low, 1850), 358.

673. Though Wood championed the ingenuity of his own policy, this dissertation, and historians such as George D. Bearce, disagree with his conclusion. Paraphrasing Bearce, 'In most respects there was nothing new in Wood's programme for Indian education. Elements of Wood's comprehensive programme went back to the educational ideas of Munro and Elphinstone, to the continuous work of the missionaries since 1813, and to the Utilitarian ideas about education found in Macaulay and James Mill.' For more on this, see: George Donham Bearce, *British Attitudes Towards India, 1784-1858* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961).

674. Wood, on his own Despatch: "You want surgeons and engineers, superintendents of railroad works and of irrigation works and so forth. Train up men for practical purposes. Give the means of conferring distinction on people who choose to educate themselves highly, but educate yourself for practical employment. These are my principles, and I have endeavoured [sic] to carry them out as far and fast as I can in the dispatch." (R. J. Moore, *Sir Charles Wood's Indian Policy*, 114-115.)

675. Adam was specifically interested in enabling lower-class Indians for 'self-improvement,' rhetoric with direct links to educationist language in Britain and Ireland. For more on this, see: William Adam, *Adam's Reports*, 18-19. See also: B.B. Misra, *The Indian Middle Classes*, 261, 281.

richer classes of the people should gradually be induced to provide for their own education.⁶⁷⁶

Wood's conclusions vaulted Indian education policy up to the standards of contemporary policy and educationist thought in Britain. The emphases on technical training and national schools reflected growing educationist trends in Britain, an unsurprising element given Wood's Liberal background. Progress in one area does not, however, guarantee progress in all others, as Wood was also committed to concept of the grant-in-aid, a fiscal model that would soon fall out of favor in Britain and was, as noted above, often criticized for relying too heavily on the financial contributions of localities for the success or failure of educational institutions. As with his interest in technical training, Wood's preference for the grants-in-aid model stemmed from his Liberal background, and the model's use in the education systems of Britain and Ireland.⁶⁷⁷ Grants-in-aid, Wood believed, would ease the initial burden of primary school funding for the financially-languishing Company, and initiate the process of establishing model schools (*tahsili*) in Company-controlled regions of India.⁶⁷⁸ In the long-term, Wood envisioned a mass education system designed around state-funded grants-in-aid, model schools, technical training, and, critically, the cultivation of a loyal body of Indians (both upper- and lower-class) with respect for British culture and institutions.⁶⁷⁹ Wood's Despatch sought to wholly eliminate 'downward filtration,' as it only al-

676. William Adam, *Adam's Reports*, 18-19.

677. Wood's exposure to these systems of education stems from his role as Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1846-1852, and his general interest in British education during this time. It is worth noting that Wood presided over the Exchequer during the Irish Potato Famine, and his *laissez-faire* attitude was blamed for the famine's devastation at the time. For more on this, see: Cecil Woodham-Smith, and Frederick Davidson, *The Great Hunger: Ireland, 1845-1849* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962).

678. The specific grant-in-aid model was a 50/50 funding split. This was implemented in May of 1854 in Bombay, and led to the creation of 24 new schools in the area (out of 35 that applied). This was, for Wood, essentially a test of his new grant-in-aid model, and would be an important first step towards his changes starting in 1855. For more on this, see: Algernon West, *Sir Charles Wood's Administration of Indian Affairs, From 1859 to 1866* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1867). See also: S.N. Mukerji, *History of Education in India*, 100-101.

679. R. J. Moore, *Sir Charles Wood's Indian Policy*, 112, 114.

lowed for state intervention in education on a university level, and to properly incorporate and maintain indigenous schools. Wood's Despatch represented the synthesis of multiple theories of education from throughout the empire, all of which sought to maintain the delicate balance between stability, over-education and mal-education.

Wood's Despatch made grand promises for the future of Indian education. Unfortunately for Wood, fiscal and infrastructural limitations regarding implementation, and changing Indian politics (especially after the Rebellion of 1857), greatly compromised his ideas. In the decades after 1854, official education policy doubled-down on 'downward filtration,' and made minimal headway towards incorporating indigenous schools into a national system. Like the Committee of Council's Minutes of 1846 for Britain, policy during this time emphasized the training of teachers and the maintenance an indirect, grants-based system of governmental support for schools in India. These policies were cheap, and – rather than trying to abolish indigenous schools outright – relied on the 'downward filtration' concept with regards to teacher training. These more limited methods of intervention, it was believed, would give Indian education a practical character and would support the training, as opposed to simply the education, of Indian youths. This process would prevent the radicalization of the Indian masses, preserve social stability, and slowly eliminate the 'unserviceable' elements of indigenous education.⁶⁸⁰

Though many practical aspects of Wood's Despatch were implemented slowly (if at all), most of his administrative reforms were implemented relatively quickly. In 1854 he encouraged the establishment of a new advisory board – the Bengal Education Service – and the appointment of two new officials: Director of Public Instruction (Mr. Gordon Young)

680. Harbans Rai Mehta, *A History of the Growth and Development of Western Education in the Punjab, 1846-1884* (Punjab: Languages Department, University of Punjab, 1929), 95. ; Jagdish Chand, *Education in India During British Period* (Delhi: Anshah Publishing House, 2007), 28. P. L. Rawat, *History of Indian Education*, 242, 253.

and Inspector of Schools in East Bengal (Mr. Henry Woodrow). These positions, filled in 1855, enabled the Company to more effectively oversee its financial interests in Bombay while also providing Wood with the information he needed to properly manage schools in the region. The first step – the establishment of model schools – was followed by the centralization of village schools into larger institutions called Circuit Schools (also called Circle Schools, or *halika*, depending on the writer).⁶⁸¹ Woodrow, a supporter of the Circuit School concept, made the following argument on its behalf:

...existing schools...[are] to be formed into circles, to each of which a teacher of a higher class is to be appointed, who shall afford instruction to the upper boys in each school, superior to that which the Guru Mohashoy [sic], or village master, is competent to impart. The Guru Mohashoys [sic] are to be conciliated by pecuniary rewards of small amount, proportioned to the number of boys of certain specified standards of attainment who may be found in their respective schools, and the tendency of the boys to leave school at an early age is to be overcome by small gratuities to those boys remaining at school who may possess a certain specified amount of knowledge in various branches of study.⁶⁸²

Fiscal incentives, especially capitation grants, were novel attempts – borrowed from Britain and Ireland – to bolster support for local schools. Some educationists, especially Indian educationists, believed that capitation grants offered the wrong kind of encouragement. Peari Chand Mittra, for example, believed that practical education would be incentive enough for most students:

...if arrangements can be made for instructing the pupils of village schools in practical agriculture and horticulture, it will not only conduce to the improvement of the material condition of the people, but serve substantially the cause of popular education which the government is so anxious to promote. What the village school pupils should learn must be practically and not from books. This instruction I submit should be on manures, natures of soils required for different plants, different kinds of grafting, modes of germinature, successful growth, preservation, &c.⁶⁸³

Radhakant Deb agreed with this sentiment, stating,

681. For more on this, see: S.N. Mukerji, *History of Education in India*, 106-107.

682. William Adam, *Adam's Reports*, 20.

683. *Ibid*, 22.

As soon as the people will begin to reap the fruits of a solid vernacular education, agricultural and industrial schools may be established in order to qualify the enlightened masses to become useful members of society. Nothing should be guarded against more carefully than the insensible introduction of a system whereby, with a smattering knowledge of English, youths are weaned from the plough, the axe, and the loom, to render them ambitious only for the clerkship which hosts would besiege the Government and Mercantile Offices, and the majority being disappointed (as they must be), would (with their little knowledge inspiring pride) be unable to return to their trade, and would necessarily turn vagabonds.⁶⁸⁴

Such conclusions, if factored into Company policy, would have placed state-funded education in India on a much different path than its actual trajectory. Localized vernacular education, with an emphasis on practical training and technical knowledge, would have greatly reduced the number of students who entered into the education system solely to prepare for civil service. Unfortunately for the proponents of technical training, cataclysmic changes in the Anglo-Indian relationship scuttled much of the content Wood's Despatch, leading to a period of policy stagnation from the mid-1850 into the 1880s.⁶⁸⁵

The Indian Rebellion of 1857, sparked by the tensions over Company rule, intertwined with the many debates and concerns over the utility of state-funded education in India. The demise of the Company, ushered in by the disruption of the Rebellion, halted the implementation of Wood's Despatch, and British feelings of betrayal led to apathy (or outright malice) towards the plight of Indians and India's state-funded education system. The transition from Company to Raj authority left state-supported education in a difficult spot: concerns over official support of religious schools, a major issue prior the Rebellion, was now viewed as *the* critical roadblock to an effective state-funded system.

684. Ibid, 22.

685. Historians Rawat and Nurullah agree on this point, noting that changes to education policy post-Rebellion were largely an attempt to prevent the reoccurrence of the conditions that were believed to have led to the crisis in the first place. For more on this, see: Syed Nurullah, and J.P. Naik, *A Student's History of Education in India*. See also: P. L. Rawat, *History of Indian Education*.

This religious problem was illustrated by a debate surrounding an education despatch issued in 1858 by Sir George Clerk, Under-Secretary of State of India.⁶⁸⁶ Clerk's despatch linked the Rebellion's origin in the North-West Province directly to the education model of the region (and thus, lineage, Wood's Despatch). On this point, Clerk made the following argument:

...in the minds of the people [of the North-West Provinces] in general, and of the influential classes in particular, our educational schemes are certainly now regarded as an insidious religious movement in convention of every principle of trust and national faith...the disposition with which we have by these and other means of an aggressive character inspired the people, including the classes amongst whom these projects have been forced, is sufficiently shown in their passiveness or misconduct during the difficulties in which rebellion has plunged the British Government...every one acquainted with the actual state of things in the North-West Provinces knows that this was no delusion, but well-founded apprehension.⁶⁸⁷

686. Sir George Clerk held the position of Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces in 1843, just prior to Thomason. Clerk was aware of the education ideas of Thomason as well as Adam, though he admittedly did not act upon them during his tenure as Lieutenant-Governor. (Bengal Presidency, *General Report of Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency for 1857-1858, With Appendixes* (Calcutta: C.B. Lewis, Baptist Mission Press, 1859), 35.)

687. Ibid, 35-36. The Duke of Argyll paraphrased Sir George Clerk's despatch as follows: "Amid the circumstances of the late rebellion there were no more remarkable indications of fidelity to our cause, and of a desire to assist us, than by the two only great Native States of the Nizam and Nepaul, both of which had the benefit of educated men, knowing a great deal of English literature and the state of society in Europe...The noble Earl must have appreciated the advantages that were conferred upon us by the influence of the Minister of Hyderabad; and he believed it had been the case in other directions, and that wherever schools had been established and education had taken firm root, there had been a desire on the part of the Natives to support our power and to impede the success of the mutiny...Upon these grounds, he hoped that whatever measures were adopted with regard to economy in other branches of expenditure, no doubt would be cast on the duty as far as we could to educate the Natives of India, or on the equity and justice of the principle of grants in aid. The noble Earl at the head of the Government had kindly informed him that a despatch had lately been written and sent out by the Secretary of State for India to the Government in India upon this subject, and that it would be desirable to supplement the returns for which he moved by that despatch. He was much obliged to the noble Earl, and he was sure the information would be useful to the House. He could not doubt for a moment that in that despatch there was no hesitation in admitting the justice of the principle, and of the duty which lay on us, so far as we could with due regard to their religious prejudices, to extend education among the Natives." (HL Deb, Address for Returns. April 14 1859, Vol. 153, 1784-1785.)

Clerk's despatch continues with examples of official support for missionary activity and evangelical education, noting that "regular clergymen of the establishment have been employed in the Government Educational Department...[something that] ought *never* to have been done under any circumstances."⁶⁸⁸ The utter disregard for vernacular education, particularly in evangelical circles, led to one of Clerk's most powerful statements on the subject:

In the pride of power, or in the littleness of prejudice, or in the trusted efficacy of British bayonets, some superintendents of English education in India are apt to err through their disdain to inquire, or their aversion to acknowledge, not only the degree in which the liberal arts and sciences flourishes there several centuries ago but the actual condition of the mental cultivation and intelligence of some of the natives in modern days. In fact, the signal mistake made in dealing with this important subject of education in India has been, in my humble opinion, that self-complacent disregard of the real disposition of the native mind amongst their own educated classes, in their reverence for their ancient literature, and in their tenacity to retain it.⁶⁸⁹

Though Clerk overlooked the socioeconomic elements that led to the Rebellion, his arguments formed the basis of the 'official mind' on education and Indian 'disloyalty' in the aftermath of the Rebellion, thus shaping the dialog regarding the future of state-funded education in India.⁶⁹⁰

688. Bengal Presidency, *General Report of Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency for 1857-1858, With Appendixes*, 38.

689. Ibid, 53-54. Indian officials had their own complaints outside of those mentioned by Clerk. For example, the Secretary of the Governor-General of India, an Indian administrator from Oudh, had this to say on the state of administrative exams: "A mere inspection of the rules to be observed in going through these examinations will suffice to convince any one that nothing could be more preposterous, nothing better contrived to ensure the rejection of young men of talent and industry, and the passing of dull-headed obtuse-witted youths, in whom memory supplied the place of genius...diplomas were showered down upon sons of *khidmutgars* (table waiters), illegitimate sons of Europeans, half-castes, etc., who in consequence, were elected to fill offices of trust to the exclusion of Indian gentlemen of birth and education. Is it then to be wondered at if the latter should feel convinced that it was the fixed purpose of the Indian Government to degrade them?" (Ibid, 46.)

690. For more on the socioeconomic causes and consequences of the Rebellion, see: Eric Stokes, *The Peasant Armed*. See also: Thomas R. Metcalf, *The Aftermath of Revolt: India, 1857-1870*.

Clerk's Despatch, issued during the last stages of the Rebellion, went largely unnoticed by the House of Lords until a discussion prompted by the Earl of Ellenborough and the Duke of Argyll in April, 1859.⁶⁹¹ During this discussion, the Earl of Ellenborough stressed his dissatisfaction with the entire philosophy behind the state-funded education system of India:

My Lords, I expressed some time ago my deep sense of the danger of this subject being discussed. I retain that opinion. The noble Duke wishes to raise a discussion on secular education in India...I must inform the noble Duke that I never at any time objected to grants in aid...I feel satisfied that at the present moment no measure could be adopted more calculated to tranquillize the minds of the Natives, and to restore to us their confidence, than that of withholding the aid of Government from schools with which missionaries are connected...unless your Lordships can re-establish in the Native mind the entire confidence that you will hereafter as formerly protect completely and absolutely their free enjoyment of their religion, and will abstain from all attempts to subvert it or to undermine it occultly or openly, all your endeavours to produce tranquillity in India, to improve the condition of the people, and to establish the firm Government which we all wish to see established there will be utterly futile and useless.⁶⁹²

691. An excerpt from the speech: "It was to be remembered, too, that Sir George Clerk was even now high in office in the Indian Council, and the House were altogether ignorant of the effect the letter might have produced upon the old Court of Directors or the new Indian Council, or whether in any degree the suggestions contained in it had been carried into effect. The nature of the despatch constituted it a document of very serious importance, for, as he understood it, it was nothing less than a tender of advice, to rescind altogether the policy adopted in the well-known Educational Dispatch of 1854. The import of that dispatch he thought he could explain in a few words. It was to adopt in India the policy of grants in aid, as put in practice in this country. That was rather a change in the mode of extending education than a change in the system itself, for in the plan of education he believed there was no change whatever. That system of grants in aid, he need hardly explain to their Lordships, consisted in giving a certain sum for the support of a school in proportion to the sum that was subscribed by private parties. He might mention to the House one or two of the main reasons that induced the Government to adopt this system. In the first place, it was clear that if ever education were to be extended to the masses, the principle of the grants in aid was decidedly the cheapest for doing so. Previous to its adoption the plan of education adopted in India had been to raise schools and colleges, and to pay the schoolmasters at its own cost and expense. He need hardly say that it was absolutely impossible that the system of education could be widely extended among the masses on such a plan as that. Another reason was that it was the least aggressive in form of any that could be devised, for it had at least the appearance of co-operation on the part of the Natives." (HL Deb, "Address for Returns", 1780.)

692. Ibid, 1788-1789.

This speech tied Clerk's Despatch to current policy in India, and led to a divisive discussion over the nature of religious neutrality in the context of state-funded education. Though no conclusion was reached at the time, the themes of this discussion directly mirror the many debates over religious neutrality in Ireland.⁶⁹³ In Ireland, state support for the Kildare Place Society, though ostensibly 'neutral,' led to mass Catholic outcries against state education for fear of indoctrination. Fears of unrest in Ireland (predicated by centuries of Anglo-Irish tension over religion) were now, thanks to the Rebellion, also manifest in India, and the same types of concerns over religious neutrality and state-sponsored liberalism were now at stake. This sequence of events was the most severe long-term consequence of Britain's newfound distrust of Indians post-Rebellion: anxieties regarding educated Indians directly shaped the administrative structure of the new Raj, and ushered in the sociocultural dynamic between Britain and India that catalyzed the emergence of Indian nationalism, and further widened the political divide between colonizer and colonized.

The opinions and arguments outlined above, though varied in content and focus, center on two linked questions: if state-funded education was assumed to be effective, had the limit of state-funding's efficacy been reached? If so, was expansion of state-funded education the most effective way to continue the improvement of the public, or was there an alternative? This chapter has shown that opinions and solutions to these questions were as diverse as they were divisive, particularly when considering the impact of national education on religious instruction. In all cases, however, one fact remained true: the educational needs

693. A key point in the discussion was raised by the Duke of Argyll: "But he [the Duke of Argyll] joined issue with the noble Earl, and contended that to exclude missionary schools from the grants in aid would be equally a violation of religious neutrality. The noble Earl would allow the Government to endow Mahomedan schools, though they might be established for the purpose of the conversion of Hindoos to Mahomedanism, or to endow Hindoo schools, though intended for the purpose of the conversion of Mahomedans to Hindooism. The noble Earl would endow all the different sects of these religions, and the only schools he would exclude were the missionary schools, simply because they were connected with Christianity." (Ibid, 1782.)

of the population were real, and 'knowledge' – academic, religious, radical, or something else entirely – would fill that demand whether or not actual educational institutions were involved.⁶⁹⁴ Once again, therefore, educationists were presented with the delicate task of defending the necessity of their endeavor against detractors that believed their endeavor was both dangerous and lacking in value.

694. This task was complicated further due to decisions and policies that previous generations of educationists had relied on, most significant of which was the policy of attaching state-funded education to the moral imperative of stabilizing the working class. The prudence of attaching state-funded education to moral imperatives was manifest in the political pragmatism of attaching educational policy to labor reform. Education was championed as an extension of the state's moral imperative to its labor, and, critically, as a curative to the economic and social crises caused by urbanization and industrialization. In practical terms, education funding and policy changes was generally attached to factory and labor bills, and many schools, inspectors, and teachers were closely affiliated with Poor Law administrators.

Chapter 13: The Shift to Compulsion

Air, pitched in a LOWE key.
The famous 'good time' seems a-coming at last,
There's a talk of greatt [sic] things for the whole populatio-
A boon for the million- a benefit vast: -
And that's Education - and that's Education!

The popular mind will no longer be waste,
'Twill soon reap the fruit of this great innovation
(The Tories fro Dizzy have had the first taste)-
And that's Education - and that's Education!

The nob that is poor, and the snob that is rich,
Will learn of their 'h's the right aspiration;
And scribes will discover the sins of 'and which' -
And that's Education - and that's Education!

The man who sells music will stick to his shop,
Not rush into print in a fit of vexation;
And long-winded parsons will know when to stop-
And that's Education - and that's Education!

Debates in the House will be brief and concise,
And Whalley learn reason, and all - concentration;
Then Bright will take office, and Roebuck advice -
And that's Education - and that's Education!

The verdicts of juries will always be sense,
And coroner's law will not need explanation,
And Jews will not haggle for ha'pence and pence -
And that's Education - and that's Education!

Oh, the fools will feel wise! And the wise will feel fools!
'Twill result in general equalization.
They will pull down the prisons for site for the schools—
And that's Education – and that's Education!⁶⁹⁵

In 1861, Kay-Shuttleworth issued a lengthy analysis of education's relationship with the state, one that, he admitted, was intended to dispel any doubts about the necessity of the state's role:

The fallacy in the application of the principles of free trade to the education of the people resembles these...Education infiltrates from the upper and governing classes to the lower. All civilisation is primarily the work of inventive genius. The lesson such minds have to teach is first imparted to the upper and governing classes. Its benefits descend from them to the lower. These uncivilised classes are trained by example and discipline; they are, as minors are, the care of the governing classes in some form; they do not seek to be civilised and taught, as an original and irrepressibly want, but they are sought by the missionary, by the teacher, by the agent of industrial progress, and they are rescued, not by their own act, but by that of the State and the upper classes, to whom their progress has become a social and political necessity...the collective dangers from national ignorance and barbarism are greater, and the cost of national pauperism, crime, and disorder, are more apparent to the Government than they can be to individuals. Consequently, the education of the people has, throughout Europe and in this country, originated in a great degree with the State.⁶⁹⁶

Kay-Shuttleworth's argument bears the genetic imprint of the narratives discussed throughout the previous chapters, and forms an important watershed in state-funded education's transition from 'experimental' to 'essential.' He continues his argument with the following statement:

The idea that an ignorant, brutish people is either more subordinate or more easily controlled than a people loyal by conviction and contended from experience and reason, is exploded. The notion that the mass of the people are the sources of national wealth merely as beasts of burden; that the nation has no interest in their intelligence, inventive capacity, morality, and fitness for the duties of freemen and citizens, is a doctrine which would find no advocates...⁶⁹⁷

695. "Education (Song)." *Fun*, Saturday, Feb 29th, 1868 254. London, 254.

696. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1861-1862, 1862, ED, 17/27, 87.

697. *Ibid*, 95.

Kay-Shuttleworth's appeal to 'the nation' reflects a growing trend not just within educationist rhetoric, but also British politics in general during the 1860-80s. At first glance, Kay-Shuttleworth's appeal in his second statement seems to contradict the first as a result of his 'appeal to the nation.' If, as Kay-Shuttleworth argues, the nation values and understands the importance of intelligence, why would 'uncivilized classes' disregard the value of education? The resolution to this problem is that 'the nation' was exclusively comprised of the entities that drove civilization: the missionary, the teacher, the agent of industrial progress, the upper classes, and, ultimately, the state.

Kay-Shuttleworth's line of reasoning was not unique to him nor this period of time, as such rhetoric was often employed during the formative stages of education at home and throughout the empire. The importance of Kay-Shuttleworth's conclusion does not, therefore, stem from its novelty, but from its political timing. The 1860s represented a watershed in education policy, and, in 1867, a seismic shift in Britain's political landscape. If the limited political reforms of the 1830s inspired a generation of politicians to view Britain's expanded electorate as an 'unknown variable,' the electoral Reform of 1867 truly earned Lord Derby's claim that it was a 'leap in the dark.'



Figure 3: A Leap in the Dark.⁶⁹⁸

These changes created problems in the coming decades for existing educational and political ideals, as the state had to adapt its responsibilities to the new demographic makeup of Britain's expanded electorate. The age of truly popular politics and emergent popular nationalism was at hand, and state-funded education was to play a central role in the reshaping of the British body politic at home and across the empire.⁶⁹⁹

If electoral reform in 1867 was a potentially-dangerous 'leap in the dark' for domestic Britain, the changing relationship between Britain and its empire in the 1860-70s was equally unknown and problematic. The advent of Raj rule in India necessitated a restructuring of British administration in the subcontinent, a decision that greatly increased the value of state-funded education to aspiring civil servants. Irish land crises gave way to discussions about home rule, a process that highlighted the importance of state-funded Irish education

698. "A Leap in the Dark." *Punch*, August 3 1867.

699. This becomes especially clear considering the inspectorate reports from the past few decades, many of which stressed public ignorance of basic 'British' history, current politics, and geography. This is discussed in multiple chapters throughout this dissertation.

in terms of industrial productivity as well as imperial loyalty. The rapid expansion of British imperialism into Africa during the 1870-1900s brought with it a surge of administrative needs and, due to rivalries with other European empires, an increase in nationalist sentiment. These changes raised the importance of state-funded education with regards to Britain's capacity to govern, thus forcing administrators and educationists alike to address the dominance of missionaries in African education. In all three scenarios, education was thrust into the forefront of policy as a consequence of rising nationalist rhetoric regarding imperialism, as well as the empire's growing need for administrators, teachers, and industrially-efficient labor. The emergence of state-sponsored nationalism in the later-nineteenth century was the critical catalyst that ultimately drove public education out of the hands of missionaries and private institutions into secular state control at home. The key issue, therefore, is not just why this transition occurred at home, but also why it failed to occur in most parts of the empire.

Looking at British imperial and domestic narratives together, the growing importance – and impact – of state-funded education policy during this time becomes quite clear. The problem with this statement is that, as with most instances of the narrative of state-funded education in the nineteenth century, education policies constantly and consistently fell apart during application. Budgetary constraints, political hurdles, local (i.e. indigenous/vernacular/religious) backlash, and poor long-term implementation conspired against state-funded education in various degrees across the empire. These problems, and the *ad hoc* solutions (or lack of solutions) presented in each case, catalyzed a divergence in state-funded education policy. By the end of the nineteenth century, state-funded education had reached a point of no return with regards to this divergence, setting the stage for the devolution of educational authority throughout the empire during the twentieth century. The following three chapters, and the conclusion of this dissertation, therefore offer more than just an

analysis of education's narrative during the later-nineteenth century: these chapters serve as a postmortem for an educational experiment that was simultaneously the centerpiece of the British Empire's professed purpose and a root source of its internal collapse.⁷⁰⁰

The early 1870s represents the first point in which overt declarations of 'nationalist intent' enters the lexicon of British educationists. This is not to say that 'the nation' or 'national ideals' had been absent up to this point, but rather that educational curriculum began to incorporate nationalistic elements into the daily lessons of students around this time.⁷⁰¹ For example, the idea of physical education drills (later drawn under the all-encompassing term 'recess'), once reviled as a particularly militaristic concept, became more commonplace during this time, with proponents arguing that such activities were essential to the preparation of the Briton for the nationalist and imperialist struggles ahead.⁷⁰² Sir Charles Dilke's

700. This issue was noted by historian James Greenlee in the conclusion of his work *Education and Imperial Unity*. For Greenlee, the problem of education was the disparity between 'supply-side' and 'demand-side' economics regarding the outcome of imperial education. Greenlee's conclusion does not answer this question, thus the central thesis of this chapter can be viewed as an attempt to answer it. For more on this question, see: James G. Greenlee, *Education and Imperial Unity*, 291-293.

701. An early example of nationalist language from the *Annual Report of Irish National Education* of 1854-1855: "In this progressive country, we neglect that knowledge in which there is progress, to devote ourselves to those branches in which we are scarcely, if at all, superior to our ancestors. In this practical country, the knowledge which gives power over nature is left to be picked up by chance on a man's way through life. In this religious country, the knowledge of God's works forms no part of the education of the people, no part even of the accomplishments of a gentleman; but this judicial blindness cannot much longer exist. If we wish to hold our rank among nations, if we intend to maintain that manufacturing ascendancy which is the chief source of our national strength, we must carry this study of common things not only into the schools of the poor, but into our colleges and universities..."

