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Oaks of righteousness: formation of character in British higher education, 1800-1850.

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OAKS OF RIGHTEOUSNESS: FORMATION OF CHARACTER IN
BRITISH HIGHER EDUCATION, 1800 TO 1850

. . . that they might be called oaks of righteousness,
the planting of the Lord, that he might be glorified.
(Isaiah 61:3)

A Dissertation Presented

By

JAMES STEVEN HEWITT

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

May 1980

Department of History

James Steven Hewitt 1980



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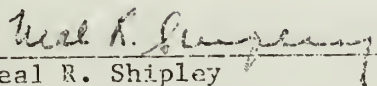
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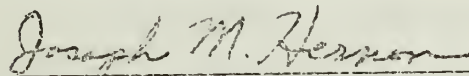
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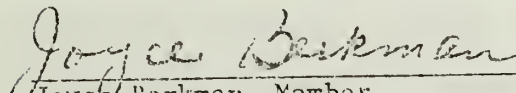
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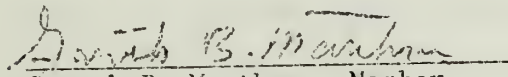
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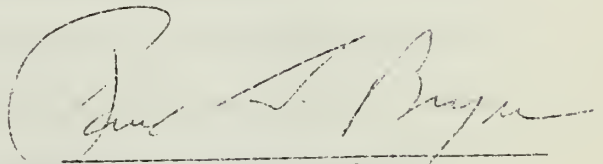
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DEDICATION

Finally, after a decade of submersion, nearly drowning at times, I am submitting the dissertation, the last lap in my graduate school event. At this time it seems appropriate to acknowledge with pleasure some of those who have coached me along the way.

First, an immeasurable debt is owed Prof. Neal R. Shipley, my faculty advisor and dissertation director, who helped revive me after some serious "dunkings." His patience and ironic humor pulled me over some murky areas, and his sense of literary style transformed and uplifted my all-too-frequent leaden prose. Prof. Joyce Berkman helped clarify a number of obscurities in the text and cast more light on some social issues. She and Profs. Joseph Hernon and Gareth Matthews, the other members of my dissertation committee, merit my remembrances.

The staff of the University of Massachusetts Library, particularly those working in Inter-Library Loan, were all very helpful and unfailingly courteous. Several other faculty members, over the years, offered personal help and demonstrated unusual integrity and high ideals for the historical profession. Professor Emeritus George Kirk and Prof. Dean Ware stand out most prominently as deserving my gratitude. In part, my thesis, which focuses on the inculcation of decent character and moral ideas, derived inspiration from their personal examples. The encouragement, friendship, and advice of university colleagues most notably Tiziana Rota, Geoffrey Morrison, and Drs.

Shirley and Jimm DeShields were invaluable.

The greatest debt, however, is due my family. The long-suffering patience and confidence expressed by my family, some members of whom have not lived long enough to see this labor's completion, was most encouraging. To my parents, Floyd and Doris, who supported all my endeavors, I owe everything, and it is to them that this work is dedicated.

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J.S.H.

ABSTRACT

Oaks of Righteousness: Formation of Character in
British Higher Education, 1800 to 1850

(May 1980)

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Directed by: Professor Neal R. Shipley

Regarded as the backwaters of European higher education in the early nineteenth century, prereformed Oxford and Cambridge have received scant treatment by writers who are more sympathetic with the goals of the ultimately successful university reformers. To an extent this inattention to Oxford and Cambridge may be attributed to a shift in academic values and goals among scholars of higher education in the twentieth century. Moral education and the attempt to form Christian character--the central features of English university education at that time--remains misunderstood, unappreciated, or even openly rejected by most current thinkers. In light of the present historiographical situation, this study attempts to revise the opinion that prereformed English universities contributed little of relevance or worth to twentieth century higher education. Oxford and Cambridge's emphasis on development of morality, character with integrity, and leadership with vision, reflect noble purposes and remain worthy goals.

After tracing the origins of character and moral education as used before the nineteenth century, this study moves into the utilitarian critique of the universities. By the early nineteenth century opinion about Oxford and Cambridge split between utilitarians, descendants of the Associationists, followers of the Lockean school, who criticized the universities, and the Christian apologists, often Intuitionists, who defended them. The critics, who included Jeremy Bentham, James and John Stuart Mill, and some writers in the *Edinburgh Review* such as Sidney Smith, found much at fault in the old endowed colleges: the religious oaths and required chapel, the curriculum based almost exclusively on classical languages, and the lack of professional preparation, except for Anglican orders, and the tutorial teaching system based on college fellowships. Their aspirations and reforming effort became embodied in London University founded in 1828. This secular university offered curricular innovations and professional preparation, particularly in medicine and other applied subjects. Because of its nature the establishment of London University became a cause célèbre between Philosophical Radicals and Oxonians and Cantabrigians.

Controversy between these antagonists had already been sparked in 1810 by a scathing article about Oxford by Sidney Smith in the *Edinburgh Review*. From the Reply to the Calumnies by Edward Copleston, Provost at Oriel in 1810, to the Discourse of 1833 by Adam Sedgewick, Professor of Geology at Cambridge, to the Principles of William

Whewell, Master of Trinity, in 1846, these university men and others defended the goals, purposes, and practices at Oxford and Cambridge. Some apologists like William Sewell and Frederick Denison Maurice argued forcefully in favor of a particular point such as religious test.

Following a discussion about revisions and reforms in the universities' curriculum and examination system including their implications for cultivation of moral character, the next chapter focuses on teaching. The efficacy of character building depended on capable teachers, more than on any other single variable. The examples of particularly able and inspiring teachers such as Arnold, Copleston, and Whately, and the realization by such men that tutors had a specific duty to oversee the moral as well as the intellectual development of their students, all contributed to the growing moral influence of teachers. The tutors in colleges carried the burden of teaching with cram coaches and university professors providing some ancillary support. Within the English universities most spokesmen defended the collegiate tutorial system but utilitarian critics stressed the primacy of intellectual factors and the research ideal as cultivated by Continental professors.

The general impression and atmosphere that permeated Oxford and Cambridge left a lasting impression on many students quite apart from the particulars of teaching methods, examination reforms, curricular innovations, or effective tutors. The Church dominated the life,

tone, and discipline of colleges in part through an in loco parentis attitude and policy. Informal groups that students formed in residence halls, debating societies, and sports activities created a special community that influenced their ideas, morals, and style.

Whatever the arguments of detractors or defenders, both universities after 1845 showed signs of self-regeneration that culminated by the 1850's, much to the heads of the ancient endowments' consternation in Parliamentary investigation and reform.

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"I cannot find any words to explain how much my whole life has been influenced by intercourse with men of my own age there. They were often men whose tastes were most unlike my own."

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INTRODUCTION

Life at Oxford and Cambridge was roundly criticized during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. John Wesley referred to them as places of "pride and peevishness, sloth and indolence, gluttony, sensuality, and a proverbial uselessness."¹ Such an attitude did not result merely from Wesley's particular theological or spiritual affinities; Edward Gibbon, the agnostic, jibed at fellows, "steeped in port and privilege." Referring to the "monks of Magdalene," he chided:

From the task of reading, or thinking, or writing, they had absolved their conscience . . . their conversation stagnated in a round of college business, Tory politics, personal anecdotes, and private scandal. . . .²

In another passage he recorded that one of his tutors "well remembered that he had a salary to receive, but forgot that he had a duty to perform."³ Another eighteenth century Oxonian, Samuel Johnson, complained that he had been fined twopence for not attending a lecture that was not worth a penny.⁴ Such was Johnson's testimony to his own tutor's competency.

¹Cited in G.R. Balleine, A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England (London, 1908, 1933 edition), p. 2.

²E. Gibbon, Autobiography (London: Oxford World Classics, 1907), p. 40.

³Ibid., p. 45.

⁴Cited in A Cyclopedia of Education, Vol. IV, ed. Paul Monroe (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913), p. 588.

By the first half of the nineteenth century some self-regeneration was in evidence, but "fine old ivied improprieties," as Henry James referred to them at All Souls College, even as late as 1877 when he visited, still remained. A new spirit had emerged.

Young men at the university were drawn together by moral purposefulness. They read seriously, walked earnestly, and sought to make the world a morally better place.

The older dons, relics of the more secular and leisurely eighteenth-century world, stood apart bewildered and perturbed. They wanted their club gossip, their round of whist, their betting book and their port wine. Hugh Platt recorded a conversation at Lieutenant John's just after the future Dean Stanley had come back from the Holy Land, which he was describing at some length. "Jerusalem be damned," an elderly fellow was heard to observe, "give us wine, women and horses."⁵

A negative view of these two institutions, at least from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries, has persisted down to the present time. George Kitson Clark characterized Oxford and Cambridge in the first half of the nineteenth century as "two exceedingly strange, inward-looking, clerical republics."⁶ Thus they have been neglected, for the most part, by contemporary historians who focus more attention during this era on primary level and working class education where reforms and progress had been more in evidence.

Another contemporary historian has described the scholarship of the older universities in the eighteenth century as "dessicated, pon-

⁵V.H.H. Green, Oxford Common Room: A Study of Lincoln College and Mark Pattison (London, 1957), p. 129.

⁶G. Kitson Clark, Churchmen and the Condition of England 1832-1885 (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1973), p. 115.

derous, and pedantic."⁷ Received opinion maintains that under the Anglican monopoly after the Restoration, through to Parliamentary reform in the 1850s, the older universities slumbered through this period while in the Scottish Universities and Dissenters' Academies intellectual life flourished. According to this view the majority of fellowships became preserves of the Anglican clergy and were regarded as a stepping stone to preferment rather than an opportunity for genuine study and research. Tutors and professors neglected their duties and lectures, while outmoded scholasticism, especially at Oxford, still dominated the syllabus. At Cambridge, even with Newtonian influence and mathematics, the degree course was arid and uninteresting.⁸ Even a Whig university historian, anxious to describe attempts at self-reform by the universities, and sympathetic to them, noted that during the early nineteenth century, "a few motes had been removed, but most of the beams had been left."⁹

During the nineteenth century itself critics outside the universities perceived serious problems at the old schools. The Edinburgh Review made clear that the universities, with all of their resources, should be "public institutions of England . . . from which knowledge is to radiate over all the rest of the island." However, the Review argued that the universities were failing to serve their purpose.

⁷V.H.H. Green, The Universities (Middlesex, England: Harmondsworth, 1969), p. 45.

⁸Ibid., pp. 44-45.

⁹D.A. Winstanley, Early Victorian Cambridge (Cambridge: University Press, 1940), p. 3.

"When a university has been doing useless things for a long time, it appears at first degrading to them to be useful." Thus the teaching of political economy or chemistry would be considered undignified at Cambridge or Oxford.¹⁰

A brief look at the unreformed universities' structure may set the criticisms and controversies in a comprehensible context. Part of the reason for the inactivity, lack of innovation, and low esteem of Oxford and Cambridge was their heavy and creaky administrative structure. Statutes of 1636, "recently revised under Archbishop Laud," as one nineteenth century apologist put it, formed the basic rules for Oxford. Because of the political independence of English university colleges they looked to their founders' intentions and traditional practices for guidance rather than to contemporary trends. This structure accounts for the more traditional character and delayed responsiveness to new social and political conditions among English institutions of higher learning in contrast to their counterparts in France and Germany.¹¹ In addition to a traditional preference for established ways, most if not all college statutes contained a self-locking device that preserved their requirements from ever being relaxed even by those who might be genuinely eager to amend them. The only persons (apart from Parliament) that could alter them were the fellows; and the Statutes themselves regularly required that every

¹⁰Edinburgh Review, Vol. XV, No. 29, October 1809, p. 51.

¹¹Edward Mack, Public Schools and British Opinion (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1938), p. 8.

fellow on his appointment should take an oath that he would "not propose or accept . . . or permit" any alteration of their provisions. This was a deadlock that only parliamentary legislation could break, as it did in 1854 when the House of Commons repealed such oaths.¹²

At Oxford, the Hebdomadal Board, a weekly meeting of the Vice-Chancellor, proctors and college heads, which evolved from the 1560s, became the effective executive authority. This assemblage, described by a contemporary critic as "an organized torpor," was constituted as a clerical body and had the power of initiating university legislation.¹³ It operated in conjunction with the Congregation, all resident graduates, and with the Convocation, all graduates with their names on college books. Convocation throughout the first half of the nineteenth century almost always opposed major policy changes. So rigid was the administrative structure, and so venerated was established practice at Oxford, that the results could sometimes be quite ridiculous. For example, an American student attending an English university in the early 1840s commented on the ice cream rule:

Confectioners are not allowed to send ice cream to a student's rooms; it has to be smuggled in. On asking the cause of this peculiar prohibition, I was told in sober seriousness that the enactment was first made at the time of the cholera in 1832, and that as it was not the custom to alter any laws at Oxford that had once been passed, it had remained in force ever since.¹⁴

¹²John Sparrow, Mark Pattison and the Idea of a University (Cambridge: University Press, 1967), p. 88.

¹³John William Adamson, English Education 1789-1902 (Cambridge: University Press, 1930), p. 174.

¹⁴Charles Astor Bristed, Five Years in an English University (New York, 1852), p. 183.

University administration and politics extended to the national level. Parliament granted the two universities two Members each in 1604. During the eighteenth century university politics were predominantly high Tory and Jacobite with Oxford standing as a firm supporter of Church (High Church) and State. By the early nineteenth century Oxford had considerable political influence.

The situation at Cambridge paralleled that at Oxford with certain variations. While Oxford's Statutes originated during the reign of Charles I, the constitutional forms, studies, and terms of residence for degrees at Cambridge dated to the time of Elizabeth I. The Caput Senatus, a governing board composed of heads of houses and colleges, corresponded to the Hebdomadal Board at Oxford. The vice-Chancellor, the major administrator within the university, was chosen annually from the College heads, who tended to be elderly, conservative men, unfriendly toward innovation. The Senate at Cambridge, like Convocation at Oxford, was a legislative body with powers only to accept or reject proposals put to them by the Caput.¹⁵ In contrast to Oxford, Cambridge was predominantly Whig in the eighteenth century.

In the late sixteenth century an influx of new students transformed the colleges from an exclusive society of graduate fellows to places of education for large numbers of adolescent boys, not at all what earlier founders had intended. Also, during this same time, the

¹⁵John Lawson and Harold Silver, A Social History of Education in England (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1973), pp. 209-10.

colleges grew in wealth and assumed greater autonomy within the university. By the nineteenth century many of them emphasized their own identity. One of them, Balliol, made the bold claim on one occasion that, "if we had a little more money we could absorb the university."¹⁶ By the eighteenth century Oxford included nineteen colleges.¹⁷ The situation at Cambridge paralleled that at Oxford. By the early nineteenth century the colleges numbered seventeen.¹⁸ John Wright, a student at Cambridge in the 1820s, itemized the university financial appropriations in large categories about 1825.¹⁹ Wright's figures make perfectly clear that the colleges controlled the bulk of the university income. These financial realities gave an edge to the

¹⁶Benjamin Jowett, cited in Charles E. Mallet, A History of the University of Oxford, Vol. III (London, 1927), p. 456.

¹⁷These colleges in order of the dates of their founding are the following:

Oxford Colleges			
Balliol	1261	Brasenose	1509
Merton	1263	Corpus Christi	1516
University	1280	Christ Church	1532
Exeter	1314	Trinity	1554
Oriel	1324	St. John's	1555
Queen's	1341	Jesus	1571
New College	1379	Wadham	1612
Lincoln	1429	Pembroke	1624
All Souls	1438	Worcester	1714
Magdalene	1448		

There were also five halls of residence. A Cyclopedia of Education, ed. Paul Monroe, p. 588.

¹⁸1: Peterhouse; 2: Clare Hall; 3: Pembroke Hall; 4: Caius; 5: Trinity Hall (Law College); 6: Kings; 7: Catharine Hall; 8: Jesus; 9: Christ's; 10: St. John; 11: Magdalene; 12: Trinity; 13: Emmanuel; 14: Queen's; 15: Sydney Sussex; 16: Corpus Christi; 17: Downing; (founded 1800). John Martin Frederick Wright, Alma Mater, Seven Years at Cambridge (London: Black, Young, and Young, 1827), Chapter 1, passim.

administrative struggles between the colleges and the university.

As the medieval system of public lectures by regent masters became obsolete, it was replaced by the private teaching of college fellows. Tutorial instruction became general in the sixteenth century, and the college rule was that every commoner, like every other scholar, must have a tutor. A tutor might have five or six pupils and a close personal relationship. They shared his room or slept nearby.²⁰ However, a student at Trinity College, Cambridge, in the 1840s, reported a tutor-student ratio quite different from that ordinarily considered customary. Charles Bristed recorded that Trinity, which usually numbered four hundred undergraduates in residence, had three tutors. The students were divided equally among them without distinction as to year (class level). He said that tutors were "to act in loco parentis but no one takes that too seriously."²¹

The tutor prescribed their reading, coached them individually, watched over their health and morals, kept their allowances from home,

19

17	Masterships of Colleges (1,200/annum average)	20,400
26	Professorships & Lectureships	7,200
416	Fellowships (average 200 apiece)	83,200
993	Scholarships, Exhibitions, Prizes	22,800
294	Benefices (averaging £300)	88,200
	Miscellaneous	2,327
	University Chest	16,000
		<hr/> 240,127

Income independent of the fees paid by students. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 204.

²⁰John Lawson and Harold Silver, A Social History of Education in England, p. 128.

²¹Charles A. Bristed, Five Years in an English University, p. 25.

paid their bills, and finally saw them through the necessary exercises for their degrees. In time the colleges superseded the university as the sources of instruction. They also became responsible for admitting students to the university, which simply matriculated those whom each college presented.²²

The rise of classical studies in the universities was closely related to the rise to dominance of the collegiate system. The university lecturers, who formerly provided most instruction, were supporters of scholasticism. The colleges originally were founded by wealthy patrons for the support of impecunious advanced students. The senior members of these foundations provided instruction for junior members, supplementary to the more important university lectures. Colleges provided facilities less available in the university at large, and students, in addition to fellows, entered the colleges as fee paying "commoners" or "pensioners." As classical studies were introduced, along with the new and more individual method of instruction that they brought with them, more and more of the university masters sought fellowships and tutorships in the colleges. University teaching steadily declined, and the dons of colleges took over their functions. Fellowships provided a stipend for tutors and added to an atmosphere of learned leisure in the universities, "otium cum dignitate."²³ Unfortunately for those interested in a merit rewarded system, scholarships

²²Lawson and Silver, A Social History of Education in England, p. 129.

²³Robert G. McPherson, The Theory of Higher Education in Nineteenth Century England (Athens, Georgia, 1959), pp. 13, 14.

and fellowships were largely restricted to founders' kindred, graduates of particular schools, or residents of certain parishes.

About 1800 neither Oxford nor Cambridge as yet felt much responsibility as national institutions. They believed themselves composed of privately endowed foundations whose responsibility lay more to the wills of their remote benefactors and to their collective traditions than to society at large.²⁴ Founders of colleges, often bishops, usually hoped to increase the supply of highly educated clergy, frequently for the benefit of some particular part of the country with which the founder had connections.

The fellows, permanent members of the college, in most cases elected their own head, usually from among their own number, while they themselves were chosen from the scholars who were ordinarily appointed from the undergraduates. Fellows had to be unmarried clergymen, and they held office for life unless they resigned, usually in order to accept a benefice and the possibility of matrimony. Stipends and standards of comfort rose for fellows in the late eighteenth century, making fellowships more attractive. "Since there was no compulsion to study or write or teach, those without scholarly interest or college office might grow old in well-fed idleness, boredom and eccentricity."²⁵

In fact, a tutorship was not well-enough paid to be looked upon as a vocation, a profession, or even a regular post; a tutorship was simply a perquisite, a job with which a junior fellow could occupy

²⁴Ibid., p. 16.

²⁵Lawson and Silver, p. 213.

a year or two while he was waiting for a college living. When a tutorship became vacant, the heads of many colleges would offer the post to the fellows in residence in order of seniority, without regard to their abilities, passing over those who were not in Orders. The result was that many tutors were, in both senses of the word, indifferent teachers. Most barely kept ahead of their pupils. This system placed few burdens on tutors, particularly when there were no Honors Schools to read for, and when the examinations for degrees were a formality that had nearly degenerated into a farce.²⁶ The tutors, usually two or three in each college, were the most important of the resident fellows. They provided most of the undergraduate teaching, usually with the help of an assistant lecturer in mathematics, thus making the professors nearly superfluous. Sometimes the tutors had to be prepared to teach every subject.²⁷ Prior to the reforms of the 1850s the fellowship system operated under rather tight clerical control, maintained through the system of closed fellowships. For example, as late as 1850, out of 545 fellows within Oxford at that time, only twenty-two had been selected on grounds of merit.²⁸ The reason for this was the stipulations in benefactors' wills that bequeathed the endowments supporting the fellowships. Usually benefactors placed geographical or familial restrictions on the selec-

²⁶Sparrow, p. 67.

²⁷Ibid., p. 66.

²⁸Michalina Clifford-Vaughan and Margaret S. Archer, Social Conflict and Educational Change in England and France 1789-1848 (Cambridge: University Press, 1971), p. 52.

tion of fellows.

In the 1840s over five hundred fellows and about fourteen hundred undergraduates, together with over twenty heads of colleges and halls and a score of professors, and perhaps a dozen university officers, made up the total academic population. Only about one-third of the fellows lived in Oxford; of those who did reside most were college officers--bursars, tutors, or chaplains. Fellowships, usually worth between £200 and £500 a year, did not necessarily lead to any other office in the university, though they could be held for life unless the fellow married or accepted a living above a certain amount. The university, as distinct from the colleges, scarcely existed apart from the Bodleian Library, the university church, the university press, and the old Ashmolean Museum where some of the approximately twenty professors had rooms in which to lecture.²⁹ The whole unreformed collegiate and university structure, dominated by a clerical oligarchy, perpetuated itself with the Church's blessing, not to mention the connivance of many politicians, since the Church absorbed perhaps two-thirds of graduates.

The institutional connection between the universities and the

²⁹Sparrow, p. 83. The undergraduates were divided into three groups: Fellow or gentlemen Commoners, who paid all of their own expenses amounting to £500-£800/year, the Pensioners who were supported in part by the College foundation, and the Sizars or Servitors, scholarship beneficiaries. This third category of students earned their board and tuition by working as porters, waiters in halls, Bible clerks in chapel, and servants of Fellows and gentlemen Commoners.

Other university folk included the "gymps, college servants, bedmakers, old unattractive women, and such officials as the Dean, the presiding officer in chapel who received excuses from chapel shirkers." Charles A. Brasted, Five Years in an English University, p. 12.

Church of England stood as the single most important administrative and educational structure. It provided a purpose for educational policy, a rationale for university politics, and a framework for daily routines.³⁰ In 1830, King William IV, answering an address to him on the occasion of his coronation, unequivocally proclaimed the mission of Cambridge university to be closely bound to the propagation of the Anglican faith.

It is a duty which I owe to God and to my people to maintain to the utmost of my power the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law; and I have a deep conviction that I cannot discharge that duty more effectually than by favoring and protecting those ancient Academical Institutions which teach the sound doctrines of religious duty, and which exhibit to the youth of this country the examples of profound learning and true piety.³¹

In 1830, and even to the time of Parliamentary reform in the 1850s, both Oxford and Cambridge had religious tests. At Oxford, undergraduates at matriculation had to swear to the Thirty-Nine Articles. At Cambridge, by contrast, non-Anglicans might enter the door but would not receive degrees. Colleges, there, were able to admit the adherents of any creed or of none; however, they made very sparing use of this liberty, and rarely exempted students who did not belong to the Anglican Church from attendance at chapel. At Cambridge, the law of

³⁰Religious elements at Oxford included the following: (1) Chapel system--an essential part of college discipline; (2) Religious instruction--part of tutorial teaching; (3) Examination in Christian doctrine--for the B.A.; and (4) A general recognition of religion as the leading principle in all university institution and forms. J.W. Adamson, English Education 1789-1902, p. 70.

³¹Henry Gunning, Reminiscences of Cambridge from 1780, Vol. II (London: George Bell, 1855), p. 348.

the university required the recipients of all degrees either to declare themselves members of the Established Church or to subscribe to the three articles of the Canons of 1604. These Canons asserted that the Sovereign was the supreme Governor of the Church, of the Realm, and that the Prayer Book and Thirty-Nine Articles were in accordance with the Word of God. In part the universities defended the religious tenets because at this time all Bachelors of Art could vote in Convocation and all Doctors and Masters of Art had a vote in the Senate. They did not want non-Anglicans legislating for the ancient universities, a bulwark of the Church.³²

On some occasions the universities' allegiance to the Church of England led it to hold what some critics regarded as illiberal political positions. For example, Cambridge opposed Catholic emancipation. In 1825 the Heads of Cambridge University, accompanied by the Mayor and Corporation of that town, waited on the Duke of York to present to his Royal Highness an Address of thanks "for his noble, manly, and constitutional conduct in regard to the Catholic question." He had resisted it in a speech in the House of Lords.³³ Although the universities' connection with the Church provoked a great deal of strident criticism, particularly from utilitarians, in a generation enchanted by Scott and moved by Coleridge, the corporate and sacramental aspect of the Church re-emerged with renewed vigor, both rising secularism and Dissent

³²Winstanley, Early Victorian Cambridge, p. 84.

³³Gunning, Vol. II, p. 327.

notwithstanding.³⁴

In order fully to appreciate the issues and developments at Oxford and Cambridge, we need briefly to place higher education in its larger educational, political, and intellectual context. During the 1820s the English public espoused an amalgam of traditional values such as those popularized by Sir Walter Scott's medievalism, and epitomized in his Waverly novels, and the public also launched into modern trends involving the increased impact of journals and public opinion, known to contemporaries as "the march of the mind." Scott presented many of Burke's ideas pictorially and popularly:

Medieval for Scott signified the love of an actual, if idealized, world of the past. In novel after novel Scott described in meticulous detail the rich and colorful pageant of the vanished middle ages. The upper class Englishman could picture himself as the inheritor of this noble civilization and grow tearful over its beauties. He could feel himself chivalrous in defending those English institutions which were the heritage of a medieval past against the assaults of a brash and vulgar rationalism. Upper class prejudice had been conveniently transformed into idealism.³⁵

The attitudes cultivated by Scott, of course, would be convenient for defenders of medieval colleges. Scott's novels exerted a powerful influence on the intellectual content of Englishmen's attitudes during the Regency generation. Paramount among the influential books, of course, was the Bible; but one observer has noted that Butler's Analogy of Religion, Wordsworth's poems, Coleridge's Aids to Reflection, and Keble's The Christian Year, "did more to form ideas,

³⁴G.M. Young, Victorian England: Portrait of an Age (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), p. 68.

³⁵E.C. Mack, Public Schools and British Opinion, p. 102.

quicken emotions, and inspire motives than any other influence of a cultural or philosophic kind."³⁶

Evangelicals, in particular, contributed enormously in molding the national character. From them Victorian England borrowed its philanthropy, its missionary zeal, and its characteristic enthusiasm. Evangelicalism set the pattern of Victorian family life and ethical training, perhaps the most important formative power behind the eminence of the eminent Victorians.³⁷

While every age is one of transition, the generation of the early nineteenth century was self-conscious about it. "Stirring matters of that stirring time" was the phrase which J.T. Coleridge used to describe the topics that engaged his Oxford contemporaries at the beginning of the century. These men were children of that age of anxious optimism that succeeded the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars. The consciousness of changes and movement, inevitable at a time of rapid technological and economic advance, manifested itself in dif-

³⁶David Newsome, Godliness and Good Learning: Four Studies on a Victorian Ideal (London: John Murray, 1961), p. 12.

³⁷Even families not avowedly evangelical--like the Kebles, the Puseys, the Mannings or the Kingsleys--were infused with the spirit. Side by side with the early instruction in the catechism, Bible-reading, family prayers and paternal benedictions, went the encouragement of precociousness in intellectual pursuits. Thomas Arnold was presented with Smollett's History of England at age three; F.W. Lanar read Milton given to him when a little child so thoroughly that he knew many passages from Paradise Lost by heart. Charles Kingsley was delivering sermons at the age of four from a makeshift pulpit in the nursery, dressed in a pinafore as a surplus, while his delighted mother copied them down to show the Bishop of Peterborough. (Mrs. Frances Eliza Kingsley, Charles Kingsley, His Letters and Memoirs, Vol. I, 1877, p. 8). All of the above cited in David Newsome, Godliness and Good Learning, p. 8.

ferent forms. From France came a source of invigoration to the Benthamites who welcomed a total reappraisal of the English legal system in light of the efficient and practical Napoleonic Code. From Germany came the compelling philosophy of Herder and Hegel with its stress on nationalism and the organic nature of society.³⁸

Especially by the 1830s change became apparent to most observers. How could they fail to notice the birth of railways and factories, population growth, penny post, grim cities, erosion of rural work patterns, lucifer matches, Parliamentary and municipal reforms, the Poor Law, the founding of London University, the accession of Victoria and the emergence of new literary men: Dickens, Tennyson, Browning, Keble, and Newman? The old order of Scott, Crabbe, Coleridge, Lamb, and Southey was passing away. Even Oxford installed a new Chancellor, the Duke of Wellington, in 1834, though he was hardly a harbinger of change.³⁹

Of course, not everyone was pleased by what he saw among the changes in society. Thomas Carlyle commented on signs of the times.⁴⁰

³⁸Ibid., p. 17.

³⁹William Tuckwell, Reminiscences of Oxford (London: Cassells, 1901), p. 2.

⁴⁰Thomas Carlyle, "Sign of the Times," Edinburgh Review, XLIX, June 1829, pp. 439-59. Among the signs of the times Carlyle enumerated the following:

1. He complains of "machinery" taking over all traditional and hand-done operations.

2. Decline of Metaphysics and morals in favor of Science and materialism.

3. That "the Philosopher of this Age is not a Socrates, a Plato, a Hooker, or a Taylor, who inculcates in man the necessity and infinite worth of moral goodness, the great truth that our happiness

Rarely before this time had such profound changes of all sorts, about which the English were self-consciously aware, taken place so rapidly.

While the English in the 1820s began to emerge from repressive policies dating back to the fears of Jacobinism in the 1790s, the next generation reformed most national institutions. Institutions and provisions for education constituted one of the areas of major concern to the early nineteenth century English. In spite of the influence of such reactionaries as Lord Eldon educational reforms came about. Eldon retarded the development of modern courses, and even of the three "R's," by handing down a judgment in 1805 declaring that a grammar school was established for the teaching of Latin, or of Latin and Greek, and that no school endowed as a grammar school could be used for any other purpose.⁴¹ The English public's efforts in this area took many forms and affected students of every description, from the ragged

depends on the mind which is within us, and not on the circumstances which are without us; but a Smith [Adam], a Bentham, who chiefly inculcates the reverse of this--that our happiness depends entirely on external circumstances; nay that the strength and dignity of the mind within us is itself the creature and consequences of these."

4. Men have lost their faith in the Invisible and believe and hope only in the Visible. Only the material, the immediately practical, not the divine and spiritual, is important to us.

5. "The 'force of circumstance' does everything. We figure Society as a 'Machine,' and that mind is opposed to mind, as body is to body; whereby two, or at most ten, little minds must be stronger than one great mind. Notable absurdity."

6. Tyranny of Public Opinion--civil liberty is more and more secured while moral liberty is all but lost.

7. This faith in Mechanism, in the all importance of physical things, is in every age the Common refuge of Weakness and blind Discontent--of all who believe that true good lies without rather than within men.

⁴¹Chester New, The Life of Henry Brougham to 1830 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 219.

children in Sunday schools to the dandified aristocrats in lavishly endowed ancient colleges. Specifically these new trends could be seen in private and proprietary schools, Sunday schools, Bell and Lancaster monitorial schools, Mechanics' institutes, grammar and public schools, new theological academics and seminaries, training institutes, both military and commercial, such as the College of the East India Company at Haileybury, a new University of London, and even in moderate internal reforms at the ancient universities. Undoubtedly many of these innovations were closely connected with the vigorous up-thrust of the middle class.⁴²

In contrast to this innovation and activity at most institutions of education, Oxford and Cambridge were conservative reflectors rather than leaders of society at this time. With the exception of St. Andrew's in Scotland, which followed the English model, the other three ancient universities in Scotland--Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh--were more "civic" in structure and student body, and they set a pattern for red-brick English universities in the nineteenth century.⁴³ Oxford and Cambridge had developed a collegiate system unique in higher education.

Despite the inertia of centuries and entrenched political and social conservatism, university regeneration began in the early nineteenth century. Oxford in 1800 began to reform its degree examina-

⁴²Brian Simon, Studies in the History of Education 1780-1870 (London, 1960), p. 118.

⁴³John H. MacCallum Scott, Dons and Students: British Universities Today (London: The Plumb Press, Ltd., 1973), p. 20.

tions, and in the next decade continued the process, creating a school of mathematics and physics and introducing the division of degrees into classes, a point to be elaborated later. From 1809 public criticism of the university grew sharper although most further attempts for reform at Oxford were unsuccessful.⁴⁴ Actually, Cambridge introduced a mathematical tripos already by the late eighteenth century, even before the Oxford Examination Statute of 1801. This reform began a new system of competitive written examinations accompanied by a corollary change in the former practice. Men could begin to work toward a career awarded for academic achievement. Certainly a new attitude toward academic work grew during the nineteenth century by comparison with its predecessor. Ironically, examinations, degrees, and systematic courses of study had been part of the medieval tradition. They were reincarnated in the nineteenth century. The new emphasis on efficiency initiated by Shelburne and Pitt, the Younger--elimination of sinecures for patronage, and preparing qualified men for government positions--was in keeping with modernizing trends toward more responsible use of resources and institutions. Of course this examination reform was not immediately perceived as radical. It evolved out of the old system. For example, success in examinations meant earning distinction, attracting attention, and the opportunity of appropriate social introduction--all of which were social goals especially valued in the eighteenth century (or perhaps applicable in any century). To a very limited extent at Oxford, but to a greater degree at Cambridge,

⁴⁴Lawson and Silver, p. 257.

examinations became a criterion for selection of college fellowships.⁴⁵ Some historians have argued that a generational and cultural change had set in by early nineteenth century.⁴⁶

Changes within the universities were small by comparison with political developments in the country as a whole. In the early decades of the nineteenth century the universities were torn, like educational opinion more generally, between the conservative fear of institutional change and the wish of a small minority of reformers to see the universities actively participating in the process of change.⁴⁷ About 1830, in the time just preceding and following the Reform Bill, during a period of almost unparalleled intellectual ferment, the schools and universities received, if anything, more than their share of

⁴⁵S. Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education: An Essay in History and Culture (London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1976), pp. 120-21.

⁴⁶Rothblatt itemized six changes in attitudes among parents or students or other factors that put a new strain on the old university system.

1. Greater parental concern for education of children and closer personal supervision of their upbringing.
2. Filled with ideas of their self importance and prodded by ambitious and anxious parents, more studious undergraduates entered universities, more inquiring, bolder in thought, more inclined toward independent opinions. More interest in controversial political religious topics--aired in debating societies.
3. Some students rejected conventional standards and developed a commitment to romantic notions of personal liberty and self-fulfillment.
4. Lax discipline and riotous living continued.
5. Increase in enrollment after 1800, decline in absenteeism.
6. The swiftness of increase in numbers of resident students combined with more intellectual boldness, tested the structure of teaching and authority.

Ibid., p. 122.

⁴⁷Lawson and Silver, p. 257.

attention.⁴⁸ The changes in society were bound to make an impact on the universities. Political reform and expansion of the Civil Service, replacing patronage by competitive examination, the widening of the frontiers of the empire, and the great increase in the number of schools, made necessary more civil servants, more colonial administrators and judges, more lawyers and schoolmasters. Certainly by mid-century, and later, where else could these people be educated but at the universities? Thus the middle classes were hammering at the gates. While some of the utilitarians demanded radical changes that would have rended the fabric of Oxford and Cambridge, moderate reformers may have admitted the idea of change but at the same time they desired slow change based on experience. They hoped to preserve their institutions substantially intact. Probably on the national scene the Canningites best represented this movement in the 1820s. By the 1830s and until the actual establishment of parliamentary investigation there were repeated attempts by interested groups and individuals in Parliament to pressure the universities into reform.⁴⁹

⁴⁸E.C. Mack, Public Schools and British Public Opinion, p. 200.

⁴⁹1837: Lord Radner demanded a royal commission of inquiry--a flurry but no action;
 1841: Fall of the Whigs and return of Peel shelved the question;
 1845, April: W.D. Christie, the MP for Weymouth, once again urged a commission;
 1846: Lord John Russell, Prime Minister, raised issue for commission again;
 The Senate at Cambridge, in anticipation of a royal commisison, appointed a syndicate to revise the statutes of the university;

In the face of pressures from the outside world, the universities' defenders redefined their goals and purposes for higher education--all of which reaffirmed a commitment to liberal education. The Georgians and Victorians agreed on what liberal education should not be: narrow, one-sided, or pedantic. It had to be more than "merely useful." Many formulators of educational philosophy concluded that liberal education must serve some higher purpose, and that whoever receives a liberal education must be, in some way, permanently influenced by it. Agreed on these points, they nevertheless divided over how best to achieve them or even what they meant.⁵⁰ Even into modern times "liberal" still carried its ancient connotation of freeman as opposed to slave; it presupposed a certain social condition, a lack of servile status, and a certain independence of means. Indeed, such an education, fitting one for no special livelihood, was particularly apt for those who had no need to earn a living or whose position was assured. The notion of social superiority inherent in the recipient of a liberal education was never wholly absent in common thought. A liberal education was far too expensive for most people;

James Heywood, a Unitarian, became a self-appointed vigilante against the older universities and demanded Commission;

1847: Kay Shuttleworth visited Oxford to get information with a view to future legislative action;

1850, April: Lord John Russell announced in Commons that the government proposed to enquire into the state of the universities.

Green, The Universities, p. 64.

⁵⁰S. Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education, p. 146.

furthermore, it deferred employment.

How did Oxford and Cambridge relate to liberal education? In the eighteenth century a liberal education did not assume, and certainly did not require residence at a university. Although the liberal arts, such as logic and rhetoric (which were conceived to include all possible ideas and sources of communications), had been taught since the Middle Ages, men of the Enlightenment were dissatisfied with medieval university teaching.⁵¹ The purpose of logic and rhetoric seemed misunderstood. For the civilized gentleman of the eighteenth century logic and rhetoric did not mean splitting hairs and disputing. The purpose of logic was not to win disputes or obfuscate, but to communicate, to bring people together, not to divide them, to teach them to be open minded, not intolerant. Instead of learning the art of conversation in order to be agreeable in society, students were being instructed in methods of reasoning guaranteed to lose them friends and gain enemies. A liberal education was supposed to be broadening, but Oxford and Cambridge teaching was narrow, the result of outmoded rules. A liberal education was supposed to make its recipients attentive to the needs of others, but students became academic snobs, forgot that a little learning was a dangerous thing, and that ultimately a great deal of learning could only be acquired outside the universities in the great world of public affairs.⁵²

⁵¹William T. Costello, The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth Century Cambridge (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 13.

⁵²Ibid., p. 80.

Perhaps the main historical reason for the failure of the universities to take a leading part in promoting liberal education was political. Since the Erastian arrangements of the Reformation the universities were often called upon to protect the presumed interests of Church and State, and kept from innovation, into Georgian times, by interference of royal courts. The incentive for change was consistently absent until the nineteenth century. Other educational institutions were freer to innovate and did so.⁵³ Oxford and Cambridge had to defend themselves as best they could against the charge that their education was medieval and scholastic, not renascent and liberal. Some critics asserted that the last places in which a young man could receive a proper liberal education were the shaded, isolated, monkish courts of the universities.

Much of the eighteenth century concern about liberal education related to the concept of civilization. Liberality, though meaning primarily munificence, was also associated with moral qualities of openness, generosity of spirit, the traits of a gentleman as handed down from the ideals of the courtier of the sixteenth century. Liberal education was an ethical term designating all those material or institutional, but particularly those religious, moral, or intellectual changes that separated the refined European from the wild barbarian. It meant self-control and the mastery of reason over mere custom or instinct, violence, and cruelty.⁵⁴ A liberal education was a pathway

⁵³Ibid., p. 77.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 17.

to civilization. In this context liberal education assumed its moral overtones. On the other hand, liberated and liberty had negative features too. They were also connected to license, luxury, pleasure, and misrule. Did a liberal education sometimes lead to laxity of private morals? Venice, the high point of the Grand Tour, a major instrument of liberal education in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, was a city of political liberty and personal depravity.⁵⁵ In essence a liberal education was connected with the idea of how to live a good life, in harmony with oneself and society.

In order to accomplish such a goal, educational philosophers and university defenders set forth a whole program of liberal education that, they claimed, the universities provided. They recognized the need to reassert reliance on traditional Christian authority as a foundation on which they could build solid character, the sine qua non for a truly good and useful life. However, by the nineteenth century, the universities' formulators of educational policy separated means from ends. Thus the curriculum, hopefully leading to character formation, was not tied directly to specific activities the students might expect to practice in their later lives. Henceforth, only non-liberal (mechanical, professional, and vocational) education tied means to ends, though these forms of education did not include a concept of the total man and his needs (of course, liberal education did not do so either).

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 30.

From the inauguration of controversy about the proper role of the universities in national life, launched in the Edinburgh Review by Sydney Smith and others in 1809, and Edward Copleston's Reply to the Calumnies of the Edinburgh Review, in which the Provost at Oriel College, Oxford, defended "liberal education" offered there, many principal issues facing higher education for the next forty years became a matter of public concern. In spite of the conflict between opponents and defenders of the old universities, which flourished both in Parliament and the press, the entrenched powers within the colleges, in combination with their conservative ecclesiastical and titled allies successfully fended off radical changes. The ancient universities' successful resistance appears all the more remarkable in light of the reform in England of so many other institutions during the "decade of reform," 1825-1835. By contrast, in France and Germany the post-Napoleonic universities were notorious hot beds of liberalism, if not radicalism, as evidenced by the murder in 1819 of a reactionary actor, von Kotzebue, by a student in Berlin, the fact that Metternich frequently closed universities, and the example of the Frankfurt Convention of 1848, largely attended by academicians and students. In England, the ancient universities stood as bastions of conservatism and privilege typical of the ancien régime. Oxford and Cambridge clung steadfastly to their ancient privileges, structure, curriculum, and abuses in the face of varied and serious challenges: the calumnies of vociferous critics, the creation of a major rival institution, University College, London, the demands of Dissenters and their friends

for repeal of the religious Tests, the constant requests for increased scientific and other curricular innovation, threatened Parliamentary investigation and reform, and internal dissension, i.e., the Oxford Movement.

F.D. Maurice noted an example in 1840 of old unreformed Tory politics still triumphant at Cambridge. During the contest between Lord Lyndhurst, the Tory and friend of Sir Robert Peel, and Lyttleton, for the position of High Steward of the university, Maurice declared that as a clergyman he must vote against Lyndhurst and that "Lyttleton's election would do more than almost any movement I can think of to frighten knaves and encourage honest men."⁵⁶ Lyndhurst had a tainted character, yet his Tory political connections enabled him to defeat Lyttleton nearly two to one.⁵⁷

How in the face of all this criticism did Oxford and Cambridge satisfy their constituents, resist significant reforms in a time when other European universities experienced intellectual ferment, such as the "higher criticism," and forestall the efforts of reformers and critics during the first half of the nineteenth century? What did Oxford and Cambridge have to offer and why did they find enough support to resist all the challengers?

There may be a number of possible answers to these questions. Some might argue that the universities were not reformed because they

⁵⁶Frances M. Brookfield, The Cambridge "Apostles" (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1906), p. 96.

⁵⁷D.A. Winstanley, Early Victorian Cambridge, p. 104.

just were not important enough, in comparison to other institutions, to attract sufficient attention or concern of reforming groups to force a radical change before 1850. Prior to the "knowledge revolution" of the mid-century, there was no unifying ideological program to unify those who objected to particular abuses with those who had a forward-looking plan for a grand new mission for the universities. Perhaps the universities escaped radical reform or change until mid-century because a significant element of the English upper class wanted at least one place that remained steady, secure, and familiar to them, a quiet peaceful place in a steam engine age of transition. Moreover, the situation in England, where national identity and status in the world were not at stake, contrasted sharply with the conditions on the continent, particularly in Germany, where universities were in ferment over national self definition and redemption as demonstrated at the Frankfurt Convention of 1848. Thus, in the English context, many educators within the ancient universities had the leisure and opportunity to stress the cultivation of individual virtues through a liberal arts curriculum.

The early Victorians believed that the profoundest need of men, particularly young men who would assume leadership positions in Church and State, was to develop a sound moral character. People needed to have a grasp of the ultimate meaning of life, of eternal truth, and of their relation to Christian authority. Such concerns were clearly prevalent in the first portion of the nineteenth century. Even a popular novelist like Bulwer Lytton in Pelham had Lord Glenmorris, uncle of

the hero, speak the following words:

You have . . . a considerable store of learning; far more than I could possibly have imagined you possessed; but it is knowledge, not learning, in which I wish you to be skilled. I would rather, in order to gift you with the former, that you were more destitute of the latter. The object of education is to instill principles which are hereafter to guide and instruct us; facts are only desirable so far as they illustrate those principles; principles ought therefore to precede facts! What then can we think of a system which reverses this evident order, overloads the memory with facts, and those of the most doubtful description, while it leaves us entirely in the dark with regard to the principles which could alone render this heterogeneous mass of any advantage or avail? Learning, without knowledge, is but a bundle of prejudices; a lumber of inert matter set before the threshold of the understanding to the exclusion of common sense . . . it is only sanctified ignorance. . . .⁵⁸

The sentiments expressed by Lord Glenmorris capture much of the essence of this thesis. Such ideas were popular among the English, but not in works of fiction only. Richard Lovell Edgeworth, 1744-1817, an educational reformer and royal commissioner, 1806-12, wrote two books, Practical Education and Professional Education, in 1809. He was concerned to mold character; the cultivation of good habits and instillation of moral principles was a primary object of Practical Education, a matter in which this book resembled Rousseau's Emile.⁵⁹ The emphasis on character formation permeated most discussions of the mission of Oxford and Cambridge by its apologists. Although virtually ignored in the secondary historical literature on English universities in the

⁵⁸E.G. Bulwer Lytton, Pelham: The Adventures of a Gentleman (London: H. Colburn, 1828; reprinted Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972), Chapter XXXVII.

⁵⁹Maria and Richard Lovell Edgeworth, Practical Education, 3 vols. (London: J. Johnson, 1801).

first half of the nineteenth century, many contemporaries in the universities emphasized moral education to a great extent.

In order to explore the issues of character formation and moral education at Oxford and Cambridge in the first half of the nineteenth century the following format seems appropriate. After a review of university historiography the first chapter defines the central concepts of character and moral education in their historical context and national setting. The idea of character dates back to ancient Greece and found a new expression in the English Theophrastian literary tradition. Likewise moral education had ancient origins. From the Greek ideal, Paideia, to the Renaissance Book of the Courtier, to eighteenth century arguments between Associationists and Intuitionists, moral education has aroused interest throughout the ages. Particularly relevant to university defenders, in the early nineteenth century Samuel Taylor Coleridge transmitted German ideals to England through a number of disciples such as Carlyle and Arnold.

In order to direct attention to higher education in England the second chapter focuses on critics of Oxford and Cambridge and their proposed reforms. Most of the critics are utilitarians and include such prominent figures as Bentham and the Mills. Because many critics of the ancient English universities looked to Germany as a model we will note the influence of the German model both on critics and supporters of Oxford and Cambridge. Within England, London University, founded in the 1820s by utilitarians, became a cause célèbre in a controversy pitting opponents against supporters of the older institu-

tions. In the context of this struggle the two sides defined and defended their respective ideas about moral education.

In the third chapter the University defenders set forth their position. After exploring a number of orthodox Anglican educators we will focus on three major university apologists: Edward Copleston, Provost at Oriel and author of Reply to the Calumnies of the Edinburgh Review, 1811; Adam Sedgwick, Professor of Geology at Cambridge, who wrote Discourse on the Study of the University of Cambridge, 1833; and William Whewell, Master of Trinity, Cambridge, and sometime Vice-Chancellor, who published Principles of English University Education, 1846. These men attempted to construct a valid and coherent defense of the ancient universities based on their notions of moral education and formation of character. Moral education at Oxford and Cambridge prior to Parliamentary reform in the 1850s presupposed a Christian, even an emphatically Anglican, emphasis which included religious tests and compulsory chapel.

Having reviewed the arguments of university defenders and having seen how they stressed the formation of character and moral education we look in the fourth chapter at the curriculum to see how liberal education contributed to educational goals. In order to understand the curricular issues we must first describe faculty psychology, which provided the jargon of educational controversies. Adam Sedgwick's commentary on John Locke serves as a vehicle to explain the theory of mind and learning prevalent among some university defenders. The examination system, periodically revised during the first half of

the century, exerted an influence both on teaching and on the curriculum, as well as on the students. Curricular controversies focused on the central emphasis on the classics, the proper place of science, the role of theology, and the capacity of other subjects such as history and logic to mold character. While Oxford and Cambridge had attempted some internal reforms, after 1845 they experienced more rapid regeneration. Some contemporaries such as Mark Pattison attributed the new spirit within Oxford to the "end of the Tractarian nightmare." Interest in science reawakened along with Germanic scholarship. The election of Prince Albert as Chancellor, in 1846, signified a new age at Cambridge also.⁶⁰ With an increasing frequency, through the first half of the century, educators defined and refined their concepts about liberal education. Such figures as Arnold, Jowett, Pattison, and, most notably, Newman contributed to this process.

The fifth chapter deals with teaching at the universities. By explaining the English collegiate tutorial system and contrasting it with the German style and university supported professorial system we may see how these contrasting teaching modes had substantial implications for character formation and moral education. This study will include portraits of a few tutors such as Richard Whately, Benjamin Jowett, Thomas Arnold, Charles Simeon, and John Henry Newman, and examine students' responses to them. In addition to the college tutors an extra-collegiate teaching system flourished during this

⁶⁰Henry Gunning, Reminiscences of Cambridge, Vol. II, p. viii.

period. The existence of private coaches served as an indictment of the inadequacies of university teaching but ultimately their good points contributed to a new teaching ideal within the regular academic structure. In contrast to the collegiate tutorial approach, an explanation of the professorial system and research emphasis, advocated by many utilitarians, concludes this chapter.

Finally, in the last chapter, we will try to form an impression of the environment and community formed at the colleges that helped to develop character. Some have maintained that the very atmosphere, the ivy on old buildings, moonlit gardens, and a sense of tradition impressed a special stamp on college men. While the aforementioned features exerted an indirect influence, there were many consciously directed in loco parentis policies, such as required chapel attendance and inspection of boarding houses, that the college administrators hoped would perpetuate and fortify English Christian gentlemen. Students, of course, as they do in any generation, formed organizations where group attitudes exerted an influence on the character of young men. In an impressionistic way we may derive some idea of the results of moral education, at least as assessed by some students. During any generation some forces brought about change. About mid-century the research ideal was beginning to have a profound effect on teachers as moral cultivators. It undermined their credibility as understood up to that time and eroded the lingering medieval collegiate environment.

The conclusion will assess the meaning of liberal education and the importance of moral education and character formation.

Historiography

Although much has been written about Oxford and Cambridge during the past few generations it is surprising that so little writing of a serious historical nature has appeared. For the most part only within the last ten years have there been new departures replacing the run-of-the-mill surveys and books of reminiscences and nostalgia. Books like those of Sheldon Rothblatt and Harold Silver⁶¹ have opened the age of serious, dispassionate, and "scientific" study of Oxford and Cambridge. In the Revolution of the Dons, Rothblatt deals with the growth of an academic professional ideal, social class, and economic issues relative to higher education. He has also written a valuable historiographic essay which emphasizes the principal features of historical writing on the ancient universities up to 1968; his assertions remain valid, to some extent, a decade later. First, he points out the sources available such as college and university bursaries, muniment rooms, libraries and archives. In these, he says, the historian may find private and official correspondence, financial records, admission books and matriculation lists, scholarship records, biographies, magazines and newspapers, examination records, fly sheets, the minutes of clubs and societies, committee reports, scholarly books and scientific treatises, architectural plans, and even accounts of academic dress and drinking habits. All of these are excellent sources

⁶¹Sheldon Rothblatt, Revolution of the Dons (London: Faber and Faber, 1968), and Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education; John Lawson and Harold Silver, A Social History of Education in England (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1973).

for university history.⁶²

Although these sources have been available to historians, and have attracted much attention from scholars, critics, and administrators, Rothblatt asserts that little writing of an historical nature has appeared. The immense value of university literature is, he claims, mainly

fugitive, descriptive, sociological, programmatic, polemical and educationalist; it is only infrequently historical. None of the English universities, not even the famous older institutions, have been subjected to historical analysis in categories which are familiar to the present.⁶³

He claims that comparatively little is known of the social structure of the university, the relationship between social class and curricula, the history of academic freedom, the definition of liberal education, the structure of teaching, the relations of students and teachers, the formation of an academic community, the growth of research as a university activity, the response of the university to change and the place of the Church of England in higher education.⁶⁴

Since 1968, some historians have contributed in areas that Rothblatt found needed research missing at that time. In fact, he himself has since written a very informative book on the history of the idea of liberal education, thus filling in one of the gaps. Summing up past endeavors about university writing, Rothblatt divides historiography into two major categories: the Whiggish and variations

⁶²Rothblatt, Revolution of the Dons, p. 16.

⁶³Ibid., p. 16.

⁶⁴Ibid.

thereon, and the Marxists and other class-conflict theory proponents. Of course, he recognizes other variations too. These include accounts of individual dons or chapters in the lives of famous men. Such accounts usually comment on select university problems and contain themes that relate to university history. Some studies are narratives of university growth in terms of faculties, facilities, curricula and number of students, with additional miscellaneous information. Other accounts, especially those of Oxford or Cambridge, often adopt the models and assumptions of Whig history; improvement or growth and change remain general themes.⁶⁵

Whig writers in general tend to stress the need for society and its institutions to be in agreement in order to reduce the areas of social friction. They emphasize political accommodation rather than social change so that the workers when they enter Parliament would legislate in the interest of all. The Whig insistence on the primacy of constitutional change has tended, according to Rothblatt, to soften labor struggles, working class millenarianism, and the demand to end social injustice which might otherwise result in revolution and wide-scale disturbance.⁶⁶

D.A. Winstanley's Early Victorian Cambridge typifies the Whig position. In fact, Winstanley wrote three volumes firmly in the

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 18.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 19.

Cambridge Whig tradition.⁶⁷ According to Rothblatt's understanding of Winstanley, University history may be discussed in political terms. Professors, masters and fellows are as much politicians as they are teachers, scholars, and scientists. And as politicians they must be considered an important addition to the late Georgian world of place hunting. Rothblatt summarizes the Whig interpretation by stating that in the early nineteenth century, before the reforms of the 1850s, the ancient universities were useful instruments of an established church, an oligarchic government, and a hierarchical society more rural or provincial in setting than urban. After the reforms of the 1820s and 1830s, Oxford and Cambridge were slow to shift their loyalty and allegiance to the new industrial and commercial bourgeoisie. Because of their refusal to accommodate themselves to an industrializing society, the universities became isolated and archaic. They ultimately exhausted the patience of the nation and were transformed by Parliament into national institutions for national needs.⁶⁸ In spite of their slow and halting initiatives the universities did begin reforms from within, beginning early in the century; therefore, the entire nineteenth century may be seen as one of reform and university improvement.

Rothblatt also comments on "Whig revisionists" such as Sir Lewis Namier. He claims that the Namierites often regard with suspi-

⁶⁷Denys Arthur Winstanley, Unreformed Cambridge (Cambridge: University Press, 1935); Winstanley, Early Victorian Cambridge (Cambridge: University Press, 1940); and Winstanley, Later Victorian Cambridge (Cambridge: University Press, 1947).

⁶⁸Ibid., pp. 17, 18.

cion high educational ideals or ideological statements about relationships between ethics and education. Quoting Namier,

Dons and professors are no more idealistic or high-minded than politicians and bureaucrats. They too act in their own self-interests.⁶⁹

Namier suggests the best means for studying the history of Victorian Oxford or Cambridge is to observe the traffic between court, Parliament, government and master's lodges, and to demonstrate the network of university offices and clerical livings that made ancient universities so essential a part of the aristocratic spoils system. Rothblatt also sees W.R. Ward's Victorian Oxford (London, 1965) as a recent example of the modified Whig approach.

Rothblatt's other major category, sociological and class-conflict approaches to the universities, would be exemplified in Michalina Clifford-Vaughan and Margaret Archer's Social Conflict and Educational Change in England and France 1789-1848. They see change, as reflected in the university, primarily as the struggle for power and influence among competing classes. The class interest theory resembles the Whig except that the university is a mirror image of the socioeconomic structure of England rather than of its political structure. The university serves whichever class is in power, according to this theory. The allegiance of the university is presumed easily transferred from social class to social class. In the class-conflict theory, educational change always parallels and reflects the struggle

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 19.

for influence and control that takes place among rival classes.⁷⁰

Another important survey in the tradition of class-conflict theory is Brian Simon's Studies in the History of Education, 1780-1870 (London, 1960). Simon focuses on class conflict and correlates the relationship of educational innovations and reforms with working class or middle class interests. He deals with all forms of education from the Lancaster-Bell monitorial system, Dames' Schools, Adult Schools, public and grammar schools to Oxford and Cambridge. Another important writer in recent university historiography, Lawrence Stone, has recently published The University in Society, a series of essays and articles about higher education considered from an international perspective. He has also supervised some very specialist and technical works such as The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body 1580-1910, a detailed demographic study similar in concept to the social history approach of the French *Annales* school.

Those writers like Stone, Simon, Silver,⁷¹ and particularly Archer and Vaughan with their social class focus often operate from a Marxian perspective.⁷² For example, they claim that clashes of values

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 20

⁷¹A Social History of Education in England, 1973, by John Lawson and Harold Silver, is a long-term general survey tracing education at all levels in England from Anglo-Saxon beginnings through the 1960s. It covers elementary, secondary and higher education, apprenticeships, legal training, and education of clergy.

⁷²These two authors state three purposes for their book: to use the comparative method to make a sociological contribution to the understanding of educational change; to consider the problem of educational structural relations with other social institutions and factors leading to change in them; and to question assumptions about the

occurring in modern educational systems are not causes of social change; they are symptomatic not deterministic. Thus, they dismiss the influence of individual educators and pressure groups unless the ideas they espouse are congruent with the requirements of their contemporary social structure. They say that the ideas of educators influence education but only within the framework of existing social needs.⁷³ As far as they are concerned, the influence of individual educators is discounted since their ideas are ignored by society unless they coincide with that society's needs.⁷⁴

Thus, intellectuals and formulators of educational policy receive short shrift from Clifford-Vaughan and Archer. They regard the dominant norms and values of society at a given time as the shaper of educational goals and practices. They would say an industrial society develops its own values although these are frequently opposed by residues from the non-industrial past; presumably this postulate would in part explain the situation in early nineteenth century England.⁷⁵

integration between education and other institutions in advanced industrial societies. Michelina Clifford-Vaughan and Margaret Scoford Archer, Social Conflict and Educational Change 1789-1848 (Cambridge: University Press, 1971).

⁷³Clifford-Vaughan and Archer, Social Conflict and Educational Change, p. 5.

⁷⁴M.D. Shipman, Sociology of Schools (London: 1968). "Frequently the ideas of pioneers have only been influential after their death, once social conditions have changed in a direction which has made them relevant." This sentence was quoted in Clifford-Vaughan, p. 5.

⁷⁵Clifford-Vaughan and Archer, Social Conflict and Educational Change, p. 6. A Marxist view of education in an industrial society has the following characteristics. (1) The educational institutions

Gordon Leff points out the inadequacy of the Marxist approach with regard to early nineteenth century English universities. He asks how Marx would explain the endurance of institutional patterns (clerical domination of administration) and pedagogical practices (classics and mathematics curriculum) initiated under previous methods of production in the eighteenth century or earlier which are unrelated to the requirements of a changed economy after the industrial revolution. He sees the case of the universities in the first half of the nineteenth century in England as a contradiction of Marx because the economically dominant group, Dissenting industrialists, are educationally under-privileged by being debarred from certain institutions, such as Oxford and Cambridge. This situation is not accounted for in Marx's theories unless a considerable time lag is assumed. Such an assumption would necessarily distort the basic relationship between infrastructure and superstructure.⁷⁶

and ideas are part of the superstructure which reflects the economic infrastructure. (2) The educational ideals and philosophies reflect the economic interests. (3) The educational conflict is merely an aspect of the general class conflict. Ibid., p. 10. This theory renders educational ideals illusory. The prevailing ideas are nothing more than the expression of the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas. Such an ideological relativism precludes not only the truth content of ideas but also their efficacy as independent variables. Of course, not everyone sees things in Marxist terms. G. Leff, for example, in his book Tyranny of Concepts, London, 1961, stated:

It is clearly untenable to regard mathematics, logic, language and various intellectual techniques as the purely transitory efflux of a particular historical and class (false) consciousness: by the very fact that they outlast any particular epoch they are of universal validity. They must therefore represent true knowledge quite independently of the uses to which it is put, or indeed, how it originates. (Ibid., p. 12)

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 13.

In contrast to the class-conflict historians who sometimes interpret the reforms of public schools and universities during the nineteenth century as regressive and punitive since their effect was to abolish many old statutes which specifically provided scholarships and other places for the poor, Winstanley and the Whigs regard university reforms favorably because the Anglican aristocracy began to share the old schools with the Dissenters and the middle class.

While Rothblatt's essay may provide a convenient framework to begin discussing some aspects of recent university historiography we might also consider an alternative classification scheme. While agreeing with his point that writing about English universities has entered a new analytical phase in the last decade we may distinguish more than two historiographical traditions. Among recent publications we may perceive a number of trends and a miscellany of other university-related writing. These trends include topical subjects, such as religion and the universities, reinterpretations and reconsiderations of colleges or of a university, intellectual approaches, social history, international comparisons, and biographies. Recent writing of a topical sort has ranged over many diverse areas. These topics include, for instance, religion and the universities, special interests and place hunting, curricular adjustment, examinations and others.⁷⁷

⁷⁷Among books dealing with religion and the universities, an issue with a long tradition in historiography, we may note Vivian H. Hale Green's Religion at Oxford and Cambridge (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1964), and Vincent Alan McClelland's English Roman Catholics and Higher Education, 1830-1903 (Oxford, 1973). G.D. Squibb's Founder's Kin, Privilege, and Pedigree (Oxford, 1972), is a study which points out family connections and other special interest as related to privilege

Reinterpretations and reconsiderations of individual colleges and of the universities stands as another major area. The work of E.G.W. Bill and J.E.A. Mason have examined the ramifications of Parliamentary reform at Oxford during the period of most rapid change at the universities during the nineteenth century.⁷⁸ Dame Lucy Stuart Sutherland has helped pioneer what may be a new trend in university historiography.⁷⁹ In her book, The University of Oxford in the Eighteenth Century: A Reconsideration, she takes a sympathetic look. This is all the more remarkable because other historians, for the most part, have had few kind words for the universities at that time. Perhaps she will do for Oxford in the eighteenth century what Norman Sykes has done for the Church of England which long labored under an

and place hunting in the universities. R.S. Thompson's Classics or Charity (Manchester: 1971) deals with schools' dilemma in reconciling the traditional curriculum with changing educational needs. John H. MacCallum Scott's Dons and Students: British Universities Today (London: The Plume Press, Ltd., 1973) surveys some contemporary issues in higher education and includes a brief historical background. Scott, a reform-minded traditionalist, has written a commentary on current situations rather than a scholarly monograph on the history of education. A much more focused monograph is R.J. Montgomery's Examinations: An Account of Their Evolution as Administrative Devices in England (London, 1965). English Education and the Radicals, 1780 to 1850, by Harold Silver, traces the utilitarian thought and political impact on education. His main emphasis, however, is on lower levels of education rather than the university. (Harold Silver, English Education and the Radicals, 1780 to 1850 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975.) Somewhat related in theme, though a precursor, is Silver's Robert Owen on Education (Cambridge, 1969).

⁷⁸E.G.W. Bill, University Reform in Nineteenth-Century Oxford: A Study of Henry Halford Vaughan 1811-1885 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973). E.G.W. Bill and J.F.A. Mason co-authored Christ Church and the Reform 1850-1867 (Oxford: 1970).

⁷⁹Dame Lucy Stuart Sutherland's The University of Oxford in the Eighteenth Century: A Reconsideration (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973).

equally unflattering reputation. Just as Sykes attacked the notion of the "fat slumbers of the church," Sutherland has questioned the "port, privilege, and pedantry" associated with Oxford. Rothblatt, of course, may be seen as another of the reassessors of the ugly university tradition.

Two very recent works by Sanderson and Rothblatt attest to the vitality of the application of intellectual history approaches to higher education. Michael Sanderson, in 1975, edited The Universities in the Nineteenth Century.⁸⁰ This intellectual history focuses on the classical and liberal curriculum and the increasing role of science. The editor has arranged chronologically a number of sections which trace the development of the growth of science in conjunction with the continued emphasis on liberal and classical studies. Walter F. Cannon also deals with the development of science in the first half of the century, particularly at Cambridge.⁸¹ Indeed, most historians who search for the origins in the English Universities of serious scientific work seem to find it at Cambridge; Oxford abounded with prescientific curiosities and eccentric professors like Daubeny. Cannon described the "Cambridge Network" as a "totality that made up a

⁸⁰Michael Sanderson, ed., The Universities in the Nineteenth Century (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Birth of Modern Britain Series, 1975).

⁸¹Walter F. Cannon, "Scientists and Broad Churchmen: An Early Victorian Intellectual Network," Journal of British Studies, November 1964, pp. 65-88.

progressive center of English thought. . . ."82 Not only have historians looked at the universities for the roots of modern scientific inquiry, but also they have searched for the beginning of modern history teaching. A.T. Milne has recently surveyed the teaching of history at the universities.⁸³ In this article, Milne devoted most attention to the late nineteenth century and reviewed the accomplishments of major historians such as Sir John Seeley, William Stubbs, E.A. Freeman, J.A. Froude, Lord Acton, A.W. Ward and others. He dismisses the teaching of history during the first half of the nineteenth century quite cursorily:

Although Regius Chairs of Modern History had been established in the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge as long ago as the year 1724 no provision for degrees or any sort of diploma in the subject was made and the professorships became sinecures until the reforms of the mid-nineteenth century, and virtually no teaching was done by their holders.⁸⁴

According to Milne, the study of history, as we know it today, only began about the turn of the twentieth century. Even if history, properly taught and studied at universities, only began about the turn of the century, the problems of university intellectuals go back at least a century earlier. Lenore O'Boyle has examined "The Problem of Educated Men in Western Europe, 1800-1850," Journal of Modern History,

⁸²Ibid., p. 88. He has followed up his interest in science at Cambridge with an article. W.F. Cannon, "The Role of the Cambridge Movement in Early Nineteenth Century Science," Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of the History of Science, Ithaca, 26 August to 21 September (no year given).

⁸³A.T. Milne, "History at the Universities: Then and Now," History, LIX (February, 1974).

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 34.

1970.⁸⁵ J.P.C. Roach takes a more English-centered focus than O'Boyle in his article, "Victorian Universities and the National Intelligensia," Victorian Studies, 1959. Finally, one of the most important and most recent intellectual histories about higher education is Rothblatt's book.⁸⁶ This is a work of pure intellectual history which traces the idea of a liberal education from the eighteenth century through the twentieth century. The author demonstrates that the meaning of liberal education has changed entirely, although the term liberal education has persisted throughout the two centuries.

Although the trend in recent historiography may highlight topical works, reinterpretations, and intellectual approaches, there have, of course, been other long-standing historiographical genres which continue to the present. Some of these other genres include general surveys, biographies and international comparisons. Surveys of the universities and of British education in general continue to be written. John William Adamson's work is still considered the major definitive study about English education at all levels.⁸⁷ Even to this day

⁸⁵In this social history approach, the author hopes to determine whether there was an overproduction of educated men in England, Germany and France. She concludes that in England there may have been some overproduction of educated men, in proportion to the employment opportunities for their qualifications, but the problem was not widespread or as severe as in Germany.

⁸⁶Sheldon Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education (London: Faber and Faber, Ltd, 1976).

⁸⁷John William Adamson, English Education 1789-1902 (Cambridge: University Press, 1930).

historians rely on Adamson's book as a standard reference.⁸⁸ Within the last generation, and even within the last decade, there have been new multi-volume histories of both Cambridge and Oxford.⁸⁹

In addition to the variety of secondary works already mentioned, there has been considerable interest in the international approach to higher education. Without a doubt W.H.G. Armytage dominates this field.⁹⁰ Armytage has also written a survey of the Redbrick and "plate glass" universities.⁹¹ At nearly the same time Armytage was carving out his fiefdom in the area of international education, he had to share the field with a few other authors.⁹² Eric Ashley has also compared universities internationally and distinguished a four-fold

⁸⁸Among the classic surveys of Cambridge and Oxford, we might note the following: T.D. Atkinson and J.W. Clarke, Cambridge Described and Illustrated, 1897; J.B. Mullinger, The University of Cambridge, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1873-1911; Albert Mansbridge, The Older Universities of England: Oxford and Cambridge, London, 1923; and Sir Charles Mallet, A History of the University of Oxford, 3 vols., London, 1924.

⁸⁹In 1959, J.P.C. Roach edited Victoria County History of Cambridge in three volumes, and in 1971 H.E. Salter and M.D. Lobel edited Victoria County History of Oxford, also in three volumes.

⁹⁰He has written at least a half dozen books in this area. Some of his titles include the following: W.H.G. Armytage, The American Influence on English Education (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967); The French Influence on English Education (London: 1968); The German Influence on English Education (London: 1969).

⁹¹W.H.G. Armytage, Civic Universities: Aspects of a British Tradition (London: 1955).

⁹²Abraham Flexner wrote Universities: American, English, German (New York: 1967), and Douglass Sloan published The Scottish Enlightenment and the American College Ideal, 1971.

division of functions.⁹³

Biography affords a separate approach toward the university; studies of important university figures give us another perspective. For example, there are two biographies of Benjamin Jowett, both of which are major sources for a principal figure at Balliol College, Oxford.⁹⁴ The Cambridge Apostles is a kind of collective biography written by Frances Brookfield to point out, among other things, that his ancestor William Henry Brookfield, who entered Trinity College in 1829, knew many influential people at Cambridge.⁹⁵ This book, in all fairness, gives a great deal of information about important figures at Cambridge in those days. The author has selected from the group of Cambridge "Apostles" those who were friends of William Henry Brookfield; thus, he uses family records and letters as sources.⁹⁶ More recent and perhaps a take-off on Brookfield's title, Oxford

⁹³Eric Ashley, Technology and the Academics (London: 1959). Ashley, for example, has explored and analyzed various views and functions of European universities. His four main functions of universities are: (1) as a nursery of gentlemen, statesmen and administrators--Oxford and Cambridge; (2) as trainers of learned professions--Bologna and Salerno; (3) as centers of scholarship and learning--Gottingen and Berlin; and (4) as a staff college for technological specialists--Zurich and MIT.

⁹⁴Evelyn Abbott and Lewis Campbell, The Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett (London: 1897); Geoffrey Faber, Jowett: A Portrait with a Background (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1957).

⁹⁵Frances M. Brookfield, The Cambridge Apostles (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906).

⁹⁶Fortunately for historians, William Henry Brookfield had many important friends. Some of these include Arthur H. Hallam, F.D. Maurice, John Sterling, Alfred Tennyson, and Joseph William Blakesley.

Apostles (London, 1954), by Geoffrey C. Faber, is a character study of the Oxford movement and attempts to explain a religious movement to a generation with an anti-religious bias. Faber does that and yet provides fascinating reading at the same time as he applies psychological analysis to J.H. Newman and other Tractarians.

Brief as this summary may have been of various trends in university historiography, we may shift our focus in order to notice the methods and approaches, used by other historians, which also reflect the methodology in this study.

First, we might want to consider a comment by Lord Acton. He stated, "We must write on problems not periods, but, in fact, we do both hoping to find that the problems fill up and define an age."⁹⁷ The problems of character formation and moral education, with all of their attendant issues, may well define many crucial issues of the age for post-Napoleonic English gentlemen. Edward Mack claims that an examination of the relationship between the evolution of higher education and the reactions of various Englishmen to it may shed considerable light on the important problems connected with upper-class educational developments.⁹⁸ In particular, he focuses on three areas. First, he wants to illuminate the response of public schools to new ideas. In so doing, he will see how some ideas have been absorbed rapidly, some

⁹⁷Sheldon Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education, p. 13.

⁹⁸Edward Mack's Public Schools and British Opinion 1780-1860 focuses specifically on the secondary level; nevertheless, his approach is, at least, parallel to some extent to what I plan to do.

slowly, and others not at all. Second, he examines the forces working for acceptance or rejection of new ideas. Of course, the study of individual motives is in the last analysis, he confesses, a matter of inference not proof. Third, he suggests the relationship between ideas and the development of English public schools through a qualitative evaluation of the literature.⁹⁹

Furthermore, Mack perceives that a study of higher education enhances one's understanding of the psychological, social, economic and political forces which have governed British history. He claims: "Indeed, one can view Public School (and I might add, Oxford and Cambridge) history as a case study of British psychology and of the economic and other pressures to which it has been subjected."¹⁰⁰ Mack based his work on a critical analysis of prose, fiction, reminiscences, history, poetry, pamphlet literature and journals. This dissertation relies on similar sources. Finally, Mack claims that in his study, he has recorded for a given historical period the ideas of a large proportion of those who have expressed themselves on the subject of public school education and classified these people into significant groups. Thus he claims to be able to analyze psychological, economic, or social motives behind the ideas. This last assertion may be the most tenuous to prove definitively, so this study will be somewhat reticent to draw conclusions in these areas.

Sheldon Rothblatt, in Revolution of the Dons, has another

⁹⁹Mack, p. xiv.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. xi.

approach which also has valuable methodological implications for this study. He examines the academicians' professional ideal and its cultural and sociological factors in the history of Cambridge University during the second-half of the nineteenth century. He claims that he "enters into the thinking of this vital portion of the Victorian intellectual aristocracy to recover the anxieties and establish a structure of values which made dons act."¹⁰¹ This dissertation will also attempt to enter into the thinking of university apologists to recover some of their anxieties and examine some of the values which shaped their attitudes and actions. In order to set forth his thesis, Rothblatt uses two central figures of the age he is studying, John Stuart Mill and Matthew Arnold, as spokesmen for the two alternatives by which he presents the dilemma of the dons in the 1860s. In the same way, and for the same purpose as Rothblatt employs Mill and Arnold, I focus on Coleridge and Bentham.

As a final example of an author and his method, and I must add that this is one of my favorites, let us consider Lytton Strachey's approach.

The researcher confronting the immensity of the Victorian age in literature must have sooner or later come to feel that Lytton Strachey was wise in his decision to "row out over that great ocean of material and lower down into it here and there a little bucket, which will bring up to the light of day some

¹⁰¹Sheldon Rothblatt, Revolution of the Dons, p. 93.

characteristic specimen from those far depths, to be examined with a careful curiosity."¹⁰²

¹⁰²Charles Richard Sanders, Coleridge and the Broad Church Movement: Studies in S.T. Coleridge, Dr. Arnold of Rugby, J.C. Hare, Thomas Carlyle, and F.D. Maurice (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1942; reprinted New York: Octagon Books, 1971), p. 263.

CHAPTER I

DEFINITIONS OF CHARACTER AND MORAL EDUCATION

From the very beginning character has seemed on the whole more important to the English than learning.

Edward Mack, Public Schools and British Opinion, p. 30.

In Western thought the concept of character signifying the engraving of distinctive features on an object, such as the minting of a coin, originated with the Greeks and was given deeper significance by the Christian Church. The Aristotelian school and Theophrastus in Moral Character show a predilection for a distinct portrayal of various types of human nature. Theophrastus, who succeeded his master Aristotle as director of the Lyceum circa 321 B.C., continued the tradition of categorization of types stressing similarities. His supposed student, Menander, a pioneer of the New Comedy, more fully developed by Plautus and Terence, used character types in literature.¹ Character as set forth by Theophrastus, and elaborated in the New Comedy, represents the first time that the word was applied to human beings. Character in this context, consistent with ancient usage, referred to a particular configuration of traits, permanent rather than mutable qualities in a personality; thus, there may be many kinds of character. A person of no character, by contrast, was one whose qualities have no distinctive

¹Warren D. Anderson, Theophrastus: The Character Sketches (Kent State University Press, 1970), p. xii.

stamp.² In the medieval Church the notion of character came into frequent use. From the time of Saint Augustine, character was applied as a technical expression to the spiritual signs which, according to a belief of the Church, were indelibly impressed upon the soul after baptism, confirmation, and ordination.

Literary conventions about character, widely disseminated throughout the literature of the Middle Ages and early Renaissance, evolved a distinct English strain whose chief attributes were the inclusion of types from a wide variety of social backgrounds and a sense of moral earnestness. Such a tradition, powerfully modified by medieval insistence on social stratification, doubtless helped to shape the figures who made their pilgrimage toward Canterbury in Chaucer's Prologue. Not until the late sixteenth century were Theophrastus's types available to the reading public. The real impetus came with Isaac Casaubon's published Greek text together with Latin translations, an elaborate commentary, and a Prolegomena discussing literary connections. Its effect on English writers soon became apparent.³ The unquestioned emergence of the character as a distinctive and acknowledged literary genre came in 1608 with the publication of Joseph Hall's (1574-1656) Characters of Virtues and Vices. This work, modeled on Theophrastus, was intended, as befitted a Churchman and eventual bishop, to serve in shaping character. While Joseph Hall, like Ben

²Rudolf Eucken, "Character," Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. III, ed. James Hastings (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928), pp. 364-65.

³Ibid., p. xxii.

Jonson in Every Man Out Of His Humour, had sought to impart moral teaching, other authors devoted less attention to the praise of moral excellence.⁴ They were fascinated by depictions of rascality and wit. All of these writers assumed the existence and validity of humor psychology, a technique to explain human attitudes, moods, and behavior based on various bodily fluids and dating back to ancient times. Other Englishmen writing on this subject included Nicholas Breton, Characters upon Essays Moral and Divine, 1615, and Bishop John Earle's Microcosmographie, 1628, which depicted over fifty characters.⁵ Also relevant though less edifying were the contributions of Sir Thomas Overbury and John Webster to the genre.

The character tradition enjoyed another revival in the late seventeenth century sparked largely by Jean de la Bruyère in Les Caractères de théophraste, avec les caractères ou les mœurs de ce siècle, 1687. While the English writers had painted the rich variety of street and farm, study and tavern, La Bruyère analyzed members of the beau monde. Moreover, the character now became subordinate, part of a widely ranging essay on such topics as the city or society; only incidental attention was given to representative types.⁶ The French example rekindled English interest. John Addison in 1699 went to France and studied French language and literature. His reading surely

⁴Ibid., p. xxiii.

⁵C.N. Greenough, A Bibliography of the Theophrastian Character in English (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947).

⁶Anderson, Theophrastus, p. xxv.

included La Bruyère's Caractères, already a celebrated work. A decade later Addison and Richard Steele took La Bruyère as the pattern for their contributions to the Tatler and Spectator. Eustace Budgell, Addison's cousin and protégé, published in 1714 a translation of Theophrastus based on La Bruyère's French version rather than the Greek original. In that they were moralists Addison and Steele resembled their model. Freed from the early seventeenth century obsession with wit, they kept their attention fixed on human nature; yet in continuance of a vigorous native English tradition which had a broader focus than the beau monde and which emphasized moral earnestness. They wrote always as Englishmen commenting on English ways.⁷ As late as 1824 Francis Howell published The Character of Theophrastus which was illustrated by physiognomical sketches. These were, said Howell in his preface, "the products of long-continued observations of faces and tempers." Howell was a late representative of the well established physiognomic tradition which was occasionally fused with the tradition of character writing.⁸ Character writing as a part of the structure of literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries continued and flourished, though in other forms, in particular by contributing significantly to the richness of the novel in England. With the blurring of class distinctions and erosion of communal social life, the character sketch, as a self-sufficient form, became increasingly obsolete.⁹

⁷Ibid., p. xxvi.

⁸Ibid., pp. xii-xiii.

⁹Ibid., p. xxix.

Although character as a literary genre may have declined by the nineteenth century, as a moral concept its force continued unabated. John Henry Newman said a man need not make up his mind (and thus form a defined character) until he was thirty; making up one's mind, Thomas Mozley observed, was one of the popular ideas of that epoch, the 1830s. Mozley said that among "the ordinary religious books Foster's essays on Decision of Character was then upon every table and no youth of the least promise could go anywhere without being set upon by good ladies urging him, instantly, to select one grand object and to stick to it through life whatever the difficulties."¹⁰ Another observer of Oxford during that era recalled, in retrospect, that many individuals then were more distinctive than was common by the twentieth century.

At that time nature, after constructing an oddity, was wont to break the mould; and her more roguish experiments stood exceptional, numerous, distinct, and sharply defined. Nowadays, at Oxford, as elsewhere, men seem to me to be turned out by machine; they think the same thoughts, wear the same dress, talk the same shop, in Parliament, or Bar, or Mess, or Common Room.¹¹

Be it in a literary genre or in reminiscences, the idea of character, dating back to ancient Greece, has exerted a distinct influence on the English mind.

Like character, notions about moral education may be traced to the classical Greeks. They expressed their ideal of a complete and

¹⁰Thomas Mozley, Reminiscences: Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1882), Vol. I, p. 50.

¹¹William Tuckwell, Reminiscences of Oxford (London: Cassells, 1901), p. 257.

moral education by the term "paideia," a system of training in Greek and Hellenistic cultures that included such subjects as gymnastics, grammar, rhetoric, music, mathematics, geography, natural history and philosophy. Plato elaborated on this theme in his discussion of the education appropriate for philosophers in The Republic. By the early Christian era the Greek paideia, called humanitas, served as a model for Christian institutions of higher learning, such as the Christian school of Alexandria in Egypt, which offered theology as the highest and culminating science of their curriculum.¹² Other origins for nineteenth century English moral education date to the Renaissance and Reformation, particularly Castiglione's Book of the Courtier, and Protestants' emphasis on the primacy of individual conscience.

Before defining moral education more specifically in the English context, let me confess that I have had the same problem as John Stuart Mill, who in his autobiography said: "In my education as in that of everyone, the moral influences which are so much more important than all the other are also the most complicated and the most difficult to specify with any approach to completeness."¹³ Perhaps the English, even more than any other national group, have had a long-standing concern with moral education. Edward Mack, for example, has commented: "From the very beginning character has seemed on the whole more impor-

¹²Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. VII, 1974 edition, p. 677.

¹³J.S. Mill, Autobiography (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1875), p. 38.

tant to the English than learning."¹⁴ By moral education Mack meant the education of the will in contrast to education of the intellect.¹⁵ In assessing moral education in the first half of the nineteenth century, J.S. Mill recognized authority as a central issue and the predominance of two men, Bentham and Coleridge, to clarify it. Writing in 1840, Mill commented on the needs of the times:

to call forth two sorts of men--the one demanding the extinction of the institutions and creeds which had hitherto existed; the other that they may be made a reality: the one pressing the new doctrines to their utmost consequences; the other reasserting the best meaning and purposes of old. The first type attained its greatest height in Bentham; the last in Coleridge.¹⁶

Two years earlier, soon after the deaths of Bentham and Coleridge, Mill described these two writers as "the two great seminal minds of England in their ages" and he claimed that "there is hardly to be found in

¹⁴Edward Mack, Public Schools, p. 30.

¹⁵Indeed if we could pause for a moment and update the notion of moral education we would see that in the English world it is a concern of long standing. For example, around the turn of the century, in 1897, an organization was set up to train the young of all denominations in what was called Moral Education League. This league existed from 1897 to 1915 and even issued a code in 1906 by Augustine Birrell. (F.J. Gould, "Moral Education League," Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VIII, p. 832.) In 1908 a debate took place in Commons between G.P. Gooch and William Collins on moral instruction. In the 1920s a contributor to the Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics wrote "It is almost universally agreed that the supreme object of education is the formation of character and this agreement is due to the common conviction that morality is the common bond of society without which social harmony and happiness are impossible." (Gustave Spiller, "Moral Education," Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VIII, p. 217.)

¹⁶J.S. Mill, "Coleridge," London and Westminster Review, March 1840, reprinted in Dissertations and Discussions, Vol. I, 1867 ed., p. 436.

England an individual of any importance who did not learn to think from one of these two."¹⁷

No discussion concerning morality, curriculum, the place of the Church in the universities, or any other issue will come into clear focus without examining fundamental assumptions about human nature and sources of authority for moral and ethical validation and conviction. As George Kitson Clark points out, all educational systems must inculcate a morality, even if it is only what purports to be a permissive morality. All moralities are founded on dogma, even if it is agnosticism.¹⁸ Of course who chooses this dogma is a crucial issue. In England, until the early nineteenth century, the Anglican Church's right to make the choice had been unchallenged. In the midst of the industrial revolution, many known values and institutions were reexamined, overturned, or attacked. Living in such a society--always restless and impatient, always demanding and unstable, without a center and without a core of common values--required leaders who grasped the magnitude of the problems before them and who would be able to give the turbulent society a proper sense of its character and its mission.¹⁹

In the opening years of the nineteenth century there were two contending and mutually contradictory schools of thought on the subject

¹⁷J.S. Mill, "Bentham," London and Westminster Review, August 1838, reprinted in Dissertations and Discussions, Vol. I, 1867 ed., pp. 330-31.

¹⁸George Kitson Clark, Churchmen and the Condition of England 1832-1885 (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1973), p. 139.

¹⁹Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education, p. 154.

of character formation, the associationists and the intuitionists. Apparent to John Henry Newman, he expressed this dichotomy with its implications for moral education in the following terms:

As the myths of controversy lift, the two real spiritual antagonists came into view and are discerned to be those of catholicism and rationalism. All the other intermediaries . . . are things of straw. These two contend not for names or words or half-views but for elementary notions and distinctive moral characters.²⁰

This split underlay the differences between Bentham and Coleridge. The former school, founded by John Locke and David Hartley attributed all knowledge to sensation. Mental life for these associationists was built up of a series of sequences or trains of thought which came about by accident or by the design of an educator. By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century the utilitarians had subsumed associationism into their thinking.

The Mills, James and John Stuart, as representative utilitarians clearly reflect associational psychology both in theory and in practice. James Mill, in his article "Education," sets forth goals for individual characters. He claims education is addressed to the mind not to the body--its end is happiness, that is, first of the person being educated and next of others. He claims, "It is education wholly which constitutes the remarkable difference between the Turk and the Englishman and even the still more remarkable difference between the

²⁰J.H. Newman, "State of Religious Parties," British Critic, April 1834, Vol. XXV, p. 419.

most cultivated European and the wildest savage."²¹ In his Autobiography, J.S. Mill says that his father's fundamental doctrine is the formation of all human character by circumstances, through the universal "Principle of Association," and the consequent unlimited possibility of improving the moral and intellectual condition of mankind by education. Of all his doctrines, none is more important or needs be more insisted on than this, according to J.S. Mill.²² For James Mill, "l'éducation peut tout," a phrase he borrowed from Helvetius.²³ Thus with James Mill we find a classic statement of the associationists' ideas of education and formation of character.

In order to gain a more definite notion of how James Mill attempts to foster character we should examine the education which he provided for his own son--and his son's response to it. While James Mill's article on education does not specify any particular method to accomplish the formation of character, since he spoke in generalizations, his son, John Stuart Mill, mentions several particular examples in his Autobiography. First among these is the use of logic as a shaper of character.

I am persuaded that nothing in modern education tends so much, when properly used, to form exact thinkers, who attach a precise meaning to words and propositions, and are not imposed on by vague, loose, or ambiguous terms. The boastful influence

²¹James Mill, "Education," reprinted in Francis A. Cavenagh, James and John Stuart Mill on Education (Cambridge: University Press, 1931), p. 55.

²²J.S. Mill, Autobiography, 1873, p. 61.

²³De l'Homme, de ses Facultes intellectuelles et de son Education, London, 1776.

of mathematical studies is nothing to it, for in mathematical processes none of the real difficulties of correct ratiocination occur.²⁴

J.S. Mill also mentions examples from books which his father had given him as a child. "He was fond of putting into my hand books which exhibited men of energy and resource in unusual circumstances struggling against difficulties and overcoming them."²⁵ Not only did James Mill give his son adventure stories, but of course he also gave him the Greek and Roman classics. John Stuart was encouraged to look to Greek philosophers as exemplars of morality. Socrates, in particular, was one of these models of excellence. He presumably embodied such virtues as justice, temperance, veracity, perseverance, stoicism and, especially, philanthropy. John commented on the methods used by his father: "These and other moralities he conveyed in brief sentences uttered as occasion arose of grand exhortation or stern reprobation and contempt."²⁶ James Mill valued things according to their intrinsic usefulness, and exhorted his son to lead a "life of exertion in contradistinction to one of self-indulgent ease and sloth."²⁷

James Mill's education of his son set a firm character in him and also developed a concern for the concept of character. Both in his

²⁴Mill, Autobiography, p. 19.

²⁵Ibid., p. 8. J.S. Mill mentions some specific books of this character building genre which his father gave him. They include Beaver's African Memoranda, Collin's Account of the First Settlement of New South Wales, and a collection of Hawkesworth of Voyages Round the World beginning with Drake and ending with Cook and Bougainville.

²⁶Ibid., p. 47.

²⁷Ibid.

Autobiography and in his System of Logic, J.S. Mill discussed character and its formation. In so doing, Mill became an outspoken opponent of the rival intuitionist position.

In particular, I have long felt that the prevailing tendency to regard all the marked distinctions of character as innate, and in the main indelible . . . is one of the chief hindrances to the rational treatment of great social questions, and one of the greatest stumbling blocks to human improvement.²⁸

In distinguishing between the intuitionists and associationists concerning formation of character, Mill said that the difference was "full of practical consequences, and lies at the foundation of all the greatest differences of practical opinion in an age of progress."²⁹ He thought that the "practical reformer" (utilitarians, of course) must expose how conditions are shaped by inherited prejudices. Mill had harsh words for the intuitionists.

There is, therefore, a natural hostility between [utilitarians] and a philosophy which discourages the explanation of feelings and moral facts by circumstances and associations, and prefers to treat them as ultimate elements of human nature . . . and presumes favorite doctrines as intuitive truths and deems intuition to be the voice of Nature and of God, speaking with an authority higher than that of our reason.³⁰

²⁸J.S. Mill, Autobiography, p. 274. He went on to elaborate on the above statement, offering an explanation for what he regarded as the erroneous intuitionist position.

This tendency has its source in the intuitional metaphysics which characterized the reaction of the nineteenth century against the eighteenth, and it is a tendency so agreeable to human indolence as well as to conservative interests generally, that unless attacked at the very root, it is sure to be carried to even a greater length than is really justified by the more moderate forms of the intuitional philosophy. (Ibid., p. 274)

²⁹Ibid., p. 273.

³⁰Ibid.

Not only did J.S. Mill grapple with one dichotomy, associationists vs. intuitionists, he also pondered the ancient question of human necessity and freedom. Critics of associationists often accused them of constructing a mechanistic system with little room for individual initiative or freedom, much in the same way contemporary behaviorists are criticized by Rogerians. Mill was anxious about this dilemma.

I saw that though our character is formed by circumstances our own desires can do much to shape those circumstances; and that what is really inspiriting and ennobling in the doctrine of freewill, is the conviction that we have real power over the formation of our own character; that our will, by influencing some of our circumstances can modify our future habits or capabilities of willing.³¹

By distinguishing between the "doctrine of circumstances" and fatalism, Mill preserves some room for independent acts of human will and avoids lifeless mechanism. He went on to say, in System of Logic, that man has, to a certain extent, a power to alter his character. He agreed that advocates of free will have preserved some truth since man can elect to be determined by one cause rather than by another.³²

Many contemporaries of the Mills regarded James Mill's system of associationist learning as particularly dry and lifeless. However, John Stuart Mill wanted to defend the idea that at least some of the utilitarians were men of real flesh and blood. So, he mentioned Roebuck, a utilitarian leader, "whose instincts were those of action and struggle." He was different from the vulgar notion of a

³¹Ibid., p. 169.

³²J.S. Mill, System of Logic, Book VI (London: J.W. Parker, 1843), pp. 152.

Benthamite. He was a lover of poetry and of most fine art. He took great pleasure in music, in dramatic performances, especially painting, but he could never be made to see that these things had any value as aids in the formation of character. John Stuart Mill, by contrast, had a notion of the value of these things in shaping character. In particular, he described in great detail how much Wordsworth's poetry meant to him during his own time of depression.³³ During his twenties, Mill had some kind of nervous breakdown during which he felt despondent and unhappy. Many observers relate this problem to his father's educational system which placed too little emphasis on the emotions.

The idea of moral character clearly was of great importance to John Stuart Mill. In fact, in the summer of 1822 he wrote in his Autobiography that he composed his first argumentative essay on this subject. He said: "I remember very little about it except that it was an attack on what I regarded as the aristocratic prejudice that the rich were, or were likely to be, superior in moral qualities to the poor."³⁴

In opposing the ideas of innate character distinctions as professed by the intuitionists, J.S. Mill spoke both for the Benthamites and for himself. However, he did not cry like a voice in the wilderness; he fit into the long tradition of concern with character. For example, his distinction between necessity and free will resembled Kant's division between physical and moral character. Like Kant, Mill

³³J.S. Mill, Autobiography, p. 150.

³⁴Ibid., p. 71.

was concerned with freedom of the will and with the individual's ability to shape his own character. Mill clearly could rise above a simplistic appeal to the pleasure pain principle or a chain of mechanical causation. He had a vision of an heroic character which required great strength of will.

The heroic essentially consists in being ready, for a worthy object, to do and to suffer, but especially to do, what is painful or disagreeable: and whoever does not early learn to be capable of this, will never be a great character.³⁵

As a kind of additional commentary, Mill described what he perceived as an urgent need for heroic character in his day.

There has crept over the refined classes, over the whole class of gentlemen in England, a moral effeminacy, an inaptitude for every kind of struggle. . . . But heroism is an active, not a passive quality; and when it is necessary not to bear pain but to seek it, little needs be expected from the men of the present day. . . .³⁶

Thus in utter defiance of the logic of the pleasure principle Mill could argue, for the sake of social good, that it was necessary not merely to bear pain but to seek it.

As evidenced by Mill's appeal to heroic ideals, utilitarians, at least on occasion, could rise to stirring heights and urge moral imperatives. Nevertheless, utilitarians usually kept to a more restrained system of morality. Heirs of the enlightenment, believing that human nature resembles Locke's tabula rasa on which associations could shape a thoroughly rational being, they saw little need to look

³⁵J.S. Mill, "Civilization," Westminster Review, April 1836, reprinted in Dissertations and Discussions, Vol. I, p. 180.

³⁶Ibid., pp. 180-81.

beyond the empirical world of mechanical cause and effect. Their opponents regard human nature as inherently flawed and in need of being reintegrated by coming into communion with the organic universe and God. Without a recognition of these two fundamentally opposed views of authority and the human condition, a polarity with roots in western civilization going back to the dichotomy between Aristotelian and Platonic philosophy, or secular and Christian standards, the specific controversies we will examine at the universities during the first half of the nineteenth century will never appear in their true context.

Classic representatives of utilitarian morality include Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham, James Mill, John Stuart Mill, and Bishop Paley. As a group the utilitarians argued that a man best served the common good by pursuing his own real interest, as distinguished from his apparent, good. Thus, enlightened self-interest in the individual tended to the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Each of the utilitarians emphasized individualism and rationalism. Adam Smith, for example, in The Wealth of Nations, based on an unheroic estimate of human nature, regarded self-interest as the mainspring of human behavior and competition as a necessary stimulus to exertion. In keeping with his individualist standpoint, Adam Smith, of course, opposed state compulsion in most fields as contrary to "natural liberty."³⁷

Virtue is that which maximizes pleasure and minimizes pain which become identified respectively with good and evil. The classic Benthamites attempt to weigh pleasure and pain and estimate their quan-

³⁷J.W. Adamson, English Education 1789-1902, p. 4.

titative values. They call this the "felicific calculus." In sharp contrast to their adversaries who emphasize the will, the utilitarians claim that actions count above intentions and that motive is a will-of-the-wisp. In maintaining this belief they almost correspond to contemporary behaviorialists. For the utilitarians vice is simply a miscalculation of chances. It is a false moral arithmetic. Evil is choosing lesser short-term good rather than long-term greater good; this problem results from erroneous education.³⁸

Utilitarian morality rested on assumptions about authority, with attendant expectations, no less than intuitionists and Christian systems. As a group, Benthamites wanted secular education integrated with political economy rather than with religion. They posited the existence of a natural order which incorporated implicit moral assumptions developed in what Paley and others called Natural Theology. They assumed individuals had a duty to conform to such laws. Yet, they asserted the claims of rationality against those of faith in relating to the natural order. Morality consisted in the application of the pleasure principle to society as a whole--the greatest happiness for the greatest number. Education, by increasing rationality, would promote the pursuit of enlightened self-interest, which may differ from the misrepresentations often prevailing among the uneducated. Higher education, utilitarians assumed, would be restricted to the elite. Since utilitarians assumed a concordance between the interests of all the people, the leaders were expected, by duty, to derive pleasure from

³⁸Basil Willey, Nineteenth Century Studies, p. 139.

the maximalization of general happiness; the masses promote the general good through the pursuit of individual self-interest.

Bentham, in his work Denotology, sets forth his notion of moral education. For him the grand positives are benevolence and veracity and a passion for the relief of man's estate. Bentham thinks that he has found the key to all moral truth. He would ask the question of any given institution, custom, code, etc., whether it produces human happiness. James Mill, in his article on "Education," says that the end purpose of education is happiness. However, this stated goal is seriously damaged by his own son's admission that:

it has not been determined wherein happiness consists. Ask yourself whether you are happy and you cease to be so. The only chance is to treat not happiness but some end external to it as the purpose of life.³⁹

Happiness is a byproduct not an end product of education.

James Mill has a four-point scheme for moral education. The first is domestic. This involved early home training; associate good ends with good means. The second point was technical education. This would be specialized for each class in society. There would be an attempt to cultivate temperance and benevolence in all classes. His third point is social. Society is the instructor. By this he means peer pressure, the seeking of favorable regard of mankind. The fourth and last point is political education. In this a man would develop a

³⁹J.S. Mill, Autobiography, p. 82.

concern for the greatest good of all men.⁴⁰

In 1843, John Stuart Mill set forth what he called "ethology," meaning the science of the formation of character. He hoped to deduce generalizations for empirical laws concerning formation of character. He claims that while mankind does not have one universal character, there exist, nevertheless, universal laws for the formation of character.⁴¹ In other words, Mill tried to apply some of the principles and practices of the physical sciences to human nature. He hoped to determine the modes by which the laws of human nature could be ascertained, either experimentally or by observation. He defined ethology as "the science which corresponds to the art of education in the widest sense of the term."⁴² Ethology affirmed tendencies not facts. In setting forth his own notion of morality, Mill also took note of Christian morality, although he himself wanted nothing to do with Christianity. Nevertheless, he admitted that,

⁴⁰James Mill, "Education," Encyclopedia Britannica, 1818; reprinted in Francis A. Cavenagh, James and John Stuart Mill on Education, pp. 59-60. J.S. Mill comments on his father's personal morality in his Autobiography.

In ethics, his moral feelings were energetic and rigid on all points which he deemed important to human well being, while he was supremely indifferent in opinion [though his indifference did not show itself in personal conduct] to all those doctrines of the common morality, which he thought had no foundation but in asceticism and priestcraft. He looked forward, for example, to a considerable increase of freedom in the relations between the sexes . . . without precisely defining those conditions. . . . His theory was connected with no sensuality. (J.S. Mill, Autobiography, p. 107)

⁴¹J.S. Mill, System of Logic, Book VI, p. 544.

⁴²Ibid., p. 543.

Christianity [in contrast to other religions or philosophies], on the contrary, influences the conduct by shaping the character itself: it aims at so elevating and purifying the desires that there shall be no hindrance in the fulfillment of our duties when recognized; but of what our duties are, at least in regard to outward acts, it says very little but what the moralists in general have said.⁴³

Not all utilitarians eschewed Christianity. Bishop William Paley (1743-1805) stands as a transitional figure between the utilitarians and the Christians. Indeed, Paley's position is often referred to as theological utilitarianism. A graduate of Christ College, Cambridge, in 1759, he studied mathematics and became a senior wrangler. After becoming a fellow of Christ's, Paley taught for nine years at Cambridge. He wrote two books which became texts for moral education in Oxford and Cambridge: The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy, 1785, and A View of the Evidences of Christianity and Natural Theology: Attributes of the Deity, Collected from Appearances of Nature.⁴⁴ The bulk of the Principles is a detailed discussion of our duties to others, to ourselves, and to God. The wide acclaim accorded to Paley's work is said to have stirred Bentham to bring out his own version of the utilitarian doctrine in Introduction

⁴³J.S. Mill, "Professor Sedgwick's Discourse on the Studies of the University of Cambridge," London Review, April 1835, reprinted in Dissertations and Discussions, Vol. I, p. 145.

⁴⁴Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy is a handbook on the duties and obligation of civil life rather than a philosophical treatise. Paley believed that no special faculty is required to enable us to have moral knowledge. Thus he dismissed the views of those who have argued that morality requires either a moral sense, or an intuitive perception of right and wrong, or any other innate or instinctive capacity. All that is required for the foundation of morality is that each man have the wit to see that certain actions are beneficial to himself.

to the Principles of Morals and Legislation, 1789. Two of his books, Principles and Natural Theology, deal with "evidences."⁴⁵ They both are lawyer-like statements of a case. A View of the Evidences of Christianity demonstrates what can be said of Christian belief by an appeal to the behavior of the earliest Christians. The credibility of Christian Revelation hangs on whether its miracles are genuine, since they would be certifications of revelation. The witnesses of these miracles held steadfast to their accounts even at the risk of their discomfort, happiness and even life, which is therefore serious presumptive evidence of their genuineness. Although some divines wrestled with subtleties of theology and philosophy, Paley was not one to be snared in such cobwebs. In this opening sentence he defined, "Moral Philosophy, Morality, Ethics, Casuistry, Natural Law, mean all the same thing; namely, that science which teaches men their duty and the reasons of it."⁴⁶

In Natural Theology he argues that where there is mechanism, instrumentality, or contrivance--where something exists for a purpose--there must have been an intelligence who designed and made the machine. He constructs an analogy from the ordered world of nature to the watch or clock maker. He also refers to anatomy of the human body--the brilliance of design of the eye, for example, which must have required

⁴⁵As we shall see in later sections of this thesis, the search for evidence to support the validity of Christianity was one of the preoccupations of scholars of the era.