England is engaged in a death-struggle even now with the other nations of the world for manufacturing ascendancy, and a portion of her children are looking with complacency upon the fearful breach made in her resources and her credit— a breach wrought not by an enemy, but by their own suicidal acts."

" (Commissioners of Irish Education, *Annual Report of Irish National Education, 1854-1855*, 635, 637.)

702. Drill became compulsory for all national schools in Britain in 1895. For more on the relationship between nationalism and national schools, see the following works by Historian J.A. Mangan: J.A. Mangan, *Making Imperial Mentalities*, and J.A. Mangan, *'Benefits Bestowed?'*.

Greater Britain (1869) channeled this upswing in popular nationalism into a discussion on the vital role of the Briton at home, internationally, and, critically, within the empire.⁷⁰³ Widely claimed by contemporaries to have been the 'first to reveal the empire to Victorians,' Dilke's core argument was simple: the British Empire was the vehicle through which Britain would maintain its global supremacy at the turn of the century, and this vehicle was to be powered by the collective efforts of an educated and properly 'British' population.⁷⁰⁴ This endeavor – the 'greater Britain' at the heart of Dilke's thesis – was made possible by the innovations in technology and governance of the nineteenth century, as well as the decades of educationist rhetoric on the 'people power' provided by a morally and industrially-educated population.⁷⁰⁵ These innovations were a truly potent force for change in Britain, especially once combined with the expansion of the electorate in Britain in 1867, the integration of nationalism into the rhetoric of both Conservatives and Liberals, and the growing international tension in the Middle East and Africa.⁷⁰⁶

Coming almost ten years after the limited changes of the Revised Code of 1861, the Education Act of 1870 was a watershed moment for state-funded education in Britain.⁷⁰⁷

703. Charles Wentworth Dilke, *Greater Britain* (London: Macmillan and Company, 1869). See also: John Robert Seeley, *The Expansion of England: Two Courses of Lectures* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1883)

704. Historian Duncan Bell's work *The Idea of Greater Britain* goes into extensive detail on this issue, highlighting the key personalities, like Sir Charles Dilke, that pushed for this new concept. For more on this, see: Duncan Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain*. See also: *Victorian Visions of Global Order: Empire and International Relations in Nineteenth-Century Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

705. Prior iterations of the British Empire, as noted by Sir Charles Dilke and John Robert Seeley, were incapable of the kind of interconnected Britishness necessary for the 'greater Britain' concept to flourish. The late-nineteenth century was the only time in which this idea was possible. For more on this, see: Duncan Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain*, 64, 177. See also: Daniel R. Headrick, *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century*.

706. For more on this, see: Theodore K. Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation*. See also: Richard Aldous, *The Lion and the Unicorn*.

707. Matthew Arnold, an influential inspector of schools, had this to say on the eventual fate of the Revised Code in 1861: "...I see Lord Derby and the Bishop of Oxford are coming to take the very ground I could wish them to take, namely, that the State has an interest in

Though luminaries such as H.G. Wells lamented the Act's limited scope, it was an important catalyst for continued expansion after decades of lukewarm and/or decidedly-stagnant educational change.⁷⁰⁸ The Act was, for example, the first official legislature dedicated exclusively to the cause of state-funded education, and it was also the first major education policy to be part of a popular political process.⁷⁰⁹ This popular process was sponsored and managed by the National Education League, an organization born out of dissatisfaction with the compromises of the Revised Code of 1861, the political inertia afforded by the Reform Act of 1868, and the precedent of earlier education organizations such as the National Public School Association.⁷¹⁰ The latter, with roots in the Liberal political culture of Manchester, argued that the religious oversight of state-funded schools was the primary impediment to a proper educational structure in Britain. The organization issued a proposal on the topic in 1851, stating:

If, in our social condition, we had attained a state of Christian perfection, we should have no occasion for Acts of Parliament and School-taxes to provide education for our fellow-countrymen... Voluntary liberality would supply every educational want, and all the members of the social boy, would... provide effectually for the common benefit. But we have not attained this state; and men will not, or if they will, they do

the primary school as a *civilising agent*, even prior to its interest in it as an *instructing agent*. When this is once clearly seen nothing can resist it, and it is fatal to the new Code. If we can get this clearly established in this discussion a great point will have been gained for the future dealings of the State with education, and I shall hope to see State-control reach in time our middle and upper schools." (Matthew Arnold Letters. Archival Records, ED. 36/1. Education Department, 1870, 187-188.)

708. H.G. Wells later condemned the act, stating that it "was not an Act for common universal education, it was an Act to educate the lower classes for employment on lower class lines, and with specially trained, inferior teachers who had no university quality." (H.G. Wells, *Experiment in Autobiography: Discoveries and Conclusions of a Very Ordinary Brain Since 1866* (London: Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1934).) See also: G.A.N. Lowndes, *The Silent Social Revolution*, 4.)

709. In other words, the Education Act of 1870 was not the byproduct of educationists like Kay-Shuttleworth, or the backroom meetings of the Committee of Council on Education, but rather a public process of investigation, report, and action.

710. Founded in 1849, the National Public School Association was closely associated with the political platform of Richard Cobden, most notably the anti-Corn Law movement. Many of the members of this organization went on to support the National Education League. For more on this, see: Bernard Porter, *Critics of Empire*. Also, Francis Adams, *History of the Elementary School Contest*, 150-155.

not, *provide sufficiently*, by voluntary contributions, *for schools and other agencies, required in this country to educate the people* [original emphasis].⁷¹¹

Empowered by this thesis, the National Public School Association pursued the following objectives for British education: the secularization of state-funded schools, the establishment a system of 'counties' managed by local boards, the creation of regional specialty schools (industrial, adult, infant), and the creation of normal (model) schools for the purpose of teacher training metrics.⁷¹² These objectives were clearly and openly borrowed from the Irish national system, a precedent that linked the fates of British and Irish education more closely than ever before.⁷¹³

Shortly after establishment, Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth publicly condemned the National Public School Association's secular platform, an action that severely hampered the organization's political clout.⁷¹⁴ Bills related to secular education were brought up in Parliament, but were quickly dismissed by challengers that claimed such ideas threatened to 'unchristianise' the country.⁷¹⁵ These failures stalled the progress of the National Public School Association's goals until after 1868, at which point the spirit – and the leadership – of

711. Rev. C. Richson, *The Scheme of Secular Education Proposed By the National Public Schools' Association Compared With the Manchester and Salford Boroughs' Education Bill* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1851), 7-8.

712. *Ibid.*, 135-141.

713. The absence of Scotland in discussions of British state-funded education is quite conspicuous, especially considering the close political association of Scotland and England starting in the eighteenth century. The absence of Scotland, as noted in the Introduction, was not a conscious choice by the author, but rather a byproduct of the clear legal and cultural delineations between Scottish and 'greater British' education in the nineteenth century. This was made quite clear in the Education Act of 1870, in which an opening statement reads: "This Act shall not extend to Scotland or Ireland." (Committee of Council on Education, *The Education Acts (Elementary) (England and Wales), 1870-1902* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1903), 202.) The Scottish education system developed independently of British efforts, and was not fully integrated into the British system until the early twentieth century. Furthermore, due to the influence of the Presbyterian Church, the Scottish education system was not considered as a viable model for emulation. For more on this, see: Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism*.

714. Francis Adams, *History of the Elementary School Contest, 155-157*.

715. *Ibid.*, 247.

the education reform movement began to change. Cobdenite politics were replaced by nationalist populism, and new leaders stemmed from Liberal and Conservative parties alike. If nothing else, the rise and decline of the National Public School Association set a key precedent for the evolution of state-funded education in the later-nineteenth century, and all challenges to the educational status-quo after this point had to either align with, or dissent against, the predominance of religious control in state-funded education.

In 1870, William Edward Forster presented a plan of education to Parliament, one that would become the basis of the Education Act later that year. His personal investment in this project was rooted in prior experience: he and others had attempted to bring education bills before Parliament in 1867 and 1868, with both attempts meeting stiff political resistance.⁷¹⁶ The political pressure of the National Education League encouraged Forster to pen and promote an ultimately-successful bill in 1870, though it was clear to contemporaries that compromises and omissions from the bill rendered it far less revolutionary than believed necessary.

The political discussions of Forster's bill stirred up substantial discussion of the ethos of education, thus offering insight into the Victorian perspective on the history – and trajectory – of state-funded education at home and throughout the empire. Speaking during the second reading of the Education Act, Henry Winterbotham, MP from Stroud, made the following statement:

...the satisfactory settlement of this great subject [education] needs more than the capacity of a Minister, however able and devoted, more than the general confidence

716. W.E. Forster had prior experience with both Parliament and the Committee of Council on Education regarding the topic of educational reform. In 1864, during a crisis over potentially-scandalous edits of inspectorate reports by the Committee of Council on Education, Forster publicly condemned Lord Lingen's leadership and called for his dismissal. The mismanagement of inspectorate reports, and the lack of proper channels of feedback and discussion, prompted many aspects of Forster's 1870 Education Act. For more on this event, see: Robert Lowe, *Life and Letters of the Right Honourable Robert Lowe, Viscount Sherbrooke, G.c.b. D.c.l.* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1893), 220-22.

of the people. It needs the intelligent co-operation of the people themselves. And the mistake I think the Government have committed is, that they have undertaken to deal with it without first ascertaining the wishes of the people on a subject that so deeply concerns them. For this is no question, like the Irish Land, on which the English people were necessarily and profoundly ignorant, and are therefore willing, with their representatives, to follow almost blindly the leadership of a Minister whom we trust. The question of popular education is of a very different character. It is homely in every sense. It touches the home life of every cottage in the land, and that not indirectly and insensibly, but directly and palpably. By this measure the State goes into every family, imposes new duties on the parent, or declares and enforces duties of which the parent was before unconscious.⁷¹⁷

Winterbotham follows this statement with a retrospective on state-funded education:

Can the present system, then, be said to have failed to provide schools? I think not. I wish to be just to it. It never was intended to provide them, and it is unreasonable to expect this of it. Indeed, nothing can be properly said to have been intended by the present system, for it is not a system at all. It was not framed for this purpose. Indeed, it never was framed at all. I say, advisedly, the system of grants of public money, which alone connects the State with popular education, has never been adopted by Parliament as the basis of national education. It has grown tip gradually and, if I may so say, unintentionally, receiving the sanction of Parliament only as a temporary makeshift, or at most as an experiment.⁷¹⁸

Together, these statements offer an insightful glimpse into Victorian understanding of what the educational progress of the past thirty-one years truly represented. The educational 'experiment,' as Winterbotham describes it, was never meant to provide what it was bemoaned for failing to provide. As such (at least in the eyes of contemporaries) it is invalid for one to definitively state that British efforts towards education succeeded or failed based on perceived 'necessary outcomes.' In other words, the fact that state-funded education schemes failed to produce a national system by 1870 was not a reflection educational incompetence or maliciousness on the part of the state, but rather an ideological adherence to the limited relationship between the state, educational infrastructure, and religious affiliation.

For existing education systems to progress beyond their perceived limitations, one aspect of this triangular relationship had to be done away with: the state had to either extri-

717. HC Deb, Adjourned Debate (Second Night). March 15 1870, Vol. 199, 1963-1965.

718. Ibid, 1967.

cate itself from education entirely, stop administering grants to private education institutions, or remove religious authority from state-funded schooling. Any of these steps would solve the state's educational crisis, though only one – the removal of religious authority – had proven to be an effective method of promoting the upward progress of British education.⁷¹⁹ This impasse defines, in the simplest terms, the nature of state-funded education throughout the British Empire of the 1870s, and offers perspective on the paradigm shift that compulsory, national, and secular education posed.

As the wholesale abandonment of state-funded schooling was nigh impossible by 1870, the education reform movement was bound to be fought on the battleground of religion. Winterbotham concluded his speech (excerpted above) with the following statement, one that delineates his views on religious neutrality:

We want united national education; we want our patriotism and our national sympathies, if not our Christianity, to overflow the narrow limits of sects. What is the logical alternative? I avow it frankly—secular education. A national system of united education for a people who do not agree, or will not admit they agree, in their religious opinions must be secular. I am not afraid of the word, or of the unjust odium which has been thrown on it. It is not irreligious...unless the instruction you offer us under your Conscience Clause is irreligious. It is not atheistic...unless the instruction you offer us under your Conscience Clause is atheistic.⁷²⁰

The association of secular, atheistic, and irreligious, even if linked in refutation, highlights the popular conceptions of what the term 'secularization' actually represented in the context of education.

719. The example alluded to is that of the Irish National School system. Though compromised by its own issues with religion and quality, the Irish system's regulation and structure was far more conducive to growth than the British system at this time, were it not for the lack of funding. In addition, the examples of the European continent and the United States offered clear proof of the role of the state in improving literacy, though such examples were only reluctantly considered by British statesmen due to perceived differences in culture and political ideology. For more on this, see: Roger Magraw, *France, 1815-1914: The Bourgeois Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

720. HC Deb, "Adjourned Debate (Second Night)", 1976-1977.

As highlighted in previous chapters, the issue of religious neutrality was not a new concern, nor was it unique to the case of education in Britain. The key difference here is that the issue is one of nationalization, not just state support, for British schools, a process that would cripple Anglican influence over education (per capita) far more than any other denomination. Protests against secularization in Ireland had been downplayed at home due to the fact that religious support was tantamount to state funding for Catholic schools. In India, education officials clashed with missionaries over the issue of state support for Christian schools alongside Hindu and Islamic schools, however pragmatism and local demands led to a system of religious neutrality. These examples highlight that the idea of secularized (or at least non-Christian), state-funded education was known to British officials at this time, thus the issue wasn't secularization per se, but rather the impact secularization would have on Anglican influence over Britishness.

Though some supporters of reform, such as Winterbotham, approached the issue of education through the lens of secularization, not all reformers saw this process as a discrete end in itself. For many, Forster included, secularization was part of the longer-term process of maximizing educational efficiency and, ultimately, leading British schools towards a model of compulsory education.⁷²¹ Detractors and ambitious educationists alike decried the Act, blaming it for overstepping state authority and failing to make substantial changes. In reality, the Education Act of 1870 released Britain's education system from the religious problem that had stalled expansion of state oversight, and was thus revolutionary compared to preceding decades of education reform. Voluntary and religious schools, therefore, had quite a bit to lose as a consequence of the Education Act, and little to gain if they failed to

721. Reports to the Committee of Council on Education from 1870 confirm this point, as the department's consensus was that state-funded schools were at their 'maximum' efficiency without compulsory attendance. For more on this, see: Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1870-1871. Archival Records, ED. 17/36. Education Department, 1871.

comply with the new 'opt-out' and religious neutrality policies. On this, Gladstone – speaking during the final Parliamentary sessions on the Education Act – made the following statement:

it [former education policy] was with absolute necessity of policy – to respect and to favor the educational establishments and machinery we found existing in the country. It was impossible for us to join in the language, or to adopt the tone which was conscientiously and consistently taken by some members of the House, who look upon these voluntary schools, having generally a denominational character, as admirable passing expedients, fit indeed to be tolerated for a time, deserving all credit on account of the motives which led to their foundation, but wholly unsatisfactory as to their main purpose, and therefore to be supplanted by something they think better.⁷²²

Gladstone's statement was an attempt to assuage fears that the Education Act was a direct assault not just on voluntary schooling's access to state funds, but also the idea of voluntary schools entirely. Though Forster stressed that the Act's goal was "to fill up the gaps" left by voluntary schooling, evidence on state-supported schools gives a clear trajectory as to what the expansion of state-funding could do to voluntary institutions.⁷²³ As such, fears that a national system would undermine the primacy of voluntary schools were well-founded, however such fears remained attached to ideals and concepts that were incompatible with the trajectory of state-funded education after 1870.⁷²⁴ As in Ireland after 1830, voluntary

722. House of Commons, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Third Series: Commencing With the Accession of William IV*, vol. CCXXXI (London: Cornelius Buck, 1876), 776.

723. *Ibid*, 775-776. References to Irish education, Irish education bills, and nondenominational schooling were common throughout the proceedings of the Education Act's progress in the House of Commons. For example, Winterbotham noted his concern in June 1870, stating that "he did not intend to propose his Amendment, to the effect that 'no religious instruction shall be given or religious observances practised other than the reading of the Scriptures.' He deeply deplored the decision to which the House had already come upon this matter; and he looked forward with an anxiety he did not care to conceal to the application of the same principle next year to Ireland." (HC Deb, Committee (Progress 28th June). June 30 1870, Vol. 202, 1265.)

724. Historian David Wardle identifies 1870 as the paradigmatic shift between 'the age of voluntary schooling' and 'the age of compulsory attendance and school boards.' This dissertation adheres to this argument, as it aligns with the shift in dialog and purpose regarding education after 1870 (David Wardle, *English Popular Education, 1780-1970*, 61.)

schools in England and Wales persisted after 1870, however their role as the primary source of education for Britons was no longer secure.⁷²⁵

Though flawed, incomplete, and met with mixed responses, the Education Act of 1870 completely reshaped the landscape of British schooling in the late-nineteenth century. This 'reshaping' occurred as a consequence of the expansion of state oversight: inspection, curriculum-management, and administrative oversight were now the conditions upon which state-funding in Britain rested. Furthermore, the creation of board schools – following the model of 'national schools' in Ireland – facilitated the development of national standards of educational achievement and justified the establishment of compulsion in a decade.⁷²⁶

Though the immediate impact of the Act on literacy rates in England and Wales was negligible, education's newfound role as a near-universal experience would soon alter the substance of Britishness.

In his work *The Long Revolution*, Raymond Williams argues that "there was no sudden opening of the floodgates of literacy as the result of the 1870 Education Act."⁷²⁷ While

725. Interestingly enough, funding to voluntary schools actually increased during the 1870-1900 window in spite of the rapid rise of national and board schools. This occurred as a consequence of the loosening of restrictions on funding to schools that submitted to state inspection and state guidelines on curriculum and 'conscientious objection' to religious teaching. Thus, while voluntary schools persisted (and in some areas expanded) during this time, their capacity to indiscriminately educate along religious lines was curtailed. (HMSO, *Special Reports on Educational Subjects: Educational Systems of the Chief Crown Colonies and Possessions of the British Empire, Including Reports on the Training of Native Races, Pt. 2*, 475-499. See also: E.G. West, *Education and the State*, 186-7.)

726. Without schools to attend, compulsion was inconceivable, and some regions were simply too poor to support a voluntary school. Model schools solved this problem for areas without voluntary schools, however their presence dissuaded the establishment of future voluntary schools and (if close enough to voluntary schools) drove many existing voluntary schools out of business. This scenario, condemned by Liberals as overreach by the state, was considered problematic but ultimately unavoidable if compulsion was the long-term goal (which, for many educationists, it was). For more on this, see: *Ibid*, 192-211.

727. Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1961), 187-188. This statement is employed, and defended, by a multitude of historians of nineteenth century education, such as David Wardle and E.G. West. For more on this topic, see: E.G. West, *Education and the Industrial Revolution*. See also: David Wardle, *English Popular*

statistical evidence corroborates this from a technical standpoint, the awareness of mass education – both its newness and the inevitable rise of national literacy – had an immediate and palpable impact on British culture. From the 1870s-on, mass education dovetailed with rising 'New Imperial' attitudes and jingo nationalism, both of which led to a general expansion of the definition of Britishness to include a larger swath of British society.⁷²⁸ Broader inclusion under the banner of Britishness did not, however, guarantee acceptance. *The Times of London*, writing in 1873, issued the following statement about the opening of the first Board School in the City:

There are swarms of children everywhere to be seen— swarms which a gentleman present, well known for his benevolence, is said to have likened to locusts...⁷²⁹

This language mirrors innumerable reports and articles from earlier in the century, in which Britons were condemned and ridiculed for their uneducated, and thus un-civilized, status. Unlike the earlier decades of state-funded education, however, the era of growing mass education was built upon a now-accepted fact: state-funded education was an admission of need by those being *educated* as much as it was an admission of need by those doing the *educating*. In other words, mass education was a sign that the relationship between Britons, Britishness, and the state was beginning to change.

Though the Education Act of 1870 failed, in the eyes of contemporaries, to truly change the landscape of education in Britain, it provided an essential foundation for the more tangible and epochal changes of the Education Act of 1880. This act, primarily notable for its introduction of compulsory education, represented the end of the 'experimental' na-

Education, 1780-1970.

728. Numerous works deal with these topics, with works by historians J.A. Mangan and John Mackenzie leading the way as some of the most oft-cited and seminal. For more on this topic, see: J.A. Mangan, *Benefits Bestowed?*. See also: John M. Mackenzie, *Imperialism and Popular Culture*.

729. Mary Sturt, *The Education of the People*, 333.

ture of state-funded education in Britain, and the creation of an educational system with a genetic makeup more akin to modern school systems than those of the nineteenth century.⁷³⁰ Compulsory education, a long-time goal of educationists in Britain, was achieved in 1880 in spite of innumerable protests that such coercive behavior was anathema to Britishness, and more akin to Prussian militarism than British liberalism. In the 1854 work *German Letters on English Education* by educationist Dr. Ludwig Wiese, he notes that the mere mention of Prussian education inspires derision in British educationist circles:

Directly you begin to talk of the German schools we are sure to be deafened by the catch cries 'centralisation,' 'irreligion,' 'absence of all free action on the part of the communes, 'organised system of compulsion on the part of the State in sending children to regulation schools'... and so on; as if the schools were prisons...All of these charges are at least exaggerated; and whoever wishes to be convinced that the educational system of the Prussian government is not limited...need only step into the first respectable gymnasium...⁷³¹

The popular association of compulsory education and illiberalism persisted into the later-nineteenth century, a development that begs the following question: why, after forty-

730. It is worth noting that the Education Act of 1870 included language on the concept of compulsory education, but the Act did not provide enforcement tools for it.

731. Wiese reprinted this quote from a work written in 1850 by Joseph Kay (brother of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth). Wiese's work includes quite a few derisive comments on Prussian education: "The Earl of Arundel, who passes for an honourable and thoughtful man, said in a speech in Parliament, 'If the final object of all education and all knowledge be to exalt men to a sense of their own moral dignity, and to a consciousness of their responsibility in the sight of their Creator, then the Prussian system of instruction is an absolute failure; it is nothing more than just breaking a child in to that conventional training and mental subjection which the State requires of its subjects; it is not an education which has elevated the human character, but rather one which has debased it.'" Dr. Ludwig Wiese, *German Letters on English Education*, 167-168.

one years of 'Voluntaryism,' did Britain suddenly shift towards compulsion?⁷³² The words of Edward Holmes, Inspector of Schools, give a suitable response:

[the village schools has a] national, not to say imperial [role]...its business is to turn out youthful citizens rather than hedgers and ditchers...preparing children for the battle of life (a battle which will be fought in all parts of the British Empire).⁷³³

Statements like this, increasingly common during the 1880s, were reflections of the growing anxiety over Britain's role both in the world, and its empire.⁷³⁴ Relative industrial decline compared to the United States and Germany, imperial competition in Africa, and growing anti-imperial disillusion in Ireland and India conspired against the definitions of Britishness defined in previous chapters. These problems, and the anxieties surrounding them, drove many Britons to adhere to one of two ideological camps: 'Commonwealthers' or 'Anglo-Sax-

732. In a correspondence letter issued during the Franco-Prussian War, the following quote linking education and Prussian military performance was issued: "Undoubtedly, the conduct of the campaign, on the German side, has given a marked triumph to the cause of systematic popular education." (*The Edinburgh Review, or Critical Journal: For July 1870 to October 1870*, vol. CXXXII (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1870), 564.) Whether or not true, this sentiment captures the growing anxiety in Britain regarding the linkage between military prowess and literacy.

733. J.A. Mangan, 'Benefits Bestowed?', 40.

734. In 1867, Matthew Arnold wrote a letter on compulsory education that highlights the arguments and counter-arguments of the compulsory system that were widespread during this time:

"...I [Arminius, a friend of Arnold] want you to understand what this principle of compulsory education really means. It means to ensure, as far as you can, every man's being fit for his business in life, you put education as a bar, or condition, between him and what he aims at...in my country [Germany]...we should have begun to put a pressure on these future magistrates at school. Before we allowed Lord Lumpington and Mr. Hittall [argument foils] to go to the university at all, we should have examined them, and we should not have trusted the keepers of that absurd cockpit [school]...No; there would have been some Mr. Grote as School Board Commisionary, pitching into them questions about history, and some Mr. Lowe...pitching into them questions about English literature; and these young men would have been kept from the university...till they instructed themselves...Whatever Arminius may say, I [Arnold] am still for going straight, with all our heart and sol, at compulsory education for the lower orders...if the masses are to have power, let them be instructed, and don't swamp with ignorance and unreason the education and intelligence which now bear rule against us...I am bent, I own, on trying to make the new elements of our political system worthy of the old, and I say kindly...'Be great, O working class, for the middle and upper class are great'" (Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy: An Essay in Political and Social Criticism and Friendship's Garland: Being the Conversations, Letters, and Opinions of the Late Arminius, Baron Von Thunder-Ten-tronckh* (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1883), 266-272.)

oners.' The former included Britons who saw Britishness as a pan-national foundation for 'Greater Britain,' a concept intended to create a imperial citizenship through proper education and loyalty to the crown.⁷³⁵ The latter was made up of Britons that were protective of Britishness and sought to lock it behind barriers of race, class, religion, or education, depending on the cultural context and the threats being faced.

This ideological rift did not suddenly emerge as a result of the Education Acts of 1870/1880. Rather, these Acts sharpened the impending reality that education, though essential to Britain's competitiveness on the world stage, would soon begin to equalize the great rifts in social and cultural status at home and in the empire. The rapid emergence of nationalist imperialism was, therefore, an essential catalyst for the popular acceptance of compulsion as a necessary and beneficial step towards maintaining Britain's global hegemony in the face of rising industrial and imperial competition.

Though nationalist imperialism was a powerful incentive for compulsory education on a popular level, the pragmatic benefits of compulsion were the primary catalysts of administrative support for the issue. Educationists and inspectors had complained of truancy and sporadic attendance since the beginning of state-funded education in the 1830s, and the evolution of child labor laws in the 1870s facilitated the re-introduction of the concept on a Parliamentary level.⁷³⁶ Fortunately for supporters of compulsion, the 1876 Royal Commission on the Factory Acts decided strongly in favor of compulsory education for children up to 10 years old, a decision that provided the necessary political clout to move compulsion from suggestion to reality.⁷³⁷ With the Education Act of 1880, compulsion was applied to all

735. Supporters of this school of thought, such as Seeley, were early supporters of compulsory and free education. For more on this, see: Duncan Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain*.

736. In this way, then, the epoch of education reform ends in the same fashion that it started: attached to discussions of child labor laws.