⁴⁶Paley, Moral Philosophy, annotated by Richard Whately, p. 11.

a maker.⁴⁷ Paley claimed it is God's will for men to be happy in this life and in the next. Virtue is doing good to mankind in obedience to the will of God and for the sake of everlasting happiness. These are the grounds for moral obligation. Such obligation follows from the command of a superior and is made persuasive by the prospect of a reward. Paley, much like any other utilitarian, claimed men should carry out those actions which promote general happiness and avoid those that diminish it.⁴⁸ While in content Paley's ideas seem more utilitarian than Christian, nevertheless, his works became a central part of the curriculum at both of the universities, particularly at Cambridge.⁴⁹

⁴⁷Elmer Sprague, Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Vol. VI, pp. 19-20. Like the search for evidences, argument by analogy was characteristic of Paley's contemporaries such as Bishop Butler.

⁴⁸By the nineteenth century, Paley was increasingly criticized, even by those who found much merit in his basic purpose. Richard Whately, for example, in annotating Moral Philosophy, emphasized motives to a greater extent than had Paley. He said that it was not enough to be satisfied with external acts and with not violating laws. Whately took issue with Paley when he denied the existence of Moral Sense Faculties, which as an associationist/utilitarian he was bound to do. Paley borrowed some of his ideas from Tucker's Light of Nature which Whately dismissed as "being substantially what was maintained by the infidel Hobbes in his once-celebrated work The Leviathan." William Paley, Moral Philosophy, annotated by Richard Whately, p. 27.

⁴⁹The passion for evidences by 1790 manifested itself by the establishment of the Hulsian lectures and awards. The Reverend John Hulse, B.A. of Elivaster Hall, and sometime of St. Johns College, Cambridge, bequeathed to the University certain estates to pay specific portions of rents for two purposes:

1. To a university person, under the degree of M.A. who composes the best dissertation on Evidences in general or on the Prophecies or Miracles or any other direct or collateral proofs of Christianity. The Dissertation was to be printed by the author out of the sum payable.

2. To a clergyman of the University, under degree of M.A., chosen to preach twenty sermons in St. Mary's Church to show evidence for revealed religion in the most convincing and persuasive manner.

Henry Gunning, Reminiscences of Cambridge, pp. 201-03.

In contrast to the utilitarians, even a theological one like Paley, there is another, quite different tradition which we will call the Coleridgean. This group, to some extent, espouses moral sense, intuition, and will. These men often define their own position in contradistinction to the Benthamites. In spite of the differences between such men as the Scottish Common Sense philosophers, Bishop Butler, S.T. Coleridge, T. Carlyle, T. Arnold and A. Sedgwick, Coleridgeans have at least four points in common with each other. First, all of them revolted against the "felicific calculus." Second, they all emphasize the training of the will: that is, the ability of an individual to determine morality and his own behavior. Third, they see the authority for morality as determined by a higher power or code but interpreted and acted upon by the individual out of a sense of duty. Fourth, most emphasize bold action rather than the cerebral calculations of self-interest. The Scottish School of Common Sense, founded by Dr. Thomas Reid (1710-1792), held that we apprehend the external world by immediate intuition or "original feelings." Some other representatives of this school included Dugald Stewart, Thomas Brown, and Sir William Hamilton.⁵⁰ In the early nineteenth century these

⁵⁰Francis A. Cavanagh, James and John Stuart Mill on Education, p. xvi. Common Sense endorsed the ability of each person to work out his destiny, but to counteract the political and social anarchy that many feared. It prescribed a system of morality in which the "conscience" dominated all mental and moral judgments, if he would but listen to the small steady voice of internal virtue. The Common Sense school of thought paid homage to the resources within each human conscience for making virtuous judgments, but it also emphasized that the conscience had to be cultivated and especially equipped for its task since it was not naturally good and since it had constantly to

intuitionist adherents recognized the need for a new moral authority to speak to emergent democratic values.⁵¹

Already in the eighteenth century Bishop Butler anticipated the intuitionist's school of moral education. He claimed that there is no problem identifying correct moral behavior. He defined it as that which all ages and all countries have made a profession of in public. It was that way which every man you meet wants to appear. It was that which the primary and fundamental laws of all civil constitutions over the face of the earth make it their business and endeavor to enforce, namely, the practice of justice, veracity, and regard to the common good.⁵² John Stuart Mill called Butler "the Oracle of the Moral Sense School."

Identifying the locus of authority, evidently a problem for the intuitionists, as it is for all moral educators, dates back at least to issues raised in the sixteenth century. The Protestants' insistence on individual conviction in purely religious matters led to a rejection of external authority as a guarantor of religious truth. As a result of this, the "spectre of relativism" inevitably came to haunt the proponents of the moral sense. Thus, it was not surprising that the idea of a moral sense was frequently discussed by seventeenth and eighteenth

fight the inroads of vice and immorality. Common Sense supported a multitude of moral assertions, speaking generally to a person's duties and obligations rather than freedom and rights.

⁵¹Katharine Kish Sklar, Catharine Beecher (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), p. 81.

⁵²J.S. Mill, Dissertations and Discussions, p. 130.

century thinkers including Locke, Hobbs, Hume, Hutchinson and Anthony Ashley Cooper, the third Earl of Shaftsbury. Proponents of Moral Sense contributed the idea that morality will conform with the values of society and that it must be judged by general rules appropriate to that society. One of these rules was the injunction to act for the greatest good of the greatest number. They also insisted that feeling has a place in morals.⁵³ Among the eighteenth century ethical idealists, Richard Price and Immanuel Kant opposed the notion of a faculty of moral sense as such and sought in reason the ultimate moral authority. Adam Smith inaugurated the career of social ethics. He spoke of the "instinct" of natural sympathy in his 1759 publication, Theory of Moral Sentiments. These thinkers, of course, were raising the question of the center or source of moral authority. Many of them were attempting to change the notion of moral sense from rational and individualistic centeredness to social consciousness, in other words, transfer moral authority from self to society.⁵⁴

Contemporaneously with the intellectual explorations of associationists and intuitionists in Great Britain, Immanuel Kant in Königsberg contributed to the definition of character and moral educa-

⁵³Elmer Sprague, "Moral Sense," Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Vol. V, pp. 385-87.

⁵⁴Charles Gray Shaw, "Moral Sense," Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VIII, p. 836. Of course, this question of the proper locus of moral authority is a very old one. Just to mention one example, from the classics, in Antigone, the heroine has a personal notion of a higher morality and law than the social law defined by Creon in Thebes. This whole drama revolves around the moral struggle to define the proper source of moral authority.

tion. His lucubrations, as we shall see, had a particular influence on English thought, both because he expressed what came to be widely-shared views in late eighteenth century Europe, and even more directly through "Germanizers" in England such as Coleridge and Carlyle.

Kant raises many issues and demonstrates the importance commonly attached to ideas about formation of character. He distinguishes between moral character and physical character. Moral character alone, he maintains, is character in the proper sense. It is not divisible into particular kinds, but must always remain a single entity. Physical character, by contrast, embraces man's natural disposition and temperament, and represents merely what nature has made of him. Moral character represents what he has made of himself.⁵⁵ Kant sees moral character as that property of the will by which the individual binds himself to certain principles unchangeably laid down for himself by his own reason. Regardless of whether one refers to inherited character, or to a character acquired by adaptation, habit, or training, it remains stable according to Kant. This stability was first regarded as a gift of nature and subsequently in modern times as a product of individual self-activity. Since Greek times the signification of the term has been transferred from the external to the internal and from necessity to freedom. According to Kant, men must acquire character, it is not a gift of nature. However, training, examples, and instruction cannot accomplish the task of creating a solid character. Rather, Kant believes that there is "an explosion following all at once upon

⁵⁵Euchen, "Character," Encyclopedia of Philosophy, p. 364.

the satiety of the wavering condition of instinct." In other words, character cannot be built up piecemeal. Described in these terms the process of character formation resembles a religious experience, a conversion.

To have made truthfulness to one's self and to others one's highest maxim, is a man's sole proof of the consciousness of having a character; and since this is the minimum which can be demanded of a rational man, but . . . the maximum of inner worth [of human dignity], he must, in order to be a man of principle [to have a definite character], be capable of the most common human reason, and hence superior to the greatest talent, in point of dignity.⁵⁶

Morality, according to Kant, means self-determination in the light of an absolutely unchanging principle. He believes that moral idealism is an intrinsic goal of nearly all teaching.⁵⁷ Kant claims that moral culture must be based on maxims not on discipline. Everything would be lost, he warns, if one attempts to base it upon examples, threats, and punishments. He thinks discipline would leave habits only and these would fade away with years. Maxims, on the other hand, must spring from man himself.⁵⁸

In the second part of Kant's Critique of Practical Reason, he sets forth a methodology of moral instruction. He is concerned with how ethical laws can be set into the experience of the individual. He

⁵⁶Immanuel Kant, Anthropology, cited in Kant, Educational Theory of Immanuel Kant, trans. and ed. Edward L. Buchner (Philadelphia and London: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1904), pp. 268, 269.

⁵⁷Kant, Educational Theory, p. 27. It must be noted that most of Kant's essay on moral education seems more appropriate for children than for young adults in universities.

⁵⁸Ibid.

connects critical philosophy with pedagogical interests and distinguishes morality from legality. The will must motivate action; thus morality is not mere external compliance with a rule. It is an internalized maxim or value. Kant defines a value as "the objective necessary obedience to law as a duty which must be conceived of as the real motive."⁵⁹ He defines "conscience" as "the subject principle of a responsibility for one's deeds before God, which has to be fulfilled."⁶⁰ Kant, On Radical Evil, said "The moral culture of man begins not with the improvement of his morals but with the transformation of his mode of thought and with the founding of a character."⁶¹ Since virtue is not innate, it must be taught, the character must be formed by moral education. Kant stresses duty as the paramount lesson. Duty would produce the greatest happiness and goodness for the individual and for society. Probably on no other single point would an idea of Kant be so resoundingly echoed by so many nineteenth century Englishmen.

The formation of character implies a quest by man to invest his humanity with a certain independence of the external and a certain stability within. This endeavor found classical expression in Stoicism. Those espousing the Stoic ideal as well as those who hope to build character believe that man is no mere link in a chain of natural causa-

⁵⁹Shaw, "Moral Sense," Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, p. 271.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 289.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 277.

tion. Rather he is a being endowed with spontaneous energy, and therefore free, at least to some extent, to determine his own acts. The belief in the ability to form character implies a certain optimism about human nature and an individual's ability to determine his own life. Men living in an age devoid of hope or confidence in itself would have little ability or inclination to form character.⁶²

While Kant defines character and contributes ideas to moral educators throughout Europe, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, along with a number of disciples, became the most seminal thinker among Englishmen who opposed utilitarianism. He defines morality both negatively and positively: negatively by criticizing the utilitarian system, and positively by constructing his own system based on will. His postulates of moral life, Kantian in conception, are God, the freedom of the Will, the authority of conscience, the need for a Will harmonized with the intuition of Reason, the Immortality of the Soul, and the fact of Original Sin.⁶³ Coleridge claims the utilitarian criterion is unstable, varying according to the foresight of the individual making the calculation. He insists that our actions must be performed from faith as their center, not from self-love or even universal benevolence.⁶⁴

⁶²Euchen, "Character," p. 365.

⁶³Basil Willey, Nineteenth Century Studies, p. 34.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 37. Coleridge (1772-1834) entered Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1791 and gained in his first year Browne's gold medal for a Greek ode. In 1794 he met the poet Robert Southey. Interestingly, both Coleridge and Southey, on the same day married two sisters. Although he had been a Unitarian, after 1800 following a year's sojourn

Coleridge, like Kant, looks beyond the empirical world for his ultimate authority and source of truth. He specifically takes issue with utilitarian morality. In writing Aids to Reflection, he announces his purpose, "to establish the distinct characters of prudence, morality, and religion . . . yet . . . moral goodness is other and more than prudence on the principle of expediency; and religion more and higher

in Germany, Coleridge became a Christian. While this trip to Germany in 1799 made a major impact on his life, as well as an impression on England because of Coleridge's dissemination of German philosophy, the direct connection with higher education is more difficult to demonstrate.

He visited Göttingen for several months, motivated by a variety of reasons according to his letters. He noted the low cost of living, "I can live for fifteen shillings a week." He planned to stay at the University three months in order to learn German better and to prepare a literary work. "[B]y three months' residence at Göttingen, I shall have on paper at least, all the materials, if not the whole structure of a work. . . . This work is a Life of Lessing," and a commentary on German literature. (S.T. Coleridge, Collected Letters, p. 454) Although he described Göttingen as "a most emphatically ugly town," he enrolled in the University so that he could check out books from the library. (Ibid., Letter of March 10, 1799 to Thomas Poole, pp. 474-75) While there he entertained himself with some other Englishmen including Anthony Hamilton of St. John's, Cambridge. Ironically, in light of Göttingen's later high reputation in England, particularly among utilitarians, Coleridge referred to academic trappings (colors of robes) but not to any substance of learning. (Ibid., Letter to Thomas Poole, 4 January 1799) When he first arrived at Göttingen, Coleridge admitted, "The journey to Germany has certainly done me good--my habits are less irregular, and my mind more in my own power!" (Ibid., p. 455)

Even a detractor and critic of Coleridge, John Henry Newman, acknowledged some indebtedness to him and his major influence on Englishmen of the first half of the century.

While he indulged a liberty of speculation, which no Christian can tolerate, and advocated conclusions which were often heathen rather than Christian, yet after all instilled a higher philosophy into inquiring minds, than they had hitherto been accustomed to accept. In this way he made trial of his age, and succeeded in interesting its genius in the cause of Catholic truth. (J.H. Newman, Apologia, p. 195)

than morality."⁶⁵ In contrast with utilitarian emphasis on the quantitative approach to national issues, i.e., the felicific calculus, exaggerated reliance on wealth of the country, trade surplus, gold reserves, magnitude of revenue--all of which are equated with the well-being of the people, Coleridge rejects all of these as misguided.

Talents without genius: a swarm of clever, well-informed men: an anarchy of minds, a despotism of maxims. Despotism of finance in government and legislation--of vanity and sciolism in the intercourse of life--of presumption, temerity, and hardness of heart, in political economy.⁶⁶

Rather than relying on what he perceives as a narrow mechanical calculating morality of utilitarians and political economists, Coleridge proposes a kind of Christian morality, phrased in somewhat mystical terms.

Morality is the service and ceremonial of the Christian religion. . . . Morality is the body, of which the faith in Christ is the soul . . . yet not terrestrial nor of the world, but a celestial body, and capable of being transfigured from glory to glory, in accordance with the varying circumstances and outward relations of its knowing and informing spirit.⁶⁷

⁶⁵S.T. Coleridge, Aids to Reflection in the Formation of a Manly Character, 2 Vols. (London, 1824), Preface, p. xvii.

At a time when religion was supposed to be capable to proof by "evidences" and when Christianity was too often associated with reactionary clinging to the existing order or with evangelical zeal; and at a time when conspicuous intellects--Byron, Bentham, Shelley, the Mills--were known to think it all humbug: Coleridge was showing that religion was a higher and more philosophical thing than had been dreamed of by its enemies or its so-called friends. He did this by a joint appeal to the head and heart, to philosophical first principles and to the inward virtues of the human spirit. (Willey, Nineteenth Century Studies, p. 32)

⁶⁶S.T. Coleridge, On the Constitution of Church and State (London: Hurst, Chance and Co., 1830), p. 330.

⁶⁷S.T. Coleridge, Aids to Reflection, Aphorism XXIV, pp. 15-16.

Although expressing his ideas in seemingly vague terms he does define a method for moral education.

Coleridge differentiates between Reason and Understanding. The former, defined by Coleridge as the superior function, is the "organ of the supersensuous" and provides knowledge of the laws of the whole considered as one; it seeks ultimate ends. Understanding, by contrast, is the faculty by which men generalize and arrange the phenomena of perception; it studies means. Reason is the eye of the spirit, Understanding is the mind of the flesh.⁶⁸ Coleridge diagnosed the error of rationalists and utilitarians as a result of the encroachment of Understanding on the sphere where Reason alone is valid. In other words, when philosophical materialists pretend to erect their limited theories into absolute laws, they mistake a technique of experiment or a method of classification for an exhaustive account of reality. He claimed that the improper elevation of the authority of Understanding had already resulted in materialism, determinism, atheism, utilitarianism, the "godless revolution" in France. By contrast, with utilitarian reliance on the authority of Understanding, Coleridge thought that there could be no progress beyond the Christian faith, "the perfection of human intelligence."⁶⁹ By Understanding man can discern merely a mechanical universe and that alone he warns would lead us, in the last resort, to negations, to the denial of God and of the freedom of the Will, which is, to Coleridge, a denial of the fundamentals of the moral

⁶⁸Willey, Nineteenth Century Studies, p. 30.

⁶⁹Coleridge, Aids to Reflection, p. 113.

life. He asserts that spiritual realities and moral knowledge must be spiritually discerned; it is the function of reason to do that. Will plays a vital role in gaining true understanding. For example, Coleridge says that the ideas of mathematics no man can deny, while those of morality no good man will deny; belief in them is inseparable from an act of Will.⁷⁰

Since Will is so central a concept to Coleridge, a closer examination of it is merited. He sees Will separate from nature. Thus, in contrast to the idea of materialists, necessitarians and Benthamites, Will is not a link in the chain of cause and effect, but a self-determining entity, not wholly subject, like nature, to causation. Will's function is to accept and execute the Will of God as discerned by the conscience or reason. Morality is thus concerned with our inward impulses, not with outward acts--just the opposite of the utilitarian criterion. Coleridge condemns Paley and the utilitarians most for making "consequences" the criterion of the right or wrong of par-

⁷⁰Willey, Nineteenth Century Studies, p. 35. In his preface, Coleridge explicitly states, "It is therefore one main object of this volume to establish the position, that whoever transfers to the understanding the primary due to the reason, loses the one and spoils the other" (Aids to Reflection, p. xviii). This way of seeing the world and searching for truth is by no means restricted to Coleridge or nineteenth century Christians. D.H. Lawrence, perhaps a romantic in the Coleridgean tradition, expressed a parallel view in more contemporary terms. He contrasted the world of reason and of science, the "dry and sterile little world the abstract mind inhabits." These are two ways of knowing--"knowing in terms of apartness which is mental, rational, scientific, and knowing in terms of togetherness, which is religious and poetic" (D.H. Lawrence, Apropos of Lady Chatterley's Lover, 1930, p. 54).

ticular actions.⁷¹

Will executes the moral requirements of Reason. Coleridge says that Theology and Ethics belong to the sphere of Reason, not Understanding; Reason includes the Conscience or moral sense which is the chief witness of spiritual realities. In Aid to Reflection, he writes:

Wherever the forms of reasoning appropriate only to the natural world are applied to spiritual realities, it may truly be said, that the more strictly logical the reasoning is in all its parts, the more irrational it is as a whole.⁷²

Coleridge proposes reflection as the method for forming the Will. He wants to make everyone a thinking person. "If you are not a thinking man, to what purpose are you a man at all?"⁷³ He elaborates on this idea in Aphorism XI.

An hour of solitude passed in sincere and earnest prayer, or the Conflict with, and conquest over a single passion or "subtle bosom sin," will teach us more of thought, will more effectually awaken the faculty, and form the habit, of reflection, than a year's study in the schools without them.⁷⁴

As far as Coleridge is concerned, thinking and reflecting, especially by sincere Christians, will do more to advance substantial truth than

⁷¹Willey, Nineteenth Century Studies, p. 37.

⁷²Coleridge, Aid to Reflection, p. 168.

⁷³Coleridge, Aids to Reflection, Preface, p. xix.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 5.

the calculations of worldly philosophers.⁷⁵

After explaining the role of Will in providing the impetus for morality, Coleridge discusses the place of Christianity and the Bible in defining moral authority. In The Friend, Coleridge spells out the function of religion and morality. The religious principle, he concludes, is the "one sure anchorage, without which our organic life is but a state of somnambulism." The Understanding may suggest motives and calculate consequences but religion "produces the motives and involves the consequences." Christianity demands, as Coleridge puts it, the union of light and warmth, head and heart, in an act of Faith.⁷⁶ As a Protestant Englishman, in touch with German thought, yet essentially Orthodox, he demonstrates, even before the major controversies sparked by Lyell and the Higher critics, the true invulnerability of the Bible. He first exposes the alleged invulnerability as proclaimed by "fundamentalists" as an idol and a superstition. The way to deal with criticism is not to offer blind resistance, but to deepen one's understanding. Coleridge believes the first step in spiritual experience is neither the search for intellectual certainty nor submission to authority; it is, quite simply, to hunger and thirst after righteous-

⁷⁵The world is wholly occupied by surfaces, while the Christian's thoughts are fixed on the substance, that which is and abides, and which, because it is the substance [that which stands beneath and supports the appearance], the outward senses cannot recognize. Tertullian had good reasons for his assertion that the simplest Christian (if indeed a Christian) knows more than the most accomplished irreligious philosopher. (Coleridge, Aids to Reflection, Aphorism XII, p. 6)

⁷⁶S.T. Coleridge, The Friend, p. 301.

ness. Coleridge finds in the Bible "copious sources of truth, and power, and purifying impulses."⁷⁷ He says the Bible contains but does not constitute the Christian religion. "It is the Word of God not because it is in all parts unquestionable, but because for all who seek truth with humble spirit it is an unquestionable guide."⁷⁸

Coleridge concludes with a warning. Christians need beware of the doctrine which petrifies the living word into a dead letter and reduces the life of faith into a torpid routine, or extinguishes it altogether. Faith provides the essential essence of energy. Well might the University authorities in Oxford and Cambridge who sought to perpetuate and defend orthodoxy have heeded this warning. As we shall see later, they would no doubt have agreed with nearly all of his sentiments, but they often fell short in the application. The students' moral education suffered thereby.

Thomas Carlyle, a sometime disciple of Coleridge, also criticizes the utilitarians and sets forth his own ideas of morality. These two men hold a number of ideas in common. Both denounce the poisonous legacy of the century of unbelief: atheism, materialism, mechanical philosophy, utilitarian ethics, false optimism, progress-worship, and a shallow interpretation of history.

Both pleaded for life against mechanism, for Reason against Understanding, for the eye of the soul against the eye of the flesh; both proclaimed the reality of the invisible; both sum-

⁷⁷Coleridge, Aids to Reflection, p. 295.

⁷⁸Willey, Nineteenth Century Studies, p. 42.

moned their age to cease Mammon-worship and return to God; both derived their inspiration jointly from Christianity and German idealism.⁷⁹

Of all the disciples of Coleridge, Thomas Carlyle exerted the widest influence on Englishmen, both inside the universities, and even more to the public at large. Perhaps almost against their will, or at least contrary to the first impression, Carlyle exerted a powerful moral influence over university students in the 1830s and 1840s.

It is curious to note the characteristic attitude of all these men to their first youthful presumption, towards Carlyle. In the beginning, they spurned him with high disdain; in the end, they one and all came round to him, and sat at his feet in awe and admiration.⁸⁰

This was the impression Brookfield got from reading the correspondence of Cambridge "Apostles" with William Henry Brookfield. At Oxford, too, according to Froude,

amidst the controversies, the arguments, the doubts, the crowding uncertainties . . . Carlyle's voice was to the young generation of Englishmen like the sound of "ten thousand trumpets" in their ears. I, for one, was saved by Carlyle's writing from Positivism, or Romanism, or Atheism, or any of the other of the creeds or no creeds which in those years were whirling us about in Oxford like leaves in an Autumn storm.⁸¹

Students especially related to Sartor Resartus and Heroes and Hero Worship. Many regarded Carlyle as an upholder of the spiritual view of the world in an age of increasing materialism and unbelief.⁸²

⁷⁹Willey, Nineteenth Century Studies, p. 108.

⁸⁰Frances M. Brookfield, The Cambridge Apostles, p. 91.

⁸¹James A. Froude, Carlyle's Life in London (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1884), Vol. I, pp. 292, 295.

⁸²Willey, Nineteenth Century Studies, pp. 102-03.

Germans evolved a philosophy opposed to scientific rationalism and democratic individualism. Their conception was nationalistic and conservative, involving an organic view of institutional history. To both Coleridge and Carlyle institutions were embodiments of the spiritual ideas of a culture. In Sartor Resartus, Carlyle thought that English institutions were old clothes that ought to be discarded because they did not fit the new spiritual ideas of the age, the 1830s. However, by the 1840s he had become more conservative. For Coleridge and Carlyle, like Burke, the Church and State had a spiritual purpose to serve. The Church was an institution to achieve the goal of education. Reform should not destroy, but see to it that old institutions serve the purpose for which they were originally intended.⁸³

Carlyle maintains that enlightened egoism is not the rule by which man's life should be led. Laissez-faire, supply and demand, and cash payments are not the valid laws of union for a society of human beings. In his own words, Carlyle expresses his disgust at utilitarian principles.

⁸³E.C. Mack, Public Schools and British Opinion, p. 195. Carlyle was a most controversial figure in his own time. Frederick Denison Maurice commented about him in 1840, just at the time Carlyle's fame, or notoriety, was becoming most celebrated.

"Sewell, I hear, denounces him in his lectures, and Whewell is very indignant, and believes he is doing the greatest mischief. Hare has much the same opinion." Maurice disagreed with the three above and acknowledged Carlyle's merits. (Letter to Strachey, 5 April 1840)

Carlyle's "fame is rampant and men are beginning to talk and cant after him in all directions." (Life of F.D. Maurice, ed. Frederick Maurice, p. 280)

God's absolute Laws, sanctioned by an eternal Heaven and Hell, have become Moral Philosophies, sanctioned by able computations of Profit and Loss, by weak considerations of Pleasures of Virtue and the Moral Sublime. . . . God's Laws are become a Greatest--Happiness Principles, a Parliamentary Expediency. . . .⁸⁴

Carlyle establishes another important aspect of the Coleridgean school, a vitalistic view of the world. He points out in Heroes that many contemporaries, especially the utilitarians, have lost the idea of the world as a living tree having "worldwide boughs" and being "deep-rooted." To the moderns he claims the earth has "dried out into the clanking of a world machine." Carlyle declares that the world is no machine, that it does not go by the wheel and pinion motive, self-interest, or checks and balances. Rather, he insists, there is something far other in it than the clanking of spinning jennies and parliamentary majorities.⁸⁵

Carlyle never tires of contrasting his own organic sense of the world with that of the utilitarian machinists. He battles unbelief and the notion of a world operated by "selfish hunger," the love of pleasure and the fear of pain.⁸⁶ The evils which he denounces are all due to spiritual paralysis, lack of reverence, lack of wonder--in a word--to lack of a religious belief. Like a Hebrew prophet he recalls his age from following the idols of materialism, utilitarianism, democracy and the like--to the worship of the true God. He attempts to

⁸⁴S.T. Carlyle, Past and Present (London, 1843), Book III, Chapter I.

⁸⁵T. Carlyle, Heroes and Hero Worship, Lecture V.

⁸⁶Willey, Nineteenth Century Studies, p. 126.

awaken fuller and richer insights into reality and into the relation of past and present and to an acknowledgment of the authenticity of imagination and of faith.⁸⁷ He claimed that a profoundly religious education was needed, not rote catechistic education for which "Birmingham could easily produce droning machines to set up on street corners." He demanded the teaching of religion by a "teacher who has religion." It was not, he insisted, buildings and repetition of litanies that made education: "Soul is kindled only by soul."⁸⁸ He was dedicated to the restoration of the values of traditional, rural England. He favored restoring to the Church what he saw as its proper role in education, but with real spiritual vitality. Carlyle could be a sharp critic of institutions which did not properly carry out their functions. The universities too felt his venom on occasion. In the 1830s he had written,

as if it were by universities and libraries and lecture rooms, that man's Education . . . were accomplished. . . . Foolish Pedant, that sitteth there compassionately descanting on the learning of Shakespeare. . . . The grand result of schooling is a mind with just vision to discern, with free force to do: the grand schoolmaster is Practice.⁸⁹

⁸⁷Ibid., pp. 107-08. The education offered by the universities, particularly religious aspects, did not measure up to Carlyle's expectations.

An irreverent knowledge is no knowledge; it may be a development of the logical or other handicraft faculty; but it is no culture of the soul of man. To teach religion . . . the only thing needful is finding a man who has religion. All else follows from this. It is an infection, an inspiration, not the absorption of propositions. (T. Carlyle, Chartism, quoted in Adamson, English Education 1789-1902, p. 148)

⁸⁸Carlyle, Chartism, 1840, pp. 55-58.

⁸⁹Carlyle, Corn Law Rhymes, Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, 4 Vols. (Boston: 1861), Vol. III, p. 222.

In the first half of the nineteenth century German thought, including that of Immanuel Kant and Barthold Georg Niebuhr, the historian, and others, became disseminated by a whole generation of idealistic Englishmen. While Coleridge after his sojourn in Germany from 1798-99 may have served as the principal transmitter, he had many disciples in addition to Carlyle. Some of these followers and Germanizers include Julius Hare, Connop Thirlwall, Thomas Arnold, Benjamin Jowett, and F.D. Maurice. Each of these men are critics of Benthamite morality and they advance other systems based on different assumptions about human nature and the nature of reality. They all object to the felicific calculus and the appeal of every moral injunction to self-interest. The Coleridgeans see that there is no rational transition from the psychological part of the Benthamite theory to the ethical part: from the dictum that all men seek their own happiness to the injunction that all men should promote the general happiness--in a word from is to ought. This discrepancy naturally follows given the difference between these two groups in their notion of supreme authority. For the earthbound mechanistic Benthamites, man is the center of all things in the exclusively here and now. They can neither appeal to any higher authorities nor do more than describe what is. Coleridgeans, on the other hand, with a greater awareness of past, present and future, a view of an organic unity of mankind and the world,

and a belief in a Supreme Being have a most decided sense of ought.⁹⁰ This philosophical movement, of course, parallels Edmund Burke's contemporary explanations in the area of political development.

Coleridgeans see artificiality, superficiality, and contrivance in the system of Benthamites. In the absence of altruism or ethical imperatives, it is hard for the Coleridgeans to see how the utilitarian machine could be made to grind out the general happiness; there is nothing to prevent rulers from legislating in their own interest.⁹¹

Julius Hare (1795-1855), the most loyal disciple of Coleridge, played a principal role in disseminating his master's ideas. His mother, Georgiana Hare-Naylor, a cosmopolitan blue-stocking, introduced Julius to the best of Germanism by taking the lad to Weimar in 1804. They met Goethe, Schiller and others. Of the three Hare brothers, Augustus, the second, stayed at Oxford and became a friend of Thomas Arnold. Julius, the third, went to Trinity, Cambridge, in 1812 along

⁹⁰All those who recoiled from utilitarian materialism and desired godly learning regarded Bentham as their enemy and turned to Coleridge as their guide. In Coleridge's works lay almost everything they sought: an effective challenge to John Locke and his eighteenth century admirers; a more profound comprehension of the evidences of Christianity than anything Paley had to offer; the union of religion and morality. (David Newsome, Godliness and Good Learning: Four Studies on a Victorian Ideal (London: John Murray, 1961), p. 14)

Frederick Temple in 1841, an undergraduate at Balliol, wrote to his sister Katy:

I have been reading Coleridge a good deal lately, and I can hardly tell you how much I admire him. . . . Reading him excites me so much that I can hardly do anything else after it; I am obliged never to read it except just before I am going to walk. . . . (E.G. Sandford, ed., Memoirs of Archbishop Temple (1906), Vol. II, p. 424)

⁹¹Willey, Nineteenth Century Studies, p. 140.

with his Charterhouse friend Connop Thirlwall. Both of these youths knew more of German thought than most of their Cambridge teachers.⁹² Dr. Herbert Marsh, as Professor of Divinity, had been trying to spread a knowledge of German theology since 1807 but without much success.⁹³ By contrast, Julius Hare and Connop Thirlwall, as Trinity lecturers in the 1820s, were the center of the developing cult of the great German historian Niebuhr. This interest extended not only to the formal thinkers, Kant, Schelling, Schleiermacher and others, but equally to the poetic thinkers, Goethe, and Schiller, and their English interpreter Coleridge. Indeed, German thought was brought to England by Coleridge as Kant-Schelling-Goethe in the services of Romanticism, and not as any isolated one of the three.⁹⁴ Because of Hare and Thirlwall's translation of Niebuhr's History of Rome, with an introduction by Thomas Arnold, Niebuhr reported that the second edition of his History sold more widely in England than in Germany.⁹⁵ An interest in all things German radiated out of Trinity, Cambridge (Hare and

⁹²We whose entrance into intellectual life took place in the second and third decades of this century, enjoyed a singular felicity in this respect, in that the stimulators and trainers of our thoughts were Wordsworth and Coleridge, in whom practical judgment and world dignity and a sacred core of truth are so nobly wedded to the highest intellectual power. By them the better part of us were preserved from the noxious taint of Byron. (J. Hare in notes to The Mission of the Comforter, cited in David Newsome, Godliness and Good Learning, pp. 15-16)

⁹³W.F. Cannon, "Scientists and Broad Churchmen, An Early Victorian Intellectual Network," p. 77.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 76.

Thirlwall), with an increasing intensity, and had even penetrated Oxford by the 1830s, when an enterprising publisher there put out a student "cram book," so strong was the need to "Niebuhrize" as the term was.⁹⁶ German literature had been a fashionable interest stirred up by Madame de Stael and exploited by Thomas Carlyle in the 1820s. For Oxford men, Thomas Arnold was the chief Niebuhrian. He had, on Julius Hare's advice, learned German for the express purpose of studying Niebuhr. Arnold considered Coleridge and Niebuhr his twin masters. Arnold's own History of Rome was avowedly based on that of Niebuhr as was, in method, Thirlwall's History of Greece.⁹⁷

Connop Thirlwall, a major collaborator of Hare, believed that history, ethnology, and theology, based on classical scholarship and encompassing philosophy and mythology, was a major field of study. With the hope of furthering this end and with the help of Julius Hare, Thirlwall had started in 1831 The Philological Museum, a journal for Germanists. Hare's passion for things German, stimulated as a boy at Weimar, resulted in his amassing the finest collection of

⁹⁶Tuell, John Sterling, pp. 162-63, cited in Cannon, p. 77.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 77. Julius Charles Hare in 1822 accepted a classical lectureship at Trinity which he left in 1832 in order to accept the family living. Ordained in 1826, in 1827 he and his older brother Augustus William Hare published Guesses at Truth, a book of aphorisms and short essays permeated with ideas from Coleridge's Friend, Biographia Literaria, and Aids to Reflection. He revived and added to Guesses in an edition of 1833, and 1847-1848. In 1828-32 he collaborated with Connop Thirlwall in translating Niebuhr's History of Rome from German. Hare awakened Arnold's interest in Niebuhr. He preached sermons in 1839 at Cambridge published as Victory of Faith (1840). In 1844 he married Jane Esther Maurice, sister of F.D. Maurice; Maurice married Hare's sister. (C.R. Sanders, Coleridge and the Broad Church Movement, pp. 123-24)

German books in England. He gave passionate and stimulating lectures at Cambridge from 1822-1832.⁹⁸

Thomas Arnold also played an important role in disseminating German thought and practices. While still a curate at Laleham in 1819 he became aware of the gymnastics of Jahn, the German nationalist and trainer of gymnastics. He professed himself "very much pleased with the pamphlets of Dr. Lieber, a disciple of Jahn, and a former tutor in the Niebuhr family."⁹⁹ Arnold also advanced some German scientific knowledge in England. Stanley described Thomas Arnold's friendship with Christian Bunsen, the German chemist, as "all but idolatry."¹⁰⁰ Bunsen even sent his son Henry to Rugby.¹⁰¹ Like Coleridge and Carlyle, Arnold expounds plans for moral education. Arnold, however, to a much greater extent than his predecessors, stresses the role of the Church. Christianity to Arnold involves not right thinking, but right doing. Thus, he attaches little importance to theology as such and even went so far as to say that truth becomes more Christian "just in proportion as it is less theological."¹⁰²

He defines religion as a "system directing and influencing our conduct, principles, and feelings, and professing to do this with

⁹⁸W.H.G. Armytage, The German Influence on English Education (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), p. 43.

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 41.

¹⁰⁰A.P. Stanley, Life of Arnold (London: T. Fellowes, 1844), p. 211.

¹⁰¹Armytage, The German Influence on English Education, p. 42.

¹⁰²Stanley, Life of Arnold, Vol. I, pp. 312-15.

sovereign authority and most efficacious influence."¹⁰³ Arnold teaches that the primary aim of all human societies is to promote not just the true, but the good. Therefore he describes the object of the Church as "the putting down of moral evil" and "the moral improvement of mankind."¹⁰⁴ In applying his methods to higher education, he hopes to bridge the gap between humanities and sciences. Arnold maintains that neither science nor a mechanical mixture of both can "instruct the judgment." Standards from a superior force must be brought to bear upon masterpieces of literature if they are to be rightly appraised, and upon scientific results if man is to learn and apply them without catastrophe.¹⁰⁵ He echoes his method in a lecture to the Mechanic's Institute. "Neither science nor literature alone can instruct the judgment--only moral and religious knowledge can do this."¹⁰⁶ His spiritual commitment, in part derived from Coleridge and Germanic influences, is reflected in Arnold's evaluation of the English universities themselves. Despite his fondness for Oxford, Arnold declares that the Cambridge Movement, associated with Coleridge's teaching, was in many respects superior to the Oxford Movement, because more insistently than the Oxford Movement it, "enforced great points of moral and spiritual perfection which other Christians had neglected,"

¹⁰³Ibid., Vol. II, p. 69.

¹⁰⁴Thomas Arnold, Miscellaneous Works (London: T. Fellowes, 1845), pp. 446-47.

¹⁰⁵Willey, Nineteenth Century Studies, p. 63.

¹⁰⁶T. Arnold, "Lecture to the Mechanic's Institute at Rugby," Miscellaneous Works, 1845, p. 423.

and because it "preached Christ."¹⁰⁷ Although the "Cambridge Movement" was not so readily identified as the one at Oxford, contemporaries recognized it. Arnold suggested that it stemmed from Coleridge and that the movement balanced what Arnold considered to be the reactionary and un-Christian Oxford Movement of Pusey and Newman.¹⁰⁸ This group, in contradistinction to the Oxford movement, which had a few specific charismatic leaders and close personal friendships, was a loose convergence of scientists, historians, dons, and other scholars with a common acceptance of accuracy, intelligence, and novelty. The chief agency of continual contact of this network was the personal letter and periodic face-to-face gatherings.¹⁰⁹ In spite of Arnold's differences with the leaders of the Oxford Movement, he and some others at first had some sympathy for the Tractarians because they had the courage "to risk and sacrifice much for unworldly end." It was "out of these feuds and discords that the liberal party which was to be dominant at Oxford took its rise."¹¹⁰

Various university men specifically recalled instances of Coleridgean influence. For example, Joseph Romilly, the Cambridge Registrar, and Julius Hare, on 27 June 1833, went to Connop Thirlwall's

¹⁰⁷T. Arnold, Introduction to Christian Life, p. xxv, cited in C.R. Sanders, Coleridge and the Broad Church Movement, p. 113.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, p. 113.

¹⁰⁹W.F. Cannon, "Scientists and Broad Churchmen: An Early Victorian Intellectual Network," pp. 66-67.

¹¹⁰R.W. Church, The Oxford Movement: Twelve Years 1833-1845 (London, 1891), pp. 391-93.

dinner to hear Coleridge talk for he had not been in Cambridge since he ceased to be an undergraduate in 1794: "Wonderful old man."¹¹¹ Mark Pattison, too, in the 1830s, in words, particularly for him, of high praise, recollected his debt to Coleridge.

Early in 1837 I had fallen under the influence of Coleridge. The Aids to Reflection especially dominated me. The vague mysticism in which he loves to veil himself had a peculiar charm for me. . . . I certainly had fallen away from Baconian principles, and passed under the first influence of a realistic philosophy. It so happened that I could not have handled the Oriel philosophy paper in a way to meet the views of the examiners, but for the strong infusion of Coleridgean metaphysics.¹¹²

By way of additional commentary, Pattison pointed out that when the government dominated the Church a rationalistic or nominalistic philosophy à la Richard Whately predominated in the University. Under the Tractarians Kantian and sacerdotal claims arise. After 1845, with Newman's conversion, Oxford repudiated at once sacerdotal principles and Kantian logic.¹¹³

No account of university Coleridgeans would be complete without mentioning Frederick Denison Maurice. Of Unitarian background he joined the Church of England in 1823. He went to Trinity, Cambridge, where with his tutor, Julius Hare, and friend, John Sterling (biographer of Carlyle), he promoted the philosophy of Coleridge in place of that of Bentham, which had been fashionable.

¹¹¹J. Romilly, Diary at Cambridge, 1832-42.

¹¹²M. Pattison, Memoirs (London, 1885), p. 165.

¹¹³Ibid., p. 166.

Among the younger and cleverer undergraduates of the day, especially at Trinity, Benthamism was the prevalent faith. I had read Coleridge before I came up, and had received a considerable influence both from him and from Madame de Stael's L'Allemagne. I, in a small society of which I was a member, defended Coleridge's metaphysics and Wordsworth's party against the Utilitarian teaching. I was a noisy and often angry disputant, though mixing much shyness with my presumption. In most parties I was reckoned a bore.¹¹⁴

On other occasions he had high praise for Coleridge and his influence.

Coleridge belonged to another generation than ours--one of which the business was to indicate the preciousness of truths as distinct from facts. This function he performed marvelously well.¹¹⁵

He participated in J.S. Mill's Debating Society. J.S. Mill commented on his intellectual gifts, "powers of generalization, rare ingenuity and subtlety, and wide perception of unobvious truths" which he used to prove to his own mind that the "Church of England had known everything from the first, and that all truths . . . are better understood and expressed in the Thirty-nine Articles than by anyone who rejects them."¹¹⁶ Mill attributed Maurice's position to "timidity of conscience combined with original sensitiveness of temperament." He needed, "A firmer support than he could find in the independent conclusions of his own judgment."¹¹⁷ Mill called Maurice a disciple of Coleridge and Sterling a disciple of both.

It was somewhat ironic that Maurice should have become such a

¹¹⁴Frederick Maurice, Life of F.D. Maurice, 2 Vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884), p. 176.

¹¹⁵Ibid., Letter to Edward Strachey, 20 August 1838, p. 251.

¹¹⁶J.S. Mill, Autobiography, p. 153.

¹¹⁷Ibid., pp. 153-54.

strong Churchman and prominent university figure. Because of his Unitarian background, his father being a minister in that denomination, Maurice could not graduate from Cambridge, because of the religious tests, but entered Trinity Hall, the law college, where he passed the examination required for a student in civil law. This aspect of his Cambridge student career was all the more ironic in light of his later pamphlet, Subscription No Bondage, in which he made a strong apology for the use of Anglican tests at the University. In later years he became a journalist and then went to Oxford to take Holy Orders. According to his son and biographer, the most potent influences that were acting on Maurice's mind during his early years tended in the direction of the Calvinistic rather than the Unitarian creed. His son claimed that F.D. Maurice was never a Unitarian at heart.¹¹⁸ Clearly Coleridge provided some of the impetus for F.D. Maurice's high sense of duty both as a student and later in his career.

Obligation is a strong word in reference to going to college at any age, but I do conceive that those who are destined by their property or birth to anything above the middle station in society, and intended to live in England, are bound to show cause why they do not put themselves in the best position for becoming what Coleridge calls the Clerisy of the land.¹¹⁹

The ideals expounded by Coleridge, summed up in his notion of a clerisy, Maurice put into practice in his later life as a national and

¹¹⁸Frederick Maurice, Life of F.D. Maurice, p. 64. "Byron, Wordsworth, Shelley, De Quincey, Scott, Keats, Southey, and above all Coleridge, are always the objects of his admiration; Coleridge alone receives unbounded praise" (Ibid., p. 65).

¹¹⁹F.D. Maurice, Life and Letters of F.D. Maurice (1885), Vol. I, p. 224.

Church leader and committed social reformer.¹²⁰

While it would be too far afield to trace in detail all of the major English university men strongly influenced by German thought we might mention at least a few more briefly. For example, Mark Pattison, studying history at Oriel in the 1830s, read Livy extensively. He noted, "One was expected at that time to know something of Niebuhr's views," which he did by reading two volumes of Thirlwall's translations.¹²¹ Englishmen gained one of their first opportunities of matching their religion against the largest backdrop yet available after Max Müller, the philologist and scholar of comparative religion, translated many sacred works of the East. Victor Carus, the biologist, and friend of Müller came to Oxford as H.W. Acland's Assistant at Christ Church.¹²² While still a tutor, Benjamin Jowett in 1844 learned German and delved into Hegel, the first Englishman to do so. He opened some of the Hegelian thought to T.H. Green and Caird. His work on Hegel's Logic was not published in 1849, though it was nearly finished

¹²⁰Not everything he did was in complete earnestness. Maurice wrote a novel, Eustace Conway, 1834, in three volumes, which caused quite a stir among his friends. Coleridge "spoke of it with very high and almost unmingled admiration." The novel was regarded as an attack on Radicals and Whigs.

One of his friends declared "if it had not had the most villainous plot that had ever been constructed, it would have been the best novel that ever had been written." Another friend said, "Why, Maurice, how on earth did you ever come to write such a thing as this? Why there is not a man in the whole book that I shouldn't like to have the hanging of!" (Frederick Maurice, Life of F.D. Maurice, pp. 165-66)

¹²¹M. Pattison, Memoirs, p. 151.

¹²²W.H.G. Armytage, The German Influence on English Literature, p. 45.

at that time.¹²³ Jowett also commented on his understanding of moral education. For example, in a letter to Benjamin Browdy, later a professor of Chemistry at Oxford and a non-believer, Jowett says apropos of statements of faith, "It is impossible or at least useless to discuss opinions without taking into account their moral tendencies and if this appears unseemly, far better not to discuss them at all."¹²⁴ Faber points out this episode because it shows clearly the governing factor in Jowett's religious life: his sense of a moral imperative, of an ideal pattern by which every man must seek to make his own character. This ideal character, he believes, had been exemplified in the life of Christ. The one great function and justification of an organized Christian church is to persuade mankind to honor, and in what measure it can, to imitate that pattern. The obligation is absolute.¹²⁵

Each of these English university figures, Hare, Thirlwall, Newman, Arnold, Maurice and Jowett, demonstrate clearly the influence of German ideas, usually as transmitted through Coleridge, and yet, each in his own way contributed to a distinctly English style of character formation and moral education.

¹²³J.H. Sterling's Secret of Hegel, 1865, is usually regarded as the first major work in English on Hegel. Geoffrey Faber, Jowett, pp. 181-82.

¹²⁴Faber, Jowett, p. 142.

¹²⁵Ibid.

CHAPTER II

CRITICS OF UNIVERSITIES AND PROPOSED REFORM

The universities never reformed themselves; everyone knew that--everyone knew there was too much competition and jealousy, too many and varied motives, constantly in play, to prevent the desired effect.

Lord Melbourne, 1837, cited in
V.H.H. Green, The Universities, p. 56

By the first decade and throughout the first half of the nineteenth century the ancient English universities were subjected to more comprehensive and more strident criticism than at any previous time. Undoubtedly social and political changes accompanying the industrial revolution sparked and exacerbated the controversy. In particular, the middle class began feeling disprivileged. They wanted political power and social advantages commensurate with their growing economic strength. The conflict between the old ways and the new seemed particularly pronounced in the context of the universities. The utilitarians, the self-proclaimed prophets and formulators of economic and political advance and reform, launched and conducted the attack on Oxford and Cambridge, regarded as bastions of pedantry and privilege. Though Sydney Smith, Jeremy Bentham, James and John Stuart Mill all hacked at the old schools, each man grinding his own particular axe, they shared many common perspectives. Nearly all of the Philosophical Radical critics were anti-Christian, and certainly opposed to any institutional connection between the Church of England and what they

called national institutions of higher education. In particular, they abhorred religious exclusiveness as implemented through religious tests, oaths, or subscriptions. However, their complaints did not stop with points about religious scruples. The universities, they claimed, failed to meet modern educational needs because of a too-limited curricular emphasis on Greek and Latin classics and because of the near exclusion of serious scientific research, much less the teaching of any practical applications of technology to students. Critics also deplored the unregulated use of large collegiate endowments, the teaching methods, and the lack of emphasis in developing physical qualities. Perhaps most cutting of all, in light of the university apologists' counterassertions, the utilitarians accused the Oxford and Cambridge systems of a failure to instill what Mill called, "a spirit of great men" into students.

Of course utilitarians realized that complaints alone would not solve the problems. They proposed reforms, usually expressed in idealistic and more general terms than had been possible when castigating specific ills they perceived under the old system. Most of their proposals involved some kind of curriculum broadening. They wanted to expand the curriculum, especially to include science; to diversify the social and religious backgrounds of the students, particularly through including the middle class and Dissenters; and to qualify students to judge what is true and right, thus shattering the narrowly-conceived old orthodoxy, and, hopefully in the process, regenerating individual character. Utilitarian reforming inspiration derived from the

examples of German and also Scottish universities. Their reforming zeal in England expressed itself in the founding of London University by the late 1820s. In the context of evaluating German universities and amidst the controversy surrounding the establishment of London University, the differences in religious and social values separating utilitarians from their Oxford and Cambridge antagonists come clearly into focus.

From the first decade of the nineteenth century the ancient universities, particularly Oxford, had to contend with abuse, criticism and occasional scurrilities. Sydney Smith launched the attack in an Edinburgh Review article in 1809.¹ In the process of reviewing R.L. Edgeworth's Essays on Professional Education, Smith raised questions about the whole structure and process of British higher education. He outlined a four-fold critique of classical studies. First, too many years were spent exclusively on Latin and Greek to the extent that some Englishmen deprecated anyone who could not conjugate Greek verbs, regardless of his other accomplishments. Second, some scholars loved the instruments of teaching better than the end sought. They may have shown expertise in grammatical niceties but sacrificed the utility of wisdom derived from the ancients. Third, teachers demanded excessive perfection in learning ancient languages and placed too much emphasis on composing verses. Fourth, Smith condemned the narrow pedantry of

¹Sydney Smith, "Professional Education," Edinburgh Review, Vol. XV, no. 29 (October 1809), reprinted in The Works of The Rev. Sydney Smith, Vol. I (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1859).

classical teachers.² Not content merely to itemize what he perceived as the shortcomings of the English system, Smith proceeded to vilify and ridicule the character and intelligence of the educators themselves.

There is a timid and absurd apprehension, on the part of ecclesiastical tutors, of letting out the minds of youth upon difficult and important subjects. They fancy that mental exertion must end in religious skepticism; and to preserve the principles of their pupils, they confine them to the safe and elegant imbecility of classical learning. A genuine Oxford tutor would shudder to hear his young men disputing upon moral and political truth, forming and pulling down theories, and indulging in all the boldness of youthful discussion. He would augur nothing from it, but impiety to God and treason to Kings.³

Smith saw little to respect under the contemporary system at the universities. He thinks an education, especially one designed for future national leaders, misdirected when "a nobleman, upon whose knowledge and liberality the honour and welfare of his country may depend, is diligently worried, for half his life, with the small pedantry of longs and shorts."⁴

An infinite quantity of talent is annually destroyed in the Universities of England by the miserable jealousy and littleness of ecclesiastical instructors. It is in vain to say that we have produced great men under this system. We have produced great men under all systems.⁵

Smith thoroughly condemned what we would call ivory tower detachment.

²Ibid., pp. 170-73.

³Ibid., p. 173

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

When an University has been doing useless things for a long time, it appears at first degrading to them to be useful. . . . To discuss the enclosure of commons, and to dwell upon imports and exports--to come so near to common life, would seem to be undignified and contemptible. . . . The puffed up pedant would collapse into his proper size, and the maker of verses and the rememberer of words, would soon assume that station, which is the lot of those who go up unbidden to the upper places of the feast.⁶

Recognizing his obligation to go beyond criticism, Smith set out his own proposals for the education of men going into public life.⁷ Smith hoped that education, properly conducted, may "show the future rulers of the country that thought and labour which it requires to make a nation happy . . . or inspire them with that love of public virtue, which, after religion, we most solemnly believe to be the brightest ornament of the mind of man."⁸ The issues raised by Sydney Smith provoked questions and controversies about the quality and appropriateness of the ancient universities' system for the next two generations.

Naturally, when considering the views of Benthamites on education we must turn to the fountainhead of utilitarian wisdom, the sage

⁶Ibid., p. 174.

⁷1. Give to all knowledge an equal chance for distinction.
 2. Learn what the Constitution of his country really was.
 3. Bring before his mind the characters of those Englishmen who have been the steady friends of the public happiness to serve as models for public taste.
 4. Teach him to burst through the pernicious cant of indiscriminate loyalty.
 5. Direct attention to the true principles of legislation--what effect laws can produce upon opinions and opinions upon laws.
 Ibid., pp. 173-74.

⁸Ibid., p. 175.

Jeremy Bentham. His Chrestomathia⁹ attempts to apply monitorial methods to education of a higher type. Hoping to put into practice principles of utility in individual behavior, Bentham includes subjects according to their relevance in active life, thus he centers tuition on vocational training. Teaching methods derive from utilitarian principles. Bentham draws up an encyclopedic table of the different branches of knowledge to be presented, "in the order in which they are most advantageously taught."¹⁰ James Mill, Francis Place and others involved themselves in a scheme to establish a school based on Chrestomathia. Their school, designed for the middle class, would have consisted of a highly organized curriculum, including science but excluding classical learning, and establishing a progression based on the principle of utility. It proved abortive.¹¹ Of course, Bentham's educational programs were based on strictly human authority. He specifically rejected any reliance on religion in his plan. He eschewed Christianity in a work co-authored with George Grote, one of the founders of University College London, The Analysis of the Influence of Natural Religion on the Temporal Happiness of Mankind, 1822, published

⁹Conducive to useful learning in Greek.

¹⁰Jeremy Bentham, Chrestomathia: Being a Collection of Papers Explanatory of the Design of an Institution Proposed to be set on Foot under the name of the Chrestomathic Day School for the Extension of the New System of Instruction to the Higher Branches of Learning, for the Use of the Middling and Higher Ranks in Life, 1816, reprinted in The Works of Jeremy Bentham, Vol. VIII, ed. John Bowring (New York: Russell and Russell, Inc., 1962; first Bowring edition 1838-1843).

¹¹Harold Silver, English Education and the Radicals, 1780-1850, p. 44.

by Richard Carlile, a notorious radical. In this book Bentham rejected what he supposed to be Christianity, a number of "evidences," untenable dogma, and an obsolete political and social structure. He posed thoroughly utilitarian questions. What is the utility of religious belief? What results does it produce in terms of human happiness?

Although the Catholic Church had given direction and set goals for individuals and educational institutions for centuries, and the Anglican church did much the same in England, with due allowance for Protestant consciences, the Benthamites presumed to reject traditional authority and substitute their humanistic and rationalistic system. Utilitarianism, by separating ethics from religion, challenged the supreme moral authority of the Church. They proposed the general good as their standard, which they asserted would represent a more desirable influence over character. For example, James Mill, brought up by a Scottish Presbyterian, became a skeptic after rejecting the deism of Butler as expressed in his Analogy of Religion. He completely rejected Christian authority. In fact, he regarded Christianity not merely as a mental delusion, but as a great moral evil. It set up fictitious challenges: beliefs in creeds, devotional feelings, and ceremonies not connected with the good of mankind. Mill believed that Christianity really set up a vitiating morality by trying to do the will of a Supreme Being who is actually eminently hateful: the creator of Hell and the foreordainer of eternal damnation for the mass of humanity. "The ne plus ultra of wickedness he [James Mill] considered to be

embodied in what is commonly presented to mankind as Christianity."¹²

His criticisms of the universities and major statement about education appeared in an article of 1818.¹³ In this article he expressed his disgust for any connections between an ecclesiastical establishment and a university:

Evil tendencies are apt to be indefinitely increased, when they are united with an ecclesiastical establishment. Universities so tied exert their force to the support of those vices thus vitiating the human mind, which can only be rendered the friend of abuses in proportion as it is vitiated intellectually, or morally, or both. . . .¹⁴

As an heir of eighteenth-century free-thinking Mill assumed that established churches were reactionary institutions hostile to progress. "An institution for education which is hostile to progression, is therefore, the most preposterous, and vicious thing, which the mind of man can conceive."¹⁵ So far as he was concerned Christian education was a contradiction in terms. In orthodox utilitarian fashion, James Mill attacked university privileges and abuses and appeared to want to lead the Nonconformist middle classes in an assault on what he regarded as the survivals of medievalism--clerical domination of education. In his eyes the inculcation of religious opinions, for which no evidence of any substantial kind was offered, constituted the worst of intellec-

¹²J.S. Mill, Autobiography, p. 41.

¹³James Mill, "On Education," incorporated in a supplement to the Encyclopedia Britannica.

¹⁴James Mill, "On Education," Encyclopedia Britannica, Supplement, 1818, reprinted in Frances A. Cavanagh, James and John Stuart Mill on Education, 1931, p. 68.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 67.

tual crimes. He believed that as a result of such teaching, people became habituated to disregard evidence and became, in effect, intellectual slaves. Since Mill believed man is a progressive being, universities that make no provision for change are "a curse rather than a blessing." The old universities, he believed, develop "a strong spirit of resistance to all improvements, a passion of adherence to whatever was established in the dark age" and a hatred of those who advocate change.¹⁶

James Mill, in his essay, described education as a process of conditioning whereby positive attitudes should be linked with socially desirable ends and negative ones with practices which are detrimental to general utility. Mill's associationism sounds like a precursor to the behaviorism expounded by our contemporaries like, B.F. Skinner et al. According to Mill the teacher must ensure that the student associates the proper sequence of ideas with socially desirable ends. These sequences would be conditioned by repetition and by pleasure and pain. In this essay, written at a highly abstract level, never once giving an example of a classroom situation, Mill uses associationist psychology to define teaching methods while borrowing from principles of utility the qualities instruction should promote in the individual. Conveniently enough, those people who more directly influence the formation of national policy and who do most to promote the general good should receive a privileged education. Not surprisingly for a group who advocate self-interest, the utilitarians believed that the

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 67-68.

industrial middle classes, themselves, contributed the most to the general good. "A special form of education is reserved for that class of society who have wealth and time for the acquisition of the highest measure of intelligence."¹⁷ Their ideas about higher education led utilitarians to several distinct goals: first, restrict the privileges of the Anglican aristocracy; second, prevent an excessive increase in the claims of the working class; third, emphasize a broader curriculum. Their desire for curricular reform to make education more relevant to the needs of industrialization also served to support the claim that the middle class was the most useful section of society.

Although James Mill objected strenuously to many essential aspects of the universities in 1818, about twenty years later his son had modified the harsh censorious spirit of the Philosophical Radicals typical during the early part of the century. Co-authoring an article in the progressive British and Foreign Review, John Stuart Mill chided the universities in specific areas but accepted their fundamental purposes. The author acknowledged that some school boys went to the university

well acquainted with passages likely to be set in examinations, practised in the writing of Greek iambics, master of the letter but not imbued with the spirit of the great authors of antiquity; sacrificed to a professional or special education of the narrowest kind, stunted in mind, old before his time and without having developed those physical qualities, the complete

¹⁷James Mill, "On Education," Encyclopedia Britannica, reprinted in F.A. Cavanagh, James and John Stuart Mill on Education, p. 66.

education of which is essential to the completeness of the intellectual, without which you may be a bookworm, but never dare to become a man.¹⁸

It seems that this author's principle complaint is the failure of endowed schools to "instill the spirit of great men" into the minds of students and also the failure to develop the physical qualities prerequisite to manly character. Clearly, J.S. Mill wanted the universities to prepare men of character.

Like his father, J.S. Mill explicitly rejected the religious education, sanctioned by the Church of England, conducted in the two universities.¹⁹ Rather than reinforcing or instilling beliefs in Christian authority, J.S. Mill asserted that the object of education should be to prepare the student for judging what is true and right. He said that the error lies in providing that the student should adopt received opinions in religion or politics. Mill proposed to abolish sectarian teaching altogether thereby ending dogmatism, or so he thought.²⁰

Although J.S. Mill perpetuated the standard utilitarian

¹⁸John Stuart Mill, "University Reform," The British and Foreign Review, 1837.

¹⁹J.S. Mill, "Civilization," Westminster Review, 1836.

²⁰Ibid.

In 1836 his proposals won few converts among the Oxford and Cambridge establishment. Instead of encouraging students to judge what is true or right, according to their own light, virtually all clerical instructors at the two ancient universities wanted the students to think true and right what the teachers thought true and right. Of course, if the truth were faced, many educators, then and now, including the Mills, probably practiced such a credo.

tion to the Church and university connection, he modified the original Benthamite position. He had come to accept the university defenders' argument that formation of character was a basic and legitimate educational goal. In so doing, he even dissociated himself from the unqualified championship of middle class aspirations. In discussing the spread of democracy and the increasing part played by the middle and lower classes in English society, Mill described the universities as "those two bodies whose especial duty it was to counteract the debilitating influence of the age . . . and to send forth into society men capable of being its improvers and regenerators. . . ." The universities had neglected their duties.²¹

J.S. Mill implicitly accepted the university's goal of forming character. He complained of the institutions' failure to measure up to its own standards. This is a significant shift from attacking the system itself. Referring to the need for "regeneration of individual character among our lettered and opulent classes," Mill wrote his essay in order to analyze the aristocracy and other leaders of culture. He was trying to make suggestions about improvements in their education in order to bear civilization to higher levels. Deficiencies among the aristocracy he blamed on faulty education at Oxford, Cambridge, and the leading public schools. "We regard the system of those institutions, as administered for two centuries past, with sentiments little short of

²¹J.S. Mill, "Civilization," Westminster Review, XXV, April 1836.

utter abhorrence."²² Mill steered a course between the two most popular rival notions of that day, the direct utilitarianism of his father, and the "prejudices of those who cherish the empty husks of what has descended from ancient times." He proposed that logic and classics be taught "more deeply" and that the purpose of the University should be "the strengthening and enlarging of intellect and character."²³ Mill denied the place of professional education in the university. "The knowledge which is the stock in trade of money-getting we would leave the world to provide for itself; content with infusing into the youth of our country a spirit, and training into them habits . . . which would make them knowledgeable." By this denial of the place of professional, that is to say, directly useful studies, we may see that a wide gap had opened between J.S. Mill in 1836 and his Chrestomathic forebears.²⁴ In his proposals for reshaping higher education J.S. Mill hoped gradually to put an end to any kind of unearned distinction and to let the only road to honor and ascendancy be that of personal qualities.²⁵ By 1836, J.S. Mill's tone did not so much resemble the iconoclastic Benthamites of his father's day as a mild conservative of the Coleridgean stamp. He believed that universities had "the especial

²²Ibid., p. 193.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Mill cleverly covered himself from criticism from more orthodox Benthamites by following the above statement with another. "These we know are not the sentiments of the vulgar; but we believe them to be those of the best and wisest of all parties." Where could one find a more self-confident if not supercilious remark?

²⁵J.S. Mill, "Civilization," p. 205.

duty . . . to counteract the debilitating influence of the circumstances of the age upon individual character, and to send forth into society a succession of minds, not the creatures of their age, but capable of being its improvers and regenerators."²⁶ Such sentiments seem more reminiscent of Edward Copleston than James Mill.²⁷

Utilitarians, particularly the doctrinaire ones of the early part of the century, believed that education should be restricted to a particular narrow end, which should produce some result that could be weighed and measured. They sought an adequate return on an educational investment. Utilitarians demanded to know the real worth in the market of the article called a liberal education. As far as they were concerned liberal education was useless. It did not teach how to increase manufactures, improve land, or better the civil economy. It did not prepare professional men for their duties, nor did it lead to new discoveries in the natural sciences.²⁸ Interestingly, Newman replied to the charges of inutility of liberal education by saying that it was the culture of the intellect, and that culture was in itself a good. If a healthy body was a good in itself, so was a health intellect!²⁹ Some popular authors of a utilitarian stripe, like Bulwer-Lytton,

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Indeed, for a time J.S. Mill favorably impressed such an anti-utilitarian as Thomas Carlyle. However, Carlyle later lost faith in Mill and described his Autobiography as "the autobiography of a steam engine."

²⁸Robert G. McPherson, Theory of Higher Education in the Nineteenth Century, pp. 64-65.

²⁹J.H. Newman, Idea of a University, pp. 136-41.

warned the upper classes that if they wished to compete successfully with the emerging middle class, then they had better learn practical subjects.³⁰ In his assessment of English institutions, Bulwer-Lytton wrote that if his argument on endowed schools (public schools and colleges) at first seemed to militate against those venerable institutions, "I think before I have completed it, that I am exactly friendly to their principle because I am hostile to their abuses."³¹ Admitting that endowments may support many drones nevertheless, Bulwer-Lytton argued, even if a handful of wise men are provided the leisure to develop their resources and to cultivate their intellect--and share ideas with the world--then this system is worthwhile.³² Bulwer-Lytton described political economy as the dominant moral philosophy of the times. He said, "Bentham's philosophy is the philosophy of visible transition." Bulwer-Lytton then listed various ways that old certainties and institutions were crumbling away, "both the spiritual and temporal worlds are darkened by the shadow of change." He characterized the age as one of destruction in which the influence of Benthamism had been two-fold, "He has helped to destroy and to rebuild." "The spirit of examination and questioning has through him [Bentham] become the prevailing spirit of the age."³³

Attacks on endowed institutions of learning seemed to come in

³⁰Edward Bulwer-Lytton, England and the English, p. 133.

³¹Ibid., p. 148.

³²Ibid., pp. 163-66.

³³Ibid., p. 319.

waves in the first half of the century. The first wave slapped them during the second decade,³⁴ another struck at a time coinciding with the Whig victory of 1832,³⁵ and a third swirled about just before the formation of the Parliamentary commission to investigate the universities in 1850. During the 1830s, Sir William Hamilton, in several articles in the Edinburgh Review, launched the most forceful attacks on Oxford during that decade. Hamilton, a Scotsman who had studied at Balliol College from 1807-1811 after taking a degree at Glasgow, may have been, therefore, uniquely qualified to comment on Oxford. Following his visits to Germany in 1817 and 1820, Hamilton remained familiar with the character and work of the most advanced German universities. In part his respect for what he regarded as the superior learning of German universities led him to denounce the English collegiate system.³⁶

³⁴Early in the century, many critics attacked the universities' root and branch, taking exception with both the contemporary practices and purposes. The irascible William Cobbett (1763-1835) was one of the most idiosyncratic of the endowed schools' critics. He wrote, "If I had been brought up a milksop, with a nursemaid everlastingly at my heels, I should have been at this day as great a fool, as inefficient a mortal, as any of these frivolous idiots that are turned out from Winchester and Westminster School, or from any of those dens of dunces called Colleges and Universities." (William Cobbett, Rural Rides, Vol. I, 1885, p. 125) John Adamson when commenting on this very same passage from Rural Rides said of Cobbett, "He put character and an active life before the learning taught in schools." (John William Adamson, English Education 1789-1902, p. 110)

³⁵Confronted in 1832 with Whig triumph which let loose a torrent of rationalist and Nonconformist abuse, Universities found themselves attacked. Many Oxford men came to believe Whiggery and liberalism threatened all things sacred. (W.R. Ward, Victorian Oxford, p. 80)

³⁶Geoffrey Faber, Jowett, p. 190.

In his first article of 1831, Hamilton argued that the colleges were private institutions that had sprung up later than the university itself; they had illegally usurped the teaching function of the university and transformed it into an institution closed to all but members of the Church of England. The remedy was to re-establish the primacy of the University. This might also be done by admitting all who qualified academically whatever their religious beliefs. But since university affairs were, in fact, governed by the colleges, even this measure required interference by the state. With the political victory of 1832 in sight, there seemed every reason that this would be forthcoming.³⁷ Interference by the state was exactly what many critics, particularly a growing segment of Nonconformists, wanted. Of all the complaints about Oxford and Cambridge, the demand for the removal of the tests came into full flood in the 1830s. The Nonconformists began to insist on access into what they described as "national universities" which they formerly had thought they were better off without.³⁸ These criticisms and others resulted in repeated demands for university reform, or what W.R. Ward referred to as "a hardy annual in Parliament, the outcome of links between academic liberals and Dissenters."³⁹

In the struggle for curricular change, sometimes the real educational goals for which, ideally, progressives stood were lost sight

³⁷Brian Simon, Studies in the History of Education 1780-1870, p. 94.

³⁸W.R. Ward, Victorian Oxford, p. 81.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 127.

of. Great libertarians like J.S. Mill saw that a broad understanding of life and of methods of inquiry coupled with love of thinking and of knowledge were the ends of education. Unfortunately, however, many proponents of change thought of useful subjects as a panacea for all educational difficulties. Their demand for new studies was a product of economic need, and was never far-sighted enough to rise above this need by realizing that the new civilization demanded intellectual elasticity and originality. What they wanted was knowledge directly useful in a new competitive world.⁴⁰

The utilitarian critics looked beyond the local English universities to arm themselves in debate. Many of them considered the German university system, and to a lesser extent the Scottish, as a foil against which they could reflect invidious comparisons with native institutions. Whatever their polemical position, English educators looked to German universities as an example, either to emulate or to avoid. Consistent with their usual tendency to take an opposing position, utilitarians generally favored developments in Germany and advocated their importation to England, while university defenders often rejected the German example and tried to prevent Oxford or Cambridge from going down the same path.

The English had many connections with German universities by the early nineteenth century. The royal family, for example, provided one link. Göttingen, one of the most prominent universities, was founded in 1737 by King George II, in his capacity as Elector of

⁴⁰Edward C. Mack, Public Schools and British Opinion, p. 212.

Hanover. This university became internationally renowned and praised by utilitarians as one of the most efficient, a quality much appreciated by Benthamites. Göttingen became a model for other universities because it taught science, built medical laboratories and museums, and had organized a special seminar for teachers, an example followed by most other German universities. Coleridge's visit to Göttingen established another Anglo-German university contact.

Particularly interesting to the pounds-and-pence-minded utilitarians, all of Göttingen's endowments equaled that of only four English colleges. It stood out as an example of the virtues and low cost of non-collegiate higher education. Thomas Hodgskin, an English visitor, wrote of Göttingen in 1820, "There is no warm and well-lined stall of orthodoxy, and no means are taken to influence the students' conscience through their stomach."⁴¹

Englishmen interested in higher education frequently made trips to Germany. Many of the founders of London University visited and derived inspiration from German examples. Charles Babbage, the mathematician, in 1828 visited the "Parliament of Sciences" in Jena as did the botanist, Robert Brown, in 1829 and the chemist, J.F.W. Johnstone, in 1830.⁴² Bulwer-Lytton, the novelist, visited Prussia and praised its system of academic and religious instruction.

⁴¹Thomas Hodgskin, Travels in the North of Germany describing the present state of the Social and Political Institutions of that Country, particularly in the Kingdom of Hanover (Edinburgh: A. Constable and Co., 1820), as cited in W.H.G. Armytage, German Influence on English Education, p. 30.

⁴²Ibid., p. 39.

In Prussia, that country in which, throughout the whole world, education is the most admirably administered, the authority over the Public Worship of the State is united with that over the Public Instruction.⁴³

He hoped to see united the proper instruction of religion and "true knowledge." In particular he looked to Saxe-Weimar:

In the Duchy of Saxe Weimar, which has seemed as the focus of a brilliant philosophy to the eyes of abashed Europe, in which liberty of thought and piety of conduct have gone hand in hand, the whole administration of the instruction of the people may be said to be intrusted to the clergy, and the light which has beamed over men has been kindled at the altars of their God.⁴⁴ Of course, the above example of religious instruction may have

favorably impressed Bulwer-Lytton, himself an English university graduate who had experienced another style of religious instruction, but it would hardly be stressed by orthodox utilitarians. To some utilitarians, not only did German universities function better than old English ones, but also Scottish ones were better. John Stuart Mill said,

Youths come to Scottish Universities ignorant, and they are taught. The majority of those who come to the English Universities come still more ignorant, and ignorant they go away.⁴⁵

Apparently to the thinking of some utilitarians practically any system was to be preferred over the English collegiate one.

Undaunted by these invidious comparisons, English university apologists openly rejected developments in Germany and attempted to prevent innovations of the German type in Oxford and Cambridge. Many

⁴³Edward George Bulwer-Lytton, England and the English, p. 147.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵John Stuart Mill, Inaugural Address Delivered to the University of St. Andrews (London: 1867), p. 6.

English dons believed that German universities housed radical and dangerous students. Their worst fears were confirmed in 1819 by the murder of August von Kotzebue, a dramatist and sometime professor, by a student, Charles Louis Land.⁴⁶ English university conservatives felt scandalized and threatened. Radical German students threatened the very lives of university figures while within German universities some professors, particularly those who advanced the "Higher Criticism," undermined traditional Christian orthodoxy. So suspect was German research on Biblical scholarship, that Connop Thirlwall in 1825 remarked that a knowledge of German by a divine at Oxford subjected him to suspicion of heterodoxy.⁴⁷

A brief synopsis of the activities of Edward B. Pusey (1800-1882) demonstrate the uneasy relationship between divines at Oxford and higher critics in Germany. After matriculating at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1819, he won first class classical honors in 1822. The next year Pusey gained a fellowship at Oriel College, a coveted award at that time. At Oriel he came into contact with brother fellows Keble and Newman, and Dr. Charles Lloyd (1784-1829), Regius Professor of Divinity, who feared the introduction of German higher criticism into

⁴⁶Von Kotzebue had a famous career as a dramatist. He was probably the greatest exponent of Sturm und Drang theatre at his death. He was also reactionary and a paid agent of Alexander I, which occasioned his assassination. His murder served as a pretext for Metternich's dissolution of the Burschenschaften. He was quite well-known in England; The Stranger was popular on the English stage.

⁴⁷Connop Thirlwall, Critical Essay on the Gospel of St. Luke (London: 1825), p. ix, cited in New Cambridge Modern History 1793-1830, p. 161.

England. Nevertheless, perhaps in an effort to know the enemy, Lloyd encouraged Pusey to study in Germany. He spent 1825 to 1827 at Göttingen, Berlin, and Bonn. There he befriended Bunsen, Thobich, and Neander, and studied under Eickhorn and Schleiermacher. On his return to England he wrote an essay.⁴⁸ He saw in German rationalism the outcome of dead orthodoxy, a merely formal correctness of belief without any corresponding spiritual vitality. He feared that the Church of England betrayed similar symptoms. Although Pusey sympathized with the German pietists because of their heart-felt spiritual fervor, some people assumed that he also sympathized with German rationalists. His views, however, must have seemed orthodox enough to most conservatives because the Duke of Wellington in November 1828 appointed Pusey to be Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, and he was also made a canon at Christ Church, Oxford. Thus his position was both academic and ecclesiastic. He took his duties seriously and did more teaching than expected, indeed, more than university statutes required. Treating the study of Hebrew as a religious subject, he avoided the "dryness of the lower criticism or the precarious assertions of the higher."⁴⁹

While Pusey had experienced the German universities first hand and had attempted, at least to some limited degree, to accommodate his teaching and approach to the academic world outside of England, William

⁴⁸"An Historical Enquiry into the Probable Causes of the Rationalist Character lately Predominant into the Theology of Germany." James Rose at Cambridge had delivered lectures on this topic at Cambridge, Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XVI, p. 497.

⁴⁹Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XVI, p. 479.

Whewell at Cambridge steadfastly rejected the German model. Indeed, Whewell saw little virtue in any aspect of the German approach be it academic or moral. He argued four major points against the Teutonic order: debate between system builders created confusion among students; students would lose respect for teachers; critical spirit was cultivated too soon in young students; and the free system, the lack of collegiate discipline, posed a moral danger and threatened personal character and self control. Whewell claims,

The state of Germany, has of late years been unfavorable to the intellectual welfare of its students. . . . A great philosophical conquest is made by Kant, but Fichte, first a follower of Kant ends by deposing him. Schelling superseded Fichte only to be surpassed by Hegel who yielded to a younger Fichte.⁵⁰

Whewell argues a man under this type of intellectual regime cannot acquire a stable character or be certain of any truths. A student becomes "a wide and restless spectator"--uncertain of any truth.⁵¹

Another Cambridge man, F.D. Maurice, also warns of intellectual and moral dangers implicit in the German system. He distinguishes freedom of the spirit from freedom of speculation; "when a man indulges his intellect to all the freaks to which it is inclined, he is not on the way to be a freeman, but he is on the way to become a slave."⁵²

But what I complain of in the Germans is that the pleasure of the art of knowing, in them, entirely supersedes the consideration of the object. It is with them so mightily pleasant

⁵⁰William Whewell, English University Education, p. 47.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²F.D. Maurice, Subscription No Bondage, or the Practical Advantages Afforded by the Thirty-Nine Articles as Guides in All the Branches of Academical Education (Oxford: J.H. Parker, 1835), p. 80.

a thing to be always asking Pilate's question, "What is truth?" that I confess I am unable to perceive that they care particularly for a reply, or are thoroughly persuaded that one is possible.⁵³

By contrast with the intellectual perplexity many German students must face, Maurice maintains that a feeling that a student is walking under a firmament of truths, the Thirty-Nine Articles, "it seems to me, would be most salutary, most cheering, most invigorating, to a young German student."⁵⁴ Such an authority of truth would not quench a student's ardour for truth, "it would only give it manliness and direction; it would take away the self-conceit and not his courage; it would give him a sense of reality, of which he is now destitute."⁵⁵

Because German professors cannot proclaim eternal truth, students often lose respect for their teachers. Being in a position to accept or reject the proclaimed doctrines of speculative philosophers,

⁵³Ibid., p. 81.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Ibid. In another section, Maurice warns of other disadvantages to students in Germany.

Left to his own caprices in a German University, I believe a young man, very earnest in philological pursuits, is likely sooner or later to become the tenant of a lunatic asylum, unless he should have the more wretched fate of being the founder of some new metaphysical theory in which,

Nothing is, but all things seem,

And we the shadows of the dream--

whereas, fortified at the outset with strong and manly conditions of thought, he may become a deliverer of his age from many of its confusions and superstitions, and the asserter of stern and living realities. (Ibid., p. 59)

According to Maurice, the Thirty-Nine Articles provide a conceptual framework of substantial verities which enable a student to impart "a quickness, an ardour, an honest boldness to his researches, which men of his age never exhibit" (Ibid., p. 59).

each with different systems, students may look upon a succession of professors with levity or even contempt.⁵⁶ According to this system professors introduce subjects and invite students to inquire for themselves; "to accept or reject according to their best judgment, to examine all doctrines boldly and thoroughly." This approach cultivates a critical spirit.

By contrast, Whewell maintained, the teaching by English tutors of mathematics or "other subjects of undoubted truth and works of unquestioned excellence" instills a feeling of respect. "I do not at all hesitate to say that the respectful system appears to be the proper line of education."

I conceive that the student ought to have placed before him, something which is a good mental exercise to struggle with the apparent objections which, by effort and practice, may be overcome. By this means respect is not the result of novelty, or of some transient feeling of the age. The critical system is best fitted to advanced philosophers, not undergraduates, thus it does not appear wise to make critical inquiries the proper object of university education.⁵⁷

Expressing such an educational philosophy as this, is it any wonder that the defenders of Oxford and Cambridge education in the first half of the nineteenth century have been nearly ignored by most twentieth century academics?

Finally, the German university environment did not provide the wholesome in loco parentis policies of English colleges, and thereby, it was claimed, tended to deprave students' character. Whewell charac-

⁵⁶Whewell, English University Education, p. 48.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 49.

terizes the German universities as having a free system in which there is no discipline as at English colleges. Students are left to act "without control as to attendance at lectures, other appointments at the college, and as to manners and conduct in general."⁵⁸ He regarded this "free system" as consistent with educational practices prevalent outside England in which residence "is required to little purpose" and in which examinations at certain periods are the measure of education. Whewell perceived no fewer than six moral dangers of such a free system. These included the following: first, the new-felt freedom would most likely be exhibited in a conspicuous manner; students might behave obnoxiously in town; third, they would revolt against the lecture room spy system; fourth, students would come to resent authority and lose respect; fifth, "it can hardly be doubted, I think, that the tendency of the free system, if introduced into the English Universities, would be to corrupt the character and deprave the manners of the students"; sixth, the alternative to discipline is "a system of entire misrule and the unbounded sway of youthful caprice, extravagance, and turbulence."⁵⁹

In particular the example of the ill effects on Orthodoxy wrought by Biblical textual research in Germany, called the "Higher Criticism," cast research in general in England in an unfavorable light. Although suspicious of the German biblical examinations, the English had some contact with it. Dr. Herbert Marsh had studied at

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 122.

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 125-27.

Göttingen and translated, about 1805, an edition of Michaelis, an early work anticipating higher criticism.⁶⁰ D.F. Strauss's Das Leben Jesu, 1835, was one of the landmarks and turning points of nineteenth century religious thought. It stunned English academics. Thomas Arnold thought it mistaken. He claimed that Strauss wrote about history and myths, "but having heard that some pretended histories are mythical, he borrowed this notion as an engine to help him out of Christianity."⁶¹ Only three years after Strauss's Life of Jesus, Charles Hennell (1809-1850) wrote in English, Inquiry Concerning the Origin of Christianity, 1838. This was the major work of higher criticism in England. At the time Hennell wrote the Inquiry he was unaware of German higher criticism. Hennell was the son of a Manchester Unitarian businessman and a friend of Mary Ann Evans (George Eliot). Indeed, Miss Evans' friendship with Hennell led to her translation of Strauss's Das Leben Jesu. Hennell's work lacked the levity and derisiveness often found in works of natural religion about orthodox Christianity. Strauss's work differed from Hennell's not so much in its actual conclusions as in the encyclopedic range of its erudition and the philosophic profundity of its basis.⁶² Although most university men rejected the higher criticism, some German influence was viewed as more wholesome and welcome.

Although some university men, like Whewell, rejected the German teaching method, by the 1850s others accepted it. Even E.B. Pusey,

⁶⁰V.H.R. Green, Religion at Oxford and Cambridge, p. 256.

⁶¹A.P. Stanley, Life of Arnold, 1890, p. 291.

⁶²Willey, Nineteenth Century Studies, pp. 207-20.

Regius Professor of Hebrew, and not a man known to jump onto any fads, approved the new tendency for professors to copy the German example.

They form to themselves the ideal of some Professor as . . . Niebuhr, or De Sacy, or Bopp, or Gesenius, persons who advance the general knowledge of the subject, or in secular matters, strike out new lines of thought.⁶³

In addition to these men, Lord Acton and Adolphus William Ward, Thomas Arnold's great nephew, also were strongly influenced by Germany.

In academic approach the English and Germans had diverged by the early nineteenth century. Whereas the strength of British scholarship from Bentley to Parson had lain in textual scholarship, in the emendation and criticism of texts, and in metrical study, the new object, for the Germans, was a fuller understanding of ancient civilization, its history, art, and institutions.⁶⁴ Thanks to the German revival of classics under Lessing, Winckelmann and Goethe, the Germans and their English followers, like Thomas Arnold, discovered that the ideal of Greek and Roman civilization was a combination of liberty and law. Classical civilization was free; at the same time it was moral and disciplined, very unlike the negativistic and chaotic condition of contemporary France.⁶⁵ Thus Germany served as a somewhat paradoxical model for moral educators in England. On the one hand, German higher criticism posed a threat to Orthodoxy; on the other, some

⁶³Report of the Oxford University Commissioners, Parliamentary Papers 1852, LVII, Evidence, 14; cited by Sheldon Rothblatt, Tradition and Change, p. 161.

⁶⁴J.W. Adamson, English Education 1789-1902, p. 68.

⁶⁵E.C. Mack, Public Schools and British Opinion, p. 247.

German scholars recreated secular models of virtue in the full culture of Greek and Roman worthies.

While German universities served as a distant foil for controversies between critics and defenders of the ancient English universities, London University, founded in the 1820s, sparked a much more vociferous debate among the same antagonists. The establishment of the "Godless Institution on Gower Street," or "Brougham's Cockney College" became more than a cause célèbre: it epitomized and institutionalized the program and aspirations of Oxford and Cambridge opponents.

The "Godless Institution on Gower Street" or "Brougham's Cockney College" from its inception sparked a controversy between Benthamites and traditionalists at Oxford and Cambridge concerning issues of higher education. Launched at a public meeting on July 1, 1825, the Lord Mayor of London presiding and Brougham the chief speaker, London University proposed to give an opportunity for higher education to young men living in and near London, whose parents were unable or unwilling for social, economic, or denominational reasons to send them to Oxford or Cambridge. Conceived by Thomas Campbell, the Scottish poet, in 1820 in the course of discussions with professors at Bonn, he first published a prospectus for London University in the Times on 9 February 1825.⁶⁶ This plan received support from Bentham-

⁶⁶Strictly speaking the present University of London dates from 1836, the year of its charter foundation. The history of University of London began in 1826 with the founding of London University which was frequently called the University of London and in 1836 became University College. "King's College founded by Anglicans in 1827, as a counter measure became combined with University College in a 1836 charter as London University" (Chester New, Henry Brougham to 1830 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 359).

ites, Whigs and Dissenters who wanted a non-collegiate place of higher education for the middle class free from religious tests, and cheaper and better disposed to modern studies, such as science and medicine, than the existing universities.⁶⁷ James Mill pointed out that the

middle ranks . . . had until now had a deplorably defective education. Those who projected the University of London were taking the first essential step to remedy this state of affairs.⁶⁸

In order to implement these ideas, Henry Brougham, Lord John Russell, James Mill, Zachary Macaulay and others formed a council. These founders altogether ignored Oxford and Cambridge as models of university education and organization.⁶⁹ Instead of founding endowed colleges they financed London University like a proprietary school, by selling £100 shares vested in a joint stock company. In this way a lay council could exercise control and ensure close contact between the university and the life of the city it served.

⁶⁷Francis Hawes, Henry Brougham (London: Jonathan Cape, 1957), p. 169.

⁶⁸James Mill, Westminster Review, Vol. VI, no. 12, October 1826, p. 270.

⁶⁹Instead they looked to three other places for examples to follow. The University of Edinburgh had flourishing schools of medicine, philosophy, and political economy. Thomas Jefferson's University of Virginia, founded in 1819, and known to Englishmen, embodied a liberal conception of education in a wide curriculum which covered science, medicine, modern languages, law, politics, economics, and history. Finally, new or reformed German Universities such as Berlin, Bonn, Breslau and Munich were visited by many Englishmen in the 1820s. At these universities professors gave lectures on the sciences and medical education. By contrast with Oxford and Cambridge, they had no required costumes, no corporate unions, no religious tests, and few examinations. (Brian Simon, Studies in the History of Education, 1780-1870, p. 121)

Benthamite and Scottish influence figured prominently. According to Bellot's research,⁷⁰ Bentham played little direct part in the founding of the College although he took interest in it and left part of his library to it. Bellot recognized Bentham's influence through his disciples and the similarity to principles of education enunciated in Bentham's Chrestomathia.⁷¹ London University differed from Oxford and Cambridge in almost every respect. It was designed as professorial not tutorial, secular not religious, modern rather than classical, and non-residential. Modeled on the Scottish University, London University adopted their catholicity of curriculum and diversity of students. The Whigs welcomed this venture and gladly accepted the alliance of Radicals and Dissenters. With all of these contrasts in structure and philosophy of education the founding of London University modernized higher education.

Because the old universities resisted utilitarian clamoring for

⁷⁰Hale Bellot, Founding of the University of London (London, 1929). This is the definitive work on London University.

⁷¹Chester New, Henry Brougham to 1830, p. 383. The Dictionary of National Biography article on George Grote said, "The records of the self-styled University prove the astonishing ardour displayed by three men. James Mill, George Grote, and Henry Brougham . . . who took a lead in all that was done" (DNB, "George Grote") Both Brougham and Mill were Edinburgh graduates as was Leonard Horner (brother of Francis Horner of the Edinburgh Review), the first Warden, and eight of the original professors. On the other hand, not one Oxford graduate found a place at the new University. (Brian Simon, Studies in the History of Education 1780-1870, p. 119) The largest group among the Professors appointed were graduates of Scottish universities. It should be noted that among the five men first appointed who enjoyed established reputations, three were graduates of the University of Edinburgh and had been members of the Speculative Society at the same time as Brougham. There were a goodly number of Cambridge graduates among the professors. (Chester New, Henry Brougham to 1830, p. 378)

a more practically applied higher education, the Radicals created alternatives at the new London University and later at other civic universities. These new universities had none of the institutional impediments to science, professorships and technology of Cambridge or Oxford. Indeed the scientific departments and buildings were the very badge of their usefulness in the eyes of the business communities in which they were rooted. Thus the new universities developed an alternative to liberal education based not only on different attitudes toward psychology, careers and values, but also based on the structure and financial characteristics of the community which supported them.⁷² New institutions (civic universities) had several common characteristics, the most important of which was the applicability of their curricula to the business of getting a living. Their curricula included modern law, modern history, political economy, geography, modern languages, moral and political philosophy, the physical sciences and medicine. They sought general culture and professional training. They intended to be regional institutions attracting local students who lived at home. They eschewed the inculcation of the traits of a gentleman through leisured collegiate life. The economical and utilitarian minded avoided the ancient universities.⁷³

The curriculum at London University from its inception revealed a contrast with the ancient universities. By early 1826 Henry Brougham

⁷²M. Sanderson, The Universities in the Nineteenth Century, p. 6.

⁷³R.G. McPherson, Theory of Higher Education in Nineteenth Century England, p. 31.

had charge of fundamental curriculum building and Sir James Mackintosh of the preparation of a prospectus. The planning committee proposed to study German Universities as a model. Thomas Campbell visited the University of Berlin; Goldsmid, a co-founder, went to Germany in 1827 to observe universities; and Austin, under appointment as Professor of Jurisprudence working in Germany, made careful observations. However, German influence was slight compared to Scottish.⁷⁴ The curriculum at the opening, in October 1828, included the following subjects: medicine, engineering, mathematics, various branches of science, political economy, law, philosophy, modern and classical languages, logic, and other subjects as options. James Mill as leader of the education committee tried to secure men of the highest distinction and ability. Of the original professors twelve came from Scotland, six from Cambridge,

⁷⁴Chester New, Henry Brougham to 1830, p. 375.

and six from abroad, but none came from Oxford.⁷⁵

Oxford and Cambridge men did not passively acquiesce when confronted by the upstart college. Although the rationale of most ancient university apologists who opposed London University derived, in large part, from their commitment to Anglican moral education, other factors also played a part. London University's detractors deplored the lack of many features integral to the older universities. These shortcomings involved the lack of residential colleges and tutorial teaching, the absence of Biblical studies in the curriculum, in particular, and the lack of Christian standards in general. Oxford and Cambridge critics also objected to London University's curriculum, which they considered superficial. Some also felt threatened by the end of the monopoly formerly enjoyed by Oxford and Cambridge in higher

⁷⁵Brian Simon, Studies in the History of Education 1780-1870, pp. 122-23. Bulwer-Lytton has provided enrollment figures for King's College, the Anglican branch, and the University of London, the utilitarian-backed institution, in 1833, prior to their incorporation into one university under a charter in 1836. Interestingly, the Anglican King's College attracted a larger enrollment, even in London, than its Radical rival.

London University and King's College Enrollments During 1833
King's College (April 1833)

Regular students for the prescribed course of education	109
Occasional students in various departments of Science and Literature	196
	<u>305</u>
Medical Department	
Regular full time students	77
Part time students	233
	<u>310</u>
TOTAL:	615
London University (February 1833)	
Students in Arts and Law	148
Students in Medicine	283
	<u>431</u>
TOTAL:	431

(Bulwer-Lytton, England and the English, p. 169)

education, and they resented such a prominent intrusion of Scots, Radicals, and Dissenters in what would surely become a major English institution. All of these reasons led to efforts by supporters of the two ancient universities to block the granting of a charter to London University in the mid-1830s.

From its founding, London University avoided denominational or theological commitments. Brougham, at a general meeting of the proprietors (share holders) of London University on February 27, 1828, strongly opposed a course of lectures in the University on evidences of Christianity. The Times reported:

It was not because they disregarded religion or religious education that the Council had omitted theological lectures, but because they deemed the subject too important to be approached lightly or inconsiderately. Their object was to leave the religious instruction of the students to their parents and clergymen.⁷⁶

The reluctance of London University to make a Christian affirmation, not surprising considering the initiative and support given by Benthamite backers, accounted for this paramount complaint. Evangelicals and High Churchmen alike were shocked by the thought of a University not teaching the religion of the Church of England. William Wilberforce had written to Brougham asking him to include lectures on evidences of Christianity.⁷⁷ One contemporary in 1825 described the "Monasters" (meaning Oxford and Cambridge) as "howling, especially the loyal undergraduates." George d'Ogby, the "scholarly and energetic" rector of

⁷⁶Times, February 28, 1828.

⁷⁷Brougham MSS., 21 September 1825, and October 1825, quoted in Chester New, Henry Brougham to 1830, p. 366.

Lambeth, in an open letter to Robert Peel, agreed to the need of a new university but urged that the University of London was inadequate by reason of its "failure to provide spiritual and moral instruction."⁷⁸ The Bishop of Chester preached against London University, while John Bull, a Tory periodical, satirized it.⁷⁹ All in all fledgling London University encountered resistance and rejection by the Christian and Tory establishment.

By far the lack of Theology and Christian morality constituted the basis for the most serious opposition. John H. Newman argued that because a University professes to teach universal knowledge and because theology is surely a branch of knowledge, how could any university profess to teach all branches of knowledge and yet exclude one of them? Then, going on the attack, Newman furthermore claimed that critics, particularly those affiliated with the "godless colleges," who oppose the religious exclusiveness of Oxford and Cambridge, are themselves guilty of such exclusivity through their opposition to theology.⁸⁰ Like Newman, Thomas Arnold feared the implications of a "Godless college." In advocating the teaching of theology and the Bible as a required part of London University's curriculum, he was not so much defending Church authority as supporting a good influence over human character. His dispute with London University was less motivated by the absence of theology in its curriculum, than by the lack of

⁷⁸V.H.H. Green, The Universities, p. 106.

⁷⁹New, Henry Brougham to 1830, p. 366.

⁸⁰J.H. Newman, Idea of a University, p. 20.

Christians on its staff.

The moment on which you enter upon any moral subjects--whether Moral Philosophy or History--you must either be Christian or anti-Christian, for you touch upon the ground of Christianity, and you must either take it on your standard of moral judgment, or you must renounce it, and either follow another standard, or have no standard at all. In other words, again, the moment you touch on what alone is education--the forming of the moral principles and habits of man--neutrality is impossible.⁸¹

Arnold, in effect, formulated a syllogism that all learning of moral subjects involves Christianity, to teach such subjects without Christianity is to be anti-Christian; London University teaches subjects in this way and therefore is anti-Christian. Arnold contended that a degree in art "ought to certify that the holder has received a complete and liberal education, and a liberal education without the scriptures must, in any Christian country, be a contradiction in terms."⁸²

⁸¹Stanley, Life of Arnold, CLXX, 28 November 1837, Addressed to W. Empson, p. 428.

⁸²J. Fitch, Thomas and Matthew Arnold and their Influence on English Education, p. 132. Arnold was not alone in maintaining his position. His friend and fellow noetic, Richard Whately, Archbishop of Dublin, wrote to Arnold, 5 January 1838, supporting his ideas about general non-sectarian Christian education.

To say that a man can have gone through a course of liberal education in this country, totally ignorant of the outline of Christian History, is to imply not merely that the Christian religion is untrue or bad, but that it is insignificant and unworthy of serious attention except from those who have a fancy for it--as is the case with the mythological antiquities of the Anglo-Saxons, or the dreams of astrology and alchemy.

(Elizabeth Jane Whately, Life of Richard Whately, p. 411)

He opposed the granting of degrees at London University to a student unless he gave proof before the university of knowledge about Christian history. "I contend for a knowledge of Christian History as an essential part of the course of liberal education . . . not because of its truth but of its important place in society" (Ibid., pp. 412-13).

Arnold elaborated on this same theme in a letter dated March 15, 1837. Concerning moral and religious knowledge he said,

If I take no notice of authority and influences of Christianity, I unavoidably take some other authority, some other religion, philosophy, or mere common opinion or instinct--but in any case, I have one of the many views of life and conduct which it was the very purpose of Christ's coming into the world to exclude. And how can any Christian man lend himself to the propagating or sanctioning a system of moral knowledge which assumes that Christ's law is not rule, nor His promise our motive of action? This then is my principle, that moral studies not based on Christianity must be unChristian, and therefore are such as I can take no part in.⁸³

In 1837, Arnold's long struggle with the integration of moral education in the curriculum of London University climaxed. In December of that year, the Senate of the University passed a motion, moved by Arnold, that candidates for a B.A. shall pass an examination either in one of the four Gospels or the Acts of the Apostles in the original Greek, and also a test in Scripture History. He intended to affirm the principle that as a public institution of a Christian country, the University was itself Christian. Its charter affirmed that it was a purpose of the University to "promote religion and morality," and Arnold held that it was the Christian religion which should be promoted.

I find it expressly declared in our charter, that we are founded for the advancement of "Religion and Morality." And this seems to lead to the exact conclusion which I most warmly approve of, that we are to be a Christian University, but not a Romanist one, nor a Protestant neither exclusively Church of England, nor exclusively Dissenting. "Religion in the King's" mouth, can mean only Christianity; in fact no Christian can use it in any other sense without manifest inconsistency. Again,

⁸³Stanley Letters, CLX, 15 March 1837, To Crabbe Robinson, Esq., p. 414.

must it not follow that if we enter at all upon moral science, whether it be Moral Philosophy or History, we must be supposed to have some definite notions of moral truth?⁸⁴

His resolution aroused opposition. Even before the crucial February, 1838, meeting the University Senate had indicated its unorthodox proclivities. All members of the London University Senate, except Arnold, voted to give degrees to Jews by making an exception in their favor from the New Testament examination, thus making that examination voluntary for them. Arnold wrote, "the Gower Street College I therefore hold be anti-Christian inasmuch as it meddles with moral subjects--having lectures in History--and yet does not require its Professors to be Christians."⁸⁵ In consequence of secularistic opposition, a meeting of the University Senate in February 1838, where Arnold was a minority of one, passed a watered-down motion. This motion made voluntary the examination in the Hebrew Old Testament and Greek New Testament.⁸⁶

As a result of this Senate action Arnold withdrew from London University and declared,

The University has avowed a principle to which I am totally opposed--namely, that education need not be connected with Christianity; and I cannot join in conferring a degree on those who have not had a complete education (without the New

⁸⁴Stanley, Life of Arnold, Letter CLXII, 30 April 1837, to Bishop Otter, p. 419.

⁸⁵Stanley, Letters of Thomas Arnold, CLXV, 28 November 1837, p. 459.

⁸⁶J.W. Adamson, English Education 1789-1902, p. 94.

Testament exam), which I believe to be no more so than a man without his soul or spirit is a complete man.⁸⁷

Arnold by his motion for the mandatory test in Bible raised a crucial issue of English education in the nineteenth century. London University, as an examining body, was committed to a completely neutral position with reference to religious education. This position fast became a precedent. For example, the three Queen's Colleges of Belfast, Cork and Galway, founded between 1845 and 1849 and incorporated as Queen's University in 1850 gave "an improved academical education equally to all classes of the community without religious distinction." This meant that no religious teaching was included in the curriculum.⁸⁸

Coleridge, a Cambridge man, and Newman, an Oxford alumnus, both commented on the curriculum and teaching methods at London University. Most of their university colleagues fully concurred with their criticisms. Writing in the 1850s, Newman referred to the "practical error" of the last twenty years in higher education--the unmeaning profession of new subjects. Continuing along these critical lines he showed the repugnance of most Oxford men toward London University. He denounced the University which dispensed with residence and tutorial teaching and simply gave its degrees to all comers who passed an examination in a wide range of subjects. Newman preferred a university that had no professors or examinations to one "which exacted of its members . . . [a

⁸⁷Stanley, Life of Arnold, CLXXIV, 17 February 1838, pp. 469-70.

⁸⁸J.W. Adamson, English Education, p. 94.

superficial] acquaintance with every science under the sun."⁸⁹ Coleridge, a Cambridge alumnus, in the context of arguing for the establishment of a national "clerisy," a permanent, nationalized, learned order, criticized what he regarded as the false trends in education during the 1820s and 1830s. He declared that "neither tract societies, nor conventicles, nor Lancastrian schools, nor mechanics institutions, nor lecture-bazaars under the absurd name of a university, nor all these collectively can be a substitute [for a national clerisy], for they are all marked with the same asterisk of spuriousness."⁹⁰

The criticisms expressed by these two Oxford and Cambridge alumni represented the opinion of many at those institutions; indeed, to the extent that the ancient universities attempted to block a charter for London University. The advent of a Whig Government in 1830 emboldened the fledgling university to apply for a charter and degree-granting status. By February of 1834, after a few years of wrangling, the Council of London University announced that it had brought the objections of the ancient universities before the Privy Council for settlement. Even at that date the Duke of Wellington, in his capacity as Chancellor, urged the Hebdomadal Board at Oxford to fight to the last. William Sewell, fellow of Exeter, argued for Oxford and objected

⁸⁹Newman, Idea of a University, p. 128.

⁹⁰S.T. Coleridge, On the Constitution of Church and State, According to the Idea of Each, ed. John Barrell (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1972, first edition 1830), p. 53.

to a charter and degree-granting authority for London University.⁹¹

Although the lack of explicitly Christian components in London University's curriculum may have been the single most egregious flaw from the perspective of critics in the ancient universities, the upstart University failed to measure up in other areas too. Its lack of residential colleges and location in London, and its diversified subjects taught by professors rather than tutors constituted two major problems.⁹² While Oxford and Cambridge regarded their colleges as a special community which helped to mold character (we will examine this

⁹¹Ward, Victorian Oxford, p. 88.

⁹²In contrast to the morally and intellectually dangerous German approach to teaching, William Whewell, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, argued that we must consider college lectures by tutors as important parts of our process, and college examinations as part of the same scheme of direct teaching; we must rather make our examinations auxiliary to the effect of our lectures, than the lectures merely subservient to the examinations. (William Whewell, English University Education, 1838, p. 65) Perhaps as one of his strongest reasons, Whewell asserted that one could not argue with results--the accomplishments of English Universities' graduates in medicine, law, political affairs, Christian ministry, and other professions. "For the fortunes of nations are determined, under Providence, by their practical leaders, and men are formed by their education" (Ibid., p. 50). In a way that must have been gratifying to Whewell, some of the most influential teachers of the next generation determinedly carried his banner. Nevertheless within the next generation some changes clearly had to be made.