737. Committee of Council on Education, *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire Into the Working of the Factory and Workshop Acts, With a View to Their Consolidation and Amendment; Together With the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index*, vol. I (London: Eyre

children ages 5 to 10, a range that would be gradually expanded during the 1880s-1900s. With this Act, and the previously discussed importance of compulsion for Britain and Britishness, a new epoch in British education was suddenly and unceremoniously begun.⁷³⁸

and Spottiswoode, 1876), *ci*, Point 59. Interestingly, the report recommends application to Irish schools as well, in spite of the separate status of Irish and British school systems.

738. A Mr. Fawcett, MP for Hackney, made the following argument in favor of compulsory education in a Parliamentary debate on July 1876: "The only argument of any weight which had been used against the Amendment was that it went further than the Education Act of 1870, which only established permissive compulsion; but the country had made progress on that question since 1870, and if they were not now to advance beyond the provision of that Act, why was the present Bill brought in at all? The Amendment under discussion was rendered all the more necessary by the Amendment which the Vice President of the Council had accepted the other day on the suggestion of the noble Lord (Lord Frederick Cavendish) relating to half-time. If stringent precautions were adopted against children between the ages of 5 and 10 being sent to work, it was most essential, in the interests of children, that equally effectual security should be taken for getting them between those same ages into the schools, otherwise they might be neither learning nor working, but only running about the streets." (HC Deb, Committee (Progress 11th July). July 13 1876, Vol. 230, 1402.)

Chapter 14: Divergence and Imperial Education

If the Education Acts of 1870 and 1880 changed sociocultural dynamics at home, so too did they catalyze fierce debates in the empire. In India and Ireland, compulsion and expanding national education systems led to conflicts over the capacity of non-Britons to accept Britishness, and the capacity of Britishness to accept non-British cultures. Compulsory education was a victory for those who sought to ensure the existence of state-funded education, however the policies and practices of post-1880 education had various, and often deleterious effects on the relationship between education, Britishness, and the British Empire.

As domestic Britain moved towards compulsion, its imperial systems remained locked behind the problems that had plagued them for decades. Religious concerns, funding issues, and cultural conflicts were the defining aspects of these problems, and British educationists – though conscious of the problems themselves – were at a loss as to the solution. The consequence of this educational divergence was not just academic: the growing 'education gap' between Britain and its empire was a defining feature of Britain's imperial experience at the turn of the century. This chapter analyzes the impacts of this divergence, looking at imperial criticisms of Britain's failure to resolve the growing education gap, and growing tensions at home and abroad over the role of education in shaping Britishness.

As noted in prior chapters, depictions of difference in the mid-nineteenth century were often presented as a combination of race, cultural difference, class, and illiteracy. In 1864, for example, the *Saturday Review* issued an editorial on the inhabitants of Bethnal

Green, a subsection of London. This editorial gave the following summary of Bethnal Green's inhabitants:

The Bethnal Green poor, as compared with the comfortable inhabitants of western London, are a caste apart, a race of whom we know nothing, whose lives are of a quite different complexion from ours.⁷³⁹

The fluidity of terms in this quote – caste, race, class – is indicative of the continued fluidity of how many Britons labeled and organized the peoples around them. As certain criteria, in this case education, began to change, other elements of the categorical model would be emphasized in an attempt to regulate and retain the preexisting discrepancies in status. Historian Douglas Lorimer, in his work *Colour, Class, and the Victorians*, relates this process to late-nineteenth century upward trends in education and social mobility. For Lorimer, and for many social historians of the late-nineteenth century, the upward mobility of the lower classes posed a clear threat to the existing social hierarchy, leading upper-class Britons (those that were seen as the 'definers' of Britishness) to look for novel means of difference, or to harden their stance on certain aspects of difference.⁷⁴⁰

739. The *Saturday Review* went to compare the 'lower orders' in Britain with liberated slaves in the United States, noting that they were condemned to 'permanent social inferiority' that was a necessary station for the existence of their betters. *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science, and Art*, vol. XVII (London: Saturday Review, 1864), 72. Referenced by: James Walvin, *England, Slaves and Freedom, 1776-1838* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1986), 92. See also: Douglas A. Lorimer, *Colour, Class and the Victorians*, 101. 740. For Lorimer, this topic was largely present in the context of peoples living in Britain proper. The work of other historians, and research conducted for this dissertation, indicate that the process was not exclusive to Britain itself, and was part of the general imperial experience of the late-nineteenth century. For more on this, see: *Ibid*, 110-129. See also Mary J. Hickman, *Religion, Class and Identity: The Irish in Britain: The State, the Catholic Church and the Education of the Irish in Britain*, 37-40. In this work, historian Mary J. Hickman makes the following point: "[Historian Richard] Lebow argues that throughout the first half of the 19th century most Englishmen were convinced that the barbarism of the Irish was a manifestation of their 'national character' but had devoted little thought to the question of whether this character was inherited or was a function of environment and history (culture). It was common to find commentaries on the Irish intermingling both explanations." (*Ibid*, 47.)

In Britain, the process of reinforcing difference intermingled with emergent jingo nationalism to generate an increasingly hostile strain of 'Anglo-Saxonism,' one that condemned 'Celtic' and non-white populations as racially inferior on the grounds of their religious choices, national histories, and (when not self-condemnatory) skin color.⁷⁴¹ Racial claims like this were not wholly new to the post-1870 period, however attempts to inculcate these values in the emergent British lower-class began in earnest in response to mass education. This task was made easier due to long-standing sociocultural divisions within the lower classes of Britain based around employment, housing, and immigration. In Manchester, for example, tensions between urban British and Irish laborers were a common concern of educationists as early as the 1830s, as these two groups were in direct competition for employment and housing in the rapidly-urbanizing city.⁷⁴²

741. Condemnation of 'Celtic' peoples was not new to the nineteenth century. David Hume, for example, said this of the Irish in his 1744 work *The History of England*: "The Irish from the beginning of time had been buried in the most profound barbarism and ignorance; and as they were never conquered or even invaded by the Romans, from whom all the Western world derived its civility, they continued still in the most rude state of society, and were distinguished by these vices alone to which human nature, not tamed by education, or restrained by laws, is for ever subject." (David Hume, *The History of England, From the Invasion of Julius Caesar, to the Revolution in 1688* (London: Jones and Company, 1825), 99.)

John Temple, a contemporary of Hume, was also condemnatory of the Irish; "...the malignant impression of Irreligion and Barbarism, transmitted-down, whether by infusion from their ancestors, or by natural generation, had irrefragably stiffened their necks and hardened their hearts against all the most powerful endeavours of *Reformation*: they continued one and the same in all their wicked customs and inclinations, without change in their affections or manners, having their eyes inflamed, their hearts enraged with malice and hatred against all the English nations, breathing forth nothing but their ruin, destruction, and utter extirpation." (Sir John Temple, *The Irish Rebellion: Or, an History of the Attempts of the Irish Papists to Extirpate the Protestants in the Kingdom of Ireland; Together With the Barbarous Cruelties and Bloody Massacre Which Ensued Thereupon* (London: The Feathers, 1812), 19.) For more on this, see: Richard Ned Lebow, *White Britain and Black Ireland*, 7, 19.

742. The Anglo-Irish antagonism in Manchester – referred to as 'Little Ireland' by contemporaries – was discussed at length by Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth in his works on early state-funded education. For more on this, see: R.J.W. Sellec, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*. See also: *The Irish in Victorian Britain*, 14-27, 109, and R.J.W. Sellec, *James Kay-Shuttleworth*, 44-53.

These sorts of 'inter-class' tensions persisted into the later part of the century, and were neither confined to the British lower class nor to the British isles. In Ireland and India, for example, state-funded schooling encouraged competition for clerical positions in the British government. This policy led Irish and Indians of all classes to compete with Britons, and themselves, for civil service status.⁷⁴³ Competition was encouraged as a part of education policy in all parts of the British Empire, as it was believed that such competition would produce civil servants of the highest caliber.⁷⁴⁴ The culture surrounding education and civil service conspired against this model, however, especially among students in India:

Sir Patrick O'Brien held that there was more in that question than the case of a mere individual [Mr. Mason, a student]. The Civil Service of India was now regarded by many young men in England, Scotland, and Ireland as a profession, and when the friends of those young men incurred a large expense in educating and qualifying them for that service, they ought to know that the rules and conditions of the examination

743. Etienne Balibar describes this problem in the work *Race, Nation, Class*: There corresponds to this mission a practice of assimilating dominated populations and a consequent need to differentiate and rank individuals or groups in terms of their greater or lesser aptitude for - or resistance to assimilation." (Etienne Balibar, and Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities* (London: Verso, 1991), 24.) This concept is discussed in many works, though the following offer greater detail on the subject: Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*.

744. Sir Charles Wood made the following statement on this: "If the aristocracy are able by their merits to introduce themselves to the Indian service I shall be exceedingly glad. If the son of a horsedealer can introduce himself in that way, I wish to see him also in that service. But there is to be no exclusion, and no favour. Merit, and merit alone, is to be the door of introduction to the civil service of India." (House of Commons, *Right Honorable Sir Charles Wood, President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, on Moving for Leave to Introduce a Bill to Provide for the Government of India* (London: James Ridgeway, 1853), 108.) Sir Thomas Babington Macaulay mirrored this sentiment: "It [the new civil servant policy for India] is intended to introduce the principle of competition in the disposal of writerships; and from this change I cannot but anticipate the happiest results. The civil servants of the Company are undoubtedly a highly respectable body of men; and in that body, as in every large body, there are some persons of very eminent ability...I rejoice to see that the standard of morality is so high in England, that intelligence is so generally diffused through England, that young persons who are taken from the mass of society, by favour and not by merit, and who are therefore only fair samples of the mass, should, when placed in situations of high importance, be so seldom found wanting. But it is not the less true India is entitled to the service of the best talents which England can spare...Consider too, Sir, how rapidly the public mind of India is advancing, how much attention is already paid by the higher classes of the natives to those intellectual pursuits on the cultivation of which the superiority of the European race to the rest of mankind principally depends." (Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Speeches of Lord Macaulay*, 150.)

were of an inflexible character. If errors were made and the Civil Service Commissioners were asked to correct them, the House ought not to be told that there was not a Department of the Government which could give any information on the subject. This case was not that of an individual, for the faith of all the young men in the country would be rudely shaken if no inquiry was to be made about the operations of the Civil Service Commissioners.⁷⁴⁵

The issue at stake in this excerpt was the technical disqualification of Mr. Mason as a result of his age, a decision compounded by the technical *qualification* of another student – Mr. Borooah – based on the same obscure age restrictions. Technicalities aside, this episode reveals that, by 1870, problems were on the rise. Dissatisfaction with the methodology of the Civil Service Examination system among students was increasing, and many of these students viewed civil service *employment* as the natural consequence of civil service *education*. The latter problem was predicted by Sir Charles Wood during his re-evaluation of Indian education in the 1850s, as seen in the following excerpt of a letter from Wood to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in 1854:

You want surgeons and engineers, superintendents of railroad works and of irrigation works and so forth. Train up men for practical purposes. Give the means of conferring distinction on people who choose to educate themselves highly, but educate yourself for practical employment. These are my principles, and I have endeavoured [sic] to carry them out as far and fast as I can in the dispatch.⁷⁴⁶

Wood's concern is clear: overproduction of bureaucrats would lead to unemployment for India's emergent middle-class, a situation with potentially-dire consequences for Britain's authority in India. In this instance, state-funded education was a victim of its own success: the promise of a clerical job – and a change in social status – was too enticing for many young Indians to ignore, and the Indian Civil Service offered minimal supervision over the expansion of education programs centered around the civil service exam. A similar situation developed in Ireland around the same time, creating a scenario in which the results of edu-

745. HC Deb, Case of Mr. Mason – Resolution, July 22 1870, Vol. 203, 793-801.

746. R. J. Moore, *Sir Charles Wood's Indian Policy*, 115.

cation outstripped imperial demand and, especially in India, Britons and non-Britons found themselves competing for the same government positions.⁷⁴⁷ This development, more than any other in the history of the Raj, exposed the deep flaws in Britain's educational and administrative models at home and in the empire.

In 1861, Indian discontent with the system of jobs and appointments in the Indian Civil Service reached the floor of the House of Commons. This discontent, bubbling over as a result of the growing mass of newly-minted, yet unemployed Indian students, could (according to Sir Charles Wood) be traced back to 1793. In this year, the British East India Company enacted a policy to control the 'jobbing' of official positions in India by mandating that all officials in India must be covenanted servants of the Company.⁷⁴⁸ This Act, loosely referenced and of limited utility, remained untouched into the early 1860s, at which points its initial purpose (preventing cronyism in India) was changed into something far more insidious: a means of discrimination against Indians entering the upper-echelons of the Indian Civil Service.⁷⁴⁹ The term 'covenanted,' once indicative of status and education, was now indicative of whiteness, thus barring the upward progress of talented Indians. This foiled the core thesis of Wood's Despatch, and gravely undermined the educational ethos of the British Raj. This development was anathema to educationists and Indians alike, and created a dire problem for the Indian Civil Service.

Pressure from covenanted servants pushed the Indian Civil Service to maintain the current British oligarchy, whereas rising Indian civil servants – and the demand for more

⁷⁴⁷ John Coolahan argues that this process, and the dissatisfaction distilled from it, led directly to anti-imperial, pro-Gaelic movements in Ireland. For more on this, see: J.A. Mangan, *'Benefits Bestowed?'*, 84-84. See also: R.B. McDowell, *The Irish Administration*, 24.

⁷⁴⁸ This is explained in great detail by Sir Charles Wood in a speech to the House of Commons in June, 1861. For more on this, see: HC Deb, Leave – First Reading, June 6 1861, Vol. 163.

⁷⁴⁹ For more on this topic, see: Bradford Spangenberg, *British Bureaucracy in India*. See also: Anil Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism: Competition and Collaboration in the Later Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968).

civil servants in mid-tier positions of authority – represented both problem *and* solution for the growing Raj. A Mr. Marshman, speaking in the House of Commons in June 1861, offered the following synopsis of the problem:

Again, it would be impossible to procure the necessary number of experienced barristers at Calcutta; and he could not believe that a young man, practising [sic] at the Bar in England and earning £500 a year, would be induced to relinquish that for a life of expatriation in a remote station in Bengal, far away from the civilized world, on a salary of £1,200 or £1,500 a year. It [the abolition of the 1793 Act] would, therefore, give rise to immense political power and patronage, because the Secretary of State for India would be enabled to oblige an avowed or shaky supporter of the Government of the day by providing any one to whom he was indebted for services rendered at his election with one of these appointments. India would, therefore, be flooded with briefless lawyers, and electioneering agents. A great injustice would, at the same time, be inflicted upon that useful and laborious class of public servants known as Moonsiffs, Sudder Ameens, and Principal Sudder Ameens, who are either Natives or East Indians, as they were being gradually superseded and absorbed by the Small Cause Courts.⁷⁵⁰

The fate of India's education, judicial, and administrative systems were, according to Marshman and others, bound up in the issue of whether or not Indians should be allowed to hold positions of authority over Britons.

Pragmatism and equality prevailed in the House of Commons in 1861, leading to the passage of an act that permitted Indians to gain access to the more prestigious positions of authority. In spite of this, however, the Indian Civil Service delayed and sabotaged the act's implementation throughout the 1860s, such that the first fruits of this legal process did not emerge until the 1870s. By this time, the quantity of Indian civil servants had grown tremendously, giving additional weight to their vocal demands for authority while also leading to a mass exodus of Britons from the judicial service (the only service, the Indian Civil Service determined, that was 'fit' for higher-grade Indians).⁷⁵¹ This process, starting in the judiciary,

750. HC Deb, East India (Civil Service) Bill – Committee. June 27 1861, Vol. 163, 1667.

751. British civil servants unwilling to work under an Indian took refuge in the executive branch, which was believed the service 'most safe' from Indians. For more on this, see: Bradford Spangenberg, *British Bureaucracy in India*, 125.

lead to a general reconstitution of Indian administration throughout the Raj; where Indian civil servants moved in, Britons were generally quick to vacate their positions (rather than work for an Indian). By the 1880-90s, the lower- and middle-ranks of many services, education included, were largely under the control of Indians, even though the upper-ranks of these services remained inaccessible.⁷⁵² This process was inevitable from a pragmatic standpoint: as noted by Marshman above, Britain could not feasibly provide the bureaucratic infrastructure needed to govern India, much less the rest of the British Empire, without reliance on indigenous populations.⁷⁵³

Though the bureaucratic transition described above was largely inevitable, it was also encouraged by the Raj, specifically in the realm of education. The Indian Education Commission (also called the 'Hunter Commission'), organized by Sir William Hunter in 1882, was

752. This problem was readily (and worrisomely) noted by Raj officials, however their capacity to limit this action was tempered by their control over individual civil servants as well as strong attitudes towards rising Indian civil servants. For example, Sir Anthony MacDonnell, Home Secretary for the Indian Government in the 1880s, made the following statement on this issue: "We are not dealing with a class imbued with an inborn passion for liberty, rightly struggling to be free, but with a class of persons whose only use of the unexpected gift is to abuse it...to put down the evil needs only a certain amount of firmness and discretion, [and] if applied before the creed of sedition now preached from week to week[,] has had time to take effect among the masses of the people. In doing this the government...will surely earn also the approbation of the respectable classes, against whom the native press is now an engine of terror and oppression." MacDonnell was also a proponent of strict ratios of Indian-to-British servants in all departments, noting that 'reducing the European element below the point of safety' was a very real danger. For more on this, see: Michael Brillman, *Bengal Tiger, Celtic Tiger: The Life of Sir Anthony Patrick Macdonnell, 1844-1925*, vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2009), 50.

753. This was noted by William Wilson Hunter, a member of the Indian Civil Service and future head of the Hunter Commission, in his work *England's Work in India* (1880): "English in India are now called upon, either to stand by...or to aid the people...to meet their growing wants. The problem is a difficult one; but I have shown why I believe it capable of solution. Forty years ago, the political economists would have told us that a Government had no right to enter on such problems at all; and forty years hereafter we should have had an Indian Ireland, multiplied fiftyfold, on our hands. The condition of things in India compels the Government to enter on these problems. Their solution, and the constant demand for improvement in the general executive, will require an increasing amount of administrative labour... The principle of *laissez-faire* can, in fact, be safely applied only to self-governing nations." (W. W. Hunter, *England's Work in India* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1881), 130-131.)

formed to evaluate the progress of state-funded education since Wood's Despatch, and to determine the proper relationship between state-funded education and the Indian Civil Service. Comparable to the education commissions of Ireland and Britain in prior decades, the Hunter Commission was a comprehensive analysis of all elements of Indian education, especially those affected by state policy or influenced by state-funding. The introduction of the Hunter Commission's report makes this clear:

While this [primary education and its expansion] is the main object to which the enquiries of the Commission should be directed, the Governor General in Council desires to impress upon it at the same time the fact that it is not possible for the Government to find funds sufficient to meet the full requirements of the country in the matter of primary education, if those requirements are to be judged by any European standard. The resources at the disposal of Government, whether Imperial, Provincial, or Local, are, and must long remain, extremely limited in amount, and the result is, not only that progress must necessarily be gradual, but that, if satisfactory progress is to be made at all, every available private agency must be called into action to relieve and assist the public funds in connection with every branch of Public Instruction. It was in view of 'the impossibility of Government alone doing all that must be done...' that the grant-in-aid system was elaborated and developed by the Despatch of 1854; and it is to the wider extension of this system...that the Government looks to see free funds which may then be made applicable to the promotion of the education of the masses...the richer classes of the people should gradually be induced to provide for their own education...In pursuance of this policy, it is the desire of the Government to offer every encouragement to Native gentlemen to come forward and aid, even more extensively than heretofore, in the establishment of schools upon the grant-in-aid system...The Government is ready therefore to do all that it can to foster such a spirit of independence and self-help. It is willing to hand over any of its own colleges or schools in suitable cases, to bodies of Native gentlemen...⁷⁵⁴

The Commission's lamentation that 'it is not possible for the Government to find funds sufficient to meet the full requirements of the country in the matter of primary education' reflects the ultimate conclusion of the report: education, be it elementary, secondary, or collegiate, was to be supported by the Raj up to a certain fiscal limit, and no further.⁷⁵⁵

754. Report of the Indian Education Commission, Appointed By the Resolution of the Government of India Dated 3rd February, 1883, 1883, , 3.

755. The Commission openly rejected any calls for compulsory education, outlining a clear argument as to why: "Moreover, the poverty of the country must form an important consideration. Not only is the duration of the school-going age necessarily shorter than in

In order to make up this fiscal difference, the Commission sought to offload as much of the educational burden onto 'native gentlemen,' a process that would accelerate Britain's release of lower- and mid-level positions of imperial authority to Indians.⁷⁵⁶ This point seems to conflict with statements made within the Commission, specifically the conclusion that Wood's Despatch "[confirmed that] the education of the whole people of India was definitely accepted as a State duty," however closer inspection of Wood's Despatch reveals that it – like the Hunter Commission – saw indigenous support as vital to state efforts:

It is well that every opportunity should be given to those (the higher) classes for the acquisition of a liberal European education, the effects of which may be expected slowly to pervade the rest of their fellow-country-men, and to raise, in the end, the educational tone of the whole country...the higher classes are both able and willing, in many cases, to bear a considerable part at least of the cost of their education; and it is abundantly evident that in some part of India no artificial stimulus is any longer required in order to create a demand for such an education as is conveyed in the Government Anglo-vernacular colleges...We shall, therefore, have done as much as a Government can do to place the benefits of education plainly and practically before the higher classes in India.⁷⁵⁷

Europe, but, as a matter of fact, millions of peasant families depend on the labour of their children in order to raise sufficient food to keep them alive during the year. The ration of one child at school to each six persons of the population implies a standard of comfort and civilization unknown in India. Again, education in most European countries is compulsory by law; but having regard to the poverty and actual educational requirements of the great bulk of the population of India, the Commission declined even to enter into the question of a compulsory Education Act, which must at least be preceded by the provision of adequate school accommodation. We have adopted 15 per cent as on the whole affording the best estimate of the children of school-going age. But whatever proportion may be adopted, it is certain that a vast unoccupied area exists for further educational efforts, especially in the direction of primary instruction" (Education Commission of Bombay, *Evidence Taken Before the Bombay Provincial Committee and Memorials Addressed to the Education Commission (Hunter Commission)*, vol. Vol. II (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1882), 28.)
756. The core problem with this model, aside from problems discussed later in this Chapter, is that schools supported solely by 'native Gentlemen' were beholden to the shifting fortunes and capital of their benefactors. They also, as in Britain, tended to factionalize the student population based on religion, race, and culture. The Hunter Commission recognizes this, recalling two examples: an 'Oriental college' at Bengal that, founded in 1792 by 'Muhammadan gentlemen,' quickly failed as their wealth declined, and a college opened by Committee of Public Instruction in 1829 that was endowed with £1,700,000 from Nawab Itimad-ud-Daula but was soon afterwards abolished. (Report of the Indian Education Commission, Appointed By the Resolution of the Government of India Dated 3rd February, 1883, 1883, , 21.)
757. *Ibid*, 22, 24.

Considering the points made above, the Hunter Commission represents a clear break with the trajectory of state-funded education throughout the British Empire. Up to this point, limited funding and limited scope had gone hand-in-hand at home as well as throughout the Empire, and such realities shaped state education policy. By 1880, however, education policy in Britain was moving decisively towards compulsion and majority state control, whereas the Hunter Commission was trying to accomplish the former (universal education) without the the means afforded by the latter.⁷⁵⁸ Strong reliance on private institutions and funding had already proven to be an unreliable source of infrastructural expansion, thus further reliance was a virtual guarantee that any plans adopted by the Commission would be hampered by the arbitrariness and unreliability of their implementation.

The unreliability of private institutions was, according to the Commission, to be tempered by the liberal use of grants-in-aid and local rates, both of which had been part of British educational policy since the 1840-50s.⁷⁵⁹ As with grants-in-aid in Britain, however, these methods were oftentimes viewed as a replacement – not a supplement – for local funding:

...in Madras preference has been given to private enterprise...the Department [policy] has been one of adoption of existing institutions rather than one of direct creation by the instrumentality of Government...[however] the opening of Government high schools [in Madras] seems to have led to the idea that the inhabitants of places unprovided with the means of advanced instruction should look

758. To be clear, the definition of 'universal education' was not the same in 1881 as it is in the present period. The Hunter Commission, for example, defined "the great mass of the people" (i.e. those deserving of education) as "one child...for every six persons of the population." According to the Commission, this ratio results in around 15% of India's population. It is also worth noting that the Commission rejects any notion that India should have compulsory education, citing 'poverty and [the] actual educational requirements' of the population. Ibid, 28.

759. In 1871, the Towns Improvement Act allowed Indian municipalities, primarily in Madras, to expend part of their local rates on education, a tactic that was hoped to act as stimulus for further local funding. The Commission does not follow up on the efficacy of this policy, thus it is unknown just how much of an impact it had on local rates and schools. Ibid, 29.

for the supply of their educational wants to Government rather than to themselves...⁷⁶⁰

Grants-in-aid stifled private enterprise in some regions of India, and led to *de facto* state schools in others, thus entangling the Raj with elementary education on an ever-increasing scale, whether or not it desired such direct involvement.

The 'entanglement' problem is partially responsible for the opening statements of the Commission regarding 'native Gentlemen.' Though state-funded education was growing slowly, if at all, relative to Indian population growth, it was absolutely growing, thus Government expenditure was increasing steeply. The Commission estimated that it was spending £1,611,028 on the education of around 2,766,436 million students in India and Burma in 1881. The latter figure was compared, favorably, to the total student population of 1855, which was around 925,000. This process is comparable to Parliament's hesitant response to the escalation of state funding at home under the supervision of Kay-Shuttleworth. In both cases, state-funding of private institutions hampered private funding of schools, leading to compensatory state-funding and, ultimately, the rapid expansion of educational expenses.⁷⁶¹

The official response in India to this budgetary outcome was nearly identical to that of Britain: grants-in-aid should be distributed to schools where local support (ideally indigenous school support) was sustainable, teacher training schools must be encouraged in order to encourage sustainability, and all such grants should be tied to capitation and the results of examination.⁷⁶² Where Indian and British policy differed, however, was enforcement. In

760. Ibid, 32.

761. This reality is lamented by the Hunter Commission: "...in the meanwhile the departmental system had become so completely established in public favour, that private enterprise was placed under difficulties and found the most suitable ground already occupied...although the whole primary system for male as well as for female education is well organised, it rests too exclusively on the direct instrumentality of Government." (Ibid, 36.)