There is nothing I less wish to see than Oxford turned into a German or a London University; on the other hand, is it at all probable that we shall be able to remain as we are for twenty years longer, the one solitary, exclusive, unnatural corporation--our enormous wealth without any manifest utilitarian purpose; a place the studies of which belong to the past, and unfortunately seem to have no power of incorporating new branches of knowledge; so exclusively that it is scarcely capable of opening to the wants of the Church itself. (Faber, Jowett, p. 197)

Jowett wrote this observation to a Dissenting M.P., probably about the time of Parliamentary investigation of Oxford after 1850.

issue in a later chapter), they had an ambivalent attitude toward the metropolitan community, London. On the one hand, London was an exciting, challenging "real world," a school of life, broadening, cosmopolitan, and sophisticated. Perhaps the Georgians had a more positive outlook on the city than the Victorians. On the other hand London was also a place of vice and corruption. By the nineteenth century it began to disturb and frighten some observers. Cobbett and DeQuincey, for example, raised their voices against it. To many in Oxford, London's presence had become a handicap, rather than an advantage in education. Schools like Charterhouse that had been in the country but which had been enveloped by spreading London changed their location in 1872. Oxford and Cambridge dons looked askance at London and asserted a new discipline over undergraduates. Critics of London University pointed out the dangers to discipline of a University near temptations.⁹³ Perhaps the diversion by Oxford of the Great Western Railway to the town of Didcot, some ten miles to the south, thus preventing the capital from penetrating to the very doorsteps of the foremost educational institution, best symbolized Oxford's rejection of London. Indeed, it was reported that there was an Oxford don who said that the railroad was "equally displeasing to God and to myself."

Although the Anglican Establishment lost its battle to thwart the charter for London University in the 1830s, during that same generation they made some advances. Anglican higher education was pro-

⁹³Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education, p. 38.

moted by the founding of King's College, London (later combined as part of London University), St. David's College, Lampeter, and the University of Durham. While many Oxford and Cambridge critics raised serious questions about important issues in higher education, some of the objections appear to observers in the twentieth century as frivolous, if not amusing. Two examples of this latter category of objection include the English prejudice against the Scots and the fear occasioned by the loss of a monopoly on higher education in England by the two old universities. A Cambridge graduate opposed the proposed London University: its founders, Birkbeck, a physician, Brougham, an orator, and Campbell were "Scottish all."

I know each of the triumvirate has attained considerable pre-eminence in his proper profession; but surely because one can single rhymes, another cross the bumpkins, and the third sign a man's doom in dog-latin, they are not to "rule the roost" over the intellects of this huge metropolis. Permit it ye people of London and ye reduce this magnificent, this glorious city, as to intellectual worth, to the level of "modern Athens" [Edinburgh]. Scottish are the originators of the scheme; and their immediate disciples, nine out of ten, are "Scottish."⁹⁴

Wright claimed that Scots were superficial pedants, "everyone has a spoonful but no one a bellyfull of learning."⁹⁵ The patrons of this new university consist in "Scotticism, Dissenterism, and Radicalism."⁹⁶ Wright was not the only man to take low swipes at the utilitarian university. It was also lampooned in doggerel verse.

⁹⁴John Martin Frederick Wright, Alma Mater, Seven Years at Cambridge by a Trinity Man (London: Black, Young and Young, 1827), p. 138.

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 135.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 139.

Each Dustman shall speak, both in Latin and Greek,
 And Tinkers beat Bishops in knowledge,
 If the opulent tribe will consent to subscribe
 To build a new Cockney College.

In the last verse the author exhorted,

Ye Dons and ye Doctors, ye Provosts and Proctors,
 Who are paid to monopolize knowledge,
 Come make opposition by voice and petition
 To the Radical Infidel College.⁹⁷

Make opposition they did to the new utilitarian challenge in the metropolis. However, counter-attacking the institutional embodiment of Benthamite reforming efforts represented only one, and the lesser effort, by Oxford and Cambridge men. Like their utilitarian critics and opponents, ancient university apologists not only shot slings and arrows at the enemy, but also constructed and proclaimed the virtues of their own bastions.

⁹⁷T.E. Hook, "The Cockney College."

CHAPTER III

UNIVERSITY DEFENDERS

We believe (it may seem superstition) in a sort of intuitive power, which God has given to a good heart, to discover the right way to its end.

William Whewell, Thoughts on the Admission of Dissenters, 1834

My own belief is, that our Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge are, with all of their faults, the best institutions of the kind in the world--at least for Englishmen. . . .

Thomas Arnold, cited in Stanley, Life of Arnold, Letter CCLXVII, 4 April 1842

Just as the utilitarians espoused particular goals of education, so the Universities had others. University defenders, of course, took complete exception to the Benthamites. The poets, Wordsworth and Coleridge, spoke for a minority never entirely silent during the nineteenth century. For example, Wordsworth wrote, "this imperial realm . . . shall teach . . . all children . . . the rudiments of letters, and inform/The mind with moral and religious truth. . . ."¹ Although Wordsworth may have been referring to younger students, many university figures completely concurred with his sentiments and applied them to older students.

The defenders of the universities spanned many theological and political positions. In spite of their frequent quarrels with each

¹William Wordsworth, The Excursion, Book IX, 1794-1814, published 1814.

other, those whom we categorize in the Coleridgean tradition all were united against materialism and secularism. For all theorists and groups among Coleridgeans, moral purposes constituted the primary goal of education. An introductory glimpse at university and moral education apologists may provide a sense of the wide spectrum of these men. Throughout the period from the first attacks by the Edinburgh Review to the initiation of parliamentary investigation, the old forms of education fell increasingly on the defensive and supporters found the maintenance of their position against the rising tide of innovation increasingly difficult.

While some defenders casually commented on what they conceived to be the primary purpose of Christian higher education, others systematically expounded apologies. A quest for a known established authority in an increasingly democratic and industrializing society with an uncertain future, made more perplexing by the erosion of many old verities, lay as the most fundamental issue. In spite of the dialectic among Oxford and Cambridge men--some fearing liberalism and free inquiry, others welcoming new explorations and analyses in order to place their faith on a firmer basis--they all were agreed on many points. All sought to develop moral character, often emphasizing character formation to an even greater extent than an actual religious conversion experience or the attainment of what some university dons dismissed as mere intellectual achievement. Thus they wanted to educate a large number of moral leaders to occupy prominent positions in Church and state, rather than to create an intellectual elite to

perplex their generation. University educators wanted to instill respect among students for the great men of old, both ancient classical worthies, and eminent divines in the Church--moral exemplars all! By remembering the deeds of good men of the past, and by exhortations, not to mention some mental cultivation through the study of classical languages and mathematics, it was hoped that men would become anxious to do right. Moral education, as understood by university men, would not only improve individuals, but also serve national interests. They would train future leaders to understand the doctrines and to be loyal to the established English Church and to direct wise national policy. Some differences of opinion separated those, like Arnold, who favored comprehension from those, like Sewell, who insisted on exclusiveness in university and Church policy. All of the university spokesmen relied on the Bible as an ultimate source of authority.

After exploring a variety of Anglican educators' opinions about the proper goals for Oxford and Cambridge, including Tractarians, Evangelicals, and Broadchurchmen, we shall focus on three major university apologists in the first half of the century: Edward Copleston, Provost of Oriel, Adam Sedgwick, Professor of Geology at Cambridge, and William Whewell, Master of Trinity and sometime Vice Chancellor of Cambridge. A consideration of what constituted religious education, and how it was defended in the universities, will comprise a third section and conclude the chapter.

Defenders drew support for their cause from wherever they found it. Some, for example, looked to Edmund Burke to justify their alma

mater. Burke lent the weight of his authority to the contention that primarily instinct and feeling could judge as to the merit of institutions which were the product of centuries of organic evolution. T. Hodgkins, an Englishman with extensive knowledge, as a traveler on the continent, of English and German universities, commented on Englishmen's almost sacred instinct and feeling for Oxford and Cambridge. In 1820 he wrote: "We . . . regard our ancient universities as an integral part of the constitution which it would be almost sacrilege to amend or destroy."² While Hodgkin commented in a general way concerning English attitudes, Professor Charles Lloyd, at Oxford, wrote quite forcefully in favor of preserving nearly everything as it was.

It is my fervent and anxious wish that, while we clear away gradually the rubbish of some of our old prejudices, the essence of the old Oxford principles should remain inviolate--that no shuffling or trickery should be introduced among us--no condescendence to new opinions for the sake of popularity, no change of our ancient sentiments, or ancient institutions.³

His sentiments foreshadowed those expressed by William Whewell thirteen years later.

From the juniors, underclassmen, who, Ward observed,⁴ were more enthusiastic supporters of the Church and of the exclusion of Dissenters than the seniors; to Professors like Charles Lloyd; to the Duke of Wellington, elected Chancellor of Oxford in 1834; and Lord

²T. Hodgkin, Travels in the North of Germany (Edinburgh: A. Constable and Co., 1820), cited in W.R. Ward's Victorian Oxford, p. 61.

³Prof. Charles Lloyd to Robert Peel, March 23, 1825. B.M. Add. MSS. 40342 for. 229. This source was cited in Ward's Victorian Oxford, p. 61.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 87.

Eldon, the High Steward, conservative sentiments permeated every level at the universities. In 1834 both Wellington and Eldon were warmly welcomed by Oxford men at a celebration there, although they were vilified in the Whig and Radical press. Although a stout defender of Oxford, Wellington displayed his political prudence. He wrote a long letter to the Vice Chancellor on August 27, 1834, pointing out that every aspect of university life would be made a matter of parliamentary inquiry. The Duke urged university officials to revise obsolete statutes and change the constitution of the university.⁵

While men of various theological stripes defended the inculcation of religious and moral values, though not necessarily those actually then prevalent at the universities, none spoke out more adamantly in favor of the university status quo or more vehemently against its critics than William Sewell, a Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, in the 1830s.⁶ His ideas, expressed in a polemical work favoring the

⁵Ward, Victorian Oxford, p. 88.

⁶Not only do his comments appear extravagant to twentieth century readers, but, also, even in his own time, Sewell seemed flamboyant and controversial. "In fluency of speech, fertility of mind, fascination of manner, he had no contemporary rival; his public teaching, like his private talk, was ever rousing, persuasive, lofty; it seemed that those eloquent lips could open only to emit godlike sentiments and assert uncompromising principles." Such was the high opinion of William Tuckwell in his Reminiscences of Oxford, p. 234. Of course, Sewell had his detractors, too, particularly by the 1840s, and following his disastrous management of Ridley Hall, a college for boys run along Prayer Book lines.

In spite of his good qualities, "a taint of superficiality clung to him." "Sewell is very unreal," wrote Newman in 1840; "Preaches his dreams" was Shuttleworth's comment on his University sermons. Jowett in 1848 said, "Sewell, talking rashly and positively . . . has gone far to produce that very doubt and scepticism of

continued exclusion of Dissenters from universities, encapsulate most of the principal arguments employed by Oxford defenders, and, according to Sewell, represent the opinion of a sizable proportion of Oxford men in 1834. He directly raised the central issue of authority in society.

Our country, like every other country, requires to be governed. It ought to be placed beneath a check--to have an authority presiding over its principles, and actions, and desires, which it should respect and obey--a paternal authority, a most anxious and affectionate control--but still a control.⁷

He looked to the past for sources to define the origin and purpose of that authority. In referring to the governing of the country, Sewell pleaded for

a reverence for all that is great and good, and holy in life, in abidance by the lessons of antiquity wherever antiquity may be followed; a deep and solemn sense of their functions, their dignity, and inheritance; as sober and cautious references to all the philosophy of experience . . . unwillingness to change solely for the sake of change, or slightly from a momentary trial.⁸

Not one to be swept up in any transitory trends, Sewell firmly rooted his moral authority ideals in nearly two thousand years of the Christian tradition. "We cannot understand a scheme of moral control, or moral perfection, in which religion, fixed, definite, positive religion, is left out."⁹ He proceeded to argue that he did not know how to

which he himself complains" (W. Tuckwell, Reminiscences of Oxford, p. 235). Sewell became Professor of Moral Philosophy at Oxford.

⁷William Sewell, Thoughts on the Admission of Dissenters (Oxford: D.A. Talboys, 1834), p. 35.

⁸Ibid., p. 42.

⁹Ibid., p. 11.

make men good, supposing goodness to be separate from religion, without employing Christianity as an instrument.

The defense of religious education at Oxford sometimes led the more conservative members to take extreme positions in defending the status quo and resisting any innovations. William Sewell's diatribe against "liberty of conscience" represents a classic statement of this reactionary genre.

I deny the right of liberty of conscience wholly and utterly. . . . I deny the right of any sect to depart one atom from the standard which I hold to be the truth of Christianity. And I deny the right of any legislative power, of any minister of God, of any individual on earth, to sanction or permit it, without using every means in my power to control and bring them back from their errors.¹⁰

In another passage he defined Oxford's religious goals in the most narrow terms possible.

So long, then, as we regard religion and Christianity as parts of our morality, and instruments of our correction. . . . We can admit of no compromise, no latitude, no comprehension, no indulgence in acts, whatever be our indulgence in thought. And, therefore, when young men are brought here, and placed in our hands for education, we wish to make them not merely learned, but good; not merely good, but religious; not merely religious, but Christians; and not merely Christians, but Churchmen.¹¹

Particularly in the above statement, Sewell took, by far, the most uncompromising stance of any Oxford apologist known to this writer. Although such sectarian exclusiveness may sound repugnant to our more ecumenical age, Sewell was equally disgusted by the specter of skepticism.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 96.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 19-20.

Believe me, to the heart of man, even in corruption, there is nothing so mean, so cold, so wretched, so beggarly, so utterly contemptible, as a mind which has cast off its religion. . . . Without some spirit that looks beyond the earth, and some affections which stretch up to heaven, man is indeed not human. . . . There is a dreadful blank, a hollowness and poverty, and nakedness, which repels and disgusts.¹²

From Sewell's point of view his position was not a rationalization for exclusiveness or privilege, but rather a sincere statement of the moral undergirding which enabled the university to exert a beneficial effect on the whole nation in its many facets.

I will only repeat from the bottom of my heart, that if the University of Oxford has ever been a blessing or an honour to the nation; if it has sent out into the world for its good, scholars and statesmen, and ministers of religion, and interpreters of law, and defenders of Christianity, the ornaments of itself and of history; if it hopes to continue to be a safeguard to the morals and liberty of this country, by infusing right principles of conduct . . . this solemn duty must be achieved not by mere instruments of learning, but by the religious education of its members.¹³

Sewell certainly had no intention of creating ivory tower intellectuals. He claimed that Oxford desired to send into the world "not a few brilliant meteors to astonish and perplex their generation, but a number of honest, well-informed, sensible men, who, each in a limited sphere, may be a blessing and an honour to their country."¹⁴

Our theory of study . . . all proceed upon this belief, that a good heart and a sound head are better than a brilliant head with a bad heart, or with no heart at all. The principles of the young, their tone of opinion, their practical wish to do

¹²Ibid., p. 45.

¹³Ibid., pp. 26-27.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 9

right--these are the points which we regard most anxiously and value most highly.¹⁵

Sewell unmistakably ordered the tasks of university teachers, first to act as moral guardians and second as instructors in learning. This priority was Oxford's ideal, though not always the accomplished practice, Sewell admitted. He defined Oxford as a society for education; an intermediate stage of discipline and study "between the confinement of a school, and the perfect liberty of manhood."¹⁶ In direct contradiction to the goals that Mark Pattison, along with most contemporary academicians, would espouse a generation later, Sewell stated flatly, "I do not consider the communication of knowledge as the chief design of our post, or the grand end of education."¹⁷ Instead, he insisted that "mere knowledge and mere talent are not to be placed before the young, as objects of their ambition or respect." "We cultivate the understanding . . . but as an instrument and a mean, not an end." "We would lay upon every mind, which God has gifted with talent, the full weight of moral responsibility."¹⁸

Why, we might wonder, would a prominent Oxford don like Sewell argue what appears to be an anti-intellectual position, on the surface the antithesis of a renowned university's goals. His loathing for the utilitarian theories account for Sewell's extreme position; it gave an

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 8.

edge to all of his polemics. According to him this utilitarian theory has "gnawed its way" into political philosophy, public legislation and private practice,

till it has degraded society from its highest functions, has sensualized and animalized its character, has introduced a chaos of conflicting elements into our system of laws, has secretly dissolved the ties which bound us to each other as well as to our sovereign and has extinguished the noble instincts of private as of public life. It must be ever thus whenever expediency is made the rule of action, especially of political action.¹⁹

Utilitarian theory operated as a force leading to the dissolution of society, at least of Western Christian civilization as Sewell and others of like mind knew and revered it.

Perhaps the Politico-Metaphysicians of this day . . . are not aware of the extensive results which flow from their favorite theory. No one can accuse them of very profound thought. And yet there is a certain ingenuity in all which they do; an ingenuity very much resembling the essential distinction of maniacs, who reason with accuracy and acuteness from the most absurd and revolting principles.²⁰

Reasoning in such a contorted way, the utilitarians, according to Sewell, proclaimed a false morality which blurred the distinction between right and wrong.²¹ Realizing that Oxford men assumed leadership

¹⁹Cited in notes to Thomas Arnold's Inaugural Lecture on History, 1840, p. 55. Sewell also wrote Christian Morals (London: 1842, third edition). His purpose was to restore the connection between the science of Ethics and Christianity, and to touch on those questions which were most prominently discussed in his day. He seems to intend his audience to be the general Anglican family--not just scholars or philosophers. Sewell set forth a program of faith practices and good works. His examples relate to daily living in society, not to the universities in particular.

²⁰Sewell, Thoughts on the Admission of Dissenters to the University of Oxford (Oxford: D.A. Talboys, 1834), p. 48.

²¹Ibid., p. 64.

positions of leadership in Church and State, Sewell hoped that the students, with their characters formed by Christian principles, would combat the pernicious effects of philosophical radicalism. Although the wave of the future may not have flowed with the likes of William Sewell, even within his own Anglican communion, many of his ideas enjoyed the support of other university men and churchmen in his own day.

During the first half of the nineteenth century most students, after graduation, became Churchmen, statesmen and resident landowners, positions which people assumed, at that time, did not require specialized training. Furthermore university apologists assumed that higher education would have a classical curriculum and be Anglican. Until the early nineteenth century, the Church of England's domination of education rested on the absence of other groups attempting to control instruction, and partly on the relative efficiency with which the teaching provided by the Church met the administrative and professional requirements of pre-industrial society.²² In the face of challenges by secularists and non-conformists, the universities' defenders had to become more emphatic in order to legitimize Anglican higher education.

While three major branches of opinion within the Church of England--Evangelicals, Tractarians, and Broadchurchmen--all espoused orthodox Christianity, the renewed emphasis on formation of character in the nineteenth century reflected new challenges of an increasingly secular age. Perhaps the situation for educators at Oxford and

²²M. Clifford-Vaughan and M. Archer, Social Conflict and Educational Change, p. 93.

Cambridge paralleled that of Catharine Beecher in her Hartford Seminary for women in New England. In her moral philosophy class she emphasized character formation rather than conversion. Conversion was an experience from which many people in a religiously mixed environment would be excluded. An emphasis on proper character formation, rather than conversion, may have arisen from a need to find a more inclusive and universal principle around which she could organize the studies of her class. Thus a school with national prominence needed to transcend regional or narrow sectarian mores and attempt to design a more appropriate national system of morality and ethics.²³ Among Evangelicals, Tractarians, and Broadchurchmen, significantly, the last of these groups who are most concerned with national comprehension in religion, are also the most concerned with formation of character and moral education.

Evangelicals flourished in select colleges at Cambridge, particularly in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Being socially conservative they warned against social and moral dangers,

²³Katharine Kish Sklar, Catharine Beecher, p. 79. Catharine Beecher's emphasis on moral education and formulation of educational goals, quite independently, though contemporaneously with events in England, sounds amazingly parallel.

The improvements made have hitherto related chiefly to intellectual acquisitions, but this is not the most important object of education. The formation of personal habits and manners, the correction of the disposition, the regulation of the social feelings, the formation of the conscience, and the direction of the moral character and habits, are united, objects of much greater consequence than the mere communication of knowledge and the discipline of the intellectual powers. (Catharine Beecher, Suggestions Respecting Improvements in Education, Presented to the Trustees of the Hartford Seminary, 1829; cited in Sklar, Catharine Beecher, p. 91)

in order to reinforce traditional religious codes of behavior. Evangelicals, at the turn of the nineteenth century, hoped to redeem an apathetic Church, educate an illiterate populace, formulate the moral character of the leaders, and protect the established social order.²⁴ By revising old-time discipline they wanted to effect a moral and religious renaissance.²⁵ Magdalene College was the center of Evangelicalism in the late eighteenth century. Samuel Hey (later President and Vice Master), William Farish, and Henry Jowett were three prominent Evangelical tutors. The Elland Society, a Yorkshire Evangelical group, founded in 1777, sent pensioners to Magdalene. As a result of this influence and the work of the three tutors, Magdalene gained a reputation as "a general resort of young men seriously impressed with a sense of religion."²⁶ In spite of the improved standards of industry and conduct, the sober tea-drinking "Maudlins"

²⁴John Lawson and Harold Silver, A Social History of Education in England, p. 231.

²⁵Evangelicals' specific tenets and practices included the following: continuous stress placed on justification, election, sanctification and salvation; a thorough scrutiny of, and reliance on, the literal text of the Bible; gathering for prayer and tea drinking; puritanical personal morality and a comparatively limited concern with social sins, and an air of earnest piety. They were conservative politically and theologically, yet they awakened a consciousness of religion and provided a sense of Christian faith, purposes and fellowship. (V.H.H. Green, Religion at Oxford and Cambridge, p. 202) Green also said that Cambridge supplied an emotional Evangelical faith with a sturdier intellectual foundation than it had rested upon in its early formulative stage, and also gave some Evangelicals, particularly those under the influence of Charles Simeon at King's College, a greater concern for scholarship. (Ibid., p. 222)

²⁶Ibid., p. 237.

aroused ridicule and even hostility from the more dissipated members of the university community.²⁷

By the nineteenth century, Evangelicals sent more students to St. Edmund's, Oxford, and Queen's College, Cambridge, where Isaac Milner, one of the most prominent Evangelicals, was President from 1788 to 1820. No doubt the most renowned and respected Evangelical of all was Charles Simeon, 1759-1826, of King's College, Cambridge. He had a large following among undergraduates, many of whom came weekly to "conversation parties" in his rooms. So pervasive was his influence, that for over a generation after his death, serious Evangelical students continued to bear the name "Simeonite." Sometimes, Cambridge Evangelicals exerted their morality, some might say eccentricity, in a way other university men thought peculiar or meddling. For example, William Carus, a close friend and biographer of Charles Simeon, and also Vicar of Holy Trinity in Cambridge, surprised some of his friends by converting the pulpit covering of his Church into an overcoat.²⁸

Some people must have thought that Carus carried his antipathy for "rags of Popery" too far. Charles Clayton, tutor of Caius College, may have brought ridicule on himself and other Evangelicals by a sermon he preached. He denounced the Bachelor's Ball because he claimed a murderer had become "desperately wicked and altogether reckless from

²⁷Ibid., p. 238.

²⁸J. Romilly, Diary, 15 April 1842; cited in D.A. Winstanley, Early Victorian Cambridge, p. 405.

seeing six clergymen at a Ball."²⁹ On another occasion, Evangelicals effected an act of Parliament, in 1833, which authorized Cambridge University to change the transaction of some official business from Sunday to other days. They later approached William Whewell shortly after he became Vice Chancellor in 1842, "complaining of a club of undergraduates called the "Union" which kept their newsroom open on Sundays." The Officers of the "Union" were informed "that it was the wish of the Heads that this practice should be discontinued."³⁰ In spite of their occasional excesses, the Evangelicals earned some respect through their zeal and devotion. F.H. Bowring claimed,

the average dons [in the mid-nineteenth century] . . . were not High Church or Low Church, Broad Church or Narrow Church . . . but easily accepted the current opinions of the time. Enthusiasm was not in them. They wanted to go in the old ruts.³¹

Winstanley concluded that the above statement may be as true as most generalizations, but Evangelicals continued to carry on the work which Simeon had begun and had a greater hold on the University than any other party in the English Church.

Although Evangelicals thrived to a greater extent at Cambridge, they had some strongholds at Oxford too. They were most numerous at St. Edmund's Hall where they flourished from the time Isaac Crouch was appointed Vice Principal in 1783 until the appointment in 1859 of John

²⁹C. Clayton, Sermon Preached in Trinity Church, 1 February 1857, cited in Winstanley, p. 405.

³⁰Vice Chancellor's Book, 1842-43, Whewell Papers, cited in Winstanley, p. 406.

³¹M.S. Diary of F.H. Bowring, cited in Winstanley, p. 405.

Barrow as Principal and Henry P. Liddon, both Tractarian sympathizers.³² Prominent Evangelicals at Oxford included J.D. Macbride, Principal of Magdalen Hall and Lord Almoner's professor of Arabic from 1813 to 1868; Richard Michell, fellow of Lincoln and critic of Pattison and later first Principal of Hertford; and Benjamin Symons, Warden of Wadham, 1831-1871, whose Sunday gatherings for undergraduates were known as "tea and hassocks." Symons was instrumental in having a number of Evangelicals elected to tutorships; thus, Wadham succeeded St. Edmund's as the center of Evangelicalism at Oxford.³³ Evangelicals and other anti-Tractarians successfully erected the Martyrs' (Latimer and Ridley) Memorial in 1841. Needless to say this Evangelical monument offended Tractarians and created tremendous controversy at the time. V.H.H. Green wrote that although the Evangelicals continued to have their supporters in the university, there was little to suggest that they presented a positive lead in the heated religious atmosphere of the time. After the first quarter of the century, Evangelicalism existed more as a theological sympathy than a disciplined party.³⁴

Of course, the Evangelicals were only one of three major groups with a special perspective on moral education; the Tractarians, too, made a contribution to the Anglican discussion about educational goals. The Oxford Movement was not High Church so much as an important attempt to reform the Church. The movement's leaders also hoped to create a

³²V.H.H. Green, Religion at Oxford and Cambridge, p. 214.

³³*Ibid.*, p. 215.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 216.

special community and had a particular goal of moral education at the university. Tractarianism developed out of fears of secular rationalism and religious latitudinarianism. In the early 1830s, the success of the July Monarchy, the disappearance of divine right monarchy in France, and the repeal of restrictions against Nonconformists and Catholics in England, combined with the abolition of some Anglican sees in Ireland, all created the impression of the triumph of irreligion. Keble initiated the Oxford Movement by preaching a sermon against the suppression of ten Irish sees through what he interpreted as political expediency. These "Tracts for the Times" constituted a program which John Henry Newman called the via media.³⁵ Most tracts appeared from 1833 to 1839. Newman and the Tractarians focused more narrowly on the specific role of the Church in the university itself, and on the teaching of theology. One of the basic differences between Tractarians and Broadchurchmen lay in their opposing views of the Reformation.

³⁵This program included the following six points:

1. The Church provided an authoritative interpretation of revealed truths.
2. The Church had unique moral authority; they emphasized apostolic succession and rejected the Evangelical view that a man could interpret the Bible for himself.
3. The Church made an indispensable contribution to salvation through the administration of sacraments by priests.
4. The Church, being divinely appointed, is not the equal of any other institution in society. Specifically, they rejected the Erastian notion that the Church was subordinate to Parliament.
5. The Church has a duty to propagate the truth, of which it is the sole repository; the state must assist in this mission. Religious education must prevail or society will cease to be Christian.
6. By implication non-Anglicans must be excluded from higher education at Oxford and Cambridge to prevent the corruption of the truth.

(M. Clifford-Vaughan and M. Archer, Social Conflict and Educational Change, p. 96)

While Arnold looked back to the religious issues and ideas of the time of Edward VI as a period of inspiration, a model to be emulated, the Newmanites condemned the Reformation and the national Church. For example, Hurrell Froude wrote,

We are Catholics without the Popery, Church of England men without Protestantism. . . . The Reformation was a limb badly set--it must be broken again in order to be righted. . . . Really I hate the Reformation and the Reformers more and more. . . . Let us give up a national church and have a real one.³⁶

Perhaps, it was not surprising for a group who hated the Reformation, and who lived in an overwhelmingly Protestant nation, which experienced the Gordon Riots in 1780 and other "No Popery" riots as late as the 1830s, that they confined, for the most part, their interest to the cloistered colleges. A rejection of some of the reformers, however, did not prevent Newman from revering many of the great old English divines. In his novel, Loss and Gain, in the context of avoiding Church party strife, the hero, Charles Reding, is told by his Oxford tutor,

Read no living authors, read dead authors alone, dead authors are safe. Our great divines, and he stood upright, were models; 'there were giants on the earth in those days,' as King George the Third had once said of them to Dr. Johnson. They had the depth, and power, and gravity, and fulness, and erudition. . . . Then they were so eloquent; the majestic Hooker, the imaginative Taylor, the brilliant Hall, the learning of Barrow, the strong sense of South, the keen logic of Chillingworth, good honest old Burnet, etc., etc.³⁷

In the context of the chapter it appeared that Newman approved of the

³⁶Hurrell Froude, Remains, p. 269.

³⁷J.H. Newman, Loss and Gain (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., sixteenth impression, 1806), p. 83.

tutor's advice to the young hero. Furthermore, he clearly reflected the University commitment to venerating moral exemplars of the past.

When referring to the role of the Church in higher education, Newman reasoned that if theology was supreme, then the Church's presence in education became axiomatic since it was the authority on dogma. He believed that the Church (Catholic) should "breathe her own pure and unearthly spirit into it [University] and fashion and mould its organization, and watch over its teachings, and knit together its pupils, and superintend its actions."³⁸ Attempting to walk a tight rope between intellectual freedom and religious obligation, Newman appeared to relinquish, in the above statement, his secular notions of liberal education. He implied that the function of the university was to promote morality. Nevertheless, Newman would argue that the fact that the Church guaranteed the integrity of the university did not mean that its main characteristics were changed by this incorporation. The University still had the function of intellectual education, but the Church steadied it in the performance of that task.³⁹ Thus Newman seemed to propose supervision without intervention, authority without interference, and dominance without domination by the Church in the University.

To a much greater extent than Arnold who had little concern for the niceties of dogmatic speculation, Newman argued, at length, on the proper place of theology in the University. He was convinced that

³⁸J.H. Newman, Idea of a University, p. 216.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p. ix.

religious facts were of the same order as those produced by natural science. The Reformation, he alleged, made religion a matter of faith and feeling, hence the origin of attacks on the academic relevance of theology. Facts constituted a part of instruction as feelings could not.⁴⁰ Any omission of theology from the list of recognized sciences was not only indefensible in itself, but prejudicial to all the rest because all fields of knowledge relate to each other. He negated any barrier between the natural and supernatural. Newman feared that if theology were omitted, then other sciences would usurp its place. The advocates of other sciences would assume certain principles as true and act upon them. Other sciences than theology, Newman maintained, have neither the authority to lay down principles for themselves nor may they appeal to any other higher authority to lay down principles for them. Newman feared that if the Church and theology were not tied to and supportive of the universities, then science would attempt to replace theology as a source of authority in higher education. As ever Newman presented a dilemma. He wanted the university to teach theology and science but he had not shown how these two should be integrated. He could not show how men may be free yet obligated to theology. Other issues relating to the university curriculum will be treated at greater length in the next chapter.

Although Newman and Arnold may have appeared to be rivals, or even antagonists, in their own lifetimes, the twentieth century

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 42.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 97.

perspective makes their differences appear less pronounced. While it is true that Newman objected to the "pride of reason" which he imputed to Arnold and other "liberals," who subjected to human judgment "those revealed doctrines which were in their nature beyond and independent of it," these two men may not seem so far apart now. In their own day and in the context of Anglican universities their positions were far apart on a continuum of opinion. In the 1830s, nearly all educated Englishmen were believing Christians and only a small percentage of men, like J.S. Mill, were not. With such a broad range of opinion, but most of it Christian of one stripe or another, Arnold and Newman, both Christians, could occupy distant places on the continuum. In the twentieth century the majority of educated men being non-Christian, the Christians, of any stripe, end up much closer by comparison.

The religious revivals, High and Low, at Oxford and Cambridge in the early Victorian period, restored a religious perspective to the place of knowledge in the university to many serious-minded persons in higher education. The next generation, after 1850, reacted against Evangelicalism and ritualism and returned to the secularism of the eighteenth century. As late as 1850, Pusey discoursed gloomily on the inequities of the German professorial system, the evil influence of John Locke, the temptations afforded to undergraduates by lodging houses, and the prospect of infidelity which any breach in the monopoly of university education by the Church of England was bound to provoke. He expressed these sentiments even on the eve of the Royal Commission's

investigation of Oxford.⁴² To J.H. Newman and minds akin to his, there were limits to what intellect without grace or revelation could achieve, and barriers beyond which discovery could not advance. In particular, Evangelicals and Tractarians both believed that intellect alone was powerless to elucidate man's perception of his moral role.⁴³

Among the defenders of the traditional position of the Church in education we may categorize another group, the Broadchurchmen. However much they differed in detail, Broadchurchmen like Arnold, Whately, Hare, and Thirlwall, Maurice and Sterling, Stanley and Kingsley, all had the same general point of view. They wanted to save the Church as an institution and revive it as a religious and moral influence. They appealed to the moral authority of God and were uncompromising in their hate of Benthamism and rationalism in general. On the other hand, they realized, unlike Evangelicals or Tractarians, that irrational dogma and ritual as well as the exclusiveness of the Church must go. They preached an undogmatic personal morality. In political and social questions they were humanitarians who avoided the

⁴²Pusey, a first rate scholar himself, nevertheless placed moral factors above intellectual ones in his prioritization of educational goals.

The special work of the University is not how to advance science, not how to make discoveries, not to form new schools of mental philosophy, not to invent new modes of analysis; not to produce works in Medicine, Jurisprudence, or even Theology; but to form minds religiously, morally, intellectually, which shall discharge aright whatever duties God, in his Providence, shall appoint them. (E.B. Pusey, Collegiate and Professional Teaching Discipline (Oxford: J.H. Parker, 1854), p. 215)

⁴³Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education, p. 162.

extremes of arch Tories and philosophical radicals.⁴⁴

Although there may have been some general agreement in principle among Broadchurchmen, they did not all, of course, think alike. They split into two discernible groups. Some including Copleston, Whately, Hampden, T. Arnold, Blanco White, Baden Powell, M. Arnold, and Jowett were associated with Oxford. The other group, more close disciples of Coleridge, included J.C. Hare, Sterling, Maurice, Kingsley, and, in many respects, Carlyle, Tennyson, and Browning. They were, in the main, associated with Cambridge. This demarcation may have reflected the predominantly Aristotelian philosophy and faith in formal logic at Oxford. This stance contrasted with the predominantly Platonic and Kantian philosophy at Cambridge.⁴⁵ The Oxford group tended to exalt the intellect while the Cambridge group insisted that intellect could not of itself discern truth. Truth, they believed, must be revealed by God and testified to by the evidence of the whole man, not just the mind. Although both groups venerated history, the former read it in light of the present, the latter, in light of what they took to be "eternal principles."⁴⁶

All of the Broadchurchmen insisted on a close institutional connection between national institutions, like the universities, and the Church; many derived their ideas from Coleridge. He lent his philosophical reasoning to support university religious practices. He

⁴⁴E.C. Mack, Public Schools and British Opinion, p. 199.

⁴⁵C.R. Sanders, Coleridge and the Broad Church Movement, p. 14.

⁴⁶Ibid, p. 15.

said, "Religion, true or false, is and ever has been the center of gravity in a realm, to which all other things must and will accommodate themselves."⁴⁷ Partly on the basis of social utility, he argued that while it may be folly to think of making all, or the many, philosophers or men of systematic knowledge, "It is duty and wisdom to aim at making as many as possible soberly and steadily religious--in as much as the morality which the state requires in its citizens for its own well-being . . . can only exist for the people in the form of religion."⁴⁸ Clearly, Coleridge saw the inevitable moral basis of all education whatever the creed might be. William Whewell, like Coleridge, Arnold, and others, perceived the necessary connection between the Church, the Universities, and right social order.

I think that this Church having been so interwoven with the spirit of the Country, must be continually identified with that spirit by the prevalent system of education, and that when this ceases to be done, the Church cannot but speedily fall--which would be the greatest evil the country could suffer.⁴⁹

In addition to these arguments based on social philosophy the Church and the Universities were closely connected in the most practical professional ways. Clergy made up the largest element (32.6%), in the fathers of Cambridge students and the third largest (23.3%), in

⁴⁷S.T. Coleridge, On the Constitution of Church and State (London: Hurst, Chance and Co., 1830).

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Mrs. Stair Douglas, Life of William Whewell (London: Kegan Paul, French and Co., 1881), p. 201.

those at Oxford between 1752 and 1886.⁵⁰ On the other hand, the Church was overwhelmingly the career which Oxford (64.2%), and Cambridge (54.3%), graduates undertook.⁵¹ So close was the tie that undergraduates could not matriculate at Oxford nor graduate from Cambridge without subscribing to the Thirty-Nine Articles.⁵² Changes came about only in the second half of the century and only in conjunction with Parliamentary reforms of the Universities. One contemporary historian has said that all "progressive proposals" had been blocked in the last resort by the country clergy who voted *en masse* in Convocation and Senate against any material change.⁵³ Often, therefore, the struggle to introduce reforms took on an anti-clerical character with the hope of breaking the Church's hold over the Universities. In fact, when assessing the major institutional impediment to reform, Mark Pattison claimed that it was not primarily the power of the colleges over the university that prevented change, but rather "the grasp of ecclesiastical tyranny . . . on its throats."⁵⁴ Although there were many defen-

⁵⁰Anderson and Schnaper, School and Society in England: Social Backgrounds of Oxford and Cambridge Students (Washington: Annals of American Research, Public Affairs Press, 1952), p. 6.

⁵¹Michael Sanderson, The Universities in the Nineteenth Century, p. 9.

⁵²Parenthetically, only in the second half of the century did this situation change. Oxford and Cambridge had to admit Dissenters after 1854 and 1856, respectively, and they were permitted to be elected to fellowships from 1871, after which time dons need not be in Holy Orders and chapel ceased to be compulsory. (Ibid.)

⁵³Brian Simon, Studies in the History of Education 1780-1870, p. 289.

⁵⁴M. Pattison, Memoirs (London, 1885).

ders of the role of the Church within the Universities, particularly in the first half of the century, by the second half many came to agree with Pattison. Of course, outside the Universities, the utilitarians had been complaining loudly for a long time about the position of the Church in education.

Perhaps, in part, as a response to criticisms and because of sectarian bickering, the Broadchurchmen hoped to create a more ecumenical Christian community. Many of them wanted Nonconformists to participate in higher education. They wished to adapt the universities to new requirements, but not to destroy their religious character or classical bias. To this end they supported Nonconformists but not utilitarians. They favored the relaxation of the Test oath in order to enable many more members of the middle class to come to the Universities. In this their purpose was ecumenical.⁵⁵

Of all the Broadchurchmen, Thomas Arnold has one of the most developed and well articulated visions of the relationship between the Church and higher education. Like Coleridge, Thomas Arnold too sees Christianity embodying the perfection of human authority. He holds two fundamental ideas about man and moral authority. First, he is a dogmatic believer in an absolute, eternal, external, and universal moral law. Second, he subscribes to a belief in the essential evil of human nature, Original Sin. Since the individual is not the measure of all things and since he is naturally depraved, he must find his highest

⁵⁵Clifford-Vaughan and Archer, Social Conflict and Educational Change, p. 57.

good in disciplining his natural instincts into obedience to divine authority. Arnold wants to discipline the individual rather than to encourage self-expression. The educational ideals expounded by Arnold were underpinned by two concepts of Christianity and citizenship, his religious and social philosophies. He never envisioned education as an end in itself; its justification is religious and its outcome is social.⁵⁶ Happily for the inquiring historian, Arnold in one of his letters actually stated his ultimate religious and social goals.

The idea of my life, to which I think every thought of my mind more or less tends, is the perfecting of the "idea" of the Edward the Sixth's Reformers--constructing a truly national and Christian Church, and a truly national and Christian system of education.⁵⁷

To such an extent did he stress moral education over the mere accumulation of knowledge that he went so far as to say that rather than have his son preoccupied with science, he

would gladly have him think that the sun went round the earth, and that the stars were so many spangles set in the bright blue firmament. Surely the only thing needful for a Christian and a gentleman to study is Christian and moral and political philosophy.⁵⁸

Surely such hyperbole in a very rational man can be explained as a manifestation of his exuberance for his ideals.

Seeing the Universities and public schools as the incubators of England's future leaders, Arnold believed Christianity, higher educa-

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 110.

⁵⁷Stanley, Letters and Life of Arnold, CXII, 18 November 1835, pp. 386-87.

⁵⁸T. Arnold, cited in T.W. Bamford, Thomas Arnold on Education, p. 122.

tion, and national interest were intimately tied. According to Arnold, without Christianity a person had no right to full citizenship in a Christian country. This principle precluded the admission to the universities of Jews, Unitarians and any non-believers. However, Arnold did not categorically impugn the moral quality of individual non-Christians.

He who is not a Christian, though his family may have lived for generations on the same soil with us . . . though they may have been protected by our laws, and paid taxes in return for that protection, is yet essentially not a citizen but a sojourner; and to admit such a person to the rights of citizenship tends in principle to the confusion of right and wrong, and lowers the objects of political society to such as are merely physical and external.⁵⁹

This exclusion of non-Christians from full citizenship may appear contradictory, particularly in a man who proclaimed such an interest in ecumenism. From the twentieth century secular perspective Arnold's position seems baffling, but his social and religious ideal was rooted in the sixteenth century--a time when reformers strove for the realization of a coextensive church and state. While willing to admit the historical blemishes in the Church, Arnold, nevertheless, has an idealized vision for it and for English society as a whole. He claimed,

our Church bears and has ever borne the marks of her birth. The child of royal and aristocratic selfishness and unprincipled tyranny, she has never dared to speak boldly to the great, but has contented herself with lecturing the poor.⁶⁰
He wanted the Church to become more truly national and democratic. Far

⁵⁹Arnold, Miscellaneous Works (London: T. Fellowes, 1845), pp. 395-96.

⁶⁰Arnold, Principles of Church Reform (London: T. Fellowes, 1833).

from agreeing with the Oxford Movement which advocated an increasing separation between clergy and congregation, Arnold supported popular election of ministers and growing lay control in Church administration. Indeed, Arnold saw the future of England as a country composed of Christian property-owning educated citizens. Christianity would supply the institutional framework and a moral basis. Property and responsibility lay at the base of his hope for education. He attempted to reverse the attitude of the lower classes to property, since the possession of property produced an attitude of mind which combined reflection, caution and forethought. However simple this was in theory, there were formidable difficulties for the lower classes.

"Having no property of their own they hate property--having no means of intellectual enjoyment, they are driven to seek the pleasures which we have in common with brutes."⁶¹ He wanted to see an England united in brotherhood, though not by French enlightenment notions of equality which he characterized as "the dream of a madman or the passion of a fiend." "Our business is to raise all and lower none." He stated that extreme inequality is no less a folly than a sin.

But an equality in which some have all the enjoyments of civilized life, and none are without its comforts, where some have all the treasures of knowledge, and none are sunk in ignorance--that is a social system in harmony with the order of God's creation in the natural world.⁶²

Although a most committed English nationalist, Arnold evidenced

⁶¹Arnold, Miscellaneous Works, p. 211.

⁶²Arnold, Second Letter to the Sheffield Courant, 1832, published as "The Social Condition of the Operative Classes," in Ibid., p. 421.

none of the amoral vicious social Darwinism which characterized some nationalists of the late nineteenth century. He stated explicitly that nations must put moral objects first because a "nation is a sovereign society, and it is something monstrous that the ultimate power in human life should be destitute of a sense of right and wrong."⁶³ Taking issue with utilitarian principles, Arnold denied that the highest object of every individual constituted the final goal because "if it could, then the attribute of sovereignty, which is inseparable from nationality, becomes the domination of an evil principle."⁶⁴ In contrast to secular utilitarian goals, Arnold sees the national goal as securing the greatest happiness specifically by "setting forth God's glory by doing His appointed work."⁶⁵

The church-state is the ideal towards which all Arnold's ideas are directed and to which all social institutions should be subordinated. From Coleridge, Arnold inherits religious tolerance and ecumenism personified by a "clerisy" composed not exclusively of teachers of theology, but leaders and helpers in all that concerned the intellectual interest and the social life of the people.⁶⁶

Impart then to civil society the knowledge of religious society and the objects of both will be not only in intention but in fact the same. In other words, religious society is

⁶³Arnold, Introductory Lectures on Modern History (140A), p. 33.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 32.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 34.

⁶⁶J. Fitch, Thomas and Matthew Arnold and Their Influence on English Education, p. 141.

only civil society fully enlightened; the State in its highest perfection becomes the Church.⁶⁷

In summary, it appears that the State-Church is a mere instrument for the implementation of his ideal--a sixteenth century vision of a sacral society. He raised the question, similar to those posed by John Calvin, John Knox, Martin Luther and others:

If the union between Church and State were dissolved, on what foundation will you have moral authority of the State and what will men believe to be the scope of its activities? He feared that if men lost sight of the moral content of the idea of the State they would lose sight of the extent of its moral responsibilities.⁶⁸

Most emphatically he opposed the utilitarian notion of society as a "mere collection of individuals looking each after his own interests, and the business of government has been limited to that of a mere police whose sole use is to prevent those individuals from robbing or knocking each other down."⁶⁹ According to Arnold, using the resources of the Church would humanize society and combat the potential for alienation implicit in the utilitarian schema. Particularly after witnessing the terrors of the French Revolution and the effect of "godless philosophy" run rampant in Europe, Arnold proposed comprehension of Protestants and their moral education together in the ancient English universities in order to avoid "the sure moral and intellectual degradation which will accompany the unchristianizing of society."⁷⁰ All of

⁶⁷Arnold, Principles of Church Reform, p. 125.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 75.

⁶⁹Arnold, Principles of Church Reform, p. 7.

⁷⁰Ibid.

the Broadchurchmen, but probably Arnold most of all, had a deep concern for the preservation and perpetuation of the Church through its connection with the universities which prepared the future national leaders in church and state. Thomas Arnold determined the success of higher education, be it at public school or at a university college, by one simple criterion.

Undoubtedly he is perfectly educated who is taught all the will of God, and enabled through life to pursue it. And he is not well educated who does not know the will of God, or, knowing it has received no help in his education toward being inclined and enabled to do it.⁷¹

Thomas Arnold was not alone in his insistence on the importance to students of understanding the will of God.

Arnold's ideals did not exist merely in a vacuum. He cultivated and sent forth his band of devoted disciples. In spite of the flowering of the Oxford Movement for twelve or fifteen years, even Newman admitted in Apologia that "liberalism" grew all the while, "even in numbers, certainly in breadth, and definiteness of doctrine, and in power." By the accession of Dr. Arnold's pupils to Oxford, "liberalism was invested with an elevation of character which claimed the respect even of its opponents."⁷² While Newman was attempting to dam the tide of change, his contemporary, Thomas Arnold, was swelling the flood with new recruits from Rugby.⁷³

⁷¹Arnold, Sermon on Christian Education, cited by John W. Adamson, English Education, p. 67.

⁷²J.H. Newman, Apologia Pro Vita Sua, p. 322.

⁷³Brian Simon, Studies in the History of Education 1780-1870, p. 284.

While character building and moral education ran as a common theme through the writings of all of the University defenders, perhaps no one made the point more explicitly than F.D. Maurice. In his novel Eustace Conway, through a clergyman loquiteur, he set forth a classical statement of Anglican goals of higher education.

You believe that the University is to prepare youths for a successful career in society: I believe the sole object is to give them that manly character which will enable them to resist the influences of society. This was the notion of those who founded Oxford and Cambridge. I fear that their successors are gradually losing sight of the principle--are gradually beginning to think that it is their business to turn out clever lawyers and serviceable Treasury Clerks . . . and that this low vanity is absorbing all their will and their power to create great men whom the age will scorn, and who will save it from the scorn of the times to come. . . . Aim at something noble; make your system such that a great many may be formed by it, and there will be a manhood in your little men of which you do not dream.⁷⁴

In light of Maurice's general opinions and later career he may not have continued to hold literally to the sentiments expressed above, but he surely captured the spirit of many university defenders in the 1830s.

Many other Anglicans voiced similar statements. These ranged from poets to schoolmasters. Perhaps citations from Robert Southey, the poet and latterly conservative social critic, and the Reverend Samuel Butler, Headmaster of Shrewsbury, may conclude this survey of Anglican opinion about education. For example, Robert Southey said the universities "are of this service to the country at large; they are the great schools by which established opinions are inculcated and per-

⁷⁴F.D. Maurice, Eustace Conway, cited in J.S. Mill's "Civilization," 1836, pp. 194-95.

petuated."⁷⁵ Clearly, he recognized the extent to which universities shaped the characters and opinions of England's leaders. Writing to the father of a student in May of 1827 Butler said, "I cannot force them all to be first-rate scholars, because all have not the same capacity, but if I train them to be honorable and virtuous men, I am conferring a greater benefit upon themselves and on Society than by all the learning I can give them."⁷⁶ This statement, coming not so much from a systematic theorist like Arnold, but from a well respected Headmaster, with a national reputation as a public school reformer, encapsulates the priority most Anglicans of the age believed proper and necessary.

How is a moral educator to know how to direct the shaping of students' character? English Protestants, at least well into the nineteenth century, had an unequivocal answer, the Bible. The fount of English Christianity was the authorized translation of the Bible. This revered book was the daily mentor of millions. The Bible story lay at the roots of the national consciousness and formed the mold of men's minds. Arthur Bryant goes so far as to say that the Regency was the last age in which a majority of educated men grew up without doubt.⁷⁷ During this time the ancient universities, without faltering, continued to proclaim the orthodox position. Van Mildert, in his Bampton Lecture

⁷⁵Robert Southey, Letters from England.

⁷⁶Samuel Butler, Life and Letters of Samuel Butler, Vol. 1 (London: J. Murray, 1896), p. 28.

⁷⁷Arthur Bryant, The Age of Elegance 1812-1822, p. 268.

at Oxford in 1814, said the acceptance of any Biblical "criticism" indicated moral defectiveness, unsoundness of faith, and disloyalty to the Church. The view most generally accepted by university figures of that generation, except for a few isolated spirits like Alexander Giddes, Connop Thirlwall, and perhaps Pusey, was that the Bible was a theological textbook containing rules of faith composed by God and dictated by Him verbatim to the inspired writers.⁷⁸

Theoretically, for the nation as a whole, and in practice at the ancient universities in particular, the Church of England constituted the official authority to interpret the Bible. Historically, the established Church served at least two purposes: to teach and mediate Christianity to the people, and to guarantee that the English nation would observe Christian principles in its laws and policy. In the first half of the nineteenth century no university member would have contradicted Bishop Warburton's dictum, "Whoever would secure civil government must support it by means of Religion, and whoever would propagate Religion must perpetuate it by means of Civil government."⁷⁹ The very tie between Church and state which Warburton eulogized in the eighteenth century became one of the knottiest problems, especially in the area of education, in the nineteenth century. Anglicans argued that the established Church was an essential part of the Constitution and of society. Therefore its doctrine was a part of the truth on

⁷⁸B. Willey, Nineteenth Century Studies, p. 39.

⁷⁹William Warburton, 1698-1779, The Divine Legislation of Moses, Vol. I, 1755, p. 76.

which the organization of society was based; consequently, it was right that in schools provided by the state, or independently endowed such as university colleges, the doctrines of the established Church should be taught. Nonconformists, on the contrary, insisted that each individual should make up his own mind in religious matters. Thus the state had no right to teach, sanction, or even permit the proselytism of any one creed in any national institution of education. By the 1830s Nonconformists came to argue that Oxford and Cambridge were "national institutions;" therefore the religious Tests in effect there ought to be repealed. This and other controversies which we will examine later result basically from different understandings of authority.

II

Having surveyed representative Anglican opinion both within and without Oxford and Cambridge, we may next turn our attention to three major university figures who constructed a bulwark which helped postpone, for more than a generation, University capitulation to the demands of Dissenters and utilitarians, and the pressures exerted by Parliament.

Throughout the first half of the century university conservatives found able champions to defend both academic practice, and the Anglican Church. In the process of expounding their position these apologists also expounded a philosophy for moral education. Of a small host, three university champions stand out above the rest: Edward Copleston, 1776-1849, Provost of Oriel College, Oxford; Adam Sedgwick,

1785-1873, Professor of Geology at Cambridge; and William Whewell, 1794-1866, Master of Trinity College and sometime Vice Chancellor of Cambridge.

Edward Copleston, the foremost spokesman for the ideals of the unreformed English university system, was born at Offwell, Devon, the son of a rector on February 2, 1776.⁸⁰ He succeeded Eveleigh in the Oriel Provostship from 1814-1828. It was primarily to these two men that Oriel owed her preeminence in the early nineteenth century, because they both stressed merit and demonstrated ability in the selection of scholars and fellows whenever opportunity afforded.⁸¹

⁸⁰Copleston's life and career may be summarized as follows:

Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford	1791
Won Latin Verse Prize	1793
Graduated B.A.	1795
Tutor at Oriel College, Oxford	1797
Fellow of Oriel	1795-1817
Appointed Vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford	1800
Elected Prof. of Poetry for 12 years	1802
Received degree of D.D. by Diploma	1815
Provost of Oriel College	1814-1826
Dean of Chester	1826-1828
Bishop of Llandaff & Dean of St. Paul's	1828-1849
Died 14 October	1849

(Edward Copleston, Advice to Young Reviewer, Introduction, p. v)

⁸¹Oriel had open fellowships to which they liked to elect undiscovered talent unrecognized in other schools. Mark Pattison, a student at Oxford in the early 1830s, in his memoirs observed that Oriel selected tutors and fellows on the character of the man not just intellectual accomplishments. If Keble, Hawkins and Jenkyns were double first, Whately, T. Mozley, Newman, and Hurrell Froude were all men of lower classes, taken against candidates of greater prima facie claims. Thus Oriel electors looked for "originality." (Mark Pattison, Memoirs, p. 78)

For example, J.H. Newman, who failed to achieve second class honors, Oriel elected as one of its fellows and tutors. Copleston had been instrumental in Newman's election, an effort about which he later must have had second thoughts. By 1843, Copleston in a letter to Provost Hawkins of Oriel, his successor, deplores the distraction to science

Copleston, like his predecessor, gave fellowships not so much for technical attainment as for intellectual capacity and potential: to Whately and Hinds, the white and black bears, as they were named; to Hampden, Davison, and Arnold; men who formed some of the Noetics. They "maintained around them a continuous dialectical and mental ferment--the Oriel Common Room stunk of logic, was the complaint of easy-going guests."⁸²

Geoffrey Faber has portrayed him in most flattering terms. He described Copleston as tall, handsome, stately, "the most substantial and majestic and richly-coloured character in the university, a good classical scholar and Latinist, with a magnificent voice and a fine formalism of manners, a man of the world to his finger tips, as much at home in London society as in Oxford."⁸³ Faber furthermore eulogized him as a hard worker, a man of business as well as letters, a pioneer

and literature caused in Oxford by the "mystical divinity" of the Tract writers. Recalling the great promise of Newman's early days, Copleston quotes sadly from the lines from Agamemnon--

So once a lion cub as foster child one reared,
Tame, by the children loved, and fondled by the old.
But, when full grown, it showed the nature of its sires;
For it, unbidden, made a feast, in recompense
Of fostering care, a banquet of slain sheep.
Through God's decree a priest of Ate thus
Was reared, and grew within the man's own home.

(William Tuckwell, Pre-Tractarian Oxford, 1909, p. 40)

⁸²W. Tuckwell, Reminiscences of Oxford, p. 17. Mark Pattison determined the caliber of a college by the following three criteria: the intellectual capacity of the Head and Fellows, the efficiency of the tuition, and the social rank and behavior of students. Pattison claimed that Oriel until 1832 had all three qualities and that "under Copleston it was eminently a gentleman's college." (Mark Pattison, Memoirs, p 69)

⁸³Geoffrey Faber, Oxford Apostles, p. 100.

in the field of education and economics, a keen controversialist, and a farsighted reformer. He also had a sense of humor, irony and kindness. In his day Copleston's appeal was so great that others imitated him. By one account a local bookseller who happened to resemble him closely carried the imitation so far that he was often mistaken for Copleston. He was to be seen and heard in the streets of Oxford using the Provost's very walk, wearing the Provost's "suit of funereal black," with a frill at the breast and massive gold seals pendant from the fob, and talking with the Provost's "sustained note, measured cadence, and careful choice of words."⁸⁴ Other contemporary observers had words of highest praise for him. Thomas Mozley calls Copleston not only the ablest and most agreeable man in the University, but "the most substantial, and majestic, and, if I may say so, richly coloured character in my knowledge of Oxford."⁸⁵ In particular Mozley elaborated on the power and melody of his sonorous voice. "To imitate his magnificent organ was a favorite undergraduate amusement."⁸⁶ William Tuckwell reminisced that "he held absolute ascendancy amongst the higher class of University men, and filled his College with Fellows strangely alien to the port and prejudice, the club babble, whist-playing somnolence, which Gibbon, Sydney Smith, and other observers found characteristic of Oxford Society."⁸⁷

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 101.

⁸⁵William Tuckwell, Pre-Tractarian Oxford, p. 49.

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 17.

A number of his students revered him, and some have left a record of their impressions. They refer to "his demand on their sustained attention and his enforcement of thorough knowledge. Multum, non Multa, was his maxim." He aspired to exercise the mind rather than to pour in knowledge.⁸⁸ "Few people nowadays read the same book twice," Copleston was wont to complain. His horror of "things made easy," of methods devised to save the learner trouble evoked a malicious, but diverting jeu d'esprit entitled, "The Examiner Examined."⁸⁹

His high standards and rigorousness, and occasional complaints that they may have elicited notwithstanding, at least one student, Richard Whately, idolized his teacher Copleston. To Whately who entered Oriel in 1805, whose intellectual life had hitherto been so entirely solitary, the lectures and conversation of Dr. Copleston were like a new spring of life. For the first time he found himself brought into immediate communication with one who could enter into his aspirations, and draw out the latent powers of his mind. Under that new and genial influence, the young student's powers expanded like a plant in sunshine. "As Copleston's penetrating eye glanced round the lecture-room in search of an answering and understanding look, it rested with satisfaction on the one pupil who was always sure to be eagerly

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 24.

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 24. Among other things, Copleston was famous for his precision in defining terms. For example, he distinguished Truth which implies a report of something that is, from Fact which is the existence of a thing, whether reported or not. (Ibid., p. 41)

drinking in his every word."⁹⁰ Another observer noted of Whately that he paid close attention to Copleston's lectures.

To the sneers of his companions, who found all lectures tedious, he answered: "If I paid a shoe maker for a pair of shoes, I should not think it desirable to avoid wearing them; and I would limp upstairs on one leg to attend a lecture of Copleston."⁹¹

Without a doubt Whately acknowledged that his character had been formed most positively under Copleston's influence.

When I consider the progress I have made in the improvement of my mind since I have been at college, I cannot help thinking that by perseverance almost anyone may do more than at first sight appears possible. . . . [T]he future is in my power, and I resolve, through God's help, to make the best use of it. . . . I shall at least satisfy my conscience by doing my best. When I call to mind the independent spirit and thirst for improvement which I admire in my beloved tutor Copleston, I am stimulated to double exertions, that I may be enabled, as in other things, so in this, to imitate his virtues. . . .⁹²

Such high praise for a teacher, by twentieth century standards, seems almost embarrassing. Rarely will anyone find a more definitive statement by a student indicating how his character was improved by a college or a teacher. Whately's testimony was all, and more than, any university apologist could have hoped for in order to substantiate the efficacy of moral education. Although demanding, Copleston was not a distant figure to students. Whately recorded that during the long vacation Copleston, then a tutor, usually went with a select party of

⁹⁰Elizabeth Jane Whately, Life of Richard Whately, Vol. I, p. 12.

⁹¹Tuckwell, Pre-Tractarian Oxford, p. 54. For his diligence Whately received a Double Second standing for his B.A. examination.

⁹²From R. Whately's Commonplace Book, cited in Elizabeth Jane Whately, Life of Richard Whately, Vol. I, p. 15.

pupils to read in some picturesque part of England. He recalled, years later, that some survive who look back with undying interest and pleasure to those summer sojourns, in which their teacher became also their companion. In the midst of the sports in which he delighted and excelled, for Copleston was a "first-rate shot and fisherman," he would pour forth from rich stores of his own mind, treasures of wit and wisdom which were long remembered by his hearers.⁹³

Led by Provost Copleston, the Noetics,⁹⁴ centered in Oriel, included some of the most influential university men who explored intellectual and religious topics. Numbered within this group were Thomas Arnold, Richard Whately, later archbishop of Dublin, Richard Hampden, later bishop of Hereford and a target of Newman and his followers, Baden Powell, a mathematician and scientist and contributor to Essays and Reviews, and the eccentric Blanco White, a member of the senior common room who began his life in Spain as a Roman Catholic and eventually became an agnostic. In part this collection of serious thinkers on social and religious issues had been made possible at Oriel because of the entrance during the first third of the century of an

⁹³Elizabeth J. Whately, Life of Richard Whately, Vol. I, p. 17.

⁹⁴Greek word for "intellectual." The term "noetic" had been used as far back as the seventeenth century in English. Coleridge used the term in 1810 and Sir William Hamilton in 1852. Not until the 1830s and 1890s did the term become applied to the group at Oriel College. Mozley in Reminiscences I, iii, 19, refers to "The new Oriel Sect . . . declared to be 'noetic,' whatever that may mean." The Church Times in 1882 claimed, "The so called 'noetic' school at Oriel was far advanced in Rationalism before Newman became a fellow."

unusually large number of talented and capable men.⁹⁵

Copleston, regarded sympathetically by Charles Simeon, the famous contemporary Evangelical at King's College, Cambridge, had a high view of the Church as a society of divine origin, but he and the other Noetics inclined toward a liberal Protestantism, seeking to adapt the Church to the intellectual developments of the age. Strongly Protestant, though anti-Sabbatarian, the Noetics denounced the Tracts as paving the way to Popery, and as diverting the energies of learners from humanistic studies into lines mischievous and barren.⁹⁶

While there came to be great diversity of opinion among Noetics they did hold a number of ideas in common. Politically they all denounced as self-destructive the spirit of resistance to necessary change, and thus became, through abhorring party labels, "liberal." Academically, they approvingly anticipated almost all the changes brought to the university and college by the Reform Act of 1854 and onwards and urged a strict compulsory university examination as a pre-

⁹⁵Richard Whately entered in 1805 and he, along with Keble, were elected fellows in 1811. R.D. Hampden was elected fellow in 1814 and T. Arnold came from Corpus the following year. J.H. Newman was elected a fellow in 1822 and Hurrell Froude in 1826.

⁹⁶Tuckwell, Pre-Tractarian Oxford, p. 259. Copleston condemned, as ultimately dangerous, the Tractarian reservation of selected truths to be imparted esoterically to a few; its exalting tradition to a level with the Bible; to conferring a hieratic character on the Christian ministry; and its imparting a sacramental agency to Ordination. (Ibid., pp. 40-41) Newman maintained a sacerdotal as against a national Church. But Noetic teaching leavened the more thoughtful intelligence of the country, was inherited by prophets such as Thirlwall, Stanley, Jowett, Pattison, Colenso and was carried on by able and religious minds within the limits of the English Church. (Ibid., p. 260)

liminary to all matriculations. Ecclesiastically, they were devoted adherents of the Reformation: approved the Royal Headship of the Church, desired to bring the clergy under direct lay influence, and denounced the error of confusing the Church with the clergy. Educationally, they advocated placing religious teaching by the State on ground common to all denominations through the use of textbooks carefully and comprehensively devised. Theologically, they stood between the bibliolaters and rationalists, fearlessly applying historical tests to the Scripture narratives and accepting them, when modified by such corrections, as oracular.⁹⁷ Thus the original religious impulse of the nineteenth century at Oxford was not conservative or Tractarian but Noetic and liberal.⁹⁸ This group and disciples like A.P. Stanley led to the Broadchurchmen of the 1830s and 1840s.⁹⁹

This enclave of serious and socially aware spirits did not proceed without comment and criticism from some university contemporaries. Some university men expressed concern about liberal forces within Oxford who threatened to undermine the traditional structure, beliefs, purposes, and practices there. Henry William Wilberforce, in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, referred approvingly to

⁹⁷Tuckwell, Pre-Tractarian Oxford, p. 258. Some historians have perceived the influence of Coleridge behind the Noetics. Specifically, T.W. Bamford claimed that Coleridge, the uncle of one of Thomas Arnold's closest friends at Oxford, was behind the Noetics and a pioneer of the Broad Church Movement. (T.W. Bamford, Thomas Arnold on Education, p. 30)

⁹⁸V.H.H. Green, Religion at Oxford and Cambridge, p. 258.

⁹⁹A.P. Stanley, a fellow and later Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford and Dean of Westminster.

Oxford's "preference of those studies by which the moral character is disciplined, over those which merely devolve the intellectual powers. . . ."100 Specifically, Wilberforce objected to a university man publically endorsing a popular edition of a work whose "Neologian principles of interpretation by German writers have virtually undermined the authority of the Old Testament." He was also appalled to hear of a group who hoped "to make knowledge, rather than moral discipline, the object of our studies, and to cultivate rather the habit of bold and irreverent inquiry, often conducted in the most flippant tone and spirit . . . sparing no subject human or divine."101 Another critic, William Palmer, wrote of the Noetics:

A school arose whose conceit led them to imagine that their wisdom was sufficient to correct and amend the whole world. The Church itself produced some such vain reasoners who, with boundless freedom, began to investigate all institutions, to search into the basis of religious doctrines, and to put forth each his wild theory or irreverential remark. All was intended to be for the benefit of free discussion, which was substituted for the claims of truth.¹⁰²

Perhaps what Palmer and others regarded as a threat to orthodoxy irked them all the more when found within Oxford itself. Pusey had the same reservations about the dangers of free inquiry as Palmer. "There arose," said Pusey sadly long afterwards, looking back on an earlier decade of the century, "A spirit of free inquiry: old institutions,

¹⁰⁰Henry William Wilberforce, Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, p. 7.

¹⁰¹Ibid., pp. 8-9.

¹⁰²William Palmer, Narrative of Events, p. 20, cited in Mark Pattison's Memoirs, p. 80.

accepted principles and beliefs were rudely and fearlessly investigated, and called upon to justify themselves at the bar of utility and reason." "French Encyclopedists and German Rationalists, no longer banned with indiscriminating antipathy, were summoned as accomplices and witnesses in the newborn search for Truth."¹⁰³

If the above detractors of the Noetics perceived the seeds of unorthodoxy, another Oriel man, Mark Pattison, regarded them in a more favorable light. Although he claimed that they knew nothing of philosophical movements on the Continent; nevertheless, they were products of the French Revolution. Pattison pointed out the dangers to individuals or groups who do not know what has been thought by those who have gone before. Such persons frequently set an undue value upon their own ideas, ideas which have, perhaps, been tried and found wanting. As accumulated learning may stifle the imagination, so original thinking has been known to bring about a "puffy unsubstantiated mental condition."¹⁰⁴ In spite of some limitations Pattison saw the Noetics as the vanguard for future enlightenment at Oxford.

This little germ of free inquiry, though ultimately destined to grow into a flourishing tree, was at its first appearance too violently in contrast with the established ways of thinking of the whole University not to produce a reaction. The reaction, Tractarian, came out of the same college where the provocation had been given.¹⁰⁵

Thus for those concerned with "relevant" social issues the road proved

¹⁰³Tuckwell, Pre-Tractarian Oxford, p. 15.

¹⁰⁴Pattison, Memoirs, pp. 78-79.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 80.

rocky for such rarified thinkers of the second and third decades of the century.

Edward Copleston had already gained his reputation as the arch defender of Oxford four years prior to his election as Provost. In 1810 and 1811 he wrote his three Replies to the Calumnies of the Edinburgh Review. A polemic had been instigated by R.L. Edgeworth's Essays on Professional Education (London: 1809), in which he argued that the value of knowledge should be measured by its utility. Oxford and Cambridge were then attacked on utilitarian grounds, especially in the Edinburgh Review.¹⁰⁶ Not surprisingly, the Quarterly Review defended Oxford and stated that "knowledge was good for its own sake."¹⁰⁷ Thus already by the first decade of the nineteenth century the fundamental issue of a classical liberal education versus a practical professional one had been set forth.

Copleston's reply included both elevated points of educational philosophy and also specific and sometimes quibbling arguments. Beginning with his specific points, he maintained the educational cogency of Aristotelian study, citing the Organon and the Rhetoric as especially valuable in respect to their illuminating fulness and their eloquence; and defended the syllogism as no mere weapon for verbal and intellec-

¹⁰⁶The following critics of Oxford were the champions with whom Copleston had to joust: (1) John Playfair, "La Place's Mecanique Celeste," January 1808; (2) Payne Knight, "Oxford Edition of Strabo," July 1809; (3) Sydney Smith, "Edgeworth on Professional Education," October 1809; (4) John Playfair, Sydney Smith, and Payne Knight, "Rejoinder to a Reply," April 1810; and (5) D.K. Landford, "Mitchell's Aristophanes," November 1820. (Tuckwell, Pre-Tractarian Oxford, p. 29)

¹⁰⁷Quarterly Review, Vol. VI, no. XI, October 1811, p. 186.

tual fence, but as an instrument for the discovery of truth. Distinguishing the knowledge acquired for its own sake from that which goes to train the faculties, Copleston further proclaimed, what the Reviewers had most confidently impugned, the utility of classical learning. He argued that classical literature is eminently useful to the individual, and through him to the community. He sums up his defense with a plea for cultivation of the mind as in itself a good, even though it be destitute of practical value.¹⁰⁸

He ended his first reply by defending the legal position of the university and its endowments. He insisted that

the University of Oxford is not a national foundation [his own italics]. It is a congeries of foundations, originating some in royal munificence, but more in private piety and bounty.¹⁰⁹

Copleston pointed out that colleges were private property and he denied that the public had any special claim on them. He hoped that the Legislature would continue to respect private property and the authority of wills. In his second reply,¹¹⁰ which had a tone much more contentious and quibbling than the first, he refuted three specific charges against Oxford.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸Tuckwell, Pre-Tractarian Oxford, p. 30.

¹⁰⁹Edward Copleston, A Reply to the Calumnies, Oxford, 1810, p. 183.

¹¹⁰E. Copleston, A Second Reply to the Edinburgh Review.

¹¹¹(1) That the dictates of Aristotle are still listened to as infallible decrees; (2) that the infancy of science is mistaken for its maturity; and (3) that the scholar has no means of advancing beyond the mere elements of Geometry. In reply to these charges Copleston mentions particular professors or books used at Oxford that contradict these accusations.

Although Copleston devoted some of his replies, particularly the second and third one, to petty pedantic squabbling, he also defined what has become a classical statement of the ideal of a liberal education. His manifesto could be briefly reduced to seven ideas: university education is non-vocational, beware of the danger of over-specialization, the classics train intellectual faculties, deny any dichotomy between science and classics, build students' character for leadership, favor tutorial over professional teaching, and be cautious about an over-emphasis on research.

At greater length, and more in his own words, the future Provost of Oriel argues his points in a way his Oxford colleagues heartily approved. He freely admits that the university does not prepare students for specific employment nor does liberal education directly increase one's fortune. He urges caution with regard to utility as a sole standard by which to judge all systems of education. He admits the division of labor and a high degree of specialization increases proficiency; nevertheless, a problem arises because in proportion as a person's sphere of action is narrowed, his mental powers and habits become contracted until "he resembles a subordinate part of some powerful machinery, useful in its place, but insignificant and worthless out of it."¹¹²

As a third major point he defends classical literary studies.

In literary cultivation various subdivisions of society come together! The knowledge thus acquired calls into play those faculties of the mind left idle by specialized activity. Thus

¹¹²Copleston, Reply to the Calumnies, pp. 107-12.

while not directly qualifying a man for any particular employment, it enriches him intellectually and enables him to follow any calling he chooses "with better grace and more elevated carriage."¹¹³

Furthermore he denies the incompatibility of natural science and classics. Discoveries pertaining to the properties of matter can in no way alter the value of insight provided by literature, in no way "make eloquence less powerful, poetry less charming, historical example less forcible or moral and political reflections less instructive."¹¹⁴

He avers that it is better to read one book ten times than ten books once--that the thoroughness so achieved more than compensates for the restriction in scope. The university should send men into the world holding the soundest principles of policy and religion. As a sixth point he favors the tutorial system over the professional lecture. Tutors, who usually have four to twelve students in a class, may classify the students according to their capacities and backgrounds. He can assist students individually and makes a more durable impression on the student's mind than a lecture.¹¹⁵ Professorial lectures have some value. These orations, as they were at that time, could raise emotions which led to "loftier thoughts and nobler aspirations" than the more informed proceedings of the tutorial classroom.¹¹⁶ Finally, as his last major point, Copleston comments on professorial research.

¹¹³Ibid., pp. 112-13.

¹¹⁴Ibid., p. 133.

¹¹⁵Ibid., pp. 146-47.

¹¹⁶Ibid., p. 149.

He says that researchers into unfrequented regions should not be discouraged, but neither should they be made the principal business of the university. He reasons that if after due exploration the products of research "be found to be indeed the voice of truth . . . our system will thankfully receive the wholesome aliment."

But to expect that every crude opinion or untried theory shall enter as soon as it demands admission, and take its place among us . . . is against all reason and the analogy of things. Let experiments be tried, and repeatedly tried, in some insignificant spot, some corner of the farm: but let us not risk the whole harvest of the year upon a doubtful product.¹¹⁷

Considering all seven of Copleston's ideas as a unit, we might wonder what the overall point is. In his own conclusion he contrasts the Scots with the English.

We ought to judge in matters of education rather from experience, than from mere reasoning. We should inquire what nation has produced the most active, and the greatest men; not indeed the greatest number of compilers and of bookmakers, but of the most intrepid, the most acute, accomplished, and magnanimous characters? This is very probably the English nation.¹¹⁸

Thus Copleston's whole theory of higher education stands as an argument in favor of character formation.

Although a plan for character formation was his major theme, Copleston also argued strongly against the primacy of utilitarian values or goals in higher education and society. He addressed himself to the limitations of utilitarianism because Oxford's critics in the Edinburgh Review launched their attack from that position. These cri-

¹¹⁷Ibid., pp. 153-55. Not until the 1860s was research at all well received as a proper goal for the ancient English university.

¹¹⁸Ibid., p. 170.

tics attacked Oxford on its alleged lack of curricular relevance on the basis of "utility." Insisting that the value of the ends determined the value of the means, Copleston compared the utility of two things by considering the nature of the ends to which they respectively lead.¹¹⁹ For example, he argued that those arts and studies which relate to the improvement of manufactures and increasing wealth

terminate merely in the bodily enjoyments of man. . . . There must be surely a cultivation of mind, which is itself good: a good of the highest order, without any immediate reference to bodily appetites or wants of any kind.¹²⁰

Copleston maintained that a liberal education will enable a man to transcend material and utilitarian needs. Indeed he defended the "utility" of classics by pointing out that they prepare men for wars by instilling a "high sense of honor, a disdain of death in a good cause, a passionate devotion to the welfare of one's country, a love of enterprise, and a love of glory."¹²¹ Thus Copleston in defending the traditional classical curriculum and moral education offered by Oxford clearly dismissed such narrowly utilitarian questions as, "What remuneration does a student receive for the time and money expended in academic pursuits? For what employment does it fit him?" To Copleston, "in truth, national wealth is not the ultimate scope of

¹¹⁹Ibid., p. 165.

¹²⁰Ibid., p. 168. Along the same lines the Provost argued. "But will any man who aspired to the name of philosopher maintain . . . that a rational being is most nobly occupied in supplying his bodily wants--in ministering to the caprices of fashion in dress, in building, in equipage, or in diet. . ." (Ibid., p. 112).

¹²¹Ibid., p. 169.

human society. . . ." He took issue with Adam Smith, the political economists, and utilitarians. He warned against the debilitating effects of operating by one principle and excluding all others.¹²² Far from espousing any narrow principle, Copleston claimed that education could be directed toward benefiting society as a whole, or to the advantage and prosperity of the individual. He considered only the former to be worthy of attention by an educational philosopher. By contrast, utilitarian individualistic goals of education he saw as selfish and mean.

This bias by exponents of liberal education has continued down to the present. Most contemporaries have read selections by J.H. Newman in their freshmen literature anthologies on the Idea of a University. In his Discourse VIII from Idea of a University, Newman specifically referred to Copleston's Replies to the Calumnies. He acknowledged his indebtedness to Copleston and,

that peculiar vigor and keenness of mind which enabled him . . . to counter the charges of three giants of the North combined against him . . . the most scientific, the most critical, and the most witty of that literary company, Prof. Playfair, Lord Jeffery and the Reverend Sidney Smith.¹²³

Newman's praise for Copleston about 1850 was all the more noteworthy in light of Copleston's address published in 1841 on Roman Catholic error and on the spread of Catholicism which he deplored.

As part of his Reply the Provost articulated the focus and the purpose of the curriculum at Oxford. He argued against the notion of

¹²²Ibid., p. 110.

¹²³Copleston, Advice to a Young Reviewer, Introduction, p. ix.

pouring a smattering of many subjects into students' heads in the hope that something will stick. Referring to utilitarians he said that people of this persuasion were often "incapable of judging how mental powers were improved by continual exercise, and how moral character was in a great measure formed by the study of good authors."¹²⁴ Furthermore, he warned that if ideas gleaned from liberal studies are not learned at the University or before, the mind may not be receptive to them at all in later life. In particular, Copleston extolled the value of teaching logic, divinity, and mathematical theorems, all of which "discipline the reasoning powers." In addition to the subjects mentioned above at Oxford, public lectures were read, one each term, to the whole University by the Professor of Poetry and the Professor of Modern History. In the course on modern history, read to a select class, the doctrines of political economy were introduced and discussed.¹²⁵ The curriculum "lays a foundation of liberal literature, ancient and modern" rather than allows "any particular pursuit to absorb the mind."¹²⁶ The Provost of Oriel claimed that the University taught classics "for the facts, the reasonings, the descriptions, the characters and the sentiments, for the principles and the examples of

¹²⁴Copleston, Reply to the Calumnies, p. 175.

¹²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 155.

¹²⁶*Ibid.*

pure taste, which they contain."¹²⁷ He encouraged students to strike off into the various professions, to engage in public service to the

¹²⁷Ibid., p. 133. In elaboration, Copleston wrote the following:

In the favorite studies of this place they [students] meet with nothing but what tends to breed and foster these noble sentiments; to make them feel what they owe to their country in a land of freedom and what their country expects from them. In the histories of Thucydides and Xenophon they see reflected all the great causes and motives which can even agitate and distract their own nation. (Ibid., p. 159)

Perhaps this is not free inquiry a la Newman. Rather it is a call to Duty against Napoleon.

Copleston commented at length on the purpose of liberal education. Although he expressed the same rationales later, borrowed by most other proponents of liberal education, he too borrowed from others, Milton in particular.

Without directly qualifying a man for any of the employments of life, it enriches and enables all. Without teaching him the peculiar business of any one office or calling, it enables him to act his part in each of them with better grace and more elevated carriage; and if happily planned and conducted, is a main ingredient in that complete and generous education, which fits a man "to perform justly, skillfully, and magnanimously, all the offices, both private and public of peace and war. . . ." (Ibid., pp. 104-05)

In another section of the Reply Copleston borrowed from Locke:

The great work is to fashion the carriage and form the mind; to settle in his pupils good habits, and the principles of virtue and wisdom to give him a view of mankind; and work him into a love and imitation of what is excellent and praiseworthy; and, in prosecution of it to give him vigour, activity, and industry. . . . The studies which he [teacher] sets upon him [student] are but the exercise of his faculties. . . . (Ibid., p. 105)

The teacher is "only to open the door" [of many subjects] that the student may look in, "and as it were begin an acquaintance, but not to dwell there" (Vol. III, p. 39, Locke). (Ibid., p. 106)

Somewhat analogous to the American Marines, who build a few good men, as Copleston envisioned it, Oxford built men of character.

We send out into the world an annual supply of men . . . impressed with what we hold to be the soundest principles of policy and religion, grounded in the elements of science and taught how they may best direct their efforts to farther attainments in that line. (Ibid., p. 150)

state, or to manage the lesser affairs as squires or justices of the peace locally. Demonstrating his greater regard for character than for learning, he said that the permeation of society by Oxford men did more social good than researchers on "untrodden regions, or by holding up to the world, ever ready to admire what is new, the fruits of our discovery."¹²⁸ In terms of education's impact on students' character, Copleston, like many of his Tory colleagues at that time, differed from most middle class educational theorists. Although most middle class people stressed academic merit and believed in individual equality in competition for desirable places in society, Copleston eschewed such egalitarianism.

It is idle to think that any system of education can equalize the powers of different minds. The nominal rank and precedence of the student, his rank in all the liberal professions, must be determined chiefly, not by merit, but by his standing: the habits of society, the mixed and entangled interests of life require it.¹²⁹

Presumably only the "best" men would emerge with the "best" characters.

¹²⁸Ibid., p. 150. Well he might make such a point for the universities. For example, of the Prime Ministers from 1815 to 1914, Christ Church, Oxford, educated Liverpool, Canning, Peel, Derby, Gladstone, Salisbury and Rosebery. St. John's College, Cambridge, educated Goderich, Aberdeen, Palmerston, Melbourne, Balfour, and Campbell-Bannerman went to Trinity College, Cambridge, Grey to King's and Asquith to Balliol. The Scottish universities claimed three: Russell at Edinburgh, while Palmerston was initially at Edinburgh and Campbell-Bannerman at Glasgow before both went to Cambridge. Only two the eighteen Prime Ministers of the period were not university men: Wellington and Disraeli.

As Christ Church, Oxford, was a nursery of statesmen, so Balliol under Jowett and his successors became that of administrators. This list of names is quoted from Michael Sanderson, The Universities in the Nineteenth Century, pp. 13-14. Thus there is plausibility to Copleston's assertion that Universities prepared men for leadership.

¹²⁹Ibid., p. 137.

Copleston must have held, along with some of the ancient Greeks, that character was to some extent innate.

Although Copleston in his Reply to the Calumnies set the framework for controversies in higher education for the next generation or longer, Adam Sedgwick, 1785-1873, at Cambridge also defended the ancient universities though he approached the issue from the perspective of a scientist rather than a classicist. Although the two men held many fundamental educational ideals in common they also contrasted with each other. Born nearly a decade after Copleston, Sedgwick too was the son of a vicar from the remote part of the West Riding. He came up to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1804, became a tutor and then ascended to the Woodwardian chair of Geology in 1818, although he had not studied geology up to that time.¹³⁰

In the early 1830s, Sedgwick was already one of the great figures of Cambridge: "gay and accessible, distinguished and influential, and specially popular with the young."¹³¹ He was esteemed at Cambridge, not so much for his discoveries, but because he made geology popular. He drew a crowded class even though attendance was voluntary and the subject formed no part of the degree course.

Unlike Copleston, he was an unashamed Whig, and active in sup-

¹³⁰But he taught and researched it well after his appointment. He helped found the Cambridge Philosophical Society about 1820 and became president of Geological Society of London in 1829. Every summer he set forth with his hammer on a systematic voyage of discovery; then in the fall, he delivered a course of public lectures. (Adam Sedgwick, A Discourse on the Studies of the University, 1833, ed. Eric Ashley and Mary Anderson (Leicester: 1969), p. 10.)

¹³¹*Ibid.*, p. 10.

port of the Whig party at University elections. He took pride in consistently voting on the side of civil and religious liberty since becoming a member of the Senate House, and he also took pride in the label, "disturber and radical," applied to him by the Ultra Tory press. Sedgwick frequently championed reforming causes at the University. For example, he took part in curricular reforms in 1822 and fought with Dr. French, Master of Jesus College, the following year in a controversy over limiting some authority of Heads of Houses.¹³² By 1834 he led the agitation for the abolition of subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles in proceeding to degrees. Much later, during the Parliamentary Commission on University reform, Sedgwick greatly antagonized the Tory William Whewell, Master of Trinity, by proposing reforms of which Whewell did not approve.¹³³

In spite of his many virtues and reforming activities Sedgwick has his less appealing side, too. Ironically, although he is the most liberal of the three major University apologists, Copleston, Sedgwick, and Whewell, in his own day, he probably is the least remembered or appreciated by the twentieth century. Although a renowned scientist in his time, he never believed in transmutation of species, not even after Darwin, one of his students, published Origin of the Species in 1859. Sedgwick harshly reviewed this book in Spectator, 24 March 1860. Winstanley, the authority on Victorian Cambridge, characterized

¹³²Winstanley, Early Victorian Cambridge, p. 53.

¹³³Whewell had talked to Sedgwick and helped him get on the University Commission board. Whewell later felt betrayed. (Ibid., p. 55)

Sedgwick as "aggressive, dogmatic, and too ready to think of himself as battling against the forces of evil and darkness."¹³⁴ Unctuous Victorians rarely receive favorable treatment by twentieth-century writers. However, Winstanley also said that he was a "deservedly popular warm-hearted generous man."¹³⁵

In addition to his fame as a geologist, Sedgwick gained renown as the author of A Discourse on the Studies of the University, an expanded sermon, published in 1833, first preached 17 December 1832, to the Masters, Fellows, and Juniors in Trinity College Chapel during the annual service to commemorate their benefactors. Although he dealt with live public issues, Sedgwick made no direct references to the Reform Bill or other specific political events. Moreover, he was regarded as a man with unique qualifications for dealing with these issues. University reform was in the air and Sedgwick was a known liberal sympathizer. Dodging Sir William Hamilton's criticism on curricular reform, he took as his starting point not the deficiencies of the existing curriculum, but its potentialities as a basis for sound Christian training. Furthermore, he dealt with two other crucial issues: the significance of the new data which geologists were uncovering about the origins of the earth, and the attitude Christians should adopt toward the theory of utility. By attacking analytic psychology, utilitarian ethics, and Locke and Paley, he outraged the utilitarians, especially J.S. Mill.

¹³⁴Ibid., p. 57.

¹³⁵Ibid.

Unquestionably A Discourse caused a stir at the time. The Times, 10 January 1834, called it "a work of great and varied excellence." The Quarterly Review, March 1834, eulogized it as "perhaps the most remarkable pamphlet that has appeared in England since Burke's Reflections."¹³⁶ John Stuart Mill reviewed A Discourse in the London Review in a caustic article. Perhaps the unusual rancour of Mill's review of Sedgwick's denunciation of utility signified the measure of the influence which pronouncements of Sedgwick were expected to have.¹³⁷ Clearly Sedgwick's Discourse evoked responses from a much wider and mature congregation than the deferential junior members of Trinity College. Wherein lay the secret of its success?

Sedgwick saw the paramount purpose of the university to lay a moral foundation for young men.

We are at least bound to give, as far as we are able, a right bias to the youthful sentiments on all great questions concerning human nature, so that those who begin their moral studies here may be enabled to lay a good foundation, whereon, in maturer manhood, they build in safety.¹³⁸

Even earlier in the Discourse, acknowledging that he was addressing "many of whom have barely reached the dawn of manhood," Sedgwick proposed, "to lay a good foundation against the coming time, by fostering habits of practical kindness, and self control--by mental discipline and study--by cultivating all those qualities which give elevation to

¹³⁶Quarterly Review, LI, March 1834, pp. 213-28.

¹³⁷Adam Sedgwick, A Discourse, Introduction by Eric Ashley and Mary Anderson, p. 9.

¹³⁸Sedgwick, A Discourse, p. 39.

the moral and intellectual character--in one word, by not wavering between right and wrong, but by learning the great lesson of acting strenuously and unhesitatingly on the light of conscience."¹³⁹ Like Thomas Arnold, Sedgwick stated a two-fold purpose for moral and character training: he stressed individual Christian duty and virtue, and also national strength and destiny. He emphasized the moral basis of individual and national strength. Further, he asserted that, "a nation's honor is a nation's strength: that its true greatness consists in the virtue of its citizens. . . ."¹⁴⁰ Particularly for Cambridge students, future leaders of the Church and State, Sedgwick stressed the importance of receiving a careful grounding in morality because "every state is but an assemblage of individuals, each of whom is responsible to the moral law, thus the state itself cannot be exempt from obedience to the same law. . . ."¹⁴¹

What ideas or standards served as the foundation of individual and national morality--those of Christianity, of course! Sedgwick claimed that historical evidence proved religion was essential to the social happiness of man, and consequently to the well-being of every nation. "Christianity is of national importance not merely because it

¹³⁹Ibid., p. 8.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., p. 69.

¹⁴¹Ibid.

is expedient, but because it is true. . . ."142

Sedgwick proposed a three part division of studies at Cambridge by which Christian truths could be inculcated. First, he proposed studying the "laws of nature" which would comprehend all parts of inductive philosophy. Second, ancient literature,

a record of the feelings, the sentiments, and the actions of men. In these works we seek for examples and maxims of prudence and models of taste.¹⁴³

Third, he proposed a "study of ourselves," considered as individuals and as social beings. Subjects in this area included ethics, metaphysics, moral and political philosophy. Often stating that "the moral capacities of man must not be left out of account in any part of intellectual discipline," Sedgwick then devoted much of his Discourse to expanding on these three areas of study.

Not surprisingly, as an internationally renowned geologist he first, and at greatest length, explored the study of nature. Sedgwick reasoned that the external world proved to us the being of God in two ways, by addressing the imagination and poetic feeling, and by

¹⁴²Ibid., p. 70. He then distinguished Christianity from "infidel philosophy" and elaborated on the dangers of such philosophy as exemplified during the French Revolution. "The life and happiness of a fellow being is, in a Christian's eye, of a thousand-fold more consequence than in the cold speculations of infidel philosophy" (Ibid., p. 70). He alluded to the great evils resulting from the actions of Robespierre and others of the Republic of Virtue who were all infidels. Sedgwick claimed that had they accepted any of the doctrines of Christ they would not have acted as they did out of "brutal and selfish passion" (Ibid., p. 77). It is interesting to note that even in 1833, orthodox English Christians still shuddered at the atrocities of the French Revolution.

¹⁴³Ibid., p. 9.

informing our reason. In effect, he synthesized Wordsworth and Paley. Along with Wordsworth he would agree that "the heavens declare the glory of God and the firmament sheweth his handy work."¹⁴⁴

However, he also echoed Paley's argument based on Natural Theology that contrivance proved design and therefore a Great Designer. For example, Sedgwick claimed that the study of Newtonian philosophy "teaches us to see the finger of God in all things animate and inanimate . . . and so prepares, or ought to prepare, the mind for the reception of that higher illumination, which brings the rebellious faculties into obedience to the divine will."¹⁴⁵ He believed that the notion of gravity demonstrated that all parts of the universe were knit together by the operation of a common law which would "terminate in beauty, and harmony, and order."¹⁴⁶ Far from fearing science as leading men down a road of self-conceit or agnosticism, or even self-destruction, as his contemporary Mary Shelley anticipated and portrayed in Frankenstein, Sedgwick praised the study of the higher sciences as well suited to keep down a spirit of arrogance and intellectual pride. When disentangling the phenomena of the material world, he said, we encounter things which hourly tell us of the

¹⁴⁴One impulse from a vernal wood
May teach you more of man,
Of moral evil and of good,
Than all the sages can.

(William Wordsworth, "The Tables Turned," ll. 21-24, from Lyrical Ballads)

¹⁴⁵Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., p. 13.

feebleness of our powers. Thus science can teach the virtue of humility, as it taught Newton.

In contrast to Charles Lyell, whom the Orthodox feared, the devout were comforted by Sedgwick who saw no conflict between revelation in the Bible and recent discoveries in geology or other sciences. Indeed, because he was an authority in the field of geology, his audience could take special comfort and assurance in his harmonizing of Christianity and science. He explained the long periods of earth's history before the creation of human beings as part of God's plan. He both defended geology as a science and harmonized it with Genesis. He claimed that geology gave its aid to natural religion. He emphatically supported the traditional belief in the special creation of man.

Independently of every written testimony, we believe that man, with all his powers and appetencies, his marvelous structure and his fitness for the world around him, was called into being within a few thousand years of the days in which we live [Bishop Ussher's Chronology]--not by the transmutation of species (a theory no better than a phrensied dream), but by a provident contriving power.¹⁴⁷

Although he asserted that the bible was a rule of life and faith--a record of our moral destinies--it was not, nor did it pretend to be, a revelation of natural science. The credibility of Christianity depended on evidence both internal and external. He described the internal evidence as seen in the coherence of the design from on high. External evidence mingled with internal evidence, but a complete understanding of Christian truth relied on the strength of human

¹⁴⁷Ibid., p. 23.

testimony.¹⁴⁸ The task of the geologist, of scientists, and of Christians in general was to discover the general laws. Sedgwick saw a parallel between the moral and physical worlds. In both worlds he said, "we are justified in saying that God seems to govern by general laws. . . ."149

After having discussed the natural world, its laws and their relation to morality, Sedgwick next took up the study of classical literature and history. Sedgwick hoped to demonstrate that Christian teachers at Cambridge could discern and emphasize God's moral laws from these literary sources just as scientists did in the natural world. He defined classics as works which became models and rules of excellence for other men.¹⁵⁰ Sedgwick outlined three major reasons for studying classics. First, the best literature of modern Europe is drawn from classics. Our contemporary achievements must suffer if we ignored the foundation. Second, classical studies help us to interpret the oracles of God and enable us to read the books wherein man's moral destinies are written. Third, the critical skill which "teaches men to dissect the ancient languages, to unravel all the subtleties of their structure, and to transfer their whole meaning into a translation, well deserve the honors and rewards we have long placed on it in the

¹⁴⁸Ibid., p. 104.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁵⁰He elaborated on the value of classics in the following quotation: "Surely it is our glorious privilege to follow the tracks of those who have adorned the history of mankind--to feel as they have felt--to think as they have thought--and to draw from the living fountain of their genius" (Ibid., p. 30).

universities."¹⁵¹

Although he admitted that classical languages as studied at the University may have over-emphasized the critical and formal: "valued the husks more than the fruit of ancient learning," Sedgwick stressed that we ought to comprehend the meaning, and to this end; "The philosophical and ethical works of the ancients deserve a much larger portion of our time than we have hitherto bestowed on them." "The classical writers . . . laid the foundation of their moral systems in the principles and feelings of our nature, and built thereon a noble superstructure."¹⁵² For example, the ancient authors often argued religious positions with which Sedgwick was in complete agreement. He said that the argument for the existence of a God, derived from final causes, was as well stated in the conversations of Socrates as in the Natural Theology of Paley; indeed, Sedgwick averred that Socrates actually argued the point better than Paley.¹⁵³ In regard to the often tedious method of studying classics pursued at the Universities, Sedgwick saw virtue even in that. On this point, his reasoning may be unique:

Now these severe studies are, on the whole, favorable to self control; for without fastening on the mind through the passions and the senses, they give it not merely a power of concentration, but save it from the languor and misery arising from

¹⁵¹Ibid., p. 31.

¹⁵²Ibid., pp. 33-34.

¹⁵³Ibid., p. 35.

vacuity of thought--the origin of perhaps half the vices of our nature.¹⁵⁴

Sedgwick defended even the tedious and onerous aspects of the University curriculum with a moral and intellectual rationale. In effect, he argued, that if an idle mind is the devil's playground, then a declension a day keeps the devil away!

The possibilities for personal and national moral improvement through the study of classical literature could be complemented by a study of history which would foster much the same purpose. The geologist again drew the parallel between the scientific approach and history as he had for classical literature.

History is to our knowledge of man in his social capacity, what physical experiments are to our knowledge of the laws of nature: and well it is for that country which learns wisdom by the experiments of other nations.¹⁵⁵

In particular he extolled the value of studying ancient history, "a kind of museum of national existences." "We may see that the higher virtues, which are the only secure foundation of a nation's strength, are confined to no time and place."¹⁵⁶ Not only ought students study

¹⁵⁴Ibid., p. 10.

¹⁵⁵Ibid., p. 36.

¹⁵⁶Ibid. Even before Thomas Babington Macaulay popularized the "Whig view" of history Sedgwick expressed, in essence, the same ideas. We may look on states rising out of small beginnings, and watch the means by which they gradually ascend in the scale of national strength. We may mark the giant power of despotism wasting away before a petty combination of free men. We may see that liberty is the handmaid of genius and virtue--that under her fostering care, feelings and sentiments, embodied in national literature, spring up and knit men together as one family, and for a time give them an almost unconquerable might--and lastly, that the law of national sentiments and

the good example of virtuous men, but also Sedgwick cautioned students to consider the follies and sins recorded in history too. He encouraged students to be concerned with more than just their own actions and attitudes; they needed to safeguard public virtue as well. "Beware of good men being surrounded and pulled down with the corrupt; the good and the bad are often mingled in a common calamity."¹⁵⁷ The examples of history prove to Sedgwick all of the moral lessons he might ever hope his students would learn; the wisdom and justice of God, that virtue sustains national strength, and that no form of government can maintain a condition of personal happiness and social dignity without the sanction of religion.¹⁵⁸

While his reconciliation of geology and Genesis and his explanation of classics and history formed two of his major points in the Discourse, an attack on utilitarianism in general, and Locke and

national independence, whether commencing in decay from within or violence from without is alike followed by moral and physical desolation. (Ibid., pp. 36-37)

¹⁵⁷Ibid., p. 37.

¹⁵⁸Still it is true that there is in history of times past enough to show that God will in the end vindicate his character as a moral governor: for we find that in all ages virtue and wisdom have been the only firm supports of national strength--and that sin either in individuals or among states is followed by a loss of glory and freedom.

And he went on to say, perhaps in part as a commentary on the political troubles associated with the passage of the Great Reform Bill, the following:

Hence we may conclude on large experience grounded on all history, past or present, sacred or profane, that those public men who have sought to gain their ends by inflaming the bad passions of the people and pandering to their vices, have been traitors to the cause of true liberty, and blasphemers against the very God they profess to worship. (Ibid., p. 38)

Paley as incorporated in the Cambridge curriculum in particular, formed his third point. In order to examine "human nature," Sedgwick proposed to focus on John Locke's Essay on Human Understanding and Political Philosophy which had "long formed such prominent subjects of instruction in this University."¹⁵⁹ He placed more emphasis on Paley's writing as the more recent and more utilitarian of the two. Sedgwick clearly saw that utilitarianism and his view of Christianity rested on different philosophical assumptions. While Sedgwick contended for an innate moral sense or faculty, defining and determining the quality of our moral judgments, Paley denied the sanction and authority of a moral sense.¹⁶⁰ According to Sedgwick, Paley fell short of Christian truth in many areas. Paley set up man as the judge rather than the subject of the law because he believed that utility, as perceived by an individual, was the touchstone of right and wrong. In contrast to Paley, Sedgwick claimed that man was not merely subject to the natural and physical laws, but also to moral ones, written on the heart by God or recorded in the Scriptures. Among his initial postulates in Moral

¹⁵⁹Ibid., p. 39.

¹⁶⁰Adam Sedgwick and William Whewell, and the Scottish school of common sense as represented by Sir William Hamilton, provided some answers missing to J.S. Mill and the Benthamites.

Sedgwick derived his theory of understanding from Kant's categories and from mathematical demonstrations of the meaning of necessary or a priori truth. In his Discourse on Cambridge (1832), Sedgwick conceded that the mind had no innate knowledge, but he insisted nevertheless that sensory experience alone could never provide a suitable standard of moral behavior. Material or phenomenal experience required the assistance or intervention of certain innate powers, inherent moral capacities or faculties. Conscience was such a faculty. (Rothblatt, Revolution of the Dons, p. 102)

Theology Paley said that God, with regard to the interests of man, must be benevolent, malignant, or indifferent. Sedgwick thought such an assumption presumptuous for a finite human being to say. Rather than upholding absolute divinely inspired moral laws like Sedgwick, Paley allowed the individual to assess the expediency of utility, which would lead to moral relativism.¹⁶¹ This last complaint irked Sedgwick most of all.

The system of utility brings down virtue from a heavenly throne and places her on an earthly tribunal, where her decisions, no longer supported by any holy sanctions, are distorted by judicial ignorance, and tainted by base passion.¹⁶²

To Sedgwick, Christian law stands as an efficient and abiding principle--not tested by the world, but above the world. Utilitarians, on the contrary, begin by abrogating Christian standards that conscience acts upon, by rejecting the moral feelings as the test of right and wrong. They measure every act by worldly standards and value its worldly consequences. Virtue becomes a question of calculation, a matter of profit or loss--the "felicific calculus." Sedgwick condemned Paley's attempts to synthesize two mutually exclusive systems. He recognized that utilitarian philosophy and Christian ethics have in their principles and motives no common bond of union and ought never to have been linked in one system. They rest on separate foundations, one from moral feelings, the other from the "selfish passion of our

¹⁶¹Ibid., p. 52.

¹⁶²Ibid., p. 54.

nature."¹⁶³

In at least one aspect Sedgwick's critique foreshadowed the arguments of contemporary critics of Behaviorism. Referring to utilitarians, Sedgwick said that injury was done to moral reasoning by attempting to assimilate it too closely to the method of the exact sciences. By confounding moral with physical causation, and by considering moral motives as the necessary precursors of undeviating moral consequences, men have contrived to reach the most revolting and unnatural conclusions. They have denied to men all freedom of will, and liberty of action; and bound him up, physically and morally, in the fetters of an unrelenting fatalism.¹⁶⁴ Sedgwick allowed a much greater place for introspection, and perhaps free will, than would utilitarians or Behaviorists. "We know the inner movements of the soul by reflecting what passes within ourselves."¹⁶⁵ To Sedgwick's way of thinking the notion of expediency, felicific calculus, and utility in general, debased morality.

Attacks on Paley came from more than one Cambridge man.

¹⁶³Ibid., p. 57. Coleridge had anticipated Sedgwick's dim view of Paley. He acknowledged that Paley's works were popular yet, It is feeble. And whatever is feeble is always plausible: for it favours mental indolence . . . feebleness, in the disguise of confusing and condescending strength, is always popular. It flatters the reader by retaining the apprehended distance between him and the superior author. . . . Ay, quoth the rational Christian . . . I am content to think with the great Dr. Paley . . . Man of sense! Dr. Paley was a great man . . . but you do not think at all! (S.T. Coleridge, Aids to Reflection, p. 337)

¹⁶⁴Ibid., p. 97.

¹⁶⁵Ibid., p. 100.

Coleridge, for example, also rejected the use of Paley's books as a text in the Universities.