762. The Hunter Commission offers two quotes on this: "all indigenous schools, whether high or low, be recognised and encouraged, if they serve any purpose of secular education

Britain, education funding post-1870 was tied to a specific set of uniform regulations designed to protect students against religious proselytism, whereas in India the Hunter Commission recommended a far more *laissez-faire* and deregulated form of inspection:

We recommend therefore that a steady and gradual improvement be aimed at, with as little immediate interference with the personnel and curriculum of indigenous schools as possible. In order to carry out this policy and to re-assure the village schoolmasters, we recommend that the standards of examination be arranged to suit each Province, with the view of preserving all that is valued by the people in the indigenous systems, and of encouraging by special grants the gradual introduction of useful subjects of instruction... We recommend that indigenous schools receiving aid be inspected in situ, and that, as far as possible, the examinations for their grants-in-aid be conducted in situ...we recommend that aided indigenous schools, not registered as special schools, be understood to be open to all castes and classes of the community; special aid being, if necessary, assignable on account of low-caste pupils. In order that our object may not be defeated by the registration of all schools as 'special,' we recommend that such a proportion between special and other elementary indigenous schools be maintained in each town or District as to ensure a proportionate provision for the education of all classes...local and municipal boards [should] be required to give elementary indigenous schools free play and development, and only establish fresh schools of their own when the preferable alternative of aiding suitable indigenous schools cannot be adopted.⁷⁶³

This model was a consequence of pragmatism, as the Hunter Commission was well aware that it lacked the inspectorial infrastructure to conduct reviews as done in Britain and Ireland. It was also, however, an attempt to assuage Indian fears that state-funding and Angli-

whatsoever," and "...we therefore recommend that the system of aid adopted be that which regulates the aid given mainly according to the results of examination." (Ibid, 74-75)
763. Ibid, 75-77. In addition to this, the Hunter Commission clearly links the failed elementary education system of India to the long-term legacy of 'Downward Filtration:' "Our review has shown that for many years the cause of primary education had to struggle against the theory described as that of "downward filtration." The contest was prolonged up to dates varying in different Provinces of India. The comparative neglect of the education of the masses in the Native States of India shows that their claims are even yet inadequately recognised by native society. Under these circumstances, and as it is probable that henceforth the administration of primary education will largely devolve on local committees, we think it desirable that the policy upon which the British Government has acted since 1871 should be reaffirmed. We therefore express our conviction that while every branch of education can justly claim the fostering care of the State, it is desirable, in the present circumstances of the country, to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension, and improvement, to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should now be directed in a still larger measure than heretofore." (Ibid, 112).

cization were linked.⁷⁶⁴ State-funded education was to be indigenous, vernacular, and offer limited interference over the schools themselves, a model wholly at odds with the precedents established in Britain after 1880.

In spite of the infrastructural and administrative differences between Indian, Irish, and British education systems after 1880, curricular and academic similarities provided a strong, unifying link between all three educational spheres. An emphasis on practical learning – arithmetic, accounting, mensuration, science, and industrial training – was strongly encouraged by the Hunter Commission on the grounds that it would assuage fears of 'over-education' and would improve the quality of life and economic efficiency of India.⁷⁶⁵ The Hunter Commission also recommended the limited creation of normal schools, teacher training institutions, scholarship prizes, and local schools boards, the latter being a novel development at home at the same time. Though these changes represented important steps towards a model of education similar to that of Britain or Ireland, they fell short of providing education for all Indians, compulsory or not. Narrowing the substantial gulf between the educated and uneducated populations of India was, the Committee admitted, a distant and remote possibility solely reliant on substantial private initiative.⁷⁶⁶ Ultimately, India was

764. "We have therefore carefully avoided any Recommendations which could be interpreted as advocating any centralised control in the matter of primary education, or the wholesale alteration of any existing system. At the same time we may remark that arguments which at the outset induced Government to rely mainly on its own direct efforts, lose, except in the case of neglected castes or backward Districts, much of their force when once a solid foundation has been laid for the diffusion of primary education...where indigenous schools exist, the principle of aiding and improving them be recognised as an important means of extending elementary education." (Ibid, 113.)

765. In spite of this recommendation, the Committee was opposed to unified or 'national' textbook selections, preferring to allow instructors to choose their own books. As with reliance on the vernacular and indigenous schools, this was as much policy as it was pragmatism. (Ibid, 124-127.)

766. The Hunter Commission made clear connections between Indian and British education policy with regards to language, noting in its recommendations that "We recommend that where the language of the tribe has not been reduced to writing or is otherwise unsuitable, the medium of instruction [should] be the vernacular of the neighboring population with whom the aboriginal people most often come into contact: and moreover that where the

not viewed as a candidate for universal or compulsory education, and the Hunter Commission's policy recommendations must be viewed via this lens.

The temptation to condemn state-funded education efforts in India – especially when compared to the emergence of compulsory national education at home – must be tempered by the reality that educational efforts of any substantial scope in Britain were less than a decade old. On this, the Hunter Commission offers a profound, if lengthy, self-reflection, one that unifies the educational development of India with that of Britain:

The immediate aims of the Government [of India] of that time [1854] were the same as those to which the attention of every European state was first directed when organising its system of public instruction. The existing schools of all kinds were to be improved and their number increased, systematic inspection was to be established, and a supply of competent teachers was to be provided. But in India the attitude of the State to national education was affected by three conditions to which no European State could furnish a parallel. In the first place the population was not only as large as that of all of the European States together that had adopted an education system, but it presented, in its different Provinces, at least as many difference of creed, language, race, and custom. Secondly, the ruling power was bound to hold itself aloof from all questions of religion. Thirdly, the scheme of instruction to be introduced was one which should culminate in the acquisition of a literature and science essentially foreign. While, therefore, on the one hand, the magnitude of the task before the Indian Government was such as to make it almost impossible of achievement by any direct appropriation from the resources of the Empire, on the other, the popular demand for education – so important a factor in the success of the European systems – had in general to be created. The Government adopted the only course which circumstances permitted. It was admitted that 'to imbue a vast and ignorant population with a general desire for knowledge, and to take advantage of that desire when excited to improve the means for diffusing education amongst them, must be a work of many years;' and this admission was followed by the announcement that 'as a Government, we can do no more than direct the efforts of the people, and aid them wherever they appear to require most assistance'...In such circumstances [above, plus private and missionary enterprise] it was hoped that the grant-in-aid system could be introduced into India, as it had been into England, with every prospect of success. The introduction of that system was necessitated by a conviction of the impossibility of Government alone doing all that must be done in order to provide adequate means for the education of the natives of India; and it was expected that the plan thus drawing support from local sources, in addition to contributions from the State, would result in a far more rapid progress of

education of such tribes is carried on their own vernacular; the vernacular of the neighbouring District be an additional subject of instruction if this is found advisable [emphasis in original]...even in the United Kingdom, Welsh is taught in Welsh schools, and Gaelic in Gaelic schools..." (Ibid, 511. Irish vernacular education is discussed later in this Chapter.

education than would follow a mere increase of expenditure by the Government, while it possessed the additional advantage of fostering a spirit of reliance upon local exertions, and combination for local purposes, which was, of itself, of no mean importance to the well-being of a nation.⁷⁶⁷

This lengthy analysis links the evolution of education in Britain and India by tempering short-term expectations, justifying limited state obligations, and appealing to private citizens as the responsible party for 'making up the difference' between state outlay and national need.

Indian responses to the Hunter Commission's conclusions were mixed, a consequence of the Commission's conflicting desire to expand national education without an equivalent expansion in state funding. Some elements were viewed in a generally-positive light, especially the encouragement of local administration for schools and the general decentralization of state control over school funding. The latter was particularly important, as it accelerated the development started by the judicial sector of the Indian Civil Service, effectively handing over control of elementary education to Indian authorities.⁷⁶⁸ Some however, were quite concerned about the viability of the Hunter Commission's recommendations, as noted in the dissent appended to the Hunter Commission itself. Kakinath Trimak

767. Ibid, 352.

768. Though controversial in hindsight, there was precedent for the Raj's decision to decentralize the lower-levels of bureaucracy. Since the time of Thomas Babington Macaulay, one of the key goals of Indian education *generally* had been the fulfillment of the lower ranks of the Indian bureaucracy. This desire necessitated some amount of Indian authority over education, so that these officials could train their replacements, as well as additional recruits. The key problem, however, is that this initial desire was specifically linked to the 'downward filtration' model, in which British authorities retained control over the highest levels of the means of education. Decentralizing the lower ranks to the point that local boards could control educational content removed the last vestiges of the downward filtration model, thus effectively nullifying British authority over all non-collegiate education. This was greatly regretted by British authorities in the twentieth century, as it severely hampered the Raj's ability to enforce or enact substantial education reform from 1881-onwards.

Telang, an Indian scholar and graduate of Elphinstone College, offered the following dissent to the Commission's conclusions:

I will only add one word here with respect to the question of religious instruction...[I] do not see my way to suggest any feasible means of satisfying it [religious instruction]...There are only two possible modes, which can be adopted in justice and fairness, of practically imparting religious instruction. Either you must teach the principles common to all religions under the name of Natural Religion, or you must teach the principles of each religious creed to the students whose parents adopt that creed. The difficulties of these alternatives have been indicated by no less an authority than Mr. Cobden. Those difficulties are certainly not less great in this country than in England. They appear to me to be so great that we must be content to 'take refuge,' as it has been expressed, 'in the remote haven of refuge for the educationists—the secular system.'

Upon the question of the conscience clause, my opinions are already on record...It is said that in England the conscience clause is a dead letter...[if so] I cannot explain the recent speech of Mr. Mundella, who spoke of the 'fact that the Education Act of 1870, in relation to religious teaching, is doing a work which the country never expected of it, and which religious bodies themselves throughout the country appear scarcely to understand.' ...The effect of the prohibition [on teaching religion] is no greater than that of the conscience clause of the Education Act of 1870.⁷⁶⁹

Telang's dissent connects British and Indian narratives of educational change in the 1870-80s through the medium of a religion, a subject that the Hunter Commission left relatively untouched. Telang's hope – that the Commission's stance on religion would align more clearly with that of Britain – relates to a general thesis that, if underscored in 1881, became an increasingly dominant aspect of Indian discontent with imperial education policy towards the end of the century.

While the Commission's appeal to patience and gradual change in India (relative to Britain) was an acceptable position in 1881, it was rendered untenable as national education in Britain rapidly advanced during the late-nineteenth century. Growing disparities between education programs at home and abroad sharpened the divide between metropole and em-

769. Ibid, 613. Interestingly enough, Telang's remarkable linguistic and academic skills earned him a position on the High Court of Bombay in 1889, an action made possible by the decentralization of Indian administration discussed earlier in this chapter. For more on Telang, see: N. Vasant Naik, *Kashinath Trimbak Telang, the Man and His Times* (Madras: G.A. Natesan and Co., 1895).

pire, acting as a catalyst for anti-British and anti-imperial movements. In India, British officials feared that universities and the lower-tiers of the Indian Civil Service were under the control of Indians loyal to the Indian National Congress, and that these institutions were being used to generate disloyal Indians.⁷⁷⁰ This was especially problematic in the context of teacher training: allowing disloyal Indians to be trained at state-funded universities (and remain in the upper-echelons of the educational system) was a manageable risk, however if these same Indians controlled the means of teacher training, their influence could extend down to the lowest level of Indian society. British officials were aware of this, however the same hurdles that resulted in the 'relinquishment' of the lower-tiers of the Indian Civil Service to Indians applied here, leaving the Raj with limited preventative powers.⁷⁷¹ Furthermore, as the number of schools under state supervision grew during this period, problems comparable to those experienced at home began to emerge. Concerns over religious neutrality, funding scarcity, poor examination results, and chronic student truancy resulted in discussions – and half-measured solutions – nearly identical to those experienced in Britain earlier in the century:

The development of elementary education called [in 1882] for more systematic attention than it has always received; and that secondary education should, if possible, be made more self-supporting...it was not only as the shield of the poor that primary education was one of the first requirements of the day; it was also the chief instrument for the attainment of certain public objects then rising into prominence. 'The system of local self-government, the principle of popular election, and the encouragement of private enterprise and diversity of pursuit – all presuppose that the mass of the population will be gradually enfranchised from gross ignorance, and will by degrees attain at least that elementary knowledge which, as society settles,

770. For more on this, see: Aparna Basu, *Growth of Education*, 7-10.

771. A specific solution broached in 1886 was the concept of 'temporary appointment' in India for teachers trained at home in Britain. This idea was discarded due to the personal and financial cost of a "wrench from English connections and associations, and...[its effects on] the prospects of a specialist's ultimate employment in England." (Alfred Croft, *Review of Education in India, With Special Reference to the Report of the Education Commission* (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1888), 7.)

becomes one of the first conditions of self-defence, self-reliance, self-help, and self-advancement.⁷⁷²

This statement – part of an official education report issued in 1886 – claimed that education was the catalyst for 'self-help,' a concept with direct links to early educationist policy in Britain and, ultimately, the Monitorial method developed by Andrew Bell in Madras.⁷⁷³ 'Self-help' fulfilled Sir Charles Wood's desire to push Indian education towards technical applications, however it was also used as a justification for reliance on private initiative in the absence of expanding state support.⁷⁷⁴ This point meshed with the conclusions of the Hunter Commission, but left Indian education at a difficult crossroads: it was caught between the policies of the early nineteenth century and the realities of the late-nineteenth century, and lacked the political support necessary to fix outstanding problems. The relative obscurity afforded by colonial administration complicated this further, leaving the aforementioned issues (religious neutrality, poor student performance, etc.) unresolved into the early twentieth century.⁷⁷⁵

772. Ibid, 218.

773. For more on this, see previous Chapters. See also: Michael Andrew Laird, *Missionaries and Education in Bengal*.

774. The 'appeal to gentlemanly burdens' is commonly attached to themes of self-help or private initiative. This referenced in a speech on the Indian Civil Service by Thomas Babington Macaulay: "It [the new civil servant policy for India] is intended to introduce the principle of competition in the disposal of writerships; and from this change I cannot but anticipate the happiest results. The civil servants of the Company are undoubtedly a highly respectable body of men; and in that body, as in every large body, there are some persons of very eminent ability...I rejoice to see that the standard of morality is so high in England, that intelligence is so generally diffused through England, that young persons who are taken from the mass of society, by favour and not by merit, and who are therefore only fair samples of the mass, should, when placed in situations of high importance, be so seldom found wanting. But it is not the less true India is entitled to the service of the best talents which England can spare...Consider too, Sir, how rapidly the public mind of India is advancing, how much attention is already paid by the higher classes of the natives to those intellectual pursuits on the cultivation of which the superiority of the European race to the rest of mankind principally depends." (Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Speeches of Lord Macaulay*, 150.)

775. The gradual increase in British governmental apathy towards India is a common theme within the historiographies of Indian nationalism, British administration in India, and decolonization. For more on these topics, see: Aparna Basu, *Growth of Education*, Jagdish

The Hunter Commission's recommendations, and their implementation during the 1880s, catalyzed Indian-led processes to address the remaining flaws and oversights. Though this process partially vindicated the Commission's call for private initiative, it did not necessarily benefit the Raj, as the consequences of private initiative were not guaranteed to align with official interests. Major Lees, Director of Public Instruction in Calcutta, issued the following warning on this topic in the 1860s:

Some caution and foresight are necessary, lest in our well intentioned zeal and anxious endeavours to render this great Empire wealthy, and its people prosperous and happy, we do not deluge the country with a large class of discontented men, dissatisfied with their position in society and in life, and disgusted with the world, themselves, and the Government that took them from what they were, to make them what they are. This would be to fill our bazars [sic] with socialism, and red republicanism instead of contentment and prosperity, and for the Government to incur a responsibility it is alarming even to think of.⁷⁷⁶

Lees's warning – reminiscent of fears of Jacobinism in early British and Irish schools – was reinforced by the fact that India's education system (including state-funded schools) was almost exclusively utilized by the Indian middle and upper-classes.⁷⁷⁷ Many of these students sought education as a means of social advancement, which is why two aspects of the Hunter Commission were particularly worrisome for current and future students: the emphasis on

Chand, *Education in India*, and Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*. See also: Bernard Porter, *Critics of Empire*.

776. William Adam, *Adam's Reports*, 23. Later in the same report, an oft-used argument was levied against state oversight: "If Government does every thing for people, the people will not very soon learn to do much for themselves. They will remain much longer in a state of pupillage, than if they were encouraged to put forth their own energies." (Ibid, 257.)

777. "With the exception of Guru Schools, the existing system does not tap the masses; it is adopted chiefly by boys of the middle classes; it exhibits but a slow tendency to work downwards and expand itself towards the millions; it embraces but a fraction of the population, leaving the agricultural and working classes in the main as ignorant as ever, but it has done much good as a preparation for an onward movement, and the time seems now to have arrived when it should be extended to the masses, the 35,000,000 of Bengal, of whom two percent. cannot read intelligently. I do trust that while in France, Prussia, and even in Russia sedulous efforts are being made for peasant education, Bengal will not in this respect be backward; and especially as the removal of popular superstition, which is so mighty an obstacle to all measures for the religious and social amelioration of the millions of Bengal." (Ibid, 28.)

vernacular education at all levels, and the decision to reorient state-funded education towards practical skills geared for 'current social status,' instead of upward progress through the school system. William Adam also warned of this issue during his preliminary surveys of Indian educations, and his warnings were as equally valid in the 1880s as they had been in the 1830s:

The general effort of this training...will be to increase intelligence, enterprise, and morality, to make the people better acquainted with their own interests and with the legitimate means of protecting and promoting them, and I confidently believe and hope to attach them by gratitude and affect to the European rulers of the country...It is not, however, to be denied that such a system of popular instruction will, in the higher order of minds, excite more ambitious aspirations than it can gratify,— aspirations which, if not gratified, may ferment into discontent or degenerate into crime. To maximize the certain good...an opening must be made out of the narrow circle of a native education into the wider scope for talent and for ambition afforded by an English education. In the present circumstances of the country the knowledge of English is for the native aspirant the grand road to distinction; and its attainment opens to him the prospect of office, wealth, and influence.⁷⁷⁸

As Adam predicted, anti-British (or, at least, pro-Indian) movements formed around the nucleus of Indian national education, using the Raj's decentralized approach to state oversight to take control over local education and organize educated Indians into bodies of political interest.⁷⁷⁹ Of these, the Indian National Congress (founded in 1885) was the largest and most successful, its members all part of the 'educated elite' fostered by state-funded educational institutions.⁷⁸⁰ Though decried by many as a minority movement with a limited

778. Ibid, 296.

779. Lord Ripon, Viceroy of India, noted this in 1884: "You may rely upon it that there are few Indian questions of greater importance in the present day than those which relate to the mode in which we are to deal with the growing body of natives educated by ourselves in Western learning and Western ideas." (Lord Ripon to Lord Kimberly. LS. 290/5 No. 18. Viceregal Papers, April 4 1884). See also: Briton Jr. Martin, "Lord Dufferin and the Indian National Congress, 1885-1888," *The Journal of British Studies* Vol. 7, no. 1 (November 1967).

780. Some historians, such as Anil Seal, argue that religious organizations like the *Brahmo Samaj* of the 1850-60s were the first nationalist organizations in India. Nevertheless, these organizations did not have the same level of impact on education policy as the Indian National Congress, and their relative impact outside of India was far more limited. For more on this, see: Anil Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism*, 249.

lifespan, the INC persevered to become one of the most powerful political bodies in the Raj. The INC was not viewed as intrinsically dangerous or subversive – it was, to quote MP Charles Bradlaugh, possible that the INC would "supplant...the old methods of violent expression of disaffection," a positive sentiment, given the legacy of the Indian Rebellion of 1857.⁷⁸¹ Womesh Chunder Bonnerjee (also Bonnerji) reinforced this goodwill, as noted in this opening speech to the 1895 congress:

Much had been done by Great Britain for the benefit of India, and the whole country was truly grateful to her for it. She had given them order, she had given them railways, and above all she had given them the inestimable blessing of Western education.⁷⁸²

This goodwill was not, however, free of negativity. Bonnerjee was very critical of official education policy, particularly the shift of funding away from upper education towards primary schools. For Bonnerjee and others, state-funded education should not have been an 'either or' scenario – both primary and upper schools should have ample funding, and state support, in order to fulfill what Banerjee referred to as "one of the first duties of the Government."⁷⁸³

While the funding and administration of education at all levels were core issues for the INC, most critical – and controversial – was the social status earned via the processes of 'self-help' and Western education. The term 'Babu' was the title of any Indian of sufficient educational or administrative achievement that, in their effort to earn said achievement, had adopted British custom, language, or culture (i.e. Britishness) as part of their daily life. It was a term of praise in some circles and condemnation in others, thus its use and purpose

781. Charles Bradlaugh, *The Indian National Congress* (London: The New Review, 1890), 243. It is worth noting that Bradlaugh would, in the decade after publishing this work, become a vocal supporter of the rights of the Indian National Congress, and that his own political and cultural leanings do not qualify him to represent Parliament's opinion of the Indian National Congress in any official capacity.

782. Dinker Vishnu Gokhale, *Inaugural Addresses By Presidents of the Indian National Congress With Mr. Charles Bradlaugh's Speech, Compiled By Dinker Vishnu Gokhale, B.a.* (Bombay: Ripon Printing Press Co., 1895), 4.

783. *Ibid*, 143.

changed dramatically based on context and character. In the broadest terms, Babu was adopted by Indians as a signifier of status not unlike that of 'Brahman' earlier in the century.⁷⁸⁴ References to 'Babus' can be found as early as the 1830s, however the term became much more common – and derisive – as the number of Indian civil servants escalated during the 1880-90s. The derisiveness stems primarily from British use of the term as a means of diminishing the achievements of Indians within the empire on the bases of race and cultural appropriation.⁷⁸⁵ Bannerji references this in his above-mentioned speech, noting:

Why is there so much outcry about what is called 'Babu English?' Many Babus and in this designation I include my countrymen from all parts of India, know English literature better, I make bold to say, than many educated men in England. (Cheers.) They know English better and English literature better than many Continental English scholars. They know English History as well, if not better than Englishmen themselves...If an English gentleman were to write a book or a letter, in the vernacular with which he is supposed to be more familiar, I am afraid his composition would bear a great family likeness to 'Babu English' ...It would contain grammatical mistakes which would even shame our average school-boy.⁷⁸⁶

784. The etymology of the term Babu stems from the Persian language, and has the same original meaning as the term 'esquire.' As such, it can be conclusively be stated that Babu is a status originally based on education, even if this changed later in the nineteenth century. It is also worth noting that the term Babu was often used derisively by non-'Anglicized' Indians towards their English educated brethren. For more on the term Babu, see: Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the Late Nineteenth Century* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1995).

785. The *Calcutta Review*, published by British faculty at Calcutta University, published the following article on Babus in 1892: "...In the year just past this University [of Calcutta] let loose upon Bengal and the world 231 Bachelors of Arts and 693 successful candidates of First Arts...English-speaking clerks swarm in Writer's Buildings, in Mofussil Kacheris, in Railway Booking-offices. Everywhere Hindu and Muhammedan school-boys hail each other with English forms of greeting, and shout to each other at English games in a curious jargon of mixed English and Vernacular...Above all, there is the educated Babu of Calcutta, and his humbler imitation in other places, with his sleek air and his Oxford shoes, with his external veneer of English manners and his rooted conservative instinct in favour of the essentials of Hinduism. The graduate of Native Universities is an accomplished fact, a social factor, a political force, – and will have to be reckoned with in any future solution of the problem of India's destiny." ("A Contribution to the Education Question." *The Calcutta Review*, April 1 1892 Issue CLXXXVIII, p. 345. Calcutta, 345-346.)

786. Dinker Vishnu Gokhale, *Inaugural Addresses By Presidents of the Indian National Congress With Mr. Charles Bradlaugh's Speech, Compiled By Dinker Vishnu Gokhale, B.a.*, 145-146.

Bannerji's hostility stemmed from British exclusion of educated Indians from higher ranking judicial and administrative positions on the basis that their 'Babu English' handicapped their ability to properly ascertain and understand imperial legislature. This argument, an attempt to justify the racial bias of upper-level Indian Civil Service administrators, undermined government policy regarding education and merit, leaving Indian graduates with limited use for their hard-won degrees. For members of the Indian National Congress, any Raj policy that diminished the value of education, or made it more difficult to use said education, was a point of agitation that could not be ignored. The issues of state-funded education, Indian sociocultural mobility, and racial tension intertwined during the 1880-1890s, creating a tangled network of frustrations and imperial conflicts that the Raj approached – but could not solve – in the early twentieth century.

Similar to India, Anti-British sentiment in Ireland was often tied to graduates of Irish schools, Irish administrators, and Irish educators. This connection worried British officials, making them distrustful of the very people they depended on for the enforcement of imperial policies. This scenario, compounded by increasingly unsatisfactory reports from Irish schools and political/constitutional crises related to Ireland, placed the issues of state-funded schooling and national education at the heart of Irish anti-Britishness.⁷⁸⁷ In August 1873, *The Dublin Evening Post* issued an editorial that united these topics under the auspice of religion:

⁷⁸⁷. A debate in the House of Commons from March 1875 references this scenario: "In 1867, before the system of payment by results was introduced, less than 30 per cent of the pupils on the roll were presented for examination, [and] only 18.6 passed in reading, 7.8 in writing, and 6.2 in writing from dictation. The Commissioners say— 'The progress of the children in the National schools of Ireland is very much less than it ought to be. We have come to the conclusion that, although there are few places in Ireland where children have not the means of education within reach, the results hitherto achieved are far below what is desirable. The system if not retrograding in efficiency, is at least stationary, and stationary at a very unsatisfactory level.'" (HC Deb, "Primary Education (Ireland) Commission, 1870 – Resolution", 1291-1292).

...Attention is called to the fact, repeatedly set forth by us, that all the grants for Elementary Education in Great Britain were strictly Denominational up to the passing of the Act of 1870...while these statutes continue these grants, with the comparatively harmless addition of a conscience clause...If to this total [expenditure] we add the grant for 1872 and 1873, the aggregate expenditure for the 35 years [of British school grants] will be nearly 16 millions, against an expenditure upon National schools in Ireland, for 42 years, of little over 8 millions. Over the entire 42 years, the Irish schools were open to children of all creeds, with the protection of a conscience clause, whatever may be its value; while for 33 of 35 years, the English schools were strictly, and still are, practically, Denominational Institutions, save the few Board schools that have been recently established. Of that vast expenditure of 16 millions, only about half a million, or a 32nd part, fell to the lots of Catholic, while, according to the population, they were entitled to above a sixteenth, or twice that proportion, their great poverty increasing still more their claim.⁷⁸⁸

The concerns described above echo long-standing problems with Irish national education, specifically unevenly applied religious neutrality, chronic under-funding, and over-reliance on private initiative.⁷⁸⁹ An example of these issues comes from a report by HMI Renouf, an inspector in England that was, in 1873, called to inspect national schools in Ireland. Renouf condemned the Irish national system – specifically its teacher training system – for failing to properly prepare students and teachers for any of the tasks necessary for proper education:

While examining schools in the counties of Waterford, Wexford, Tipperary, and Kilkenny, I was careful to bear in mind the very different circumstances under which I was accustomed to examine and report upon the schools of my own district in England. But, every allowance being made for the difference of circumstances, it was altogether impossible to avoid perceiving that the efficiency of the Irish schools was not only inferior in degree, but even in kind.⁷⁹⁰

This excerpt was referenced in a Parliamentary speech by "Major" Myles William Patrick O'Reilly, MP from Longford, and was used as the basis of his criticism of British education

788. "Denominational Grants for Education." *The Dublin Evening Post*, Aug 20 1873 ED 7/6, Irish National Archives, Dublin

789. The latter point, private initiative, parallels the educational argument made in India regarding the need for private investments to 'make up the difference' between state allotments and public need. This was noted in discussions on Irish education, specifically the following House of Commons debate: , 1295.

790. HC Deb, "Primary Education (Ireland) Commission, 1870 – Resolution", 1293.

policy in Ireland. As with the INC in India, O'Reilly viewed access to education, and the value of said education in terms of socioeconomic opportunity, as a national right of the Irish people. Unfavorable comparisons with British educational opportunities and teacher training reinforced O'Reilly's position that Irish education, if once the trailblazer, had since fallen far behind its British counterpart.⁷⁹¹ This argument resonated with Land League and Home Rule supporters, thus flaws in Irish state-funded education became a part of the general list of grievances levied against British governance.

O'Reilly was not alone in his criticisms of Irish national education. Isaac Butt, founder of the Home Rule League in 1873, was also a vocal critic of British mishandling of Irish national education, and used its problems as a platform for rallying Catholic and Conservative support for home rule. Butt wrote on this topic in 1875 in a work entitled *The Problem of Irish Education: an Attempt at its Solution*.⁷⁹² This work compared British and Irish education systems from the 1830s into the 1870s, noting the merits and deficits of each system. For Butt, Ireland's educational secularism violated the will of the Irish population, thus sapping the supposedly 'liberal' and progressive nature of the system.⁷⁹³ Extreme disparities in

791. According to the *Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education*, Ireland's rejection of English denominationalism made it administratively superior to its English counterpart. In spite of this, extreme disparities in funding and teacher-training output severely hampered the Irish system. O'Reilly states that "Even if the Marlborough Street Training School were full, its capacity for turning out teachers is very limited. The number of teachers required to fill vacancies occurring annually in Ireland is 700. From the year 1838 to the year 1857 the number of trained teachers which that school turned out averaged about 270 a-year, and that rate has not increased, the number turned out last year being only 207. It is true that there exist certain district model schools appointed for training, and that these in some degree help to supply the want, but only in a small degree; the number of trained teachers they are able to send out not exceeding 90 annually. Thus, at present, the total annual supply of trained teachers does not exceed 290, while the number actually required is 700." (Commissioners of Irish Education, *Royal Commission of Inquiry Into Primary Education (Ireland)*, 566. See also: HC Deb, "Primary Education (Ireland) Commission, 1870 - Resolution", 1294-1296.)

792. Isaac Butt, *The Problem of Irish Education: An Attempt At Its Solution* (London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1875).

793. "For Englishmen this question is not without its vital interest and its deep importance...It cannot be a matter of indifference to any right-minded Englishman, to feel

funding exacerbated this problem further, leading Butt to claim that "[when] compared with England, it cannot be said that Ireland is receiving more than her fair share of the funds voted for education in the two countries."⁷⁹⁴ As such, Butt believed that British claims of 'precedence' regarding the right to setup and maintain Ireland's education system, independent of Irish desires, was false, and that – ultimately,

[the only] way by which true liberals can escape the conflict between their own principles of free government and the attempt to force their own views of education on the Irish people...[is by letting] the Irish people have their own way.⁷⁹⁵

that, on a question of such domestic import as education, a system is forced on Ireland to which all the strong instincts of the country are opposed. An Englishman of those opinions which are often described as extreme liberal, who may earnestly desire for his own country the establishment of a purely secular education, may well hesitate before he regards it as consistent with liberal opinions to compel the adoption of that system by a people whose instincts and convictions lead them– I do not use too strong language– to abhor it." (Ibid, 4.)

794. Ibid, 10. The *Freeman's Journal*, a pro-Irish periodical, challenged the government on this issue: "He [Mr. Balfour] had not the effrontery to deny that the salaries of the Irish teachers are lower than the salaries of Scotch and English teachers. He admitted, as he had admitted before, that they are lower; but he sought a justification in the assertion that the amount of work done, as estimated by the number of pupils, is double in England what it is in Ireland...Mr. Balfour [also] contended that the standard of education is lower among the Irish than amongst the English and Scotch teachers...The fact remains, as was again pointed out last night, that the Government willingly grant a million and a half of money to maintain the Royal Irish Constabulary, while they grudgingly dole out half the sum for the support and encouragement of the Irish National Teachers. No language could add force to that simple fact." (*Freeman's Journal*, Sept 6 1887.)

795. Isaac Butt, *The Problem of Irish Education: An Attempt At Its Solution*, 97. This sentiment is mirrored by the triumphalist rhetoric of the *Freeman's Journal* in Sept 1887: "Whatever the constabulary system did to enchain the limbs of the Irish people his system of National Education did still more to emancipate their minds and souls. The policeman proved to be an efficient ally of England, but the schoolmaster did not turn out so satisfactorily, and the schoolmaster is the more potent of the two when all is said and done. It is the young fellows whom the governing classes sent into the National schools to be turned into flunkeys and slaves– it is these very young fellows who have broken the power of the privileged classes in Ireland, and pushed them from their thrones...and even the floor of the House of Commons. In the same way this Irish gentry believed that the policy of emigration was a stroke of genius to deliver them from a troublesome population. They believed that once the Irish peasant was embarked in a coffin ship they were done with him for evermore. But there came back from America a power more fatal to aristocracy and to privileged idleness than if these Irish emigrants had come back in line-of-battle ships and armies. There came back the principles of democracy and freedom which the emigrants imbibed in the great Republic of the West." ("Mr. Wm. O'Brien's Lecture in the Leinster Hall - the Policeman and the Schoolmaster." *Freeman's Journal*, Sept 9 1887.)

For Butt, the solution to this problem (for education) was the establishment of local management systems that could handle religious teaching on a more granular, decentralized level. This solution was, in essence, a mirror of Britain's decentralization of primary education in India, and the inverse of Britain's escalation of centralized guidelines in Britain.⁷⁹⁶ Butt's argument meshes with his perception of home rule: in the absence of other means of resolving the conflict between liberal governance and the Irish constitutional relationship with Britain, home rule was viewed as the only viable option moving forward.

In spite of his membership in the Irish Conservative Party until 1870, Butt's Home Rule League attracted Liberals as well as Conservatives, forging an uneasy political alliance between Catholics, Irish nationalists, and home-rulers.⁷⁹⁷ The *Catholic Herald* tackled this issue in 1888, arguing that the uneasy alliance was most difficult for Catholics:

Our contention is that in parliamentary elections we should go for Home Rule and support the friends of our schools and of all voluntary schools; for Boards of Guardians we should vote for those who will do justice to our Catholic poor; and for Town Councils we should, if no vital issue is at stake, go for a Home Ruler; but if there is any Catholic interest to which our Home Rule friend is opposed then we should oppose him. This tying ourselves to vote for all Liberals on all occasions is sheer madness and folly. It would, if carried out, ruin every Catholic and Irish interest in the country.⁷⁹⁸

Conversely, detractors of Irish Catholicism viewed home rule as a dangerous precedent that would hand over control of Ireland's national education to the Catholic Church:

796. Compare Butt's conclusions to that of Sir John George Wodroffe writing on Indian Education: "The function of the English is to raise this country to life and power. But when so aroused, is this country to merely reflect the light of others, or to be an independent source of light itself? Is the Seed of Race to bear its true fruit? If so, the collaboration of Indian teachers becomes more and more necessary, the aim being in the words of an English writer, "Home rule in education," that is, control by Indians over the education given to Indians." (Sir John George Wodroffe, *The Seed of Race: An Essay on Indian Education* (Madras: Ganesh and Co., 1921), 52.)

797. The history of the Home Rule League, and Isaac Butt's involvement, could encompass (and has) an entire book. As such, the topic will not be covered at length here. For more on Butt's involvement with home rule, and the impact of home rule on Anglo-Irish relations, see: George Dangerfield, *The Damnable Question*; Patricia Jalland, *The Liberals and Ireland*.

798. *The Catholic Herald*, Nov 9 1888 . See also: *The Irish in Victorian Britain*, 206.

Mr. Gladstone...declares for Voluntaryism in Education, or is accused of doing so— a principle akin, in some respects, to Denominationalism, and the enemy of Secularism. The Times, the Morning Post, indeed, the Press of all political shades, have discussed the matter, while the leading organ, in an article on Home Rule, fulminates the following threat to withdraw State grants from the Irish National Schools under Catholic management: 'A time is not far distant when neither the landowners of Ireland nor the million and a half of Protestants will be forced to pay black mail to the maintenance of schools in which, as they believe, a large part of the teaching is false, injurious, subversive of civil government, and destructive of free society.'⁷⁹⁹

Gladstone's willingness to broach the issue of Irish Home Rule stemmed from his professed desire to solve the Irish problem, a decision that forced Gladstone to reconcile the problems inherent in Irish national and university education. As discussed in previous chapters, the Powis Commission of 1870 had outlined a fairly robust set of plans to remodel and improve Irish schools. Unfortunately for the commissioners, the emergence of the Home Rule League gravely hampered efforts to implement the new policies, thus educational reform in Ireland halted in the early 1870s.⁸⁰⁰ Without a solution to Home Rule, further change to education in Ireland was virtually impossible: the failed Irish University Bill of 1873 crippled Gladstone's administration (leading to its collapse in 1874), and both parties were fairly reluctant to press further Parliamentary-level education reforms after this point.⁸⁰¹ British official responses to education in Ireland fluctuated between mild concern, indifference, and obstructionism, none of which offered solutions to the growing complaints about educational disparity, chronic post-graduation unemployment, or — most critical of

799. "Denominational Grants for Education." *The Dublin Evening Post*, Aug 20 1873.

800. For more on this, see: Donald Akenson, *The Irish Education Experiment*, 316-377.

801. "The knell of Mr. Gladstone's Administration has sounded at last. in a House by no means crowded— only 571 members voted this morning — the Government were defeated by a majority of three, 284, voting for the second reading of the Irish University Bill, and 287 voting against it. We are, therefore, in the throes of a Ministerial crisis. To-day, it may be assumed, Mr. Gladstone will resign and Mr. Disraeli will be requested to form a new Administration...Resignation is inevitable." ("The Defeat of the Government." *Echo*, March 31 1873 ED 7/6, Irish National Archives, Dublin.)

all – claims that state-funded education was doing more harm than good in its current state.⁸⁰²

As the late-nineteenth century progressed, lingering issues with state-funded education in Ireland were compounded by British obstructionism towards Home Rule, leading many Irish to push for the 'de-Anglicization' of schools and the introduction of linguistically- and culturally-Irish curriculums.⁸⁰³ Though national schools included the Irish language in their curriculum after 1878, the inclusion was minimal, as English was viewed as the primary language of instruction even in areas populated near-exclusively with Irish-speaking children.⁸⁰⁴ Sir Patrick Keenan, Resident Commissioner of Irish Education from 1871-1894, sought to reverse this policy by comparing the performance of Irish students with other student populations based on the language of instruction.⁸⁰⁵ As adviser to the Secretary of State

802. This is not to say that no further education policies or acts are implemented, but rather that their scope and purpose became more reactive than progressive, which is a substantial change from the trajectory and methodology of Irish educationists earlier in the nineteenth century.

803. An example of this stems from an editorial published in a July 1884 issue of *The Irishman*: "The crushing nature of the reply of the Gaelic Union to the recent Memorandum of the Commissioners of National Education on the subject of teaching Irish speaking children to read and write English, compels us to notice the sixteenth number of the Gaelic Journal at much greater length than we at first contemplated. No one – not even the leading spirits of the Gaelic Union – had any idea until a few months of the appalling extent to which illiteracy prevailed to the west of a line drawn from Derry to Dungarvan. The Commissioners of National Education have been informed by their officers year after year that education in Irish-speaking districts is a sham now, as it was when Sir Patrick Keenan, in 1855, startled a slumbering public from the state of apathy into which it had been mesmerised by the band of proselytizing compilers of Scripture History and Easy Lessons on Money Matters, of the Whately School." ("The Irish Language." *The Irishman*, July 19 1884 ED 7/7, Irish National Archives, Dublin.)

804. For more on this, see: Séamas A. Buachalla, "Educational Policy and the Role of the Irish Language From 1831 to 1981," *European Journal of Education* 19, no. 1 (1984), 75-76.

805. Keenan made his feelings on this quite clear in his inspectorate report of 1856: "... We [the National School system] are quietly but certainly destroying the national legend, the national music and the national language of the country." (Commissioners of Irish Education, *The Twenty-Second Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, for the Year 1855, With Appendices*, vol. II (Dublin: Alexander Thom and Sons, 1856), 75.) See also: Séamas A. Buachalla, "Educational Policy and the Role of the Irish Language From 1831 to 1981.", 79.

for the Colonies (Sir Michael Hicks Beach) in 1878, Keenan compared Irish policy to that of Malta, asking,

[what if]...the children of the national schools of England were required to learn German and French and if their native English were treated as the Maltese language is treated, what would be thought of such a policy?⁸⁰⁶

Organizations like the Gaelic Union, formed in 1880 to promote Irish linguistic and cultural preservation, took note of Keenan's obvious parallels to Ireland's contemporary situation, and used his argument as a rallying point. In 1884, Keenan's memorandum to the Secretary of State for the Colonies was reprinted in the Gaelic Unions' *Gaelic Journal*, along with an additional argument directly related to Ireland:

More than a quarter of a century ago, I found vast districts in the Celtic parts of the County Donegal very much in the condition in which I afterwards found Malta [in 1878]. The children universally spoke the vernacular, and very few of them knew English. The Irish Language, however, was so completely ignored in their education, that teachers...thought it contrary to the public policy even to use an Irish word...I very emphatically deprecated such a system...unfortunately, public support was not with me...[however] teachers [were encouraged by me] to use the vernacular freely, whenever they themselves understood it...this has produced salutary results. The Donegal of to-day [sic] [1884] is entirely different from the Donegal of 1855. There is now no parallel between Malta and any of the districts of Donegal, or, indeed, any part of Ireland.⁸⁰⁷

Keenan's personal efforts, along with the efforts of the organizations like the Gaelic Union, led the education commissioners of Ireland to permit linguistic discretion on a school-by-school basis. This policy shift appeased both Catholic and nationalist detractors of national education, however it drove an additional wedge between Catholics and Protestants in Ireland, as many Irish Protestants viewed Irish linguistic and cultural movements as intrinsically anti-British, even if organizations like the Gaelic Union professed themselves to

806. *The Gaelic Journal*, vol. Vol. 2, No. 13 (Dublin: The Gaelic Union, 1884), 97-98. See also: Séamas Á Buachalla, "Educational Policy and the Role of the Irish Language From 1831 to 1981.", 76.

807. *The Gaelic Journal*, 96.

be politically neutral.⁸⁰⁸ It was not, however, a cure-all for Ireland's educational woes: 1883-1884 reports on education in Irish-speaking regions revealed that student outcomes remained well below averages not just compared to Britain, but to Ireland as well. *The Irishman*, a nationalist newspaper, condemned this state of affairs, invoking both the Gaelic Union and Keenan in an attempt to raise awareness on the issue:

The crushing nature of the reply of the Gaelic Union to the recent Memorandum of the Commissioners of National Education on the subject of teaching Irish speaking children to read and write English, compels us to notice the sixteenth number of the Gaelic Journal at much greater length than we at first contemplated. No one – not even the leading spirits of the Gaelic Union – had any idea until a few months [ago] of the appalling extent to which illiteracy prevailed to the west of a line drawn from Derry to Dungarvan. The Commissioners of National Education have been informed by their officers year after year that education in Irish-speaking districts is a sham

808. Excerpts from the *Gaelic Journal* highlight that the organization's primary goal was the revival of traditional Irish culture: "The teaching of Irish in our colleges, and schools, and Universities is so much gained; but I certainly would not have undergone years of labour, and anxiety, and loss, for these advantages. I took all this trouble in the hopes that I might help to have the poor children in Irish-speaking districts brought up as intelligent beings. In 1857, I read one of Sir Patrick Keenan's Reports from Donegal; and I believed that his reasoning was too cogent to be resisted. His other reports, and afterwards his evidence at the Royal Commission, further convinced me that he only required pressure enough from without to put his plans into operation...had he been a simple manager of a school...he would have acted upon his own plan...and would have such influence upon his neighbours that, from Derry to Tramore, every child at this time would be taught to read and understand English. And what would all of this amount to? Just what it amounts to in Wales. The Welsh child reads Welsh in six months as well as he could read English in two years. Having learned to read his own language, he goes to the English school without a word of English in his mouth; he never heard of English at home; and yet he is able to hold his own against the English-speaking child at the results examinations, which are all carried on in English. The child in Donegal or Connemara is as intelligent as his cousin of the Principality...Of all the resources wasted, or lying unused, in Ireland, the waste of the intellects of our Irish-speaking people is the greatest and the saddest. One-fifth of our people speak Irish – one-fifth of our school-going children, then, speak Irish. A moiety of these, at least, can never learn by the present system, except as parrots...The Welsh people were as hopelessly drifting into ignorance as dark as ours, when rescued from destruction by the exertions of two poor clergymen...But Ireland had neither...All persons understand the axioms; and there is no axiom plainer than that which says: "A child must be taught through the medium of the language he knows...And is the Irish worth preserving? Yes; but not the quasi Irish introduced into our Class-books and Catechisms; or that engraved upon our monuments by the "Society." [for the Preservation of the Irish Language] May the tongue of the saints and the sages perish from the mouths of the people before it becomes such a jargon!" (*The Gaelic Journal*, 1886 No. 26, Vol. III. ED 7/7, Irish National Archives, Dublin.)

now, as it was when Sir Patrick Keenan, in 1855, startled a slumbering public from the state of apathy...⁸⁰⁹

The newspaper continues by offering up multiple excerpts of the Commission's reports as further proof of the lackluster nature of education in Ireland, noting that the Commission seemed content to treat uneducated and poorly trained students as people to be 'absorbed' by the rest of the population.⁸¹⁰ Subsequent reports on Irish education confirmed these poli-

809. "The Irish Language." *The Irishman*, July 19 1884.

810. When compared to the language of *The Times of London* in 1892, a disconnect between Irish and English newspaper perspectives becomes clear: "Three years ago on October 1 school fees in whole or part were abolished in Scotland; last year on September 1 a similar process was begun in England, the concluding stage of which is just now being entered upon; and on October 1 of the present year, under the provisions of the Irish Education, 1892, elementary school fees, except in very rare instances, will have become a thing of the past in Ireland. It has been a subject of regret that neither in Scotland nor yet in England was the gift of free education accompanied by the imposition of any more stringent attendance regulations. In Ireland, however, the opportunity has been embraced for supplying a long felt want in the educational system of that country, and accordingly in the Act which received the Royal assent just before the dissolution of the late Parliament...

Speaking broadly, it may be said that the new legislation is farmed upon the models of Lord Sandon's and Sr William Hart Dyke's Acts of 1876 and 1891 respectively; but differences necessitated by the widely diverse circumstances surrounding Irish elementary education crop up at almost every point. Compulsion, which in England and Scotland begins to apply when a child is five years old, is postponed in Ireland to the age of six. And whereas in England (except in the cases of factory children) a scholar who has passed the exemption standard is free to leave school when ten years old, the age of Ireland is to be 11. The list of "reasonable excuses" to be accepted by the authorities for non-attendance includes one or two calling for special remark. Thus the parent may plead that whilst there is an efficient school well within the two-mile limit recognized in Great Britain, he objects on religious grounds to allow his child to attend it, or that, his child being under seven years of age, the walk to the school is too long for him. Or, again he may plead to "domestic necessity," whatever that term may include, or the fact of his child being engaged in necessary operations of husbandry and the ingathering of crops, or in giving assistance in the fisheries or other work requiring to be done at a particular time or season, as excuses for absence."

The present state of elementary education in Ireland affords considerable ground for encouragement. It is well known that the population of Ireland in the ten years ending with 1891 decreased from 5,174,000 to 4,706,000, the population of school age children in the same period having fallen off by 60,000. In spite of this, however, the number of names on the school rolls increased by 26,000, whilst the average attendance was improved by 41,000. But to show that there was considerable need of some compulsory regulations being enacted, it may be mentioned that whilst for ever 10,000 of the population in England the average attendance in elementary schools is 1,289, in Ireland the corresponding figure is only 1,062."

Looked at as a whole, the present state of education in Ireland gives good reason for the hope that under the influence of the legislation just coming into operation Ireland will soon

cies, each revealing deep flaws in Ireland's national education structure and, in turn, catalyzing support for the creation of culturally-Irish curriculums and the devolution of Irish education to Ireland itself.

The final section of this chapter turns to the topic of West Africa, specifically the linkage between educational developments in the region and the topics discussed above. Following the official reports and recommendations of 1865, education in West Africa entered a period of relative stagnancy until the 1880s. From the 1880s-on, British nationalized imperialism led to a significant rise in the region's importance and, based on policies developed at home, the implementation of specific education policies designed around the transmission of British national values.⁸¹¹ In spite of these changes, education remained almost exclusively in the hands of missionaries and private religious organizations.⁸¹² Education, even if gaining the characteristics of British nationalism, was still filtered through religion. Because of this, concerns over denominationalism, conversion, and dissent were the primary complications in West Africa during the late-nineteenth century. The strong presence of religion, and the westernizing effects of state-funded education, catalyzed West African consciousness regarding the region's role in the British Empire, especially after the rapid proliferation of European imperialism on the continent during the 1880-1890s. The confluence of imperialism, nationalism, westernization, and proselytism led to the rapid creation of an class of educated Africans with aims, and concerns, similar to those emerging in Ireland and India around the same time.⁸¹³

overtake her educational arrears and come well into line with other portions of the British Islands." ("Educational Progress in Ireland." *The Times of London*, Oct 7 1892 ED 7/11, Irish National Archives, Dublin.)

811. For more on this topic, see: Frederick Pedler, *The Lion and the Unicorn in Africa: A History of the Origins of the United Africa Company* (London: Heinemann, 1974).

812. For more on this, see: Magnus O. Basse, *Western Education and Political Domination in Africa: A Study in Critical and Dialogical Pedagogy*, 27.

813. For more on this, see: Dorothy Hammond, and Alta Jablow, *The Africa That Never Was*. See also: J.A. Mangan, 'Benefits Bestowed?'

In spite of the secularization of education at home and elsewhere in the empire, missionaries continued to be the primary conduit of state-funded education in West Africa during the late-nineteenth century. As noted in previous chapters, reliance on missionary education was byproduct of Britain's imperial origins in West Africa. The moral imperative of abolition gave missionaries a strong political hand in the region, particularly when religious education was combined with the concept of 'self-help.' Missionary education also solved a more pragmatic issue: as elsewhere, pre-compulsory education systems relied heavily on private initiative, a need that missionary societies readily filled. Unlike India or Ireland, religious concerns over the disturbance of indigenous faiths were far more limited in West Africa, as policymakers and missionaries alike did not view regional faiths and cultural values as significant enough to warrant protections against proselytism.⁸¹⁴ Concerns over Islam were emerging during this time, as discussed below, however the population was not substantial enough to require major policy reform. The pre-1880s relationship between missionaries and empire in West Africa was symbiotic, so long as missionaries provided a model of education that was conducive to British interests in the region.⁸¹⁵

The imperial scramble of the 1880s led to administrative problems and new colonial policies, a process that soured the symbiotic relationship between missionaries and empire. The most concrete change in West Africa was the rapid incorporation of new territory inland, culminating in the conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate in 1903. Territorial expansion

814. The exception, as discussed below, was Islam, however direct imperial engagement with Islamic communities was sparse prior to colonial expansion into the interior of West Africa. For more on this, see: J. Reynolds, "Good and Bad Muslims: Islam and Indirect Rule in Northern Nigeria," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 34, no. 3 (2001).

815. Though the relationship was ultimately symbiotic, there were moments of hostility between missionary societies and imperial authorities. In some instances, imperial authorities called for the removal of missionary influence, as was the case in India. Such calls were not, however, enforced, as missionaries provided an essential service that the state was not willing to provide itself. For more on this topic, particularly in the context of non-British imperialism, see: Andrew Porter, *Religion Versus Empire?: British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

into this region greatly increased the population of Muslims in West Africa, a process that required existing education policy to shift towards a religiously-neutral model more akin to that of India than pre-1880s Africa.⁸¹⁶

Governor Henry Stanhope Freeman of Lagos had encouraged religious neutrality as early as 1860, arguing that Islam served as a 'safe faith' for the African, especially when compared to 'pagan' values, and that forced conversion would lead to instability in the region.⁸¹⁷ Though Lagos's colonial status changed in 1865 with its absorption into West Africa, Freeman's policy of religious neutrality soon became colonial policy, placing the region's religious and educational policies on a trajectory more akin to that of India.⁸¹⁸ This policy shift was met with fierce resistance by missionaries, as it directly assaulted their pre-existing authority and ability to contest Islam for the right to convert 'pagans'.⁸¹⁹ *The Church Mission-*

816. For more on this process, see: Muhammad Sani Umar, *Islam and Colonialism*. See also: P.E. Lovejoy, and J.S. Hogendorn, "Revolutionary Mahdism and Resistance to Colonial Rule in the Sokoto Caliphate, 1905-6," *The Journal of African History* 31, no. 2 (1990).

817. Freeman's stance was, unsurprisingly, not popular with missionaries, as noted in this excerpt from a speech given at the Anthropological Society of London in 1863: "...the southward progress of El Islam, though slow and gradual, is sure as the course of Fate. Already the Haussa [sic] men begin to pout into our youngest colony, Lagos, where, as soldiers and policemen, they are found superior not only to the heathenry, but to the so-called "Christian" Africans. Among the many gentlemen in this room who can confirm this statement, I beg to particularise Governor Freeman of Lagos. The "Safe Faith" is unpopular with our Missionaries, chiefly because they never have converted, and they probably never will convert a single Moslem soul to Christianity." (Anthropological Society of London, *Memoirs Read Before the Anthropological Society of London, 1863-4*, vol. I (London: Trübner and Co., 1865), 320-321.) For more on this, see: *Essays in the History of African Education*.

818. For more on this, see: Sir William N.M. Geary, *Nigeria Under British Rule* (London: Frank Cass and Co., Ltd., 1927), 43.