Hence, I more than fear the prevailing taste for books of natural theology, physical theology, demonstrations of God from Nature, and the like. Evidences of Christianity! I am weary of the word. Make a man feel the want of it--rouse him if you can to the self-knowledge of his need of it, and you may safely trust to its own evidence--remembering only the express declaration of Christ himself 'No man cometh to me, unless the Father leadeth him.'¹⁶⁶

Ardent admirers of Wordsworth and Coleridge usually rejected utilitarianism. Indeed, as Walter F. Cannon noted, a sermon against Paley was almost a badge of membership among the clerical members at Cambridge in the 1820s and 1830s.¹⁶⁷ In his review of the Discourse, particularly of the section criticizing utilitarianism, J.S. Mill perceived a two-fold purpose to Sedgwick's work: to refute a theory of morals, and to trace its influence on the character and actions of those who embrace it. Mill then proceeded to attempt to demolish Sedgwick's arguments. Mill denied that history is to our knowledge of man in his social capacity as physical experiments are to our knowledge

¹⁶⁶Coleridge, Aids to Reflection, p. 363.

¹⁶⁷The anti-Paley contribution of Adam Sedgwick provoked an angry rebuttal from J.S. Mill because Sedgwick had lumped Paley and Bentham together as utilitarians and denounced them both. Mill made it clear that Paley's utilitarianism did not count because Paley believed in God as well as in Utility. (Walter F. Cannon, "Scientists and Broad Churchmen," p. 85) Cannon went on to comment on the place of utilitarianism in the context of early nineteenth century English intellectual history.

The increasing amount of denunciation of Paley, most severe in his own University, is a striking feature of the 1820s and 1830s. It served to remind the historian that Utilitarianism was an old fashioned, an eighteenth century creed. That is why it received increasing support in the political world. The phenomenon is a fine example of cultural lag. (Ibid., p. 85)

of the laws of nature. He denied the possibility of making experiments in history. "There is not a fact in history which is not susceptible of as many different explanations as there are possible theories of human affairs." Mill rejected history as a source of political philosophy; instead he asserted that the "profoundest political philosophy is requisite to explain history." Rather than being the foundation of the social sciences, Mill said history is their verification; history corroborates and often suggests political truths, but cannot prove them. He saw history as useful to correct narrowness of personal experience and view, but secondary in discerning social truths.¹⁶⁸ Although Adam Sedgwick may have profoundly outraged the utilitarians he comforted the supporters of the ancient universities.

Considering the frequent and increasingly vehement attacks on the universities during the 1830s and 1840s, Cambridge was fortunate to have yet another faithful son who fought the good fight for God and Alma Mater. William Whewell, 1794-1866, born about a decade after Sedgwick and nearly two decades after Copleston, the son of a Lancashire carpenter, entered Trinity College as a sizar in 1812. He graduated in 1816 as a second wrangler, was appointed a fellow the

¹⁶⁸J.S. Mill, Dissertations and Discussions, p. 100ff. Even years later when writing his Autobiography, Mill couldn't help venting his spleen on Sedgwick.

Sedgwick, a man of eminence in a particular walk of natural science, but who should not have trespassed into philosophy, had lately published his Discourse on the Studies of Cambridge, which had as its most prominent feature an intemperate assault on analytic psychology and utilitarian ethics, in the form of an attack on Locke and Paley. This had excited great indignation in my father and others, which it fully deserved. (Mill, Autobiography, p. 201)

following year, and was made a tutor in 1823. His letters home indicate that he was very frugal while in college. Although serving as an assistant tutor from 1818 to 1823 and tutor from 1823 to 1838, he despised some of the tedious responsibilities which he considered a drudgery and turned his energy to writing textbooks on mechanics and science. By 1828, after special studies in Germany, he became Professor of Mineralogy. Although he resigned this professorship in 1832 he later became Knightsbridge Professor of Moral Philosophy, a post he held until 1855. In 1841 Whewell became Master of Trinity, remaining so until his death in 1866.¹⁶⁹

Like many great men, Whewell had his supporters and detractors, both among his contemporaries and later historians. For example Sidney Smith quipped that "science was his forte and omniscience his foible"; this witticism was very generally circulated and applauded.¹⁷⁰ Whewell appeared to many as an unpopular man with limited social grace. Bristed, a student at Cambridge in the 1840s, described him as "an

¹⁶⁹Robert G. McPherson, Theory of Higher Education in Nineteenth Century England, pp. 39-40. Walter F. Cannon provided further biographical information on Whewell.

Whewell was an archtypical product of Lancashire: "he was the Englishman whom Macaulay could not outtalk" (Trevelyan, Life and Letters of Macaulay, p. 480). He became an expert investigator of the tide, a writer on medieval architecture, the great historian and philosopher of science of his time, and, as Master of Trinity, a powerful University figure who helped to force "moral sciences" [modern philosophy and social thought] into the Tripos. In the late 1820s, as Professor of Mineralogy, he was one of the best theorists of Crystallography. (Walter F. Cannon, "Scientists and Broad Churchmen," pp. 70-71)

¹⁷⁰Charles Astor Bristed, Five Years in an English University, p. 119.

intolerably fussy man--a rigid martinet, weakly punctilious about trifles."¹⁷¹ In 1848, F.D. Maurice complained to Julius Hare that Whewell was so insolent and arrogant that

I do mourn for the sake of the University, where the young men are daily feeling themselves more utterly estranged from those who might be their guides. For them thus utterly cast off I care more than for the working classes.¹⁷²

Even contemporary historians have a mixed opinion about Whewell.

Sheldon Rothblatt, while acknowledging him as a man of "formidable intellect, high integrity, and generosity," also called him "arbitrary, unconciliatory, and sometimes excessively rude." He was portrayed in comic literature as the archetypal college don and university snob.¹⁷³

In contrast to Rothblatt's portrait, Robert McPherson wrote a more flattering description. He noted Whewell's keen interest in science, "though he never allowed himself to lose perspective concerning its place in liberal education." He became fellow of the Royal Society in 1820 and the Geological Society in 1827.

His three volume History of the Inductive Sciences, 1837, and its sequel, the two volume Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences, 1840,

¹⁷¹Ibid., p. 119. "By treating like schoolboys those nearly arrived at the age and dignity of men, he chafes and worries them to no purpose, and some portion of the annoyance must at times react upon himself" (Ibid., p. 118). "[O]ur master enforced petty and long-neglected regulations about walking over grass-plots, and crossing the court without a cap and gown at certain hours . . . he exacted the most rigorous personal etiquette." Students were never to sit down in the master's presence when invited to the conversaziones at the Lodge (the Master's residence). (Ibid., p. 119)

¹⁷²F.D. Maurice, Life, I, p. 477.

¹⁷³Rothblatt, Revolution of the Dons, p. 212.

won him recognition and awards as an outstanding scientific author. He was acquainted with Michael Faraday and Sir Charles Lyell. Indeed, McPherson commended Whewell as a representative example of the ideal intellectual character formed by Cambridge in the first half of the century.¹⁷⁴ Clearly Whewell was a man of exceptional stature who commanded the attention, if not the universal admiration, of his contemporaries within and without the University.

Although most famous for his scientific and mathematical studies, the Master of Trinity also authored three works on moral education, one of his life-long concerns. In the Elements of Morality, 1843, a ponderous two volume study, Whewell constructed a parallel between elements of geometry with self-evident axioms and deductive proofs, and elements of morality, which included principles of Humanity, Justice, Truth, Purity, Order, Earnestness, and Moral Ends. "I have tried to make it [Elements of Morality] a work of rigorous reasoning, and therefore, so far, at least, philosophical."¹⁷⁵ He addressed his book to the general interested reader rather than to specialists or university men. Although a scientist, he dedicated the Elements of Morality to the poet Laureate, William Wordsworth, "since

¹⁷⁴His extensive original research, in a day when not only had it not yet become a part of the university mission, but was generally considered to have no place there at all, was exactly the kind of attitude which liberal education was supposed to develop--an active intellect that would abide with the student all of his life. A living illustration of the effectiveness of such training is provided in Whewell's career. (Robert G. McPherson, Theory of Higher Education, p. 40)

¹⁷⁵William Whewell, Elements of Morality, Vol. I, p. viii.

in your Poems, at the season of life when the mind and the heart are most wrought on by poetry, I along with many others, found a spirit of pure and comprehensive morality, operating to raise your readers above the moral temper of the times. . . ."¹⁷⁶ This appreciation of the morally refreshing and uplifting quality of Wordsworth's poetry by Whewell parallels J.S. Mill's comments about the poet in his Autobiography. Even though these two men came from such different backgrounds and had such opposing views on the best methods and proper goals of higher education, they agreed about the Poet Laureate.

Although Whewell in Elements set forth a systematic approach to defining and teaching morality,¹⁷⁷ and on a monumental multi-volume scale, he applied moral education much more directly to higher education in two other works, On the Right Principles of English University Education, 1837, and Of a Liberal Education in General, 1845.

Therefore, we shall devote more attention to Right Principles and Liberal Education than to Elements. Right Principles of English University Education defended Cambridge from middle-class utilitarian and Nonconformist criticism. In it Whewell included a section on the teaching of mathematics and its role in developing mental character. Seeing higher education at the crossroads in 1837, he posed the

¹⁷⁶W. Whewell, Trinity College, Cambridge, 14 April 1845.

¹⁷⁷Whewell, very analytically, if not pedantically, set forth definitions of human motivation and action. His fine classes of motivation include the following: Appetites, Affections, Mental Desires, Moral Sentiments, and Reflex Sentiments (social and interpersonal). In another part of Elements of Morality, he divided morality into five branches, Jurisprudence, Morality of Reason, Morality of Religion, Polity, and International Law.

question whether the reform of universities in England, France, Germany, and America would lead to a

condition of the later Greeks and Romans, having for their mental aristocracy a class of philosophical system builders, commentators, and mere metaphysicians; or shall go on to exhibit that healthy vigor and constant effort at real progress and improvement which has characterized this quarter of the globe for the last three hundred years.¹⁷⁸

Naturally, Whewell hoped by this treatise to advance "real progress and improvement" by setting forth the virtues of the best aspects of the English university system and warning against the dangers implicit in the schemes of utilitarian innovators.

In particular he rejected the university critics' contention that the university should keep pace with all the changes taking place in a rapidly industrializing society.¹⁷⁹ Whewell argued that Universities represent and should teach the permanent rather than the fluctuating elements of human knowledge. He agreed that they should be progressive, but "the progress in which they ought to share is not one which can be measured from year to year, but rather is reckoned in centuries."¹⁸⁰ Whewell's arguments followed a Burkean view of organic

¹⁷⁸W. Whewell, On the Right Principles of English University Education, pp. 25-26.

¹⁷⁹In his own words, almost a foreshadowing of the Syllabus of Errors, Whewell repeated the utilitarian position, which will, no doubt, sound familiar to us. However, he would have no part of it. "That the world is constantly advancing and we must accommodate ourselves to its progress, that the present generation is more wise, more enlightened, more free from prejudice than its predecessors, and that, therefore, we must not bind [students] in fetters which [elders] constructed" (William Whewell, English University Education, 1838, p. 127).

¹⁸⁰*Ibid.*, p. 128.

growth although he does not specifically acknowledge his intellectual debt to the Irishman. Universities have to transmit the civilization of past generations to future ones, "not to share and show forth all the changing fashions of intellectual caprice and subtlety." Whewell argued that rather than colleges "running a race with the spirit of the age" they instead ought "to connect ages, as they roll on, by giving permanence to that which is often lost sight of in the turmoil of more bustling scenes."¹⁸¹ Instead of the utilitarian spirit of "hatred and contempt" for the past, Whewell believed real improvement would follow from an attitude of "reverence and gratitude" towards our predecessors. He exhorted his readers that reform must come "not by rejecting and despising, but by adopting and improving the older codes." Specifically he repudiated attempt to remodel institutions on "some foreign or imaginary plan." Most important of all Whewell wanted to see a preservation of the "genuine spirit" of institutions and laws after "calm and serious" thought.¹⁸² Thus Whewell, like many other Anglican defenders of the ancient universities, deplored the dangers of a merely material civilization and opposed the schemes of utilitarians.

In his book English University Education, Whewell sets forth a program of moral education for Cambridge University. He raises some important questions. He asks, for example, "What selection of the matter or of the mode of communication can affect the moral nature? What kind of knowledge can give habits of self-government and a sense

¹⁸¹Ibid., p. 131.

¹⁸²Ibid., p. 132.

of duty?"¹⁸³ Of course, Whewell realizes that moral education begins long before the student arrives at the university.¹⁸⁴

Like Thomas Arnold, Whewell emphasizes moral education not instruction merely. He describes the teacher's task as the following: "We must infuse a sense of moral and religious responsibility, as well as mere knowledge; we must form the principles of conduct as well as the intellect."¹⁸⁵ In order to achieve this moral education at Trinity College, Cambridge, Whewell sets forth a whole program of discipline.¹⁸⁶ Indeed, the entire third section of English University Education is devoted to discipline at universities which the author sees as a way of affecting the moral nature, giving habits of self

¹⁸³Whewell, English University Education, p. 79.

¹⁸⁴He mentions training a boy in creeds by memory, but he realizes teachers must reach the heart. "And when we have placed the youth in the independent position of the student at a university, how shall we teach his light mind and impetuous spirit to recollect that his condition is one of grave responsibility; that he must act with considerate reference to external regards and internal convictions of duty; and that the religion taught to his boyhood is intended to form an unbroken part of the business of his life?" (Ibid., p. 79). "The meaning and value of the moral and religious maxims which are taught to the boy, are to be impressed upon his heart by the personal exhortation of parents and other instructors; and that the student at the university is not to be uncontrolled, but is to be in such a condition that he is never allowed to forget, that the demands of society and rules of duty must direct his habits of action and shape his manners" (Ibid.).

¹⁸⁵Ibid., p. 78.

¹⁸⁶At the English Universities the student "is subjected to many rules, and put under governors and monitors who are invested with a combination of parental and official authority." Hence the student "acts in a little world, which is constituted of definite relations and duties, and requires a certain self-restraint and self-regulation at every step; and thus is a fit school to prepare him for the world of real action" (Ibid., p. 79).

government, and instilling a sense of duty. Whewell believes that Duty is the way to happiness and holds this conviction as an ultimate truth.¹⁸⁷

Despite the lack of a universally agreed upon system of moral education at the universities, fostering these two goals was a major concern to many of the formulators of policy there. Doctor Robert Gordon Latham, for example, commented: "How preposterously absurd it is to send the youth of a Christian university, in the nineteenth century, to learn his moral philosophy from Aristotle, that uncircumcised and unbaptized Philistine."¹⁸⁸ Although Aristotle and other classical authors formed an integral part of the university curriculum, Dr. Latham had serious doubts about their appropriateness. "The old Moral Philosophy of Aristotle, Cicero, and Epictetus, however admirable in their days, is not worth a louse," he commented in his blunt Yorkshire way.¹⁸⁹ Perhaps Latham and others at Cambridge found something more

¹⁸⁷Whewell, Elements of Morality, Vol. I, p. 401. Indeed, on the issue of truth we come to the center of Whewell's concern and purpose for championing Anglican liberal education. He argued that accepted truths were most important. The mature man who left the university after acquiring a thorough appreciation of "undoubted truths" and works of "unquestioned excellence," could safely be allowed a critical review of doctrines presented to him.

¹⁸⁸v.H.H. Green, The Universities, p. 60. Robert Gordon Latham entered King's College, Cambridge, in 1829, earned his B.A. in 1832 and was elected a fellow. In order to study philology he resided for a year on the continent in Hamburg, Copenhagen, and Christiania. By 1839 he became Professor of English language and literature in University College, London. He earned an M.D. degree from the University of London. His studies and writing combined philology and ethnology. G.T.B. "Latham, Robert Gordon," Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XI, p. 609.

¹⁸⁹Ibid.

appealing and relevant in his fellow north countryman's works.

Whewell constructed a second defence of Cambridge in Of a Liberal Education in General. In a letter to his friend Julius C. Hare, Whewell in August 1845 wrote that there were "tolerably plain indications that the old Universities are not to expect a continuance of the protection they have been accustomed to receive at the hands of the Government."¹⁹⁰ He then began writing a book on Cambridge education, Of a Liberal Education, which appeared the same year.¹⁹¹

In these two works the Master of Trinity College and sometime Vice Chancellor set forth the meaning of higher education and a program for shaping moral character at Cambridge. When defining "liberal education" Whewell drew explicit parallels between levels of education and social class structure. Perhaps because he was writing later than

¹⁹⁰W. Whewell to J.C. Hare, 12 August 1845, Whewell Papers, as cited by D.A. Winstanley, Early Victorian Cambridge, p. 198.

¹⁹¹Although Whewell, a stalwart conservative, wrote his book expressly to defend the old English system, he did so in such a forcible way that even a fellow conservative, Sir Robert Peel, severely criticized his ideas as too reactionary. Peel disagreed with Whewell's emphasis on the paramount importance of arithmetic and mathematical studies because Whewell favored their eternal certainty. Peel also rejected Whewell's denial of chemistry or other sciences in the curriculum because its subject matter was always changing and students might lose reverence for Professors who could not teach eternal truth.

The Doctor's assumption [Peel noted] that 'a century should pass' before new discoveries in science are admitted into the course of academical instruction, exceeds in absurdity anything which the bitterest enemy of University education would have imputed to its advocates. . . . If the principle, for which Dr. Whewell contends, be a sound one, it will be difficult to deliver a lecture on theology. But the fact is that adherence to these [Whewell's] principles, so far from exalting the character of Professors and Heads of Houses, would cover them with ridicule. (Sir Theodore Martin, Life of the Prince Consort, Vol. II, fifth edition, pp. 117-19)

Copleston or Sedgwick, he had to take into account an increasingly obstreperous middle class.

The education of the upper classes is termed Liberal Education, and the Higher Education; the education of the middle classes will commonly be, in its highest parts, an imitation of the Higher Education, more or less incomplete; and the education of the people, when they are educated, will most generally be an Elementary Education; including little more than the first element of the Higher Education.¹⁹²

Thus, the stratification of social classes would parallel the system of education. About the propriety of this stratification he seemed quite certain, considering that he stated his position as fact rather than an opinion, even though Whewell, a champion of liberal education, himself was the son of a Lancashire carpenter. In spite of this inconsistency he considered liberal education suited to the Anglican upper class which traditionally attended the universities. Education of other classes he regarded in large measure an inferior imitation of liberal or higher education which assumed an importance as a pattern for all of society.¹⁹³

Like his two fellow apologists, Whewell asserted Christianity as the proper goal inspiring higher education. He stated that education's object was "to develop the whole mental system of man, and thus to bring it into consistency with itself . . . to enable . . . [man] to render a reason for the belief that is in him."¹⁹⁴ While

¹⁹²Whewell, Of a Liberal Education in General, pp. 1-2.

¹⁹³Robert McPherson, The Theory of Higher Education in Nineteenth Century England, p. 43.

¹⁹⁴Whewell, Of a Liberal Education in General, p. 139.

acknowledging that no education could create true genius, and disavowing the training of specialists as an objective, Whewell claimed that liberal education can and should develop "all the faculties by which man shares in the highest thoughts and feelings of his species."¹⁹⁵ Liberal education must cultivate the faculty of reason through mathematical study, and the faculty of language through classical study. If one or the other were to be omitted, the student would remain half educated--either irrational or illiterate.

A proper environment formed an essential component necessary to inculcate liberal education. In order to demonstrate the effort at Cambridge to create such an environment Whewell quoted from the Statutes of Trinity College. These statutes stressed respect and submission of Juniors to Seniors all along the academic hierarchy; they also regulated proper conduct of students both on and off campus.

We also decree, ordain and exhort, that the Master, Fellows, Scholars, and other residents in the College, do use their utmost endeavor to nourish, cherish, and preserve concord, unity, peace and mutual charity; and avoid, in word and deed, scurrility, ribaldry, scoffs, whispers, reproaches, and scandals.¹⁹⁶

The Master of Trinity claimed that the effects of this discipline have been in the "highest degree beneficial; and have shown that such a system, if earnestly and faithfully administered, may, in great measure, lead to a general prevalence of that respectful temper, that moral character, those good manners and orderly habits at which it

¹⁹⁵Ibid., pp. 107-08.

¹⁹⁶Whewell, Right Principles of English University Education, p. 81.

aims."¹⁹⁷

In Elements of Morality, Whewell discusses moral education in the national rather than the university context. He first defines law as that which the community deems right; hence punishments are inflicted upon actions which are deemed wrong. The law, he argues, must always be just; but there may be many things which are just, and which yet cannot be enforced by law. Law must prohibit only what is morally wrong. Crimes are violations of the law and offences against morality, thus punishment implies moral transgression. The object of punishment is the prevention of crime. The laws, with their sanctions, express in some measure the moral judgment of the community; and by expressing this judgment, they impress it upon the minds of the individual members of the community. Whewell distinguished the morality implied by the law from national morality--the expressions of moral judgments respecting actions and characters, which are put forth in speeches upon public occasions, and in poetry and literature. These expressions produce an impression on individuals and form a part of the moral education of the citizens. "Moral education of the members of a community, must be such as tends to bring the moral judgments of individuals into harmony with those of the community." In order to ensure civil order "the citizens must have their moral judgments, in a great measure at least, in harmony with the laws, and with the prevalent moral maxims. He warns of the danger of dissolution of the community and state if there were no harmony between the moral judgments

¹⁹⁷Ibid., p. 83.

of the community, as expressed in its laws, and those of individuals.

Domestic teaching by parents and friends constitutes an even more effective instrument than laws and sanctions in moral instruction of each new generation. Of course a person must think for himself what is true and right, and not merely "acquiesce passively in a national standard." Whewell recognizes that the truth, as an individual sees it, may not agree with what has been taught by others. The self-education by which an individual arrives at his own view of virtue and truth, "must be, finally and specially, his own act," but the mental processes which lead to it may be influenced by other persons, parents, teachers, and ministers. "Masters and teachers of various kinds, may discipline and instruct the mind, so that it shall be more or less ready and apt to seek a knowledge of Virtue and Truth." "The teaching which thus unfolds the Faculties of the pupil, as well as that which communicates to him Opinions and Beliefs, is Moral Education." This type of education fits people for that "perpetual progress which is our highest moral duty."¹⁹⁸

In order to perpetuate truth, good teachers and an appropriate teaching method would be required. Whewell distinguished two approaches to teaching at institutions of higher education and expounded at length on their respective implications for moral character development. He identified them as the practical and the speculative approaches. When using the practical method the learner must not merely receive material, but also participate actively by

¹⁹⁸Whewell, Elements of Morality, Vol. I, pp. 395-400.

reproducing knowledge under supervision of the instructor. As examples he cited mathematics students proving theorems or a classics student rendering Horace into English. Languages and mathematics should be taught by this practical method which was best suited for undergraduates. In the speculative method, on the other hand, the instructor lectured and students listened but took no active part. While the lecturer expounded to his audience the doctrines of some branch of knowledge, the students did not test, produce, or apply this knowledge but would, hopefully, receive and "treasure up" what the speaker delivered.¹⁹⁹ Philosophy and newer sciences might best be taught by the speculative method. But younger men were not ready to exercise their own judgment in such matters, and, if allowed the privilege of speculation, would put in serious and extensive jeopardy the interests of the civilization of England and the world.²⁰⁰ Whewell believed that fresh knowledge and truth corroborated old knowledge. Usually college tutors used the practical while university professors used the speculative approach. Furthermore, while the practical predominated in England the speculative prevailed in Germany.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹Whewell, Right Principles of English University Education, pp. 5-8.

²⁰⁰Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education, p. 162.

²⁰¹He claims that German universities, almost alone in Europe, have given up practical teaching, responsible for advancement, and returned to the speculative method.

Their professors deliver from their chairs system after system to admiring audiences. The listener may assent or criticize; but he is not disturbed by any demands on his mind, such as the teaching of mathematics gives rise to. (Ibid., p. 24)

To Whewell there were important moral differences implicit on the formation of character between these two systems. Practical teaching inspires a spirit of respect while the speculative often develops a spirit of criticism. The first method must employ works of undoubted truth and excellence while the latter invites the student to inquire for himself and to accept or reject the doctrines presented to him. According to Whewell the practical is the more important of the two to preserve civilization.²⁰² For example, he advocated the study of mathematics for its capacity to form the powers of reason and logic. Indeed he went so far as to assert that the study of mathematics through the practical teaching mode led to the rise of civilization and science, while the emphasis on philosophy, emphasizing the speculative approach in which scholars merely argued their points of view with each other, led to the decline and fall of science, learning, and civilization.²⁰³ He used examples from Antiquity to prove his point.

During the Golden Age of Greece, Whewell alleged, that teachers used the practical method which continued to predominate through Hellenistic and early Roman times. The later Romans, by contrast, "listened to what Chrysippus and Crates taught and were thus supposed to be filled with all learning."²⁰⁴ Rather than encouraging such spe-

²⁰²Whewell, On the Right Principles of English University Education, p. 51.

²⁰³Ibid., pp. 20-21. Apparently in his assessment of styles of teaching in ancient Greece, Whewell ignored, for his polemical purposes, the teaching of Aristotle and discussions in the Stoa.

²⁰⁴Whewell quoted from Aristophanes' The Clouds in Right Principles of English University Education, p. 21.

culatation as that parodied by Aristophanes and which might lead to the ruination of the nation Whewell promoted mathematics.

The peculiar character of mathematical truth is that it is necessarily and inevitably true; and one of the most important lessons which we learn from our mathematical studies is a knowledge that there are such truths, and a familiarity with their form and character. . . .²⁰⁵

Once again we may see that the primary goal of teaching any subject is its capacity to form moral character. Mathematical truths are fixed and permanent, thus confirming that the old truths will always be true and always essential. Euclid has never been superseded! He went on to argue that "the progress of science corresponds to the time of practical teaching; the stationary, or retrograde period of science, is the period when philosophy was the instrument of education."²⁰⁶ He cited Plato, Hipparchus and Archimedes as proponents of mathematics who greatly advanced civilization.

In speculation and philosophical debate, in contrast to practical mathematical study, there is a constant change going on. The commentator supersedes the original author, or, an "old system is refuted; a new one erected, to last its little hour, and wait its certain doom, like its predecessor." There is "nothing old, nothing stable, nothing certain in this kind of study." "Change is constantly looked for. Novelty is essential, in order to command attention or

²⁰⁵W. Whewell, On the Study of Mathematics (Cambridge: 1835), p. 40.

²⁰⁶Whewell, Right Principles of English University Education, p. 22.

approbation." In such a system no truths can be known absolutely.²⁰⁷ At times it appears that Whewell almost paraphrases Peel in the Tamworth Manifesto who was probably seeking the same sort of permanent basis in political life that Whewell wanted in the educational.

It would be impossible to overstate Whewell's insistence on absolute immutable truth--an obsession, perhaps, but one which he applied consistently to Cambridge. Although keenly interested in science, and an active participant in scientific work all his life, Whewell relegated it to a subordinate position in the scheme of liberal education. He felt that its study was not an adequate substitute for the customary disciplinary agents. The sciences merely exhibit a "mass of observed facts, and consequent doubtful speculation." Nevertheless, it should be included among the studies of every well educated man for the sake of information. Science lets men know the earth, its elements, and inhabitants. Students must have an interest in the extension of this knowledge if they have an interest in the future of their own race. Therefore, some insight into the "progressive sciences" formed an essential part of liberal education.²⁰⁸

Dealing with more than mathematics and science, Whewell expounded a comprehensive ideal. He distinguished between fundamental "permanent," disciplines, and those "progressive" subjects constituting the fund of general information. In the former category he classed ancient literatures and languages and such demonstrated sciences as

²⁰⁷Ibid., pp. 44-46.

²⁰⁸Robert McPherson, Theory of Higher Education, p. 48.

mathematics. In the progressive studies were found contemporary literature, and the sciences which were advancing day to day. The one had a function of providing a connection with the past, the other with the present and future. Permanent studies formed the foundation of all education. Since real progress can only be constructed from truth to truth, the new must be founded upon the old; the "progressive" subjects must rest upon the "permanent," the "superstructure" upon the foundation.²⁰⁹

The statutes of Cambridge colleges institutionally supported Whewell's curricular ends, because they were deliberately designed to maintain stability and to avoid innovation. The statutes not only prescribed the subjects to be pursued, but also the books to be used. He explained that changes in the list of authors have been introduced with great care, so that new books in the curriculum represent the same essential truths as those which they supplant. He acknowledged that some new subjects have been introduced under the authority of the governing body in each college, prudently "acting in a full sense of its responsibility." Whewell felt that changes had of the late 1830s been admitted with too great rather than too little facility.²¹⁰

Admitting changes with too great facility was a danger against which the Master warned his readers sternly. In his opinion, "attempts at progressive knowledge can have no virtue or real result in the minds of those who have not been prepared to understand what is still to do,

²⁰⁹Whewell, Of a Liberal Education in General, pp. 5-17.

²¹⁰Whewell, English University Education, pp. 29-30, 58-59.

by understanding what had already been done." Since this groundwork was necessary, and must absorb most of the time of education, the progressive sciences must be put off until near the end of the program of studies.²¹¹ He exhorted educators to take great care in elevating contemporary works to the level of what he called "capital works" in the permanent category, for to encourage novelty in this respect was to jeopardize the established position of proven older works.²¹²

Recognizing that some critics might think his curriculum too inflexible, Whewell explained that the permanent element of education alone might seem to threaten immobility, but the addition of the progressive element insured continual development in which subjects would be brought up-to-date.²¹³ Not only was Whewell wary of introducing progressive studies too soon in the undergraduate curriculum, but he postponed professional preparation too. As Copleston wished to defer specialized studies such as political economy, so Whewell would defer professional subjects until the acquisition of what he called the "basic intellectual culture" had been accomplished. Divinity, medicine and law, he believed, derived much of their "real dignity and

²¹¹Whewell, Of a Liberal Education in General, pp. 14-16.

²¹²Ibid., pp. 69-70.

²¹³Whewell, in another passage, emphasized the importance of the long period of concentration on the fundamentals.

A large portion of education is preparatory only, but it is an indispensable preparation. Any attempt to put aside this preparatory portion of education, would make our education worthless. It would make our real progress impossible. The past alone can make the present and future intelligible. (Ibid., pp. 95-97)

refinement" from being based upon such a permanent foundation.

Practical arts and trades, such as civil engineering, were likewise secondary to basic culture. Therefore, although they may be adjuncts to, these subjects may never be substitutes for liberal education.²¹⁴

Although his interests, activities, and ideas were varied and of wide scope, Whewell's program for higher education, expressed a few years before Parliamentary Reform of the ancient universities, encapsulated the attitudes and beliefs of many of his Tory academic peers. The tenets of his position may be summarized as follows: justify and perpetuate his contemporary social stratification, cultivate high thoughts and feelings, develop mental faculties by studying mathematics and classics, create a respectful temper, good manners and orderly habits, and moral character, demonstrate that duty is the way to happiness, maintain a proper collegiate environment and discipline, avoid training specialists, promote Christianity, and, perhaps most important of all, prove that old truths will always be true and always essential.

Together with Sedgwick, Whewell was principally responsible for the establishment of the moral sciences and natural sciences triposes.²¹⁵ They both worked extensively in the reform of the examination system in the late 1840s and the 1850s. Copleston, Sedgwick, and Whewell each stood as champions of ancient Anglican university authority. Each of them supported the traditional view that the

²¹⁴R.G. McPherson, Theory of Higher Education, p. 49.

²¹⁵Please see Chapter IV, pages 249-252, for an explanation of the examination system.

liberally educated man should possess a versatility of interests which would include at least a few "modern" studies. All three of these apologists as well as all the other university defenders constructed their arguments on a Christian foundation. There was a mutually dependent system whereby the established Church and theology provided many of the rationales to justify moral education while university men defended religious instruction and institutional ties to the Church such as the religious tests and compulsory chapel. The role of Anglicanism in the daily life of the whole university community shaped the atmosphere and environment of all the colleges, and thus provided another essential component of character formation, a theme which will be developed in the final chapter. Having defended overall purposes and goals of higher education, university men then focused on some specific aspects such as the curriculum, teaching, and the environment. The curriculum and its implications for moral education forms the substance of the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

LIBERAL EDUCATION AT OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE: HOW THE CURRICULUM ACCOMPLISHED MORAL AND CHARACTER GOALS

"Take care what you are about," he observed of a scheme for national education, "for unless you base all this on religion, you are only making so many clever devils."

Stanhope, cited in Arthur Bryant,
The Age of Elegance 1812-1822

University instructors, especially teachers of classical languages and literature, unhesitatingly accepted mind-training as a prerequisite of liberal and moral education. The great educational debates of the nineteenth century were conducted in the language of faculty psychology which presumed that mental qualities, capacities, and emotions resided in particular locations in the brain. Although controversies raged between educators about which discipline best cultivated mental faculties, classicists, anxious to preserve a near-teaching monopoly, argued that no other subject could discipline the intellect so uniquely or effectively. Opponents argued that science, math, and modern languages deserved equal ranking.¹ In spite of the disagreement about the most effective methods to develop mental faculties, all the educators united in assuming the existence and importance of various mental faculties. Dr. Arnold, true to his prin-

¹Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education, p. 130.

ciples, organized a plan to cultivate systematically and morally students' faculties.

It is our duty to cultivate their faculties, each in its season---first, the memory and imagination, and then the judgment; to furnish them with the means, and to excite the desire, of improving themselves, and to wait with confidence for God's blessing on the rest.²

Adam Sedgwick, for example, also spoke in terms of faculty psychology, and perhaps more clearly than anyone else, indicated the link between faculty psychology and phrenology which flourished so widely during the early nineteenth century.

As the body gains strength and grace by the appropriate exercise of all its members; so, also, the mind is fortified and adorned by calling every faculty into its proper movement.³

Phrenologists had constructed "charts" of the brain and located the positions of various emotions and intellectual capacities. They postulated that these loci in the brain would grow or atrophy in an analogous way to muscles of the body. Further, phrenologists assumed that the cranium would conform to the presumed lumps and valleys of the brain. Thus by feeling the contours of the head, a practiced phrenologist could read the character of the person like a book in braille. Whatever the merits of phrenology, though now a system totally discredited, the assumptions about faculties with their alleged capacities to be exercised, developed, and strengthened by systematic discipline remain central to our study of the rationale for the University exam-

²Dr. T. Arnold, "Description of Rugby School," Journal of Education, Vol. VII, p. 249.

³Sedgwick, Discourse on the Studies of the University, p. 30.

ination system and curriculum. Some educators thought that the only reason that teaching could ever be effective at all was due to innate capacities or faculties.

And where would be the use of teaching were there no inborn capacities in the soul to apprehend and be acted upon? There may be no innate knowledge; but we have innate intellectual powers: and they are essentially the same in all men, differing only in degree. . . .⁴

According to Sedgwick, teaching is effected only because of innate faculties which could be receptive to cognition. Clearly he is totally unconvinced by Locke's theory of a mental tabula rasa at birth.

Among the apologists for the ancient universities perhaps none exemplified the articulation of faculty psychology more than Adam Sedgwick. In his Discourse, particularly his section criticizing John Locke, Sedgwick affirmed his belief in innate capacities, and his allegiance to the "moral sense" school. Taking issue with Locke's Essay on Human Understanding, Sedgwick objected to the concept of tabula rasa. Believing that human character and mind at birth was blank, Locke claimed that all subsequent ideas derived from two sources only: sensation--perception through our senses, and reflection--the notice the mind takes of what passes within itself, "whereby it becomes furnished with ideas of its own operation." Sedgwick regarded Locke's ignoring of the faculty of Imagination as the most serious flaw in his work; "to exclude them [imaginative powers] from a system of psychology is to mutilate and not to analyse the faculties of the soul."⁵

⁴Ibid., p. 41.

⁵Ibid., p. 43.

To Sedgwick, Locke's system is mechanical and dead. Even worse than that, it does not allow room for innate moral faculties. Berating Locke for ignoring the imaginative powers, he argued that they are "so worn into our nature that they mingle themselves with almost every word and deed."⁶ Not only did Locke ignore Imagination, he also forgot the faculties of moral judgment which Sedgwick regarded as an innate capacity created as part of human beings by God.

The facultie of moral judgment, combined to a certain degree with power of choice and liberty of action, not only distinguishes us from the lower beings of creation, but constitutes the very essence of our responsibility, both to God and man. Their omission, then, is a great blemish in any system of psychology.⁷

He denied that moral feelings grew only out of teaching right and wrong. Reasoning that without an inherited moral capacity and without a "moral sense placed in the breast of man, by the same hand that made him," Sedgwick maintained that the science of moral philosophy had not "the shadow of any foundation whereon to rest."⁸ In other words no

⁶Sedgwick went on to explain along similar lines: For a metaphysician to discard these powers from his system is to shut his eyes to the loftiest qualities of the soul. . . . It is by the imagination, more perhaps than by any other faculty of the soul, that man is raised above the condition of a beast.

He eulogized Imagination:

It confers on the mind a creative energy--and it even in its generalizations of pure reason--brings before the mind vivid images of the past and glowing anticipation of the future--teach it to link together material and immaterial things, and to mount up from earth to heaven. All that is refined civilized life, all that is lofty in poetry or ennobling in art flows chiefly from this one fountain. (Ibid., pp. 42, 43)

⁷Ibid., p. 45.

⁸Ibid., p. 46.

exercise or training could create any faculty any more than they could create a new sense organ. Sedgwick was certain that moral capacities were faculties. Even though he believed in the existence of moral faculties which had the power to discern good and evil, moral education was vitally needed too. The power of acting steadily and undeviatingly on the dictates of conscience is not given to us by nature, Sedgwick explained, religion stepped in and pointed out the only remedy for discordance and confusion in the moral world.⁹ Sedgwick saw that the faculties of Imagination and Moral Sense were interlocked. He observed that men decide not by reason only. They act through habit, or affection, and by determinations of the Will, perhaps more by these feelings than by reason. "Hence the imaginative powers, in kindling up the active feelings of the soul, have ever been mighty instruments of persuasion, whether for good or for evil."¹⁰ Imagination, by stimulating the active, creative, unique side of an individual, does more than reason to mold character. In reaction to Locke's emphasis on mechanistic reason and associational psychology, Sedgwick responded, "all reasoning is not mathematical, nor is all truth demonstrative . . . Locke attempted to extend, too far, the boundaries of demonstration." "Each faculty, Reason and Imagination, must have its proper place; but

⁹Ibid., p. 80.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 44.

neither can be lopped off without marring the handiwork of God."¹¹

Teachers, of course, played a central role; for only they could discipline minds, determine which faculties needed strengthening, and, consequently, which program of study was best suited to the student. It was their task to see that the faculties of the mind were properly cultivated, that the will was strengthened, the judgment improved, the understanding enlarged, the mental powers exercised, the imagination warmed or excited, and the reason developed.¹²

Teachers and others concerned with education often worked out in great detail curricula whereby they coordinated specific subjects with particular faculties which they believed would be affected by them. Samuel T. Coleridge, in his "Treatise on Method," classified the various subjects according to the faculty concerned in each. For example, to cultivate reason, he suggested a study of the "pure sciences, including the formal, which are concerned solely with the laws of the mind itself: Grammar, Logic, Mathematics, and the real sciences: Metaphysics, Morals, and Theology." Coleridge differentiated pure

¹¹Ibid., p. 43. It is interesting to note that J.H. Newman, who in many respects had little in common with Adam Sedgwick, also recognized the limitations of reason alone.

Since some senses are compatible with refinement, reason is not an infallible guide to morality. In addition, education can result in superiority and self-sufficiency which are directly opposed to religion. Reason may lead to truth, but never the whole truth, since it does not encompass revelation. Reason is amoral. (John Henry Newman, as cited in Michaline Clifford-Vaughan and M.A. Archer, Social Conflict and Educational Change in England and France 1789-1848, p. 98)

¹²Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education, p. 130.

sciences which dealt only with "acts of the mind" from real sciences which were concerned with the world, with "the guiding principle in us," and with the nature of the "Great Cause of All."¹³ In contrast to the pure and real sciences he described the mixed and applied sciences such as mechanics, electricity, physics, chemistry, and biology. All of these subjects exercise understanding. This faculty submits itself to the laws or principles of things instead of "framing its own necessary laws"; it "can only analyse and abstract," understanding cannot build the parts, so separated, back into a whole."¹⁴ Clearly to Coleridge, Reason, the faculty of the mind which integrates and makes sense of reality, supersedes Understanding which analyzes it. By implication, the disciplines which advance the powers of Reason take precedence over the subjects which develop Understanding.

Based on their assumptions about faculty psychology as a component of character, and the alleged capacity of a particular subject to improve the mind, educational apologists argued for their respective disciplines to have a place of primacy in the curriculum. As explained in the last chapter, William Whewell focused on mathematics at Cambridge while Edward Copleston stressed classics at Oxford. William Hamilton, at the University of Edinburgh, by contrast, argued that logic and philosophy were at least as effective as mathematics in cultivating abstract reasoning powers. Indeed, Hamilton went so far as

¹³S.T. Coleridge, "Treatise on Method," preface to Encyclopedia Metropolitana as cited from Willey, Nineteenth Century Studies, p. 33.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 33.

to argue that the basis of mathematics lay in philosophy, and that separated from its parent discipline, mathematics was a mere mechanistic study without spiritual and moral qualities. Copleston, Whewell, and Hamilton delineated the different purposes and methods of Oxford, Cambridge, and Scottish universities in the first half of the nineteenth century. All were agreed that the goal of higher education was not practical training for careers, but the cultivation of moral and intellectual faculties. Although they differed between themselves over the relative merits of classics, mathematics, and philosophy, they closed ranks in rejecting the claim of utility.¹⁵

II

How were Oxford and Cambridge to implement their goals for faculty development? How would they attempt to measure to what extent they succeeded in improving students' minds and characters? The examination system, reformed at Oxford in 1802, and periodically at both Universities during the first half of the nineteenth century, provided the answer. The changes in content and format of university examinations from the late eighteenth century through the first half of the nineteenth exemplified one of the most consistent signs of vitality at the pre-reformed universities.

Although some accounts of proceedings during examinations conducted at Oxford in the eighteenth century in no way measure up to con-

¹⁵Michael Sanderson, The Universities in the Nineteenth Century, p. 27.

temporary standards, during the next two generations the standards gradually improved. For example, Vicesimus Knox in 1780 gave a full and entertaining account of the farcical examinations then administered at Oxford. He reported that the examination was a ritual rather than a test. It was conducted by three M.A.'s of the candidate's own choice. The questions and answers in Latin were gotten up in advance.

As neither the officer, nor anyone else usually enters the room (for it is considered very ungentleel) the examiners and candidates often converse on the last drinking bout, or on a horse, or read the newspaper, or a novel, till the clock strikes eleven when all the parties descend, and the Testimonium is signed by the Masters.¹⁶

Even though this account of academic laxity at Oxford may sound appalling, the situation at Cambridge was hardly better. According to George Pryme who went up to Trinity College in 1799,

It would scarcely be believed how very little knowledge was required for a mere degree when I first knew Cambridge. Two books of Euclid's Geometry, simple and quadratic equations, and the early part of Paley's Moral Philosophy were deemed amply sufficient.¹⁷

In the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth at Oxford, the substance of the B.A. remained Latin and Greek, with some rhetoric, logic, scholastic philosophy, and Aristotle. At Cambridge the studies were broadly similar though Locke ousted Aristotle and the emphasis was more mathematical after about 1750. Throughout these courses of study there were statutory disputations in Latin, called "making an Act," using the scholastic method, and finally a public examination. As the

¹⁶V. Knox, "Of some parts of the discipline in our English Universities," Essays, Moral, and Religious, 1795 ed., pp. 328-34. As cited by Lawson and Silver, A Social History of Education in England, p. 212.

¹⁷Cited in V.H.H. Green, The Universities, p. 56.

questions became more mathematical, English was used instead of Latin and the answers were sometimes written down.¹⁸

The first serious reform of the Oxford examination system came early in the new century. The 1802 Examination Statute created an "honors" category. This provision enabled talented men to distinguish themselves academically, and it provided incentive for some students to work harder. Furthermore, the university could recognize its brightest students and sometimes reward them with fellowships which in turn upgraded the quality of teaching. In 1807 a further reform created a separate examination for Mathematics and Physics for those who had already taken Literae Humaniores, or "Greats." Candidates for degrees were divided by examinations into merit lists as wranglers, senior optimes, junior optimes, and passmen.¹⁹ This change in the "Greats"

¹⁸Ibid., p. 211.

¹⁹In 1807 the Honour men were divided in First and Second classes; a Third class was added in 1825; and in 1830 the present Four class arrangement was adopted. A proposal to print the names of Passmen was rejected after a prolonged and animated controversy. (William Tuckwell, Pre-Tractarian Oxford, p. 14.)

The system at Cambridge was generally similar to that at Oxford. After the tenth term, usually in January, students were examined in the Senate-House for four successive days in Mathematics and Metaphysics. Of over two hundred men taking the examinations by the 1820s, they were divided into four classes according to merit as ascertained at the private examinations of each college. The printed Senate-House examination included about twenty questions in each area tested. The first class included the Senior Wrangler plus nineteen other Wranglers. The Senior Optimes and Junior Optimes, second and third rank classes included about twenty students in each category. The "Wooden Spoon" was the last Junior Optime on the list. Below these first three classes with names individually ranked, came a list of all the others--Hoi Polloi, of whom the first was called, "Captain of the Poll," and the last twelve were branded, "Apostles." (John M.F. Wright, Alma Mater, Seven Years at Cambridge, 1827, p. 3.)

had the effect of removing mathematics and science from the Greats course of study and preparation. Thereby these subjects became even more specialized for the few, while the obligatory study of mathematics and science lapsed.²⁰ Limited in scope as these two early examination statutes may have been, at least a few colleges at Oxford began to shake off the doldrums very early in the century. Under Dean Cyril Jackson, Christ Church became renowned for scholarship as well as for its aristocratic clientele such as Canning, Peel, Hallam, Gaisford, and Gladstone. John Parsons, the Tory Master of Balliol, strongly supported the proposed reform of the examination system, and he led the campaign to elect fellows for their academic worth. Oriel, under Provosts Eveleigh and Copleston, went one further, throwing open its fellowships for award by competitive examinations and attracting the ablest men in England: Pusey, Keble, Arnold, Hawkins, Newman, Hurrell, Froude, and Whately.²¹

By 1830, the Oxford honors examination was expanded to include, in a subordinate capacity, ancient history, rhetoric and poetry, and moral and political philosophy.²² During the next twenty years further reforms were attempted, with varying success. For example, A.C. Tait (Archbishop of Canterbury 1869-82), a tutor of Balliol, and A.P. Stanley (Dean of Westminster 1864-81), also of Balliol, collaborated in

²⁰Sanderson, The Universities in the Nineteenth Century, p. 30.

²¹V.H.H. Green, The Universities, p. 59.

²²Historical Register of Oxford, pp. 191-93, cited in Robert McPherson's Theory of Higher Education, p. 108.

1839 in a project by which the degree examination might be taken at the end of the second year, leaving the third year to be spent by the student specializing in some subject by attending professional lectures. Tait had been a Glasgow student prior to Oxford, so he was familiar with the practice of professorial lectures. Although Convocation rejected their proposal in 1839, nine years later Stanley and Jowett wrote a pamphlet proposing the same thing. This time they made a greater impact. Jowett paved the way for an advance in professorial teaching by planning, with Stanley and others, courses of lectures on early Greek history and philosophy, on Livy, on scholarship, and on Latin and Greek literature.²³ During the first half of the century the reforms in the examination system at Oxford somewhat upgraded the quality of academic performance but many of the old features, such as the oral element, remained.²⁴

The situation at her sister university, Cambridge, in the late

²³John Adamson, English Education 1789-1902, p. 174.

²⁴Typical of the idiosyncracies of unreformed English institutions some colleges were exceptions to the new examination rule. For example, from its foundation, members of New College, Oxford, were privileged to take degrees without supplicating the House of Congregation; the college, not the university, judged the candidate's fitness for a degree. At first, New College did not come into the scheme initiated by the Public Examination Statute of 1802. In spite of the high standards of its examinations, New College graduates suffered in repute by their anomalous position. In November 1834 the college relinquished its privilege. King's College, Cambridge, exercised a similar right which it maintained until 1851. (Adamson, English Education 1789-1902, p. 234.)

eighteenth century was quite parallel.²⁵ In spite of the experience and account of George Pryme at Trinity at least one contemporary historian claimed that from the 1780s, the Senate House examination was taken seriously. It consisted almost entirely of mathematics with some philosophy.²⁶ Indeed, so dominant was the study of mathematics that not until 1822 was a second tripos, the classical, instituted and even that could only be taken by men who had already passed the math tripos. Christopher Wordsworth, Master of Trinity, had proposed the more vigorous examination in Classics. He also wanted more studies relating to and an examination in theology because the University prepared so many clergymen for the Church of England. Also in 1822, a major year for examination reform, the Cambridge Senate passed Vice Chancellor French's proposal for a new "previous" examination, to be taken after the fifth term. It would include one of the Gospels or Acts in Greek, Paley's Evidence of Christianity and a prescribed part of a Greek and Latin author.²⁷ The reforms of 1822 set the pace for examinations

²⁵There, too, students took the Previous and the Final, in the fifth and in the twelfth terms, respectively. Adam Sedgwick called the Previous a perfunctory test in Theology, Moral Philosophy, and belles lettres. The Final was extended in each of these areas with the syllabus widened to include Locke's Essay on Human Understanding, Paley's Moral Philosophy, and some additional classics together with papers in Natural Philosophy, confined to the most part to Euclid and elementary arithmetic and algebra. The Honors degree candidate took substantially the same exam but with a heavier mathematical bias. The Previous was the same as for the Pollmen (passmen at Oxford), but Honors men had to take the Mathematics or Classical Tripos. The Tripos lasted for seven days. (Sedgwick, Discourse on the Students of the University, p. 13.)

²⁶M. Sanderson, The Universities in the Nineteenth Century, p. 29.

²⁷Winstanley, Early Victorian Cambridge, p. 68.

until 1836 when exams were written from printed examination papers.

The method of taking examinations wasted time and irritated the victims. The examiners read questions to a group of students orally. It was customary for them to wait until one of the examinees had finished writing a question before dictating the next one. Joseph Romilly, who had been fourth wrangler in 1813, long remembered his suffering when he sat for the examination., Romilly, the Registrar, recorded the experience of a Fellow of Trinity who took the Senate House examination. This Fellow said that only one question was given out at a time. No second one would be read until someone "bawled out" that he had done the first--"and how the present Dean of Ely [Peacock] kept him in a perpetual fidget by crying out incessantly, 'Done, Done.'"²⁸ This method of conducting examinations was abolished for honors candidates in 1827 and for ordinary degree men in 1828.²⁹

²⁸M.S. Diary of F.H. Bowring, cited in Winstanley, Early Victorian Cambridge, p. 152.

²⁹Other idiosyncracies and irregularities plagued the examination system. Students taking the Senate-House examination sat in the long room, grouped from front to rear according to how they were expected to perform--the Apostles in the rear. John Wright, an able student who gulphed (just taking a degree without being ranked because of an injury received when a bull pushed him through a window) his examination was seated with the Apostles. He recounted that they constantly requested information about answers from him. Wright wrote the answers to the questions "to the utter astonishment of all. . . ." Those sitting close enough to see his paper "taking advantage of their proximity, and my simplicity, drew thereof duplicates, triplicates, etc., with the rapidity, although not the accuracy of a copy-machine." (John Martin Frederick Wright, Alma Mater, 1827, Vol. II, pp. 66-68. On occasion the examination procedures operated to the benefit of the student. Some teachers showed extraordinary mercy. For example, Canon Barnes of Christ Church, Oxford, had attributed to him an archetype of leading questions launched at a floundering youth in a Homer examination. "Who dragged whom how many times round the walls of what?" (William Tuckwell, Reminiscences of Oxford, p. 134.)