819. It is notable that the argument between colonial administrators and missionaries in no way considered the desires or interests of Africans. In fact, the Church Missionary Intelligencer, a popular periodical widely viewed as the 'voice' of missionary educators, took John Pope Hennessey, a colonial administrator sympathetic to African interests, to task over the following quote: "The many millions of negroes in the interior constitute a race which, as Dr. Livingstone truly says, is indestructible. He describes their many good qualities...I can testify that they possess a natural ability, a love of knowledge, a capacity for culture, a taste for music and poetry, a generous and hospitable disposition, patience and even cheerfulness...in two respects [however] they differ from some of the leading people in Europe— they are very ignorant of the art of war, and they have a child-like capacity for religious faith." (Christine Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race*, 242.)

ary Intelligencer (CMI), periodical of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), responded to this problem in 1873, as shown in the following excerpt on the topic of constructing a university in Sierra Leone:

...even if it [a university] were to be established, what would be the character of it? ...[we could not] go the length of erecting a Madrissa [sic] in Sierra Leone...[thus] the only other alternative is a secular institution, from which...not only theology, but law, modern history and moral philosophy would have, of necessity, to be eliminated, as suggested by Mr. Gladstone in Ireland. What views, for instance, would have to be inculcated in such an institution on Mohammedan students upon such delicate topics as slavery and polygamy? Those of the Koran, or those of the New Testament? Would King Docemo, or Bey Maurio, or Bey Inca...like to have their sons sent home with them new lights which would probably lead them to 'assist in rooting out the heathen customs of their fathers?'¹⁸²⁰

The CMI expanded on this argument, noting that such a university would be impossible, unless it was assumed that Islam was beneficial to Africa and not, as the CMI stated, "[a] corroding ulcer which is gnawing out her very vitals."¹⁸²¹

The sharp ideological divide presented by the CMI put British colonial officials at odds with missionary societies, with education firmly in the center of this struggle. The missionary monopoly on education in West Africa, coupled with Christian reticence towards both Islam and 'pagan' beliefs, created a lobby of obstructionists not unlike denominational forces in Britain and Ireland, or missionary organizations in India earlier in the century. In all cases except West Africa, gradual secularization pushed religious authority out of state-funded education and into the purely private sector, leaving African education as a curious anomaly at the turn of the century.

The persistence of missionary education in late-nineteenth West Africa guaranteed that moralism would remain the dominant curricular element in state-funded schools. Technical, practical, and literary training received little attention, lending West African schools

820. Ibid, 242.

821. Ibid, 243.

an academic character more akin to pre-1850s charity schools in Britain. As in Ireland and India, West Africans protested the persistence of state-funded educational schemes that failed to match the needs of the local population, calling on the government to fund the creation of secular secondary and university-level schools, as well as industrial training curricula.⁸²² When such demands were ignored by colonial or missionary officials, many West Africans sought to acquire the education they desired through other means, even going so far as to travel to England or Europe to bypass the lackluster educational facilities of the region.⁸²³

Missionary education was also rejected by many in the region on sociocultural grounds: religious scruples, distrust of missionaries, and/or hostility to outsiders were frequent sources of pushback against education efforts. Regarding distrust of missionaries, the encroachment of European merchants into regional trade networks harmed the reputation of missionary societies, especially in instances where it was believed that missionaries and merchants were working to undermine local commerce.⁸²⁴ These forms of pushback were

822. Apollos O. Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe and Nationalism*, 202.

823. Though this became far more common in the twentieth century, there are examples of this in the nineteenth century. Rev. Samuel Ajayi Crowther is a good illustration: enslaved by the Fulani as a child in 1821 and liberated by the British fleet, Crowther was educated in a school managed by the CMS in Freetown. Desirous of further education, Crowther spent time in England under the care of the CMS studying linguistics, returning to Freetown when Fourah Bay College was opened in 1827. After attending Fourah Bay College, Crowther became an educator at the institution as well as the first West African Bishop of the Anglican Church, promoting the spread of Christianity, and the importance of West African education, until his death in 1891. Crowther's receptiveness to Christianity and Western education was the ideal outcome of the missionary education system. For more on Crowther's life, see: Jesse Page, *Samuel Crowther: The Slave Boy Who Became Bishop of the Niger* (Grand Rapids: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1892). Interestingly enough, Crowther's grandson, Herbert Macaulay, became a proponent of Nigerian nationalism, and ultimately Nigerian independence, in the twentieth century. For more on Hebert's life, see: Isaac B Thomas, *Life History of Herbert Macaulay, C.e.* (Lagos: Printed at Tika-Tore Press, 1946).

824. According to Historian David Abernathy, economic competition of this type largely occurred in the 'Oil Rivers' east of the Niger River. Here, local merchants were extremely hostile to merchant and missionary interaction, a reaction that highlights West African awareness of the economic consequences of British encroachment in the region. For more on this, see: David B Abernathy, *The Political Dilemma of Popular Education: An African Case*,

dangerous problems for missionary societies, as organizations such as the CMS readily admitted that conversion efforts in West Africa would fail if local sources of support and recruitment could not be fostered.⁸²⁵ Nevertheless, imperial reliance on missionaries, due to fiscal constraints, guaranteed the continuation of virtually-uncontested religious control over education. This control, guaranteed with or without the support of Africans or local elites, remained dominant into the early twentieth century, at which point the tenets of missionary power were challenged by British official policy.

Studying the co-evolution of British, Irish, West African, and Indian education reveals, in all four cases, the persistence of deep flaws in state-funded education's administration and implementation. Commissions, inspectorate reports, and political discussions consistently (and continually) highlighted lackluster student performance throughout this period. This fact indicates that the state was at least *willing* to acknowledge state-funded education's many problems, even if it could not address them. In other words, British education officials were well aware that deficiencies in policy were not being corrected over time under existing policies. The absence of real solutions to these problems, such as funding woes in India and Africa, or denominationalism in Britain and Ireland, stemmed not just from policy defects, but also from a blend of administrative caution and factional obstructionism.

Efforts to improve education in this late-nineteenth century should not be discussed via a dichotomy of success/failure, but rather the model that shaped state-funded educa-

Issue 1, vol. 1 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), 32.

825. An early 20th century Catholic missionary, Father Shanahan, commented on this, stating: "if we go from town to town talking only about God, we know from experience that much of our effort brings no result. But no one is opposed to school." (Felix K. Ekechi, *Missionary Enterprise and Rivalry in Igboland, 1857-1914* (London: Frank Cass, 1972), 176.) These topics are discussed at length by Magnus O. Bassey in the following work: Magnus O. Bassey, *Western Education and Political Domination in Africa: A Study in Critical and Dialogical Pedagogy*.

tion's very foundation in the 1830s: social experimentation. For example, even though the divergence between compulsory and non-compulsory education begins during this period, educationists had few contemporary examples, and even fewer historical examples, that they could reference for the purpose of creating performance metrics or long-term targets. This reality made criticism of existing policy an easier task than the creation of novel approaches. Critics could appeal to *data* based on abstracted ideals, whereas creators could only appeal to the abstracted ideals themselves. As such, references to student performance by supporters *or* detractors of state-funded education should not be taken at face value, as their respective models, and the data provided by their implementation, were built on preconceived (and often idealized) concepts. The evidence was not what mattered to educationists and anti-educationists: what mattered was the relationship between evidence and state investment.

For educationists, the 'ideal outcomes' of state-funded education were represented by the best possible imperial subject or, at home, imperial citizen. These ideals were the byproduct of the confluence of state support and private 'gentlemanly' initiative. For detractors, the 'ideal outcome' (in a negative sense) was represented by the worst possible examples: the Babu (with its negative, racial connotations), the socialist, the upwardly-mobile laborer, the westernizing African, or the anti-British nationalist.⁸²⁶

826. Interestingly, African racial stereotypes were sometimes based on European examples: the Fula, for example, were referred to as the 'Jews of Africa, enterprising and shrewd,' whereas the Baganda were the 'Japanese of Africa.' Other times, racial stereotypes were based on perceived strength or masculinity, as with the Zulu and Masai. The latter examples are comparable to British racial stereotypes of different Indian ethnicities and cultures, each of which was ranked according to martial valor, precolonial status, and education. This process, though racial in condescending and pejorative ways, was believed vital to the British imperial effort to categorize and rank the peoples over which they ruled, and to determine who was in need of education, and how said education could best be achieved. For more on this, see: Dorothy Hammond, and Alta Jablow, *The Africa That Never Was*, 63, 93, 165. See also: Raymond Tong, *Figures in Ebony*.

These extremes, and the hopes (or fears) attached to them, offer insight into the ideologies and values that underpinned the policies of this period, as well as the trajectory of state-funded education at the turn of the century. State-funded education started out as an experiment, an *ad-hoc* concept developed by 'men on the spot' with idealized visions of Britain's future. This characteristic was retained throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and wholly shaped the often unrealistic expectations of educationists during this period. This characteristic was also responsible for the caution of many educationists: if education policy garners the appearance of negligence, malice, or outright malpractice, it is because educationists treated innovations in education as 'leaps in the dark' that, without due caution, could fatally and irreversibly destabilize their experiments in social change.

To conclude, the transition of education policy from 'experimental' to 'essential' was as critical to the quality of state-funded education as the education itself: without the stability and consistency afforded by concepts such as compulsion or national schools, education policy would remain fluid and inefficient, and any gains were stymied by concerns over long-term stability. The Education Act of 1880 solved this problem by 'essentializing' state-funded policy at home through compulsion, a process that, while a critical step towards quality universal education in Britain, placed the experimental systems of the empire in stark relief. The growing divergence between domestic and imperial education systems, compounded by the 1880 Act, had unforeseen and irreversible consequences on Britain's imperial education experiments. At the very moment in which British educationists and officials were realizing the value of national and nationalist education at home, they were in the process of devolving education systems in the empire. These processes, discussed in the next chapter and the conclusion, played a tangible role in the collapse of the British Empire, as well as the transformation of the sociocultural order at home.

Chapter 15: Education and Nationalist Imperialism

In 1899-1901, Richard Burdon Haldane, 1st Viscount Haldane, delivered a series of speeches that, in 1902, were collected and published as *Education and Empire: Addresses on Certain Topics of the Day*.⁸²⁷ Though coming twenty years after Education Act of 1880, Haldane's speeches contain many of the same lines of discussion and concern that carried compulsion to fruition in the 1870-1880s. The central concern that inspires Haldane is the impending competition with the United States and Germany on the global stage, a challenge that he believes can only be met through national education.⁸²⁸ To rise to this challenge, Haldane envisioned an educational system detached from religion, reliant on highly-trained teachers, and integrated with a university system that – borrowing from the 'downward filtration' model of India – linked metropole and empire education in a single, hierarchical model of educational development from university to elementary school. Such a system would give Britain the competitive edge required to remain a dominant global empire and, critically, unify the disparate cultures of the British Empire under the auspices of a singular, cultural Britishness. Such a system could not rely solely on elementary education: for Haldane's model to function, state-funded education had to encompass all levels of education for all classes, especially the lower and middle classes.⁸²⁹ Throughout Haldane's speeches, he

827. Viscount R.B. Haldane, *Education and Empire*.

828. "...not only elementary education in this country, but our secondary and tertiary systems must be thoroughly overhauled and coordinated if we are to be brought near to the existing level of Germany, and that to which the United States are rapidly approaching..." (Ibid, ix.)

829. Referencing Matthew Arnold, an influential educationist of the 1880-1900s (discussed at length later in this Chapter), Haldane states the following: "The battle for State regulation of elementary education he [Arnold] knew was virtually won. But he pointed out that the battle for middle-class education was yet to be fought before we could enter on the process by which alone the want of *Geist* in our middle and governing classes could be made

emphasizes the capacity of Britain to overcome these challenges, however it is clear that Haldane views the international challenge, and its implications for Britain, as a potentially fatal crisis:

The British people are not yet a decaying race. The Anglo-Saxon, here as in America, is probably in energy, in courage, and in doggedness of purpose superior to all his European rivals in commerce...but organization and instruction have been carried to a far higher pitch in Germany and Switzerland than with us, and if we are to hold our position we must furnish ourselves with the discipline and the weapons with which the foreigner has prepared himself for the contest.⁸³⁰

Though Haldane was firmly on the left-most edge of the Liberal party, his speeches represented the fears and anxieties of British educationists and imperialists across the political spectrum. As in the 1830s with regards to Jacobinism, fear (specifically fear of decline in this case) was the primary motivating force behind educationist movements during the post-1880 period. This fear manifest as nationalism and nationalist imperialism, both of which were integrated into educational curricula during this time.⁸³¹

The timing of nationalism's integration into education policy, with regards to the rise of compulsory education, the total nationalization of schools, and the secularization of curricula, was not coincidental. Nationalist themes, topics, and rhetoric were considered candidates for the replacement of religious moralism in state-funded schools, as it was believed that they could inculcate a value-set comparable to that provided by religion.⁸³² This

up for...Our middle classes find their position threatened by a new commercial combination. They have been forced to realise [sic] that courage, energy, enterprise are in these modern days of little more avail against the weapons which science can put into the hands of our rivals in commerce than was the splendid fighting of the Dervishes against the shrapnel and the Maxims at Omdurman." (Ibid, 6.)

830. (Ibid, 29-30.)

831. For more on this topic, particularly in the general European context, see: *Education and the Colonial Experience* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1984).

832. Historians of mass culture point to this ideological shift, combined with compulsion, as a primary catalyst of mass popular culture in the early twentieth century. For more on this, see: John M. Mackenzie, *Imperialism and Popular Culture*. See also: J.A. Mangan, *Making Imperial Mentalities*.

transition was gradual and piecemeal, and was met with resistance, specifically among supporters of denominational and/or privatized education.⁸³³ State-funded education, long a battleground over the limits of Britishness, was now also a battleground over what Britishness represented, and whether or not religion (specifically Anglicanism) should remain part of this cultural model. Reshaping Britishness, redefining Britishness's relationship with education, and identifying the limits of state-funding education were the core issues of state-fund-

833. This administrative concept, embodied by the secularization of elementary schooling during this period, was not necessarily a reflection of popular sentiment towards all schooling. Take, for example, this excerpt from a speech given by MP C.A. Cripps in the House of Commons on February 16, 1897: "It was said that there was no opposition on the other side of the House to what was called religious education, and the issue raised was this—that although general religious education would receive the support of hon. Members on the other side of the House, yet the proposals of the Government, being of a denominational and sectarian character, and implying the use of public funds for denominational and sectarian education—it was mainly on that ground that the opposition arose. Perhaps the most remarkable statement that had been made in that Debate on the other side of the House was one made by the right hon. Member for Montrose, The right hon. Gentleman represented that he might call the arguments for secular as opposed to religious education, and yet the right hon. Gentleman admitted that, although he had not changed any of his own views upon this most important point, the current of English opinion was against him, and that he was bound to recognise, not only the popularity of the denominational system, but the demand of the English people for its preservation. The right hon. Gentleman referred to one reason for that state of things, saying that the popularity of the denominational system at the present moment was due to the energy and generosity of those who supported it. But another reason might be added. They saw in the growing desire of the English people to maintain the denominational system the benefit that had been derived from the progress of education itself. It was a remarkable fact that as education had progressed so had the popularity of denominational education grown. In our great secondary schools, which were the glory of the educational system of this country, there had always been a system of definite religious denominational education, and as education had spread and knowledge had advanced the same idea had grown in relation to our primary schools, that no system was perfect or satisfactory which did not give due scope and development to denominational and religious education. He wished to allude here to one criticism that had been advanced on the other side of the House with reference to what was called "definite religious instruction." That was instruction in distinctive formula, whether they were those of the Roman Catholic Church, of the Anglican Church, or of the larger Nonconformist bodies. He repudiated as unworthy the suggestion that had been made that instruction in distinctive formula had anything to do with the narrow bigotry which had been attributed to denominational education. It was one thing to be educated in distinctive religious formula and quite another to be educated in a narrow bigotry. It being desired that the system of denominational education should be preserved, the question arose—how was that desire to be given effect to?" (HC Deb, Voluntary Schools Bill, February 16 1897, Vol. 46, 534-535.)

ed education policy during this period. This chapter explores these themes by discussing the most important developments in education in 1880s-1900s Britain, Ireland, and India. Specifically, this chapter looks at the innovations in education policy that built on changes and complications addressed in previous chapters, and highlights the interconnections between the education reforms of each region.

Though the ideals of Britishness had been a driving force behind state-funded education throughout the nineteenth century, the concept of an 'official nationalism' was relatively novel. On the most basic level, official British nationalism centered on history, the Crown, philosophical notions of liberty, and industrial work ethic.⁸³⁴ These values, essential to the ideological desires of educationists at the turn of the century, were not easily translated into education. Academic training in these subjects was very limited at the teacher-training level, resulting in history lessons that were more about rote memorization than the inculcation of national sentiments.⁸³⁵ Decades of chronic underfunding, minimal graduation requirements, and supply-side shortages had, however, created a culture of necessary acceptance regarding poor teachers, thus inspectoral complaints of substandard teacher performance were explained away by necessity of their position.⁸³⁶ Accordingly, many teachers

834. Historian John Mackenzie identifies an 'ideological cluster' comparable to this for nationalist imperialism. For Mackenzie, nationalist imperialism centered on the following objects: militarism, royalism, hero-worship and racial darwinism. For more on this, see: John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, 2-3.

835. Historian Peter Mandler notes this in his work *English National Character*, referring to it character as representing nothing but 'banal nationalism,' i.e. flag waving, anthem-singing, and so on. Evidence from inspectorate reports during this period confirm his sentiment: "Some [masters] also are inclined to overload the children's memory with many and unconnected, and therefore unmeaning dates. One curious exercise of this kind I heard at a large and very good school. The boys of the first class repeated with great quickness and quite correctly the dates of the ascension, and...death of all the kings and queens of England, backwards-way, that is, proceeding from Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria to William the Conqueror. It was a curious exercise of the memory, for it was most rapidly done. But was it an useful lesson in history or even in chronology?" (Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1843-1844, 1845, ED, 17/7, 124.) For more on this see: Peter Mandler, *The English National Character*, 130.

836. The Royal Commission on Education in Ireland of 1870 noted this problem,

simply lacked the training to adapt their personal curriculum to shifts in national policy, resulting in underwhelming school performance compared to national education standards.

In addition to training issues, many teachers viewed 'nationalist' education as inferior to traditional character training, a problem compounded by the continued pervasiveness of clerical and denominationally-sympathetic teachers in the national school system.⁸³⁷ Attempts were made to correct this through compulsory policy reform, such as introduction of mandatory drill in 1895, however aforementioned apathy and poor training limited the efficacy of such reforms.⁸³⁸ These problems were made worse by the glacially-slow improvement of tangible results related to teacher-training and student performance, meaning that substantial changes to education in the 1880-1900s often took a decade or more to show appreciable signs of change.⁸³⁹

highlighting that training-schools were often pressured by primary schools for rapid turnover of teachers, or the promotion of teachers 'after potential was discovered' by inspectors. Both carried the risk of poor – or utterly absent – training, especially since the average training time for primary education teachers was four and a half months. (Commissioners of Irish Education, *Royal Commission of Inquiry Into Primary Education (Ireland)*, 406-412)

837. HMI Rev. John Adam noted this back in 1841, stating: "If the Village Schoolmaster be worse paid than the Village Carpenter or Blacksmith, what Hope is there of finding any but the most incompetent Persons in the former Situation? ...But of what is that we deprive Generation after Generation, by allowing an improper Teacher to remain where he is? In a loose and metaphorical way of talking, it may be said, that the Children are deprived of the Bread of the Soul..." (Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1841-1842, 1842, ED, 17/5, 262.) This problem is comparable to the persistence of society school influence in Ireland, indigenous schools in India, and missionary schools in West Africa – in all three cases, pre-national educators and education facilities were tolerated out of necessity and the desire to avoid 'vacuums' of educational absence in these regions.

838. J.A. Mangan, *Making Imperial Mentalities*, 9.

839. The Committee of Council on Education's Report of 1891-1892 reported a total of 47,823 certificated teachers at work in national and state-aided schools in 1891, as well as 44 teacher-training colleges with a total attendance of 3,310 students. These students, and 2,805 acting teachers, were certified in that year, meaning that roughly 12% of the current state teacher workforce was being generated every year. Accounting for the expansion of schools under inspection, as well as the increase in students attending school, it is fair to assume that 5-10% of the workforce was certificated under the new educational guidelines every year. At this rate, it would take 10-20 years for the entire educational workforce to adapt to the modernized educational standards. Considering that the two major educational code revisions of this period occurred in 1890 and 1902, it is statistically feasible that British

To combat the problems plaguing British education, and to accelerate Britain's national education system relative to its continental and American competitors, two significant education reforms were passed during the 1880-1900s: the Education Code of 1890-1891, and the Education Act of 1902 (also known as the Balfour Act).⁸⁴⁰ The Education Code of 1890, hailed as the other half of the compulsory system by supporters, removed all student fees from state-funded education by paying a flat stipend of £10 to national schools.⁸⁴¹ This reform guaranteed that compulsory education would not be an economic burden for British families that could not – or would not – pay for school, a criticism levied against compulsory education during the 1880s.⁸⁴² The removal of student fees angered detractors of compulsory schooling, as they viewed it as yet another anti-competitive assault on the existence of private schools.⁸⁴³ Nevertheless, the combination of 'free' and 'compul-

education did not adapt to the changes considered in this chapter until World War I, the tumults of which most likely pushed back the timing to the interwar period. (Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1891-1892. Archival Records, ED. 17/62. Education Department, 1892, viii.)

840. The Education Codes of 1891, though separate from the Code of 1890, was simply a slight modification of the existing code for clarity, thus it is not considered a substantial change. In 1902, Arthur Balfour is said to have lamented that 'England is behind all continental rivals in education.' This statement is generally considered part of Balfour's political push to support the Education Act of 1902. For more on this, see: Andy Green, *Education and State Formation: The Rise of Education Systems in England, France, and the USA* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1990).

841. The actual language of the 1890 Code: "Where the population of the *school district* in which a public elementary school is situate...and there is no other public elementary school recognised by the Education Department as available...a special parliamentary grant may be made annually to that school to the amount of ten pounds." (Committee of Council on Education, *The Education Acts (Elementary) (England and Wales), 1870-1902*, 103.) This language shows that, while the actual concept of free education was revolutionary, its implementation was simply a reformatting of the old grants-in-aid concept to apply to schools regardless of standards or per capita valuation.

842. Once passed, the Education Acts of 1870, 1876, 1880, and 1890 became collectively known as the Elementary Education Acts, 1870 to 1890, thus (legalistically) unifying the Acts as one singular shift in British state-funded education. (Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1891-1892, 1892, ED, 17/62, 2.)

843. The *Times* published the following editorial in 1891, one that captures the resistance to state-funded education during this time: "It is stated that we have opposed the idea of free education. What we have opposed, and what we will continue to oppose with the utmost vigour, is that scheme of so-called free education as enunciated by the author of the Radical

sory' education allowed for the rapid expansion of British state-funded schools, the only limits now being proper facilities, education materials, and teachers.

While educationists viewed the Education Codes of 1880 and 1890 as the triumph of education over budgetary restrictions, the reforms did not provide an instant curative for the deeper sociocultural fissures and educational problems in Britain. Frustrations over the oppressive nature of free and compulsory national education simmered throughout the 1890s, leading denominational and pro-privatization factions to place great pressure on the Balfour-led government of 1902 to offer some kind of compromise.⁸⁴⁴ This compromise was bundled into the Balfour Act of 1902 which, in addition to a general expansion of funding and infrastructure for schools, provided state funding for denominational schools in a manner comparable to the old grants-in-aid system.⁸⁴⁵ This Act was intended to satisfy demands for equal opportunity made by private school organizations, while also increasing the resources available to the rapidly-expanding national education system.

programme, a scheme which at one fell blow would destroy the denominational schools, which have done such a splendid work for education in the past, and which at the present moment are educating two-thirds of the children of Great Britain and Ireland, a scheme which would involve the country in an outlay of some 50 million pounds and more, and which would cause the State publicly to declare that it is not necessary that her children should be educated in the faith and fear of God. It would be nothing short of infamous for the State to step in and deliberately destroy a system which has conferred untold benefits on this country..." ("The Problem of Free Education." *The London Times*, May 28 1891 ED 7/7, Irish National Archives, Dublin.)

844. The *London Times* references this, linking it to discussions on free and compulsory education in Ireland: "Mr. A.J. Balfour: The intention of the Government, generally speaking, is to devote Ireland's share of the two millions to freeing elementary education. There are difficulties...but my present idea is to allocate the money for Ireland on the general principles of the Bill adopted for England...It has long been recognized that compulsory education should be introduced into that country [Ireland], and, though I do not say that the whole country is ripe for it, I think that something ought to be done on the occasion of the introduction of this Bill." ("Free Education in Ireland." *London Times*, June 10 1891 ED 7/7, Irish National Archives, Dublin.)

845. The consequences of this decision are discussed in the following work: Marjorie Cruickshank, *Church and State in English Education*.

The Balfour Act is an insightful commentary on the nature of state-funded education in Britain in the first part of the twentieth century: admittedly lagging behind continental and American systems, British education had one foot in the nationalized, German-style school system, and another foot planted firmly in the mid-nineteenth century grants-in-aid system.⁸⁴⁶ This hybrid model influenced British education throughout the remainder of the twentieth century and, as discussed below, had a profound impact on the reforms and compromises made in the empire.

In spite of the persistent problems noted above, national education made significant strides during the 1880-1900s. More students, and more teachers, were involved in the process of education than ever before, a development that made the schoolhouse as important to the formation of national community as the church.⁸⁴⁷ This concept is directly referenced in the following 1878 excerpt from an inspectorial circular:

As it has now become evident that, by the operation of recent legislation, the great majority of the labouring classes will be virtually compelled to send their children to public elementary schools, which are aided, and therefore to a large extent regulated, by the State, a heavy additional responsibility is imposed upon the Government with respect to the character of the schools in which these children will be obliged to spend all their school life... As regards history and geography, you [teachers] will encourage, as far as you can, such teaching as is likely to awaken the sympathies of the children... With respect to the ordinary rudiments, you will urge the teachers, as far as they are concerned, not to be satisfied with just enabling the children to pass the standard examinations which set them free from compulsory attendance, but to endeavour to provide that all children before they leave school shall at least have acquired the power of writing with facility, of using the simple rules of arithmetic without difficulty, and of reading without exertion and with pleasure to themselves.⁸⁴⁸

846. In many ways, one could argue that Britain's long-standing attachment to the denominational school model – and its influence on modern British schools even today – is part of the same cultural *geist* that underpins the continued constitutional status of the Church of England.

847. This thesis is discussed at length in the following work: Stewart Jay Brown, *Providence and Empire*.

848. Circular to Her Majesty's Inspectors. Education Department. House of Commons, Parliamentary Papers, Jan 16 1878, 2-3.

This new responsibility led to an unprecedented rise in the importance of education in British daily life, as well as a rise in nationalist self-awareness in Britain. Britishness, if defined primarily by educational status, was losing the ability to exclude Britons formerly relegated to the status of 'barbarian' or 'uncivilized.' As noted in prior chapters, inspectorate reports throughout the mid-nineteenth century had revealed mass ignorance of 'Britishness,' including failure to recognize the British flag or the British Isles on a world map, as well as the inability to name the capital of Britain or the current monarch.⁸⁴⁹ If nothing else, these examples highlight the inauthenticity of Britishness for the common Briton: if Britishness was created, and defined, by the ruling elite, was it realistic for these elites to assume or expect that Britishness would apply, or even appeal, to all Britons?⁸⁵⁰ If Britishness was the metaphorical 'gentleman's burden' of the educated classes, what would happen to it once education was no longer a clear means of social difference? What, in other words, was the future of Britishness?

These questions are at the heart of the transformations in British culture and society that took place at the turn of the century. The rise of mass literacy fueled the genesis of a new culture dominated by the tastes, desires, and world outlook of the emergent, state-educated population. The answer to the question of Britishness's future, therefore, is as follows: for Britishness to remain relevant to this emerging educated population, its proponents had to embrace that Britishness was no longer a means of difference among peoples that self-identified as British. In other words, the democratization of Britain over the nineteenth

849. Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1843-1844, 1845, ED, 17/7, 245.

Minutes for the Committee of Council on Education, 1875-1876, 1876, ED, 17/44, 274.

850. This question, this dissertation contends, reveals deep flaws in histories of nineteenth century Britain that attempt to craft a nationalist narrative regarding popular British culture.

century, when combined with national education, required an equivalent process for Britishness and British values.⁸⁵¹

Anxieties over the democratization of Britishness were part of the general crisis facing Britain at this time. Many aspects of Britain – its industry, its empire, the status of its elites – were under direct assault by foreign and domestic changes. The transformation of Britishness, though viewed as inevitable (and invaluable) by some educationists like Haldane, were part of this assault.⁸⁵² As such, changes to mass literacy, and the growing political and national consciousness, were countered through entrenchment in values that, unlike Britishness, had not been undergone a process of democratization. This entrenchment resulted in the hardening of class and cultural divisions within the British Isles, as well as the escalation of divisions between Britons and non-Britons. Regarding the former, this was the era of increasing Anglo-Irish hostility at home, notably through the rise of the Orangeist and Fenian movements.⁸⁵³ It was also, as noted by historian David Cannadine, a period of great obstructionism in the House of Lords (as exemplified by the Parliamentary crisis of 1911) and a general exodus of many aristocratic families to Britain's settler colonies in British Africa, New Zealand, and elsewhere.⁸⁵⁴ Regarding the latter, the exodus of middle- and up-

851. This topic is discussed at length by the following two works: James G. Greenlee, *Education and Imperial Unity*; Bernard Semmel, *Imperialism and Social Reform*.

852. This sentiment was captured in the 1960s by Martin Burgess Green in his work, *A Mirror for Anglo-Saxons*: "The Welfare State is no gentleman's country, and an educated Englishman, whatever he may think about it cannot feel it to be anything but unpalatable...more people have better health, more money, better education, etc. etc...but it is no longer a gentleman's country, and all men of sensibility are gentlemen." (Martin Burgess Green, *A Mirror for Anglo-Saxons: A Discovery of America, a Rediscovery of England* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), 31-32.) Though a commentary on a much later period of British history, Green's words ring true for Britain in the early 1900s as well.

Dorothy Hammond employs this quote in her work *The Africa that Never Was*, noting that English beliefs and values, though intact after World War II, lacked a proper place for the 'gentleman.' (Dorothy Hammond, and Alta Jablow, *The Africa That Never Was*, 193.)

853. For more on these topics, see: Joseph Lee, *The Modernization of Irish Society*. See also: Patricia Jalland, *The Liberals and Ireland*.

854. David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990). The impact of this on Anglo-Irish relations is also discussed in in

per-class families to the empire offers insight into Britain's imperial problems in the twentieth century: unable to retain the elements of difference that defined Britishness at home, many sought to replicate 'old Britishness' in the empire. This practice greatly affected the demographic and cultural make-up of Britain's settler colonies, especially in regions like Kenya and Rhodesia.⁸⁵⁵ It also played a large part in the education policy reforms that occurred – or failed to occur – in the British Raj, as shown in previous chapters with regards to racial and cultural divides in the Indian Civil Service.⁸⁵⁶

Resistance and retrenchment were not the only responses posited by the self-appointed custodians of Britishness. As highlighted in Haldane's speeches, and as seen throughout this dissertation, many, especially educationists, saw Britishness as a tool that could shape Britons and non-Britons alike, even if Britishness was unavoidably altered in the process. Education had been a part of this toolkit since the 1830s, however – with the advent of popular nationalism, mass literacy, and nationalist imperialism – education in Britishness was no longer something accomplished solely in the classroom. The advent of the Imperial Federation League in 1884, the British Empire League in 1895, and the inauguration of Empire Day in 1902 together highlight the concerted efforts of British officials and elites to 'secure the permanent unity of the empire' and to highlight the benefits of greater cooperation on a more popular scale.⁸⁵⁷ The Imperial Federation League in particular bears the imprint of education, as many of its founding members – J.R. Seeley, W. E Forster,

the following work: Eunan O'Halpin, *Decline of the Union: British Government in Ireland, 1892-1920* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1988).

855. For more on this topic, see: David Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged: The Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire* (W. W. Norton, 2005).

856. For more on this, see: David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire*. See also: Miles Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and Its Enemies: The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society, 1850-1900* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1989).

857. *The British Empire Series*, vol. 5 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., 1902), 599.

James Bryce, 1st Viscount Bryce, and others – were either supporters of state-funded education or, with Forster, active participations in its development.⁸⁵⁸

The conflicts and anxieties surrounding Britishness at the turn of the century reveals that British nationalism and British nationalist imperialism were fluid and evolving concepts. Though dependent on a similar set of values and ideas, nationalism and nationalist imperialism were not necessarily interdependent.⁸⁵⁹ Looking back at discussions on Britishness, it is clear that being a British *nationalist* or being a British *national imperialist* was not the same thing, and that such definitions were ultimately a reflection of one's adherence to the concept of 'imperial citizenship'.⁸⁶⁰ This discrepancy is essential to the evolution of imperial education during the 1880-1900s. Whether or not educationists believe imperial citizenship was preferable, or even possible, shaped the trajectory of imperial education reform, as the value of education investment was directly linked to the benefit that Britain could recoup from such investment. While this pragmatic view of education can be depicted as imperial (in the pejorative sense), it is an argument that British officials relied on at home during the same period. The key issue in the imperial context is, therefore, not just the rationale behind expanding education, but also the justification for limiting its use as a tool of coercion, manipulation, or political bargaining.⁸⁶¹ This issue, essential in all imperial cases

858. Thomas Macfarlane, *Within the Empire: An Essay on Imperial Federation* (Ottawa: J. Hope, 1891). Bryce was primarily a supporter of secondary education reform, which is why he has not otherwise appeared in this dissertation. For more on Bryce, see: H.A.L. Fisher, *Viscount Bryce of Dechmont, O.M., 1838-1922* (London: Oxford University Press, 1928)

859. The concept of British nationalist imperialism is discussed at length in the following works: Winfried Baumgart, *Imperialism: The Idea and Reality of British and French Colonial Expansion, 1880-1914*, Revised ed., (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982) ; C.C. Eldridge, *England's Mission* ; R. W. Seton-Watson, *Disraeli, Gladstone and the Eastern Question: A Study in Diplomacy and Party Politics* (London: Frank Cass and Co., 1962) ; Bernard Porter, *Critics of Empire*.

860. This was discussed at length in the context of Seeley et. al. For more on this, see: Duncan Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain*.

861. J. A. Mangan argues, compellingly, that the chronic lack of funding, teachers, and materials for education (especially overseas) is the single biggest indicator that state-funded

discussed in this dissertation, was central to the educational crisis of Ireland at the turn of the century.

Thanks to the emerging popularity of Irish nationalism and the political stymie created by the concept of Home Rule, Irish education in the 1880-1900s had reached a crisis point.⁸⁶² The relatively rapid progress of reform in Britain since the 1870s exacerbated this crisis, leading Irish educationists to demand some form of equal treatment with respect to Ireland's constitutional status in the United Kingdom. Unfortunately for these educationists, officials were reluctant to apply British education reforms to Ireland, preferring instead to continue tweaking the aging national system. An editorial in the *Irish Times* of 1898 captures this problem, and thus the root of Irish nationalist frustrations:

For the past five or six years there has been almost a consensus of educational opinion in Ireland against what are known as results fees in National schools, but up to the present no practical steps have been taken by those responsible for the management of the National system to substitute some tests which are more in harmony with modern educational ideas...[The Results Method] proceeds on the supposition that the principal object of all teaching is to qualify the pupil to pass an examination, and takes but small account of the methods used in teaching. The manufactured article must be produced, although the raw material may be eminently unsuitable for furnishing it. Something, no doubt, may be said in favour of individual tests, especially in the early and initial stages of primary education in a country circumstanced as Ireland was some 50 or 60 years ago. The country had to be freed somehow from the reproach of illiteracy to which it was so justly liable. Times have changed, however. Even in Ireland education has become widely diffused, and better and more practical methods have replaced the 'rule of thumb' arrangements which existed when the National system was formed.

education was not an overt tool of propaganda. If it was truly viewed as a means of control or imperial coercion, Britain would not have spared expenses in maintaining robust educational infrastructure. (J.A. Mangan, *Benefits Bestowed?*, 219.)

862. Professor Mahaffy of Trinity College, Dublin: "It is the mass of those who dislike or who hate England and the English, and who favour [sic] any movement which will lead directly or indirectly to a severance between Ireland and Great Britain (who are in favour of Irish)...(they) know the separation is only a matter of time, provided they can nourish separation in sentiment and revive the hitherto decreasing sense of contrast in race by establishing contrast in language." (Ibid, 84.)

In 1892, and as a direct result of compulsory education reform in Britain, the Irish commissioners approved the Compulsory Education Act.⁸⁶³ Though revolutionary in its intent to both require and fund student attendance in Irish schools, it did very little to alter the nature of that instruction, or the model of national schools in Ireland. This ineffectiveness was a consequence of the Compulsory Education Act's implementation: unlike Britain, where compulsory education was immediately mandatory for all local boards and board schools, Irish local authorities were given the authority to implement compulsion independently. The problem here, as since the origin of state-funded education in Ireland, was one of religion: reforms of any substantial amount threatened to topple the delicate administrative balance between Catholics, Anglicans, and Dissenters.⁸⁶⁴ In the case of compulsion in Ireland, conscience clauses and obstructionist religious organizations stymied implementation, leaving the Act a 'dead letter' in the eyes of Irish educationist and British officials.⁸⁶⁵

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Irish educational system – like its British counterpart – was stuck somewhere between denominational and national. Its national administrative structure, though technically older than Britain's, had never centralized authority in an appreciable manner, leaving the powers of enforcement and management largely in

863. "Results Fees in National Schools." *Irish Times*, April 9 1898 ED 7/14, Irish National Archives, Dublin.

864. This balance is clearly defined as the first and primary rule of the Irish National Education system: "The object of the system of National Education is to afford *combined* literary and moral, and *separate* [emphasis in original] religious instruction, to children of all persuasions, as far as possible, in the same school, upon the fundamental principle, that no attempt shall be made to interfere with the peculiar religious tenets of any description of Christian pupils." (Commissioners of Irish Education, *The Fifty-Eight Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland for the Year 1891* (Dublin: Alexander Thom and Co., 1892), 2.)

865. Though admittedly a 'dead letter,' Arthur Balfour lamented that "[while he] hoped that this long-vexed question might be solved...[for] many rural Roman Catholic districts, a religious propaganda was involved in the exhibition of religious emblems, and it was unfair to small Protestant communities in those places to compel them to send their children to schools where they might be subjected to such influences." (National Unionist Association of Conservative and Liberal Unionist Organizations, *The Constitutional Year Book for 1895*, vol. II (London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1895), 235.)

the hands of local authorities. This was not wholly abnormal relative to Britain, as local boards managed schools in England and Wales until 1902, however the dominance of religious authorities on the local level meant that Ireland's schools were, *de facto*, parochial.⁸⁶⁶ This point alone was responsible for the slow adoption of compulsion, and is largely why attempts to reform Irish education in the 1880s-1900s proceeded at such a glacial pace: reforms in favor of centralization and/or nationalization were simply not in the best interests of most local authorities, as such reforms risked the forfeiture of control over the content of education. Ireland was, in the words of Historian Donald Akenson, locked down in a 'religious apartheid' that was sanctioned by the state via education policy. Official education policy in Ireland did little more than strengthen the barriers between religious factions in the country.⁸⁶⁷

While problems of implementation plagued the Irish system throughout the 1890s, another major issue also continued to hamper education change in Ireland: parental and student apathy. Andrew Nicholas Bonaparte-Wyse, grandson of the early Irish educationist Sye Thomas Wyse and inspector of schools in the Ballymena District of Ireland, issued the following statement on this in the 1899-1900 Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland:

From what has been said [about the rural nature of this area], it will be easily seen that national education has many difficulties to contend with in its work among such a population as described. To my mind—and, when I use these words, my standard of comparison is not the state of education in the rest of Ireland, but rather that of France, Belgium, Germany, and other leading continental countries—there is a low ideal, and an inadequate appreciation of education on the part of the people, which

866. Local boards were replaced by Local Education Authorities (LEA) in 1902 as part of the Balfour Act. For more on this, see: G.A.N. Lowndes, *The Silent Social Revolution*. In his work *Irish Education: Its History and Structure*, John Coolahan notes that the Catholic clergy, in 1900, declared that "the new national system of education in a great part of Ireland is now, in fact, whatever it is in name, as denominational almost as we could desire." (John Coolahan, *Irish Education: Its History and Structure*, 37.) See also: *Education Studies in Ireland—the Key Disciplines* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 2011).

867. Donald Akenson, *The Irish Education Experiment*, 385.

goes far to retard its progress in our midst. I do not mean to say that the necessity for a school is not recognized; on the contrary, I have met instances of very praiseworthy sacrifices on the part of the people, made to supply better school accommodation— but what I do say is, that the objects of a school education are very imperfectly understood. In the eyes of the people, reading and writing, and ciphering are regarded as the whole end and aim of national education, and anything further is looked upon as an unnecessary refinement, compared to which the importance of saving a few shillings in labour, or of securing a small weekly pittance in a factory, is so superior as not to admit even of question. The general training of the mental faculties...the knowledge of something outside the petty world and the prosaic life of the peasant, an appreciation of what is beautiful, and noble, and good— these things as part of a school education are as empty of meaning to the ordinary peasant or labourer as the moods and figures of the syllogism in a text-book of Logic, and the idea of advancing such ideals by a school education would.⁸⁶⁸

For Bonaparte-Wyse, local student apathy, not national policy, was responsible for the sluggish and uneven pace of reform in Ireland. Added to this was the problem of urbanization in Ireland, as noted by the inspector W. Pedlow:

The depletion of the country through the attraction of high wages to supply the wants of the city has resulted in the almost entire extinction of farm labourers, and has reduced once thriving rural schools into a state of struggling for existence.⁸⁶⁹

Combined, the roadblocks of apathy and *de facto* denominationalism conspired against education reform in Ireland, leading national authorities to seek out more thorough alterations to the national system in the late-1890s/early-1900s. In 1897, the Belmore Commission was established to investigate the potential for a complete overhaul of Irish education based on the standards of education of Europe, Britain, and the United States.⁸⁷⁰ This Commission concluded that the fundamentals of the Irish education system were simply outdated, and, according to Dr. Starkie (Resident Commissioner in Ireland, 1899-1921), "the

868. Commissioners of Irish Education, *The Sixty-Sixth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland*, 16. Interestingly, Andrew Nicholas Bonaparte-Wyse was one of the last Chief Inspectors of schools in Ireland, and the last Secretary to the Commissioner of National Education in Ireland, prior to Irish independence, and was hired to work in the Ministry of Education in Northern Ireland after this period.

869. *Ibid.*, 33.

870. For more on this, see: Thomas Walsh, "The Revised Programme of Instruction," *Irish Educational Studies* Vol. 26, no. 2 (June 2007). See also: John Coolahan, *Irish Education: Its History and Structure*.

school-coach [should not] be better horsed, but [rather] that it should be turned right round and started on a new track."⁸⁷¹

The fruit of the Belmore Commission was the 1900 Revised Programme, a model of education that – at least in theory – would bring Ireland's educational system in-line with that of Britain and the rest of the world. As shown with the cases of India and West Africa below, however, the revolutionary rhetoric of the Revised Programme lacked the local initiative, and the national pressure, to implement appreciable change within the window of time in which 'revolutionary change' could remain revolutionary.⁸⁷² Fiscal problems compounded this issue, leading any actual attempts at reform to often fail as a result of limited administrative support. As such, the Revised Programme is largely viewed as an academic exercise that, much like the education it was trying to replace, provided a model of theoretical education that did little to alter the *de facto* reality of Ireland's educational backwardness. Though further attempts would be made in the 1900-1910s to address Ireland's significant educational deficits, the crippling issues noted above thwarted significant change, especially as the Anglo-Irish relationship deteriorated in the lead-up to, and after, World War I.

As in Britain, state-funded education in Ireland was a focal point for the evolution of nationalism and national self-awareness. Unlike Britain, however, Irish nationalism largely emerged as a *response* to the languishing national education system, not alongside it.⁸⁷³ Fur-

871. Thomas Walsh, "The Revised Programme of Instruction.", p. 131.

872. This fact is highlighted by the following line from the Commission on Manual and Practical Instruction: "It will be for the Commissioners of National Education to consider and determine in what manner these various changes can be best introduced into their system. But we have ventured to make some general suggestions... We think that the changes recommended ought to be introduced, not all at once, but gradually and tentatively. They should be tried first in the larger centres, and afterwards extend to remote districts..." (Commissioners of Irish Education, *Commission on Manual and Practical Instruction in Primary Schools Under the Board of National Education in Ireland, Final Report* (Dublin: Alexander Thom and Co., 1898), 4.)

873. Commissions on national education in Ireland repeatedly stressed that education in Ireland was intended to promote moral, academic and – later on – industrial self-improvement. Discussions of Britishness or British values were limited to those intrinsic to

thermore, as noted in previous chapters, appreciable developments in Irish nationalism, such as the Gaelic Union, emerged in the 1870s-1880s, prior to the significant education reforms of the turn of the century. This narrative creates a potential problem for the thesis on Britishness posited above: if mass education was a necessary catalyst for national self-consciousness, why did Ireland's nationalist movement develop without true compulsion? The answer, simply put, is that – in spite of the Irish education systems' intrinsic flaws – literacy, and interest in literacy, increased enough throughout the nineteenth century to provide a foundation, however small, for national self-awareness. The potency of this educational foundation was multiplied by the emergence of groups like the Gaelic Union and, after 1893, the Gaelic League, each of which promoted a specific national message about Ireland's relationship to Britain, as well as its own history, language, and national heritage.⁸⁷⁴

In conclusion, state-funded education in Ireland was partially responsible for nationalism in Ireland, yet it was also the foil. The dynamic of social change in Ireland was such that state-funded education as-designed could serve no other tangible purpose than to drive Britain and Ireland apart. Promotion of Irish values, or the Irish language, would have accelerated the process of validating Ireland's non-Britishness. Because of this, national education policy was insistent upon the replacement of the Irish language, and ultimately Irishness, with the English language and Britishness, respectively. By the late-nineteenth century, token acknowledgement by the state of Irish culture and the Irish language as valid educational objects merely strengthened the hand of organizations like the Gaelic League. These organizations could pressure the state to undermine itself via the promotion of non-British

propriety, deference to class constructs, and loyalty to the British Empire. These messages remained constant up to, and beyond, the Commission on Manual and Practical Instruction.

⁸⁷⁴ John Coolahan, writing alongside historian J.A. Mangan, takes this argument one step further, noting that the education platform of the Gaelic League was, in essence, a 'dry run' for political reform movements that would lead to the dissolution of the union between Britain and Ireland. (J.A. Mangan, *Benefits Bestowed?*, 82-84.

values in schools: if the state agreed, it would admit –as Home Rule implied – that Irishness and Britishness were not compatible. If the state refused, or its proposals were insufficient, these organizations could claim legitimacy where the state had abdicated. In the end, state-funded education was a vital part of Britain's plan to make Ireland British, yet this same process catalyzed the differences between Irishness and Britishness. These differences sun-dered both the cultural and political unions of Britain and Ireland.

In India, as in Ireland, irreparable divisions over political agency and cultural difference were manifested through state-funded education. As noted in Chapter 14, the Hunter Commission of 1882 recommended that state-funded education in India be placed on a tra-jectory of decentralization to local authorities and privatization via the near-exclusive use of grants-in-aid to schools. It was hoped that these steps would enable the classes of Indians who had received education to take charge of its expansion at the local level, especially in rural regions of Indian that were described as "still lead[ing] the same, simple, monotonous, and idyllic life which the Greek invaders beheld with such amazement."⁸⁷⁵

Decentralization to local authorities was also useful from a policy standpoint: as in Ireland, devolution of enforcement to localities allowed national bodies to pass reforms that could be integrated into the administrative framework on their own time. The Hunter Commission specifically compared its policies with those of Britain and Ireland on this is-sue, noting,

875. Full excerpt from the *History and Prospects of British Education in India*: "The shock of English influence has fallen as yet chiefly on the middle classes, who are becoming against their will more and more affected by it. It is they who fill the Government schools and colleges. For them the native newspapers are written. The masses still lead the same, simple, monotonous, and idyllic life which the Greek invaders beheld with such amazement." (F.W. Thomas, *History and Prospects of British Education in India: Being the 'Le Bas' Prize Essay for 1890* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co., 1891), 135-136.)

if an [educational] institution 'is to receive any aid from Government...the Education must be limited to secular objects' [emphasis in original]... the religious instruction of the pupils [is to] be left to their own priests and pastors.⁸⁷⁶

The Hunter Commission is viewed, in retrospect, as a set of recommendations out of touch with Indian demands and long-term British authority in India.⁸⁷⁷ Indian educationists and nationalists, operating through the Indian National Congress, had made clear that devolution of authority over primary education was useless if Indians lacked a real political voice within the British Empire. This is shown in the following excerpt from a speech given in the House of Commons by a Mr. Bradlaugh, MP from Northampton, in August 1888:

The Natives of India thought they had some right to ask that at the hands of the English Parliament, for they said they were guided by what Parliament used to do in the older times, when it was sometimes jealous of the great Company [the British East India Company] which then controlled our Indian Possessions, and they pointed out that at the time—before Parliament would extend the powers of that great Company—it insisted on making inquiries, which now, for a period of over 30 years, had never been made at all...The Natives of India were asking for it in Congresses which had assembled year after year for three years—Congresses of Natives, not gathered together in any spirit of disloyalty or opposition to our Imperial rule, but Congresses of Natives whose education had been carried out under our rule, and who were alive to the civilization which that education had forced upon them—and they said that by giving them the advantages of higher education, they had been given, at the same time, a keener sense of the grievances under which they were suffering; they thought that in many instances they were able to lessen some of these grievances; they wanted to do it by institutions in which they thought they were fitted to take part, and they hoped that Parliament, if a reasonable case could be made out, would not be slow, at any rate, so far as inquiry was concerned, to initiate such inquiry.⁸⁷⁸

Bradlaugh's sympathetic analysis of the Indian National Congress's demands highlights growing official awareness of neglect of Indian affairs since 1857, as well as the role of state-funded education in shaping these demands. Access to state-funded education had given Indians the language needed to challenge British authority on its own grounds, and attempts

876. Education Commission of Bombay, *Hunter Commission*, 98.

877. This argument is corroborated by histories of Indian education, such as: Anil Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism*. See also: P. L. Rawat, *History of Indian Education*.

878. HC Deb, Committee. August 09 1888, Vol. 330, 150-151.

to placate Indian political aspirations with the devolution of 'non-essential' services like education simply sowed the seeds of further conflict. In other words, local authority over education, without the power to question imperial authority or enact national policy changes, was ultimately a bitter consolation not unlike the relegation of Indian civil servants to the lowest ranks of the Indian Civil Service.⁸⁷⁹

Contemporary to the Balfour Government's reform of education at home in 1902, Lord Curzon, Viceroy of India, opened a formal inquiry into the deep flaws in Indian state-funded education. Curzon made the following speech on this in 1901, just prior to initiating his inquiry:

Gentlemen, when I came to India educational reform loomed before me as one of those objects which, from such knowledge of India as I possessed, appeared to deserve a prominent place in any programme of administrative reconstruction...In primary education we have realised that improvement means money. We have laid down that Primary Education must be a leading charge on provincial revenues...this will be a real starting-point of an advance that ought never to be allowed henceforward to slacken...It is apt to be neglected in India in favour of the louder calls and the more showy results of Higher Education. Both are equally necessary, but in the structure of Indian society one is the foundation and the other is the coping stone...It is very difficult to carry out substantial reforms...because of the suspicion that we encounter among the educated classes that we really desire to restrict their opportunities and, in some way or another, keep them down...Not only does this [belief] run counter to the entire trend of British character and all the teachings of British history, but it would be a short-sighted and stupid policy even if it were adopted.⁸⁸⁰

Curzon's words highlight that officials were now quite aware of India's looming education crisis, and that policy reform without substantial financial backing or the support of Indian elites would fail. The suspicions of Indian elites regarding British attempts to 'keep them down' were, as shown in previous chapters, quite real, thus Curzon's refutation of their

879. For more on this, see: Bradford Spangenberg, *British Bureaucracy in India*.

880. 1st Marquess Curzon of Kedleston George Nathaniel Curzon, *Lord Curzon in India: Being a Selection From His Speeches as Viceroy and Governor-General of India, 1898-1905, With a Portrait, Explanatory Notes, and an Index, With an Introduction By Sir Thomas Raleigh, K.c.s.I.* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1906), 47-53.

claims was in reality an acknowledgement that lapses in imperial authority, and the hardening of Britishness in the face of rising Indian literacy, had allowed a culture of racial and cultural discrimination to develop.

The most notable result of Curzon's inquiry was the Universities Act of 1904 which, as the name implies, dealt primarily with the restructuring of secondary and university-level education.⁸⁸¹ The primary goal of the Universities Act was the 'wresting' of university control away from Indian politicians in order to eliminate "strongholds of Indian Radicalism."⁸⁸² As such, the Universities Act betrays the olive branch that Lord Curzon seemed to be offering to Indian political elites and educationists: instead of increasing their authority, or acknowledging their self-professed right to an opinion on education, Lord Curzon stripped away the bastions of their power.

Curzon's actions were wholly unpopular among Indian elites, and were considered highly questionable even among Britons in India, as shown in the following editorial:

A country situated in the circumstances of India at present would gain nothing, but on the contrary would be much harmed by poisoning the mind of the rising generation, which is specially in charge of the Universities and colleges, against British rule and India's connection with England. It was surely not with these objects that they were founded by England; she generously and wisely thought that education would be her greatest support and bulwark in this land...that if she could succeed in training the youth in her own Western ways they would sympathise with her and help her in the task of ruling their ignorant brethren. When these objects were perverted, when Englishmen saw that education, instead of being a help was being used as a hindrance...there was assuredly time to call halt and to reform [it]...⁸⁸³

881. This topic is discussed at length in the following work: Eric Ashby, and Mary Anderson, *Universities*, 53-141.

882. *The Calcutta Review*, vol. 120-122 (Calcutta: C.J.A. Pritchard, The Edinburg Press, January, 1905), 541. See also: Lord Curzon of Kedleston, *Lord Curzon's Farewell to India: Being Speeches Delivered as Viceroy and Governor-General of India During Sept.-Nov. 1905 By the Right Honourable Lord Curzon of Kedleston* (Bombay: Thacker and Co., Ltd., 1907).

883. *The Calcutta Review*, 542. Interestingly, the editorial goes on to then justify the 'strictness' of British rule, thus highlighting the conflicting opinions of Britons on the topic of India at this time: "For better or worse the fortunes of India are bound up with those of England. Her strength is our strength...India cannot stand by itself...she cannot have Home Rule..."

This excerpt accurately summarizes the narrative of state-funded education in India since the program's inception in the late-eighteenth century. The echoes of 'downward filtration' can still be seen not just in this quote, but also in Lord Curzon's actions. The restructuring of India's universities was intended to sanitize the institutions and restore the loyalty of its students such that their guaranteed loyalty would in turn affect all those they engaged with outside of the university.⁸⁸⁴

Though the Universities Act was the most controversial and public consequence of Lord Curzon's education reforms, it was accompanied by a series of smaller, piecemeal changes to Indian primary education. These reforms increased funding for schools, teacher-training and supplies, and stressed the necessity of technical training.⁸⁸⁵ Considered alone, these smaller reforms were a net gain for Indian primary education: the number of state-funded primary schools in India increased appreciably after 1902, and the quality of education (especially technical and industrial education) received a much-needed boost via the creation of technical scholarships and additional teacher-training institutions.⁸⁸⁶ Considered alongside the University Act, however, the political consequences of these reforms stand

884. Excerpt from an Indian newspaper on this topic: "...the English system of education is good, but for an imperial, populous country something effective and permeating the national life is required. To say that the present system will do for all time, is to assert that a country with a population of 180,000,000 will be Anglicanised, a population equal to a fifth of that on the globe, and an Eastern population will become English in language and therefore in ideas, habits and modes of life on being brought into the slightest possible contact with a few of the conquering race." (N.W.P. The British Indian Association, *Article on the Public Education of India and Correspondence With the British Government Concerning the Education of the Natives of India Through the Vernaculars*, vol. 5 & 6 (Allypore: Institute Press, 1869), 2-4.)

885. Prior to 1902, Lord Curzon issued a £230,000 stipend for the establishment of primary schools. He issued further stipends throughout the 1900s that expanded upon this value. For more on this, see: Syed Nurullah, and J.P. Naik, *A Student's History of Education in India*, 198-199.

886. Ibid, 198. This is not to say, however, that the absolute number of Indian students attending school increased appreciably, but rather than Indian education received a large boost relative to prior funding and enrollment numbers. Historian N. Jayapalan notes that, in spite of Curzon's reforms, less than 3% of Indian children had proper access to state-supported education in the 1900s. (S.N. Mukerji, *History of Education in India*, 78.)

out: the expansion of state-supported schools was part of Curzon's initiative to reduce the autonomy of Indian educated elites at the local level.⁸⁸⁷ The amount of funding needed to appreciably reduce this influence via state oversight was, however, impossible (or at least financially impractical) for the British Raj, thus the end result of Curzon's education reforms was the betrayal of Indian elites, and the continued stagnation of Indian education.⁸⁸⁸

Indian responses to Lord Curzon's reforms of education were, on the whole, condemnatory. The reduction of influence in universities, and the threats of reduction of influence at the primary level, were seen as rebuttals to the Indian National Congress's repeated demands for political authority in India.⁸⁸⁹ Seats on the Imperial Legislative Council were simply not enough. True political reform for India meant an independent political body capable of regulating the laws of India – in short, the only true solution was some form of home rule.

Hostility towards British rule accelerated rapidly in the decades after 1902, especially in the context of education. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, a long-standing member of the Indian National Congress and an ardent educationist, made repeated attempts in the 1900-1910s to introduce legislation regarding free, compulsory education in India.⁸⁹⁰ For Gokhale, compul-

887. Sulochana Krishnamoorthi, *Modern Education*, 35.

888. During debates over the Universities Act, Nawab Saiyid Muhammad is recorded as dissenting against Lord Curzon, stating: "My Lord [Curzon], we are all aware that the Bill before us is based on the Report of the Indian Universities Commission. But the Government recognized the weight of Dr. Gurudas Banerji's authority, and at the back of the opinion recorded in his minute of dissent there is a great mass of public opinion, and it is doubtful whether it is wise to disregard it in framing a measure of this kind. In doing away with the existing governing bodies of the Indian Universities...this Bill has accepted the recommendation of the Commission without taking into account the opinions of Dr. Banerji and the Senates of the different Universities themselves..." (Council of the Governor General of India, *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor General of India, Assembled for the Purpose of Making Laws and Regulations, 1904*, vol. XLIII (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1904), 315-316.)

889. For examples of this, see: Gopal Krishna Gokhale, *Speeches of Gopal Krishna Gokhale* (G.A. Natesan and Co.: Madras, 1920).

890. Gokhale's biography offers a useful commentary on British state-funded education in India. Though from a relatively poor family, Gokhale received a Western education that

sory education – long the policy standard in Britain and Ireland by this point – was the litmus by which British rule in India should be judged. Gokhale spoke often on this topic, and was keen to directly compare British educational efforts in India to those of Britain and Ireland:

The officials [of India] in theory admit the necessity of associating the people with the Government of the country, but they object to admitting only a small proportion of the population to share in the administration, and they ask us to wait till the mass of the people have been qualified by education to take an intelligent part in public affairs! At the same time, how much or how little is being done to push on mass education may be seen from the fact that, after more or less a century of British rule, and forty years after England herself woke up to the responsibilities of Governments in regard to mass education, seven children out of eight in India are growing up to-day in ignorance and darkness...moreover, it is ignored that what is asked at the present stage is a void in the administration, not for the whole population, but only for those who have been qualified by education to exercise their responsibilities in a satisfactory manner.⁸⁹¹

This excerpt invokes the core tenets of state-funded education and Britishness in an attempt to demand mass, compulsory education and political agency for those educated enough to 'exercise their responsibilities in a satisfactory manner.' Gokhale directly pins the educational and political narrative of India to that of Britain itself. As at home in Britain, political agency and the adoption of Britishness through literacy go hand-in-hand in India, the mutual limitations of one controlling the expansion of the other. Unlike at home, however, educational change and political agency were equally stymied in India as a result of imperial policy, leaving forward progress at a virtual standstill. Gokhale warned of the dangers of this stagnation, as seen in this excerpt from the same speech:

...unless the old faith of the educated classes in the character and ideals of British rule is brought back, England will find on her hands before long another Ireland, only

enabled him for a clerkship. He used his education as a platform for political and education reforms in India, and was notably a mentor for both Mahatma Gandhi and Muhammad Ali Jinnah. As such, he is a direct link between British education in India and the movement for Indian independence. For more on Gokhale, see: Stanley A. Wolpert, *Tilak and Gokhale: Revolution and Reform in the Making of Modern India* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1962).

891. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, *Speeches of Gopal Krishna Gokhale*, 990, 991.

many times bigger, in India. The younger generations are growing up full of what may be called Irish bitterness...As long as India continues to be bureaucratically governed, admission to high office will be a test of the position assigned to the Indians in the system of administration...[equality in this] is a measure of our advance towards that equality which has been promised us by the Sovereign and by Parliament.⁸⁹²

Gokhale's invocation of Ireland and 'Irish bitterness' with regards to Britishness unifies the educational narratives of Britain, Ireland, and India during the turn of the century. In all three regions, established political power and rising nationalist pressure clashed over the definition of Britishness, and the utility of Britishness as a tool of social, cultural, or political difference. At the heart of this clash was state-funded education, either as a means of resolving differences within Britishness or as a means of gaining acceptance within the ideals of Britishness. As such, the intertwined narratives of education leading up to this period were largely responsible for the outcomes of the twentieth century: state-funded education had the power to legitimize the demands or expectations of newly-educated peoples, as well as the capacity to alienate and sow dissent. Throughout all of these complexities, however, one message was clear: state-funded education was viewed as the necessary consequence of Britain's tenuous global position in the early twentieth century. It could not be ignored, yet it carried with it the seeds of Britain's imperial collapse, and the creation of a new definition of Britishness that, when compared to the Britishness of the early nineteenth century, was as revolutionary as the concept of compulsory education itself.

892. Ibid, 991-992. Gokhale's reference to the Sovereign is likely a reference to the following speech made by George V in 1912: "It is my wish that there may be spread over the land [of India] a network of schools and colleges, from which will go forth loyal and manly and useful citizens, able to hold their own in industries and agriculture and all the vocations in life. And it is my wish, too, that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge, with all that follows in its train, a higher level of thought, of comfort, and of health. It is through education that my wish will be fulfilled, and the cause of education in India will ever be very close to my heart." (Indian Central Committee, *Report of the Indian Central Committee, 1928-1929*, East India (Constitutional Reforms) (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1929), 17.)

Conclusion: The Limits of Imperial Power

In 1924, the first meeting of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa was held at the Colonial Office of David Ormsby-Gore. A collection of fourteen officials were in attendance, most notably the highly-influential administrator, Sir Frederick Lugard, as well as many colonial governors. The Advisory Committee was formed as a response to domestic, imperial, and international criticism of British education efforts: two years earlier, the American-led Phelps-Stokes Commission on African Education had issued a scathing criticism of British education in Africa, noting that minimal state-funding, nonexistent oversight, and poor standards were greatly limiting educational efficacy.⁸⁹³ Meanwhile, emergent nationalist movements in Africa – particularly British West Africa – were demanding better access to education facilities. With these issues looming overhead, Ormsby-Gore called the meeting to attention and outlined its first order of business, as recorded below:

The Secretary of State for the Colonies was responsible for the good government and progress of the non-self-governing portions of the Empire, which represented in all a population of fifty millions, of whom forty millions were Africans. The impact of Western civilization upon the people of Africa, who had never, on their own initiative, produced a written language, was bound to be fruitful of important consequences.

There were few subjects on which greater uneasiness was being felt at the present time than education, not only in Europe but in other parts of the world, such as India, where it was now admitted that mistakes had been made in the past. The

893. Thomas Jesse Jones, *Education in Africa: A Study of West, South, and Equatorial Africa By the African Education Commission, Under the Auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and Foreign Mission Societies of North America and Europe* (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1922). The Phelps-Stokes Commission was, technically, started in the United States, however its focus on British Africa, and the governmental usage of the commission to drive reform, cement its importance as a part of British official policy. Ayo Bamgbose, *Mother Tongue Education: The West African Experience* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1976), p. 10.

object of the present Committee was to avoid a repetition of such mistakes in Africa, and, by collecting the fruits of experience from all over the world, to build up a sounder system of education which should be less productive of causes of legitimate discontent.⁸⁹⁴

Ormsby-Gore's thesis – that British education in Africa would learn from mistakes in India and elsewhere – did not stand the test of time. The criticisms raised by African nationalists and the Phelps-Stokes commission persisted into the mid-twentieth century, at which point state-funded education systems in areas like British West Africa were devolved to protectorates and independent states as the 'winds of change' swept across the continent. To understand why British West African education languished, analysis of regional policy in the 1890s-1900s is essential, as this period witnessed an influential series of changes with the highest potential to avoid the problems noted above.

These points can be reduced to two elements: First, educational change in the region was viewed with great optimism at the turn of the century, particularly in the context of education's 'experimental' legacy. This optimism was a reflection of domestic Britain's growing cultural awareness of the empire's role in daily life, as well as the potential afforded by perceived African intellectual malleability (especially when compared to hardening attitudes in India and Ireland). Second, education policy's implementation (failed or not) directly affected the trajectory of British West Africa during and after decolonization, thus a post-mortem of the policies provides a useful perspective on Britain's colonial legacy in the region. Education, though viewed as the potential savior of the British Empire in Africa, sowed the seeds of Britain's imperial failure on the continent. Understanding how and why education played this role is invaluable not just for studies of British imperialism in Africa,

894. Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa, *Minutes of Meetings, Part I: January, 1924 to November, 1928*, vol. CO 1045/1 (London: Colonial Office, 1929), 2.

but also for the catalytic role education played in the devolution of British imperial power throughout the world.

State-funded education in British West Africa, according to Ormsby-Gore, was intended to be the perfected outcome of a century of educational lessons from Ireland, India, and Britain. Because British West Africa's education reforms were some of the final education reforms conducted by the British Empire, this region represents the most realized legacy, for better or worse, of Britain's ideologies of education. Using this theme as a guide, this conclusion analyzes the educational developments of British West Africa in the 1890-1900s, with a specific focus on its connection to the educational narratives of Ireland, India, and Britain discussed in Chapter 15. This topic, the summation of British education policy for officials like Ormsby-Gore, will also stand as this dissertation's final conclusions regarding the relationship between state-funded education and the British Empire.

As noted in Chapter 14, the evolution of education in British West Africa was fairly stagnant into the early-twentieth century. At this point, however, the uneasy relationship between missionaries and official education policy began to change due to major shifts in the landscape of British West Africa. The primary catalyst behind this reevaluation was the incorporation of the Sokoto Caliphate, ending in 1903.⁸⁹⁵ This territorial expansion led to a large increase in Muslims in British West Africa, thus compromising government reliance on Christian missionary societies for the maintenance of education. Lord Frederick Lugard, High Commissioner of the Northern Nigeria Protectorate from 1900 until 1906 (later Governor-General of Nigeria from 1912-1919), saw British West Africa's rapidly-changing demographics as an opportunity to implement a more modernized, centralized education program in the region.⁸⁹⁶ In the lead-up to the conquest of the Sokoto Caliphate, Lugard issued

895. The first state-funded school for Muslims was opened in Lagos in 1899. For more on this, see: *Education in Africa*, 206.

896. For more on Lord Lugard's life, see: Sonia F Graham, *Government and Mission Education*.

the Slavery Proclamation of 1900, which effectively abolished slavery in the region and allowed for the creation of state-managed 'Freed Slaves' Homes' for newly-liberated slaves.⁸⁹⁷ This proclamation gave Lugard a precedent for state intervention in the welfare of Africans, a domain that had been monopolized by missionaries since the rise of moral abolitionism at the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁸⁹⁸

Following the Slavery Proclamation of 1900, Lugard issued a second proclamation, the Education Proclamation, in 1903. This proclamation established a board of education for British West Africa with the authority to "[provide] for the general management of all assisted schools...[establish] the duties of the managers and school staff...[administer] grants...[and provide] for annual examinations."⁸⁹⁹ These powers, staples of British education authorities elsewhere in the empire, were to be administered "gradually as circumstances permit," as schools were "only emerging from an experimental stage."⁹⁰⁰ The proclamation also provided for the creation of government schools in places like Owo, Warri, and Agbede, and the creation of local school committees made up of "[British] officials, representatives of European trading firms, and native chiefs."⁹⁰¹ This proclamation, while fairly

897. "I see no reason why religion— be it of one sort or another— should be forced upon the liberated slaves...I see much in it to exasperate the Mohammedan master who considers himself robbed of his property that we may further a religious propaganda hostile to his creed..." (Ibid, 9-10.) For more on this, see: G.O. Olusanya, "The Freed Slaves' Homes: An Unknown Aspect of Northern Nigerian Social History," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 3 (1966). See also: Risto Marjomaa, *War on the Savannah: The Military Collapse of the Sokoto Caliphate Under the Invasion of the British Empire, 1897-1903* (Saarijärvi: Gummerus Oy, 1998).

898. The process of abolition was not immediate, in spite of the use of the term 'proclamation.' Lugard and British officials in the region sought gradual abolition in order to prevent destabilization and/or mass resistance from slave-owners, especially those in the former Sokoto Caliphate. For more on this, see: Muhammad Sani Umar, *Islam and Colonialism*; Ibid, 226-227, and Paul E. Lovejoy, and Jan S. Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery*, 7. See also: L.P. Curtis and G.H. Nadel, *Imperialism and Colonialism* (London: Macmillan, 1966).

899. Colonial Office, *Southern Nigeria (No. 433)*, Colonial Reports – Annual (London: Darling and Son, 1904), 25.

900. Ibid, 25.

901. Ibid, 26.

brief, laid the groundwork for British West Africa's state-funded education system. By 1912, this system maintained around 59 primary schools, a handful of secondary schools, and a few upper-level institutions (such as the college at Fourah Bay).⁹⁰²

The establishment of an official department of education in British West Africa allowed for the development of an education policy that could, theoretically, accommodate the needs of Britain's African subjects without resorting to missionary societies.⁹⁰³ As Ormsby-Gore's thesis on 'learning from mistakes made elsewhere' was not delivered until 1924, the education policies and practices established during the 1903-1924 period bear the markings of Britain's education models employed elsewhere, regardless of their perceived 'successes' or 'failures.' For example, Lugard – using arguments that were later enshrined in his work *The Dual Mandate* (1922) – sought to collaborate with local elites by allowing the education department to issue grants to Islamic and Christian schools.⁹⁰⁴ Though support of Islamic schools was anathema to the CMS and similar organizations, Lugard's decision to continue to support mission schools was an olive branch towards these groups and, coincidentally, an admission of financial necessity on behalf of the colonial government.⁹⁰⁵ In this

902. Muhammad Sani Umar, *Islam and Colonialism*, 56, 60. Though a rapid increase compared to the nonexistent state support before 1903, state schools accounted for just under 30% of all schools in British West Africa in 1912. For more on this, see: William F. Miles, *Hausaland Divided: Colonialism and Independence in Nigeria and Niger* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 228.)

903. As noted above, this development was viewed as a necessity by Lugard in the context of Britain's official obligation to remain religiously neutral. This, of course, discounts entirely the religiosity of West Africa in the absence of Christianity and Islam, an unsurprising outlook given Britain's apathetic treatment of non-Hindu and non-Muslim populations in India. For more on this, see discussions of Muslims and Hindus in the following work: William Adam, *First Report on the State of Education in Bengal*.

904. Frederick Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (Abingdon: Frank Cass & Co., 1922).

905. Lugard's hybrid model of education, when surveyed by the Phelps-Stokes Commission in 1921-1922, accounted for just above 1% of total colonial expenses for Nigeria in 1918. (£45,747 of £3,456,774 total). It is clearly up for debate whether or not British West Africa could afford additional education expenditure, however finances were not the only consideration. Teachers, British or African, were in short supply outside of denominational schools, thus there were other limitations at stake that had an impact on the minor amount

way, Lugard's decision kept state-funded education in line not just with pre-Lugard standards in British West Africa, but also the hybrid denominational-national education systems of India, Britain, and Ireland.⁹⁰⁶

The rationale behind Lugard's hybrid model of education was simple: colonial management via 'men on the spot' and indigenous elites was far cheaper, and believed far less likely to encourage dissent, than centralized authority. This argument was by no means new, however Lugard's public perception as a model colonial administrator popularized it such that it became the dominant method of British rule throughout Africa.⁹⁰⁷ As shown throughout this dissertation, however, devolution of authority, specifically education authority, resulted in the hardening of sociocultural divisions over the issue of education, and the forfeiture of control over policy implementation. The dearth of secular institutions in British West Africa, combined with the state-sanctioned creation of a religious apartheid between Christian and Muslim students in the region, virtually guaranteed conflicts over religion, education, and educational authority in the mid-twentieth century.

Though Lugard's 'indirect rule' model of colonial authority promoted cooperation between British officials and local elites, this was not an assurance that the opinions or desires of African elites would actually affect colonial policy. As shown elsewhere in the empire and at home in Britain, state-funded education, though intended to inculcate Britishness, was not intended to alter one's existing sociocultural status. In other words, British education was solely intended to improve one's quality of life *within* one's station. Both Lugard and the CMS agreed on this point, noting that the creation of 'black Englishmen' or

of money being used for education at this time. (Thomas Jesse Jones, *Phelps-Stokes Fund*, 153.)
906. For more on the relationship between missionaries and Indian education at the end of the nineteenth century, see: Hayden J.A. Bellenoit, *Missionary Education and Empire in Late Colonial India, 1860-1920* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2007). See also: Peter Van der Veer, *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

907. This topic is discussed in the following work: Paul B. Rich, *Race and Empire*.

the extraction of the African from his 'tribal' origins would spell disaster for the maintenance of British rule the region.⁹⁰⁸ In 1920, these sentiments, and the anxieties attached to them, were explicitly outlined by Sir Hugh Clifford, Governor of Nigeria after Lord Lugard:

Education in Nigeria is a matter of great and growing importance, concerning which, I regret to say, I have little that is encouraging to record...In the northern provinces there has been until recent a certain tendency to regard education of the local population with some uneasiness and suspicion, as a process likely to exert a disintegrating and demoralizing effect upon the characters of those who were subjected to it; and where this feeling has been overcome, a further tendency is observable to regard education too exclusively as a handmaid to administration...In the northern provinces...so little has been done that there it not much that needs to be undone...in the southern provinces the position is very different. The lack of properly trained teachers is here even more acutely felt; but this does not prevent the sprouting-up in every direction of a mushroom growth of 'hedge-schools' ...[offering] very little genuine education...too many of them [hedge-school students], no matter how imperfectly educated they may be, therefore regard themselves as superior to agricultural pursuits, and prefer to pick up a precarious and demoralizing living by writing more or less unintelligible letters for persons whose ignorance is even deeper than their own...the extraordinary irruption of 'hedge-schools,' which has of late years occurred...and the evils which are therefore resulting...[make it] necessary for the Government of Nigeria to reconsider its attitude in this matter.⁹⁰⁹

This excerpt is reminiscent of the initial reports on state-funded education in Ireland, India, and Britain: in all four cases, anxieties about uncontrolled education and over-educated (or mal-educated) students served as the primary catalyst for the development of proper state-funded educational frameworks.⁹¹⁰ For British West Africa, it was clear that Lugard's initial attempts at education and denominational aid had allowed for the emergence of an

908. Hanns Vischer, a Swiss-born explorer and educationist employed by the Colonial Office as an educational advisor during this period, translated these abstract anxieties and ideas into a discrete set of policies for African education. He believed that the educated African should be developed along 'national and racial lines,' and that great care should be taken to develop the African mind without creating a 'babu' class. For more on Vischer, and the colonial education service, see: Sonia F Graham, *Government and Mission Education*, 22-24. See also: Clive Whitehead, *Colonial Educators: The British Indian and Colonial Education Service, 1858-1983* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003).

909. Recorded in: Thomas Jesse Jones, *Phelps-Stokes Fund*, 174-175.

910. The use of the term 'hedge school' is a direct reference to the Catholic hedge schools in Ireland that were a significant problem during the early-nineteenth century.

unplanned, and potentially dangerous crop of educators and students that demanded an official response.

The educational problems outlined by Clifford in 1920 were still present during the Phelps-Stokes Commission of 1921-1922, as well as the founding of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa in 1924. By this time, colonial officials were clearly aware that the entirety of British colonial Africa, West Africa included, was on the same educational trajectory that had already sundered the Anglo-Irish union, and was threatening to do so in India. The Minutes recorded by the Advisory Committee provide crucial insight into this, and also a glimpse at the solutions being posited by committee members. During the second meeting of the Advisory Committee in March, 1924, for example, Ormsby-Gore noted that "he personally was of opinion that no great progress could be made in native education without some religious basis," to which Mr. Ellis agreed, noting that "the work of carrying on the schools in the Colony [Gold Coast] was really done by the Missions and that the Government only assisted in the work."⁹¹¹ While these matter-of-fact points were agreed to, few proposals were made by other committee members to address the potential problems of reliance on denominational education.

Amidst more specific concerns such as these, a Mr. Oldham issued the following insight:

The object to be aimed at was the creation of African leaders of the right type...if this problem [was] not successfully dealt with Great Britain would be faced with the same position as existed in India at the present time. The question was one of funds, and what could be done with the funds that were at present available.⁹¹²

Sir G. Guggisberg agreed with Mr. Oldham, as highlighted below:

⁹¹¹. Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa, *Minutes of Meetings, Tropical Africa*, 5.

⁹¹². *Ibid*, 4, 13.

Mr. Oldham considered that the object to be aimed at was the creation of African leaders of the right type. There is no doubt that he hits the nail on the head; we want African leaders to assist us in the development and administration of the country. In order to get that it is essential that we should provide educational institutions of a residential nature where the young Africans will be able to attain the high spirit of devotion to duty that characterizes the British public schoolboy.⁹¹³

In conclusion, the Advisory Committee, in all its efforts to avoid the mistakes made in India and elsewhere, was keen to cement in British West Africa the very same ideals and goals that had inspired state-funded education from the beginning.⁹¹⁴ Because of this, state-funded education policy in British West Africa, in the decades after 1924, led to the genesis of an educated class that, as in India and Ireland, was fluent in the language of Britishness, a value-set that was ultimately incompatible with empire.⁹¹⁵ This language permitted them to make political demands of the colonial government that, whether rejected or allowed, undermined British authority and put British West Africa on a track towards decolonization. Britain's standard model of state-funded education catalyzed the development of ideas, values, and movements that were directly opposed to both Britishness and imperial difference. In 1879, educationist and school inspector William Adam wrote on this very topic in a work discussing Indian scholar Rammohan Roy. While considering Roy's legacy, Adam provides a concise and powerful postscript not just for the end of empire in India, but for the power and consequences of state-funded education for Britain, Britishness, and the British Empire:

913. Ibid, 4, 13.

914. The Advisory Committee, in dispatches from 1948, laments that mass education and literacy remain severe problems, and that attempts to reconcile these issues with imperial goals continue to fail: "In most African Territories mass education has in my opinion so far made disappointing progress. I believe this to be due partly to the fact that the machinery of government is not normally so organised as to give the best chance for successful planning and execution of mass education programmes..." (Mass Education in the Colonies (Nigeria). Archival Records, CO. 859/136/5. Colonial Office, 1947-1949.)

915. A more thorough discussion of this topic lies outside the scope of this dissertation, however the following work is recommended: Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society*. see also: Frederick James Clatworthy, *The Formulation of British Colonial Policy*.

The love of freedom, so strikingly characteristic of the man [Roy], so strikingly uncharacteristic of the abject people, the natives of Bengal, of whom he was one, was not a wild, irregular, violent and destructive impulse. It was a rational conviction springing from his belief in the noble purposes which a well-regulated and self-restrained liberty is capable of conferring on the individual and on society. He did not seek to limit the enjoyment of it to any class, or colour, or race, or nation, or religion. His sympathies embraced all mankind but he never lost sight of the moral and social purposes which are the ends of liberty, and when he looked round on his countrymen, he saw that they were incapable of appreciating and enjoying it to its full extent...He saw – a man of his acute mind and local knowledge could not but see – the selfish, cruel and almost insane errors of the English in governing India, but he also saw that their system of Government and policy had redeeming qualities not to be found in the native governments. Without seeking to destroy, therefore, his object was to reform and improve the system of foreign government to which his native country had become subject...his endeavor...[was] promoting among them an enlightened education to qualify them for the enjoyment of more extensive civil and political franchises than they yet possessed. He admitted that his countrymen were unfit for national independence, incapable of self-government...the wisest and most honourable course...which England can pursue towards India is, by education and by a gradual development of the principle of civil and political liberty in the public institutions she establishes and sanctions, to prepare the natives ultimately to take the government of their own country into their own hands.⁹¹⁶

916. William Adam, *A Lecture on the Life and Labours of Rammohan Roy* (Calcutta: P. Roy and Co., 1879), 25-27.

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