By 1843, somewhat belatedly, the Senate agreed to the introduction of a voluntary examination in theology which most of the bishops came to demand as an essential preliminary for ordinands. For example, fourteen candidates volunteered for this exam in 1843, eighty-three in 1845, and two hundred five in 1851.³⁰ Five years later, in 1848, the same year Jowett and Stanley's pamphlet proposed exam reform at Oxford, Cambridge experienced its final self-reform. Two new honors examinations were introduced, natural and moral sciences. Any student would be eligible for this tripos who had qualified for admission to any first degree in arts, law, or medicine. The examiners for the Moral Science Tripos, which included moral philosophy, political economy, modern history, general jurisprudence, and the laws of England, were to be the Regius Professor of Law, the Professor of Moral Philosophy, the Regius Professor of Modern (post-Roman) History, the Downing Professor of the Laws of England, the Professor of Political Economy, and one other examiner nominated by the Vice Chancellor and appointed by the Senate.³¹ The Natural Science Tripos included anatomy, comparative anatomy, physiology, chemistry, botany, geology, and mineralogy. Many dons criticized these new triposes for fostering a "shabby superficial

³⁰Sometimes students complained that the divinity examinations were too pedantic. For example, Nassau William Senior had failed to answer a question in the very words of the Catechism. The examiner remarked, "Why sir, a child of ten years old could answer that." "So could I sir," replied the young student, "When I was ten years old!" But the sharp repartee did not save him from being plucked. Later Nassau Senior became a student of Whately after which he gained a first class. (Elizabeth Jane Whately, Life of Richard Whately, p. 17.)

³¹Winstanley, Early Victorian Cambridge, p. 208.

knowledge"; they attracted little initial support anyway. Nevertheless, in 1868, these new triposes gave birth to the Law and History tripos and within a generation the curricula began to fall into a more modern line.³²

Although these reforms upgraded the academic calibre of examinations for honors candidates, such men constituted only a minority of all students. The standards for "pass" B.A.'s remained quite lax. As earlier for the Cambridge "pass" B.A. two books of Euclid, simple and quadratic equations, and early parts of Paley's Moral Philosophy were amply sufficient. By 1837 more extensive requirements included mathematics "pure and mixed," the Acts of the Apostles in Greek, and one Greek and one Latin author. At Oxford in 1834 the passman was expected to translate from any four classical authors of his own choosing, to show a competent knowledge of the Christian religion, and to be examined in logic or in the first four books of Euclid. At neither university was the standard for the "pass" degree severe.³³ In spite of whatever improvements examinations fostered toward academic achievement, the universities still considered character, broadly defined, as a more important goal than cultivating the rational powers alone. For example, even at Christ Church, an Oxford College of excellent reputation in the early nineteenth century, studentships (or scholarships) were considered an aid to education for needy students rather than prizes. The Dean disclaimed any intention of awarding studentships

³²R.G. McPherson, Theory of Higher Education, p. 108.

³³John Adamson, English Education 1789-1902, p. 78.

solely for what he contemptuously dismissed as "mere intellectual merit."³⁴ Even in the best colleges those in authority held ambivalent attitudes toward intellectuality. It was the whole man, including his spiritual and moral qualities, as well as his intellect, that demanded educators' attention at that time.

As would be expected the examination system had an impact on many aspects of university life. Some of these areas included the curriculum, teaching, goals of education and students' character. Of course, then like now, the books, authors, and issues covered in the exam determined the syllabus, or vice versa. Either way, reviewing the topics examined also revealed the content of the curriculum. First, looking at the situation in the early part of the century, Edward Copleston described both the Previous and Final examinations at Oxford. He recorded that at the Previous, students construe one Greek and one Latin book at least. Xenophon, Homer, Herodotus, Sophocles, Euripides and Demosthenes for the Greeks, while Virgil, Horace, Salust, Livy, and Cicero were the most usual for the Romans. Furthermore, students were tested in logic, based on Aldrich's text from the early eighteenth century, parts of Euclid's Elements of Geometry, and also translated some English passages into Latin. The entire exam was done in public with up to eight candidates tested in a day, all of whom were present the whole time. There were three examiners sworn to the faithful performance of their duty. All students were required to attend at least

³⁴E.G.W. Bill, Henry Halford Vaughan and University Reform, p. 17.

one examination before their own, thus assuring an ample audience.³⁵ By way of further encouragement to the student's achievement, Oxford offered annual prizes for Latin and English prose and poetry. The Honors examination at Oxford, taken in the fourth year, comprised three major parts. First, students were examined in the rudiments of religion. They had to translate from the Greek New Testament, and they were questioned whether they had an orthodox view of the Christian scheme and of the outline of sacred history. Furthermore, students had to give some account of evidences of Christianity and show acquaintance with the Thirty-Nine Articles as well as some commentary on them. Second, students were examined in Logic again, in order to see if they had a "just and firm conception of its leading principles." Third, by using Aristotle's treatises, the examiners "attempt to assess the force and vigor of the students' mind in rhetoric and ethics."³⁶ Nearly two hundred honors candidates a year were examined viva voce except for some written translations and mathematical parts which were done chiefly on paper. Although Copleston set forth the ideal, some critics alleged that actual practice often fell short.

Ironically, examinations and their reforms exerted an influence on teaching and the curriculum, sometimes in a way detrimental to modernization. In particular, examination reform actually reduced the number of students attending professorial lectures and increased the reliance on private coaches. Furthermore, the curriculum tended to

³⁵Copleston, A Reply to the Calumnies, p. 139.

³⁶Ibid., pp. 140-43.

become more rigid in response to the growing prominence of established written examinations. Although Sedgwick may have thought that the Previous was perfunctory and the Final only somewhat more rigorous, nevertheless, they had a major impact on teaching. As evidence, William Whewell cited the example of the lectures of Professor Smyth on modern history, "eloquent and thoughtful disquisitions," which had long enjoyed great popularity, and which had drawn together, year after year, a crowded lecture room. After the implementation of an examination reform Professor Smyth immediately lost half his audience. Something of the same kind happened to others among the University professors.³⁷

On the one hand, the effect of the honors exam may have had the result of improving the quality of some tutors. Certain colleges were inclined to elect as fellows men who had performed well in the honors exams. Between 1807 and 1815 seventy-two of the men placed in the first class took fellowships.³⁸ On the other hand, the rigors of the

³⁷Whewell, English University Education, p. 68. William Smyth, 1765-1849, son of a Liverpool banker, entered Peterhouse, Cambridge, in 1783 and graduated eighth Wrangler in 1787. After his election to a fellowship and after earning an M.A. he served as a private tutor to the eldest son of Richard Brinsley Sheridan from 1793 to 1806. He then became a tutor at Peterhouse and, on the recommendation of his political friends, Smyth was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History, an office he held until his death. He remained a bachelor and lived in college rooms. Smyth was very popular and fond of society. Passionately fond of music, he frequently gave concerts in his college rooms with the aid of eminent performers. These entertainments were much sought after by members of the university. He devoted his declining years to a work on the "Evidences of Christianity." E.C.M. "Smyth, William," Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XVIII, p. 599.

³⁸V.H.H. Green, The Universities, p. 60.

reformed examinations increased the role played by private tutors, or coaches, in cramming students. The Cambridge Senate House Examination had, in practice, divided into two entirely separate examinations, the Mathematical Tripos and the examination for the ordinary degree. The more comprehensive character of the examinations had one unfortunate result. The Colleges were unable to supply the additional teaching required, so the candidates therefore resorted in great numbers to private tutors who crammed them. A pamphleteer, writing in 1853, declared that the change made in the examination in 1837, "Has done more to increase the necessity of catechetical instruction to the students for ordinary degrees than any previous change in University examinations, and has introduced private tuition in its worst form."³⁹ The fear of playing into the hands of private tutors was doubtless partly responsible for the acquiescence of the University to the low standards of attainment demanded for an ordinary degree, because to raise the standards would encourage cramming.⁴⁰

Once new examinations with their competitive rankings took hold curricular laissez-faire was suppressed. College teaching was reorganized to prepare students for the ordeal of exams. The examination system which became throughout the century more important in its use toward the selection of fellows, for appointments to masterships in the leading public schools, and as a preparation for the higher reaches of

³⁹W. Marsh, Remarks addressed to the Studies Syndicate, December 1853, Cambridge Collection, University Library, cited in Winstanley, Early Victorian Cambridge, p. 158.

⁴⁰Winstanley, Early Victorian Cambridge, p. 159.

the civil service, made innovation in the curriculum difficult, and ultimately would undermine moral education. All proposals for change had to be fought out within the faculty boards, in the Senate and in Convocation, making it extremely difficult for individual teachers to modify their teaching, to experiment with new ideas and new methods, or directly introduce their students to some of the results of the changes in scholarship and science sweeping across Europe. What was not likely to be tested at the end of three or more years of undergraduate study could not easily be taught.⁴¹

At Cambridge the tripos continued to be entirely mathematical until the foundation of Classics honors examinations in the 1820s. At Oxford the curricula favored narrow preparation and early specialization. Exams in the nineteenth century required objective criteria to assess knowledge. In the eighteenth century awards, honors, and recognition were not customarily based on objective criteria. They were granted largely for other reasons: privilege, rank, favoritism, nepotism, or to give one social group special assistance, such as the sons of country curates and parsons. Within the first forty years of the nineteenth century the examination system became progressively narrower in concentration and technical in nature and spirit. This was especially true at Cambridge where the mathematical and classical honors examinations became very exacting and geared to analytical problem

⁴¹Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education, p. 143.

solving.⁴² As the university examination system developed in the first half of the century the emphasis shifted from overall formation of Christian character to greater proficiency and the acquisition of skills. The latter was exactly what Aristotle had said must not happen, for only slaves were proficient. However, this outcome could not be avoided once the decision was made to restore examinations to the central position they occupied in the medieval university.⁴³ During the first half of the century the examination reforms altered the goals and purposes of higher education. Initially they were a response to new challenges. They were an attempt to absorb student interest and, if possible, deflect it from subjects and activities more immediately threatening to the surviving ancien regime during the days of the Napoleonic threat. Examinations also engaged students' leisure time, of which there had been too much in the eighteenth century.⁴⁴

What was the effect of examinations on students? Then, like now, observers had mixed reactions. C.A. Bristed believed that examinations brought out seriousness of purpose. Commenting on the situation at Cambridge about 1840, he claimed that there were one hundred fifty men reading for honors degrees and two hundred pollmen reading for the easy pass degree. In all, he thought three-sevenths of the undergraduates were "faithful servants" and one-ninth, i.e., all

⁴²Ibid., pp. 124-25.

⁴³Ibid., p. 126.

⁴⁴Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education, p. 122.

the firsts, were "very hard."⁴⁵ Thomas Arnold, too, after affirming the value of written exams, went on to enumerate the benefits of oral examinations.⁴⁶ Of course, not everyone was so laudatory about the examination system. Even some students who achieved outstanding success in the system found shortcomings with it. Mark Pattison, in his Memoirs, commented on Kensington, a fellow student who obtained the highest honors in 1835. He admitted that "our interests were incredibly narrow; we knew nothing of what was going on in the world of science, literature, and art."⁴⁷

Seeley, another commentator on the university examination system, writing a generation later, warned against certain dangers.

⁴⁵C.A. Bristed, Five Years in an English University, Vol. 1, pp. 342-43.

⁴⁶Dr. Arnold enumerated five principal advantages of the viva voce examination. These included the following:

1. The exercise of extempore translation enables a man to express himself fluently without premeditation. If men are tested by written papers only, the talent of readiness, and the habit of retaining presence of mind, might never be tried at all.
2. Time is saved, and thereby weariness and exhaustion of mind to both parties.
3. The éclat of viva voce. When a clever man goes into the schools at Oxford, the room is filled with hearers of all ranks. His answers when eloquent can create a distinctive impression.
4. Develop presence of mind and overcome nervousness.
5. In fact either system, of papers or viva voce examination, if practiced exclusively, does not half try men. Each calls forth faculties which the other does not reach equally.

(Stanley, Life, CLXXVIII, 17 March 1838, pp. 475-77, cited in T.W. Bamford, Thomas Arnold on Education, pp. 119-20.)

⁴⁷M. Pattison, Memoirs, p. 146. Even the reforms in the examination system did not necessarily bring about a more diversified education. For example, the new science triposes did not lead to the granting of degrees until 1860; consequently, few students were drawn to the science professors. (R.G. McPherson, Theory of Higher Education, p. 42.)

First, he avowed that under the pressure of preparing students for exams, teachers became trainers who may have to sacrifice original study, thus making the interests of learning irreconcilable with those of education. Second, he saw harmful effects on the students.

Meanwhile the state of mind which is produced in the student by his perpetual preparation for the tripos is far from wholesome. What I complain of is the vulgarizing of the student's mind. Surely nothing is more important at a university than to keep up the dignity of learning. Now the spirit of competition, when too far indulged, is distinctly antagonistic to all this. At Cambridge the triposes produce their result: discontent in study, feverish and abortive industry, mechanical and spiritless teaching, general bewilderment both of teacher and taught as to the object at which they are aiming. The all-worshipped tripos produces, in fact what may be called a universal suspension of the work of education.⁴⁸

Whatever the arguments in favor or opposed to reforms in the examination system, it formed a principal focus of attention to university educators and stirred significant support. Some teachers not only favored increasing the importance of examinations for graduation, but also they stressed its relevance as a sine qua non for matriculation.

Richard Whately proclaimed,

The more I consider the subject, the more I am convinced that we can never possess the character of a University, till we adopt a plan for securing, in all who are admitted, a moderate foundation on which to build a course of manly study.⁴⁹

These arguments about the potential dangers or the desired benefits of examinations revealed the disparity between methods and goals.

Observers of the examinations, as actually implemented at the time,

⁴⁸Seeley, "Liberal Education in the University," Essays on a Liberal Education, ed. Farrar, pp. 156-63.

⁴⁹Elizabeth Jane Whately, Life of Richard Whately, from a letter of 1830, Vol. I, pp. 83-84.

could not universally agree that the examinations necessarily trained or evaluated those mental faculties most conducive to moral excellence. While it was clear that examinations had a pronounced effect on students, teaching, discipline, and character so did specific subjects in the curriculum.

III

Just as some educators argued the pros and cons of more rigorous, formally structured, written examinations, so they also argued the respective merits of various courses to develop faculties and to mold character. As noted above, William Whewell extolled the character building virtues of mathematics. Many other educators at Oxford and Cambridge argued the unique value of the central part of the curriculum--classical literature. Again we have already noted the arguments set forth by Copleston and Sedgwick on the value of the classics. But it may be appropriate to summarize the position of classicist apologists. By the eighteenth century classical literature became equated with human learning which could soften the manners and enlarge the mind. Classics assumed an ascendancy in the curriculum for several reasons. Ancient literature recorded the progress of civilization upward from barbarism (although barbarism again succeeded it), and therefore it complemented Englishmen's belief and confidence in progress. Some argued that the Classics served as a text for great statesmen. Furthermore, the historic connection between Christianity and the Latin language, and the ethical doctrines that made their way from Rome

to Christianity, also commended the study of classics to Englishmen.⁵⁰ The apologists for the classical languages were convinced of their contribution to a liberal broadening education. In what other discipline could students be introduced to such an enormous range of learning: poetry, drama, biography, history, political theory, geography, ethnography, philosophy, logic, ethics, rhetoric, and architecture? Classical education drew on all creative periods in Western civilization from Hesiod to the Byzantine Empire and Christian Europe, from Italian Renaissance scholarship to Dutch humanism and French neo-classicism. Even the sciences were included. Scientific method and thought, biological classification, theories of motion, astronomy, and physiology were also part of the ancient inheritance. Finally, the study of Classics, its apologists argued, improved taste by forming it on the highest standards, furthered the art of public speaking, strengthened the reading and writing of English, transmitted correct moral values, and, of course, disciplined the cognitive faculties.⁵¹

Although the Classics, particularly at Oxford, formed the staple of the academic diet, there were a number of side dishes on the curricular menu. These included history, logic, ethics, theology, and science. While all of these subjects were long established at the universities, the early nineteenth century, the Romantic Era, saw a

⁵⁰Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education, p. 44.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, pp. 40-41, 147.

revitalization in the study of history in particular. The Romantic school of history descended from Burke to Coleridge where it acquired important German ingredients. It had gained popularity from the writing of Tory novelists, such as Sir Walter Scott.⁵²

Coleridge had a view of history which appealed to and was adopted by many men at the ancient universities. Although he envisioned some specific practical uses of history, such as predicting future national events, Coleridge had more concern for history's moral and philosophical aspects. When commenting on his method of studying history he often related it to a particular purpose.

On every occurrence I endeavored to discover in past history the event that most nearly resembled it. I procured, wherever it was possible, the contemporary historians, memorialists, and pamphleteers. Then fairly subtracting the points of difference from those of likeness, as the balance favored the former or the latter, I conjectured that the result would be the same or different . . . armed with the two-fold knowledge of history and the human mind, a man will scarcely err in his judgment concerning the sum total of any future national event, if he has been able to procure the original documents of the past, together with authentic accounts of the present. . . .⁵³

Probably this statement of the possibility of prediction based on an understanding of Thucydides was one of the most "positivist" comments made by Coleridge about history. He was no mere "nuts and bolts"

⁵²This tradition predominated at the ancient universities. However, there was also developing at this time a sociological or positivist school of history derived from the St. Simoneans and Comte. They defined laws of behavior which were indispensable to statesmen who sought guidance for the future. The French school referred to stages of development and appealed more to utilitarians like J.S. Mill as being more progressive than Romantic. (Rothblatt, Revolution of the Dons, p. 113.)

⁵³S.T. Coleridge, Biographia Literaria, I, pp. 147-48.

historian nor did he encourage the idolatry of bare facts. "History should not be read for the mere facts, but for the general principles beneath them, which are to the facts as the root and sap of a tree to the leaves."⁵⁴ He regarded history as a record of events, the study of which was valuable only in so far as it penetrated to the fixed laws, invisible and timeless, beneath all facts, and governing them. He sought a unity which bound all ages together. For Coleridge abstract truth had no past or present because it was eternal and unchangeable.⁵⁵ His belief in absolute truth seemed reminiscent of that espoused by Whewell among others. The study of history and the pursuit of truth could inspire high ideals. Coleridge distinguished between the reading and the science of history.

The mere reading of history may dispose a man to satire, but history studied in the light of philosophy, as the great drama of ever-unfolding Providence, has a very different effect. It infuses hope and reverential thoughts of man and his destination.⁵⁶

Like Adam Sedgwick, who stated that the study of man was one of his three principal emphases in the ideal Cambridge curriculum, Coleridge assured his readers that the great use of history was to acquaint us with the Nature of Man. To this end, he advanced the study of biographies.⁵⁷

Although he venerated history for what it could teach him about

⁵⁴S.T. Coleridge, Statesman's Manual, p. 426.

⁵⁵C.R. Sanders, Coleridge and the Broad Church Movement, p. 54.

⁵⁶S.T. Coleridge, Church and State, p. 44.

⁵⁷S.T. Coleridge, Science of Method, p. 71.

the nature of man and the laws of the universe, he did not idealize the past and look back to a Golden Age in which the human race had most nearly achieved perfection and complete bliss. Instead, he believed that mankind was gradually progressing. He had no sympathy with those who decried civilization and who declared that man was noblest in the savage state. It was the nature of all creatures, not only man, but also the lower animals, "to strive to ascend, and ascend in their striving." Progress was thus a law of life. In religion, as in other things, this progress was essential.

Every state and consequently that which we have described as the state of religious morality, which is not progressive, is dead or retrograde. Progress led to increased freedom of the will.⁵⁸

While his concern for studying the Nature of Man, discerning fixed laws and eternal truths, inspiring high ideals, and learning the laws of progress may sound abstract, it was by no means irrelevant to specific goals. History had direct personal and social importance. Coleridge said that the only cure for the ills of the day must be "sought in the collation of the present with the past in the habit of thoughtfully assimilating the events of our own age to those of the time before us."⁵⁹ Perpetuating the past, and particularly the awareness of moral foundations underlying it, was a theme sounded by Coleridge but echoed by university men.

The newly appointed Professor of Modern History, Dr. Thomas

⁵⁸S.T. Coleridge, Aids to Reflection.

⁵⁹Coleridge, Church and State, p. 47.

Arnold, most clearly articulated the attitude, methodology, and purposes for studying history in 1841 at Oxford. As a professor of history Dr. Arnold announced in his Inaugural Lecture that his primary task was to acquaint his listeners with the nature and value of his subject. Paralleling Coleridge's emphases on biography, Arnold said that history is to the common life of a people what biography is to an individual. He defined history proper as the biography of a political nation or commonwealth, which accounted for the study of kings, councils, and leaders.⁶⁰ To Arnold history (by which he meant Western history) should be considered as a whole rather than being broken into numerous geographical and chronological fragments. Such a study would have a definite moral value and purpose. The history of Greece and Rome would not be "an idle inquiry about remote ages and forgotten institutions," but a "living picture of things present, fitted not so much for the curiosity of the scholar, as for the instruction of the statesman and the citizen."⁶¹ Even students and tutors echoed the same ideas. Hare spoke of Thirlwall as "one to whom the study of history has taught statesmanly wisdom and caution."⁶²

He and Thirlwall translated Niebuhr and influenced Arnold's view of history too.⁶³ No believer in knowledge for its own sake, Arnold regarded history as serving civic purposes. He claimed the

⁶⁰T. Arnold, Introductory Lectures on Modern History, p. 27.

⁶¹T. Arnold, Miscellaneous Works, p. 399.

⁶²J.C. Hare, The Contest with Rome.

⁶³Sanders, Coleridge and the Broad Church Movement, p. 126.

properly educated man, "even though he may know no history in detail, except ancient, will be far better fitted to enter on public life than someone who was intimately familiar with the last century only."⁶⁴

Roman history particularly occupied his attention. Although he admired the German Niebuhr's work on Roman history, he abhorred that of Gibbon. In 1826, Arnold said, "My highest ambition is to make history the very reverse of Gibbon in this respect--that whereas the whole spirit of his work, from its low morality, is hostile to religion, without speaking directly against it; so my greatest desire would be, in my History, by its high morals and its general tone, to be of use to the cause [Christianity], without actually bringing it forward."⁶⁵ When studying any particular nation or people, like the Romans, Arnold noted that students needed to focus both on the nation's "external life" as was displayed in wars, and on its "inner life." The inner life raised questions of the peoples' main object or purpose. Of course this object might be good or evil. For example, the object may be wealth, domination, or security (these were evil in Arnold's view). He favored justice and humanity as goals: moral goals rather than physical ones.⁶⁶ He outlined a specific methodology for advanced history students.

⁶⁴T. Arnold, "Description of Rugby School," Journal of Education, Vol. VII, pp. 245-49, cited from Arnold, Introductory Lectures on Modern History, p. 422.

⁶⁵T. Arnold, Introductory Lectures in Modern History, p. 417.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 32.

At an advanced level students learn "causes of things." Study society in its most advanced state when the human mind is highly developed. The student should analyse a subject; trace back institutions, civil and religious to their origin, explore the elements of the national character, the moral and physical qualities of the race; observe how the morals and mind of the people have been subject to a succession of influences . . . see and remember what critical reasons have been neglected--what besetting evils have been wantonly aggravated by wickedness or folly. In short, the pupil may be furnished . . . with certain formulae, which shall enable him to read all history beneficially; which shall teach him what to look for in it, how to judge of it, and how to apply it.⁶⁷

Whatever contemporary historians may think of Arnold's methodology, he was a success in his own time. When appointed Professor of Modern History at Oxford in 1841, Thomas Arnold drew large audiences to his lectures which brought "a new breadth of vigour and enthusiasm into an atmosphere heavy with the dust of theological disputes."⁶⁸ Arnold's lessons fell on receptive ears. In his day he was but one of many "eminent Victorians." J.A. Froude, a young man during Arnold's professorship, carried history on in the earnest tradition.

One lesson, and only one, history may be said to repeat with distinctness; that the world is built somehow on moral foundations. That in the long run it is well with good; in the long run, it is ill with the wicked.⁶⁹

History, as understood and advocated by Oxford historians, provided meaning and moral sense in life. Arnold, Froude and others like them craved a "positive, manly, and intellectually credible explanation of

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 422.

⁶⁸Sir Charles Mallet, History of Oxford, Vol. III, p. 270.

⁶⁹J.A. Froude, Short Studies, I, p. 21 (The Science of History 1864).

the world."⁷⁰

In contrast with the Oxonian's manly and intellectually credible explanation of the world, the utilitarians espoused a different position about history. Although the gap between Bentham and Coleridge was quite wide, by the next generation John Stuart Mill had modified the original Benthamite position. About the same time as Dr. Arnold delivered what was later published as Introductory Lectures on History, Mill, in his articles in the London and Westminster Review, drew an extended contrast between Coleridge as a philosopher primarily interested in finding the truth underneath the happenings of the past, and Bentham as a philosopher primarily interested in the truth which broke with the past. Coleridge respected and studied the past only for the sake of the light which it might shed on the present and future.⁷¹ In modifying the rigid principles and logical constructs of the first generation utilitarians, Mill tried to establish high standards and values for society and individuals by turning to history. He began to think more in terms of tradition, of the accumulation and preservation of values, than in terms of establishing institutions and values abso-

⁷⁰J.A. Froude, West Indian Diary, 1886, quoted from Herbert Paul, Life of Froude, 1905, p. 72.

⁷¹Sanders, Coleridge and the Broad Church Movement, p. 53. J.S. Mill, "Bentham," August 1838, and "Coleridge," March 1840, in London and Westminster Review. Unlike Bentham, Coleridge looked to the form or idea of an institution before he looked to its practical deficiencies. This was a conservative device, but attractive. Before Coleridge would destroy an institution, he would seek out its historical rather than its logical importance. "What mode is there of determining whether a thing is fit to exist, without first considering what purposes it exists for, and whether it be still capable of fulfilling them?" (Mill, On Bentham and Coleridge, pp. 140-41)

lutely anew from philosophical principles. To preserve, to adopt, to modify, to incorporate into the happiness principle anything old or lasting, that might be useful, became the method of John Stuart Mill.⁷² Like his Anglican university rivals, J.S. Mill emphasized the character-building and mind-developing role of history. "Because it was the record of all great things which have been achieved by mankind," history could give a "certain largeness of conception to the student and familiarize him with the action of great causes."⁷³ Mill believed that history could correct anything cramped or one-sided in the students' own background.⁷⁴ No matter what the educator's philosophical stance, Orthodox and Anglican or radical and utilitarian, they all regarded history serving moral and intellectual purposes.

While history may have been one of the subjects receiving renewed attention and interest, other traditional disciplines such as logic, ethics, and theology maintained their places. Particularly logic, a central part of the curriculum at Oxford, became a subject of controversy. Already in the first decade of the century critics outside the universities attacked the system used to teach logic. These attacks focused on the teaching of logic rather than on the subject itself. Indeed, in his Reply to the Calumnies, Edward Copleston specifically defended the position of logic and teaching methods. No student, unless he were a nobleman, could take a degree without an exam-

⁷²Rothblatt, Revolution of the Dons, p. 112.

⁷³J.S. Mill, Dissertations and Discussions, p. 203.

⁷⁴Ibid.

ination in logic. This exam was medieval in concept involving disputations and declamation. Critics maintained that logic and rhetoric were not illiberal subjects but the universities made them so. Coleridge called logic, meaning the exclusive use of intellect, "the rustling dry leaves of the reflex faculty."⁷⁵ Some critics claimed that the universities emphasized scholastic forms of logical analysis when progressives looked to modern logicians like John Locke or Roman rhetoricians like Cicero and Quintillian more than Attic ones like Aristotle.⁷⁶ At Oxford, Dean Aldrich of Christ Church restored the Aristotelian features of logic to the curriculum in the late seventeenth century. This influence remained until Richard Whately built on Aldrich's foundations to give Oxford a superior school of logic by the publication of his text, Elements of Logic.⁷⁷ The teaching of logic varied between Oxford and Cambridge because the former rested on Aldrich and the latter on Locke. While Locke tied his system of logic to the inductive sciences and separated it from the humanities, Aldrich, remaining within the university tradition, insisted that logic retain its conventional association with the liberal arts.⁷⁸ This difference in the methods of teaching logic probably accounted in part for the greater resistance at Oxford to science and its earlier development at

⁷⁵S.T. Coleridge, Literary Remains, p. 341.

⁷⁶Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education, p. 78. Copleston and Whately defended the educational cogency of Aristotelian study, citing the Organon and the Rhetoric as especially valuable in respect of their illuminating fullness and their eloquence. He defended the syllogism as no mere weapon for verbal and intellectual fence, but an instrument for the discovery of truth. (W. Tuckwell, Pre-Tractarian Oxford, p. 30.)

Cambridge.

Although ethics and moral philosophy, like logic, would be included under philosophy in a contemporary university, these subjects, like nearly all other subjects in early nineteenth-century Anglican universities, were tied to theology. Copleston stated that in a Christian country ethics was much more included within the province of religion than that of philosophy. He regarded the ethics of "heathens," even ancients, of limited value. Sermons were the best means for instruction in ethics.⁷⁹ Within the universities virtually all the major educators agreed with Copleston's emphasis. William Sewell said ethics implied rules for forming particular characters by means of habitual actions. "It is the science of education--not of instruction, applying solely to the filling of the memory with knowledge--of rearing up the human mind from infancy to age, from

⁷⁷Whately's text illustrates cultural biases peculiar to the nineteenth century, all the more remarkable in a work describing the "science of logic." For example, when illustrating quantity and quality of propositions, he wrote, "Thus it may be said with truth that the 'Negroes are uncivilized,' though the term uncivilized be of much wider extent than 'Negroes,' comprehending, besides them, Hottentots, etc.; so that it would not be allowable to assert, that 'all who are uncivilized are Negroes.'". . ." (Richard Whately, Elements of Logic, p. 29). Whately's political bias shows in his etymology section when defining the term "Representative." "The Sophist persuades the multitude that a member of the House of Commons is bound to be guided in all points by the opinions of his constituents: and is merely their spokesman: whereas law, and custom, which in this case may be considered as fixing the meaning of the term, require no such thing, but enjoin the representative to act according to the best of his own judgment, and on his own responsibility" (Ibid., p. 118).

⁷⁸Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education, p. 79.

⁷⁹Copleston, Reply to the Calumnies, p. 178.

weakness to strength; training it in a way in which it should go, so that when it is old it may not depart from it."⁸⁰ In other words, Sewell regarded ethics as nothing less than character formation.

Richard Whately also regarded ethics and moral philosophy in the same light. He insisted that the only morals that the educational plans of a Christian nation can finally concern themselves about were "in the high and broad acceptation" Christian morals. He asserted as a certain truth that there was a science of man's moral nature, but the paramount ethical attainment was achieved by coming into right and genuine relations with the Creator. "Man learns his duties, not by rules and formulas, but through a pure attitude toward the Infinite Father."⁸¹ At Cambridge, much the same sentiments prevailed with regard to literae humaniores (poetry, history, ethics, and moral philosophy). F.D. Maurice described these subjects as a means to gain a "knowledge of ourselves and of man; as a means to the formation of a manly character."⁸² He further argued that in the university context human nature can only be understood when its foundations and laws were examined. Theology encompassed such a study of humanity and consisted not exclusively of Christian doctrine, but was also corroborated by the

⁸⁰William Sewell, Christian Morals, pp. 33-34.

⁸¹Richard Whately, Morals and Christian Evidences, pp. IV-V. Whately's subsequent discussion of Christian evidences appears to present what is most important to a primary investigation of the grounds of belief--that is a lucid arrangement of facts, testimony and evidences, "unencumbered with extrinsic matter." Thus Whately wants facts as well as faith in his teaching of moral philosophy. (Ibid., pp. V-VI)

⁸²F.D. Maurice, Subscription No Bondage, p. 56.

testimony of all the cultivated nations of the ancient world.⁸³ Maurice had an opportunity to practice his precepts about moral philosophy when he lectured to medical students at Guy's Hospital in London.⁸⁴

Even Arnold and Newman, who so greatly differed from each other's theological positions, united to affirm the centrality of theology in the curriculum. Arnold argued for the inclusion of theology on the same grounds as Newman; other disciplines would suffer if it were left out. He denied the possibility of a purely secular curriculum. Admitting that a purely secular curriculum would be possible if Christianity in reality consisted of a set of theoretical truths, as many seemed to fancy, Arnold declared that it was not possible, inasmuch as Christianity claimed to be the paramount arbiter of all our moral judgments.⁸⁵ As earlier elaborated, he maintained that at the moment lessons enter upon any moral subject, "whether Moral Philosophy or history, you must either be a Christian or an Anti-Christian, for you touch upon the ground of Christianity."⁸⁶ Although Arnold would be

⁸³Ibid., p. 56. For sample questions posed in a moral philosophy examination at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1816, please see Appendix I.

⁸⁴He divided the subject into three parts: (1) affections, attachments; (2) personality, conscience, duty and law; and (3) objects, for which we are to act and live. He maintained that "the only true way of considering philosophy is in connection with the life of the world, and not as a set of merely intellectual speculations and systems" (Frederick Maurice, Life of Frederick Denison Maurice, cited in a letter to Edward Strachey, 25 May 1836, p. 202).

⁸⁵Cited from J.J. Findlay, Arnold of Rugby, p. 35.

⁸⁶Ibid.

willing to dispense with compulsory theology in higher education, because he expected students to have a knowledge of the elements of Christianity, Newman, on the other hand, insisted on theology in the university. Nevertheless, they shared a view that the exclusion of theology would be undesirable to the students. Arnold saw theology as a good influence over human character. While Arnold and Newman may have been convinced of the desirability of theology inextricably interwoven into the fabric of Oxford, the next, more secularly minded generation, as represented by Mark Pattison, had a different perspective. Of course, in the 1830s Tractarianism dominated theology, particularly in Oriel College. Although Tractarians were not anti-intellectual, they tended to be anti-rationalist because they associated rationalism with infidelity. Arriving in this context at Oriel about 1830, Pattison claimed, "It was soon after 1830 that the Tracts desolated Oxford life, and suspended, for an indefinite period, all science, humane letters and the first strivings of intellectual freedom which had moved in the bosom of Oriel."⁸⁷ As far as Pattison, and most students of his and later generations were concerned, the Tractarian outlook subordinated intellectual excellence to religious orthodoxy and encouraged theology, often to the detriment of other disciplines.

In the whole first half of the nineteenth century, of all the curricular controversies, none stood out more clearly or involved more vociferous disputes than the place of science. In spite of English scientific advances in the seventeenth century, such as William

⁸⁷Pattison, Memoirs, p. 101.

Harvey's discoveries about the circulation of blood, or Sir Isaac Newton's work in physics, science languished at the universities in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. While science may not have advanced at this time in the universities, it did provide the grist for some amusing anecdotes. For example, a Professor of Anatomy at Cambridge in 1786 invited a half dozen dinner guests to his house. Following the meal all would attend his lecture. One contemporary recalled that he was at that time lecturing on comparative anatomy. "It was no unusual thing to see the turbot on which Mr. Orange [his Demonstrator in Anatomy] had exercised his skill one day, carved by the professor on the following."⁸⁸ Nevertheless, some Englishmen continued to have an interest in science, particularly its practical application to national interests. For example, Francis Blagdon, a journalist visiting France in 1802, described the place that science had attained in French public esteem by providing the steel, iron, saltpetre, and gun powder that enabled France to win her victories. "Science," wrote Blagdon, "was nearly allied to pride and national interest, while literature concerns only the vanity and interest of a few individuals."⁸⁹

Although the industrial revolution already underway in England indicated a similar capacity on the other side of the channel, the ancient English universities in contrast to some colleges established

⁸⁸Henry Gunning, Reminiscences of Cambridge, Vol. I, p. 50.

⁸⁹Cited in W.H.G. Armytage, French Influence on English Education, p. 44.

by Napoleon failed to contribute significantly to the advance of science or technology. At Oxford, for the first half of the century, science constituted little more than a curiosity for a few eccentrics. Dr. Charles Giles Daubeny (1795-1867), a chemistry lecturer whose "experiments inevitably went wrong"⁹⁰ and Charles Buckland, the first Professor of Geology,⁹¹ were the two foremost scientists at Oxford at this time. Dr. Buckland⁹² was known among Oxford contemporaries as an eccentric, his work being more pre-science than science. William Tuckwell remembered going to his house as a child because he was friends with his son, Frank Buckland. The house was full of curiosi-

⁸⁹Cited in W.H.G. Armytage, French Influence on English Education, p. 44.

⁹⁰Geoffrey Faber, Oxford Apostles, p. 44. Daubeny went to Winchester and Magdalen College, Oxford, earning his B.A. in 1814. After studying medicine at Edinburgh he became interested in Geology and explored the volcanic region of Auvergne in France. In 1822 Daubeny was appointed to succeed Dr. Kidd as Professor of Chemistry. Changing positions he became Professor of Botany in 1834. By 1840 he was appointed Professor of Rural Economy. He participated in many scientific and educational movements of his time. His biographer claimed,

His earnest spirit gained him great influence in the Oxford of his time. No project of change ever found him indifferent, prejudiced, or unprepared. His opinions were impartial and unflinchingly expressed. Firm and gentle, prudent and generous, cheerful and sympathetic, pursuing no private ends, calm amid contending parties, he was in many ways a model scientist in a university town.

G.T.B., "Daubeny, Charles Giles," Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. V, p. 545.

⁹¹"Some doubts were once expressed about the flood/Buckland arose and all was clear--as mud" (Ibid.).

⁹²Elected Fellow of Corpus Christi in 1809, Professor of Geology in 1819; published Bridgewater Treatise raising questions about the Deluge and Genesis in 1836.

ties. Tuckwell recalled fossils all around, stuffed wild animals and "queer dishes garnished the dinner table--horseflesh I remember more than once, crocodile another day, mice baked in batter. . . ." Even the dining room itself could, with accuracy, have been described as a menagery. While dining,

the guinea-pig under the table inquiringly nibbled at your infantine toes, the bear walked round your chair and rasped your hand with file-like tongue, the jackal's fiendish yell close by came through the open window, and the monkey's hairy arm extended itself suddenly over your shoulder to annex your fruit and walnuts.⁹³

Dr. Buckland's unconventional and sometimes outspoken behavior had begun years earlier. For example, on his wedding tour to Italy he visited St. Rosalia's shrine. It was opened by the priests and the relics of the saint were shown. Buckland saw that they were not Rosalia's. "They are the bones of a goat," he cried out, "Not a woman," and the sanctuary doors were abruptly closed.⁹⁴ The exposure of the fraud at St. Rosalia's was not the last time Dr. Buckland discomfited Continental Roman Catholics. His son, Frank, used to tell of a family visit to a foreign cathedral, where was exhibited a martyr's blood-dark spots on the pavement ever fresh and ineradicable. The professor dropped on the pavement and touched the stain with his

⁹³Tuckwell, Reminiscences of Oxford, p. 39. Dr. Buckland is renowned in the annals of eccentricity for having determinedly eaten his way through the greater part of animal creation. He thought moles perhaps most disgusting. He also has a certain distinction as the man who ate [sic] the heart of Louis XIV.

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 40.

tongue. "I can tell you what it is; it is bat's urine."⁹⁵

While Drs. Daubeny and Buckland in their own bumbling way pressed on with their studies in geology, the effect of light on plants, and the chemistry of soil and manure, Oxford University did little to encourage them or promote more extensive scientific work. For example, in 1826 Dr. Daubeny had to pay for the fitting up of the university laboratories out of his own pocket; the Hebdomadal Board refused to allow him to be reimbursed by the university.⁹⁶ As late as the 1840s, Dr. Kidd, Professor of Anatomy at Oxford, demonstrated a clear anti-scientific bias. Microscopes were just being introduced about 1840. Dr. Thomas Acland, his young colleague and successor in 1844, explained the meaning of some delicate morphological preparation to Dr. Kidd. Kidd, after examining it, answered first that he did not believe in it, and second, that if it were true he did not think God meant us to know it.⁹⁷ In 1839 there was an abortive attempt to make science part of the mathematics and physics examination. Science teaching declined.⁹⁸

Although science languished at Oxford during the first half of the century--to the extent that the university hardly graduated any physicians--Cambridge exhibited at least some signs of vitality. Here

⁹⁵Ibid.

⁹⁶John Sparrow, Mark Pattison and the Idea of a University, p. 115.

⁹⁷Tuckwell, Reminiscences of Oxford, p. 46.

⁹⁸Sanderson, The Universities in the Nineteenth Century, p. 30.

too, however, for many Cambridge men science was but a curiosity. Joseph Romilly, for example, the university registrar, recorded his meeting with Charles Darwin who had just returned from his trip on the "Beagle." In his diary, Romilly noted Darwin's story that in Terra del Fuego, whenever a scarcity occurs (which is every five or six years), they kill old women as the most useless living creatures. In consequence when a famine begins the old women run away into the woods and many of them perish miserably there.⁹⁹ Apparently misogynic anecdotes of this sort constituted the university registrar's principal personal contact with science.

Although many Cantabrigians may have had scant systematic knowledge of science, vitality was evident among a nucleus of men by the 1830s. A network of friends, John Herschel, Charles Babbage, George Peacock, William Whewell, and George Airy, were variously responsible for the introduction of French mathematics to England and for the success of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, especially after the Cambridge meeting of 1833. Particularly important was the statistical section founded by Babbage, the pioneer of modern mechanical calculation.¹⁰⁰ One contemporary historian marks the intellectual revival of Cambridge to the conjunction of three undergraduates, Herschel, Babbage, and Peacock. These three wanted to

⁹⁹Joseph Romilly, Diary at Cambridge 1832-1842, p. 110.

¹⁰⁰Sanderson, The Universities in the Nineteenth Century, p. 31.

reform the world through mathematics.¹⁰¹ These undergraduates along with William Whewell and George Airy, broke the Newtonian stranglehold on Cambridge mathematics by importing French analytical mathematics. Not only did these Cambridge men innovate in mathematics, but George Airy made the Cambridge observatory one of the pace-setting scientific centers of England. "He turned Greenwich into a cooperative, almost factory-like, enterprise exemplifying all the characteristics of precision and thoroughness with which the great German astronomers of the period had transformed positional astronomy."¹⁰²

Although Cambridge clearly predominated over Oxford in pioneering what limited scientific and mathematical achievements there were, Oxford produced more curricular theorists who dealt with the place of science. Of these educators, John Henry Newman, exhibited a more accepting attitude toward science than most other Oxonians. Newman first assumed that a curriculum was not simply a fortuitous group of subjects, but an organized unity whose parts mutually affected each other for a common purpose. Thus the teaching of "revealed truth" will affect the teaching of science, philosophy, and literature. However, he denied any opposition between religion and all the other areas, particularly science. On the contrary, Newman argued that rightly edu-

¹⁰¹Walter F. Cannon, "Scientists and Broad Churchmen," p. 68. John Herschel, son of a Hanoverian oboist, became a renowned astronomer in England. George Peacock remained a mathematics lecturer at Trinity College. He later (1839) became Dean of Ely Cathedral and transformed it into a model for the whole Anglican Church. "He was one of the most widely active and quietly influential of early Victorian intellectuals" (Ibid., p. 70).

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 70.

cated men in both fields should reinforce each other. Popular misconceptions, he said, have clouded the issue. Many people, he realized, seem to believe that religious men would not be so upset about science if they did not feel that its progress would be injurious to their interests. Newman asserted that Christians do not fear human knowledge; rather they are proud of their divine knowledge and realize that omission of any real knowledge is simply ignorance. The popular misconception is unfortunate, for it encourages the less religious of men to rebel against religion openly, and it causes religious men of limited vision to be prejudiced against scientific research. The result is that both groups suffer through ignorance.¹⁰³

In spite of Newman's reasoned plea, written on the eve of university reform, for curricular innovation and a more substantial place for science, Oxford demonstrated rigidity. The reasons for this conservatism were varied, but they ranged from the idealistic to the purely selfish. Science had suffered a decline at the universities since the seventeenth century. After the struggle of the Ancients and Moderns, science, which had been one of the exciting intellectual activities of the second half of the seventeenth century, was attacked by the proponents of classical education as insufficiently polite or civilized. The antagonists of science appeared to be speaking in the name of higher taste and refinement. The Royal Society (of Science) subsequently became concerned with making science respectable in social

¹⁰³John H. Newman, "University Subjects," Idea of a University, pp. 308-09.

terms. This meant divorcing it from the servile arts, from earlier useful projects like the development of navigational instruments and steam power. Those anxious to be fashionable and correct found a new justification for science; it was like classical education, a branch of humane and polite learning--enlarging the mind and softening the manners.¹⁰⁴

After lapsing into such a state of neglect and with social taste and intellectual snobbery militating against it, science had to overcome many obstacles before it could be revived. For idealistic reasons, Thomas Arnold failed to emphasize science because he cared more about Duty and character formation than about facts. Therefore he believed that the humanities and religion were more important than science.¹⁰⁵ Although Arnold may have opposed altering the curriculum for idealistic reasons, other authorities avoided innovation seemingly out of institutional obduracy. For example, in 1833 a proposal was made at Oxford "to render imperative some part of the elements either of geometry or of algebra, arithmetic or some branch of natural philosophy as a qualification in all candidates for the degree of BA." This was vetoed by the Vice-Chancellor, heads of houses and the proctors, the governing body of the University who approved or banned every legislative proposal submitted to Convocation.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education, p. 44.

¹⁰⁵T. Arnold, Miscellaneous Works, p. 296.

¹⁰⁶John W. Adamson, English Education 1789-1902, p. 77.

Another reason to avoid increasing the place of science derived from the definition of liberal education by the ancient universities. In contrast to London University and the civic universities, Oxford and Cambridge operated in an entirely different set of circumstances. London and the civic universities, established during the mid-century, received financial support from industry, and served a local clientele who needed specific qualifications for careers and who could not rely on patronage and influence, therefore they emphasized science and technology. The older universities lacked these pressures. Since science was elsewhere so closely wedded to technology and in turn to careers which the upper class had no need and less desire to embrace, they continued to resist scientific vocationalism while tacitly and implicitly accepting that stemming from a liberal education.¹⁰⁷

Benjamin Jowett, the renowned Master of Balliol College in the second half of the century, summed up Oxford's prejudice against scientific vocationalism and even the possible dangers to moral character and the virtue of humility. He maintained that science was either a mere amusement of the mind, or an improvement in the ancient tool-making, weapon-making, disease-fighting crafts of mankind. Of course, Oxford, through professorial lectures, did provide some science teaching and did, for example, prepare a few students for a future study and career in medicine; nevertheless, science was not considered integral to the college undergraduate curriculum. However, no scien-

¹⁰⁷Sanderson, The Universities in the Nineteenth Century, p. 5.

¹⁰⁸Faber, Jowett, p. 82.

tific achievement, theoretical or applied, according to Jowett, could ever take men nearer to the heart of perennial mysteries. On the contrary, the sense of advancing mastery over material forces bred the frightful illusion that there was no limit to human ability.¹⁰⁸

Finally, as was so often the case, there were narrow institutional and purely selfish reasons to resist science. The perpetuation of a classics-based curriculum was bound up with the comfortable autonomy of the colleges. Teaching classics was cheap. The texts did not change; no plethora of "research" rapidly outdated existing literature, thereby forcing financial pressure on the library. Furthermore, the low overhead of classics and mathematics teaching obviated the need for a strong central, well-financed, interfering university. The introduction of the sciences would entail expensive laboratory buildings, equipment, and salaries for new professorships, fellows with new expertise, and an open-ended commitment to library expansion in an expanding discipline. The funds for such expenses could only come from the colleges, which would both diminish their resources and create a supra-college university to infringe their authority. Such an innovation assumed that greater power would accrue to a professoriate--on Continental or Scottish lines--at the expense of college tutors. In the first half of the century, College fellowships were still regarded as financial rewards rather than occupations or careers. Since the fellows shared out the annual profits of the college, like members of a

¹⁰⁹Sanderson, The Universities in the Nineteenth Century, pp. 5-6.

business partnership, there was a strong vested interest against increasing unnecessary college expenses. Accordingly, the expansion of the curriculum in science and capital expenses of new buildings, etc., would come out of the incomes of those in Classics who stood to lose by such innovations. This financial consideration further sharpened the edge of the defense of liberal education.¹⁰⁹

At Cambridge the resistance to curricular innovation was nearly as strong as at Oxford. William Whewell, who could always be depended upon to expound the most conservative positions, reminded his readers that the statutes of many colleges prescribed not only the subjects but also the books. This provision suggested a regard for the permanence of the course of culture which is necessary to the purpose of Trinity College. Whewell would deplore leaving the selection of books or subjects to the "teachers of the moment" because "we might incur the danger of capricious changes and sudden revolutions of doctrine which would throw the system into confusion and annihilate its effect as culture."¹¹⁰ Here as in so many other passages, Whewell showed his concern for a permanent configuration in the heritage by which students were formed. He suggested that when new books were introduced their general spirit and subject should be similar to those ancient works for which they were substituted. The power to make such alterations resided in the governing body of each college. As a mathematician and scientist, Whewell clearly saw the value of those subjects, and personally advanced them; however, as a moral educator he could not push

¹¹⁰Whewell, English University Education, p. 129.

for major innovations in the curriculum. In addition to moral reasons for curricular conservatism at Cambridge, anti-utilitarian bias also thwarted change in science programs. Although commenting specifically about the situation in the second half of the century, Sheldon Rothblatt's assessment equally applied to the first half as well. He wrote, "Whenever it was suspected that the impetus for curricular reform came from commercial or political sources, Cambridge dons arose to denounce the proposed changes as technical, illiberal, utilitarian and soft options."¹¹¹ Such was the state of curricular affairs at Oxford and Cambridge during most of the first half century.

IV

In spite of the conservatism evident into the early 1840s, new trends and attitudes emerged after 1845 and signaled regeneration along modern lines at both universities. Mark Pattison, who went up to Oriel in 1829, said that if any Oxford Man had gone to sleep in 1846 and had awakened in 1850, he would have found himself in a totally new world.

In 1846 we were in Old Tory Oxford . . . debating as in the days of Henry VIII, its eternal Church Question. There were Tory majorities in all the Colleges; there was the unquestioning satisfaction in the tutorial system, i.e., one man teaching everybody everything; the same belief that all knowledge was shut up between the covers of four Greek and four Latin books; the same humdrum questions asked in examinations; and the same arts of evasive reply. In 1860 all this was suddenly changed as if by the wand of a magician.¹¹²

¹¹¹Rothblatt, Revolution of the Dons, p. 257.

¹¹²Pattison, Memoirs, quoted in John Sparrow, Mark Pattison and the Idea of a University, p. 81.

As the home of the Oxford Movement, after Newman and others backslid to Rome and Tractarianism collapsed, the university entered a new age. According to several observers of that time, the theological controversies had stultified the university for over a decade. Although at the time deeply affected by Newman's teaching, Pattison, when recalling this period in later life, described the departure of the tractarians as "deliverance from the nightmare which had oppressed Oxford for fifteen years." He maintained that during all that time attention had been focused in unprofitable discussions which "had entirely diverted our thoughts from the true business of the place" and reduced scholarship to a low level. "By the secession of 1845 this [problem] was extinguished in a moment, and from that moment dates the regeneration of the university."¹¹³

I [Jowett] had resolved to read through the Fathers, and if I found Puseyism there I was to become a Puseyite. It is not unlikely that I might have found it, but before I had gone through my task the vacation (Easter, 1844) ended and on returning to Oxford we found that Ward was to be married! After that the Tractarian impulse subsided and while some of us took to German Philosophy, others turned to lobsters and champagne.¹¹⁴

After the Newman conversion old controversies and conversation collapsed. G.V. Cox (1786-1875), in his Recollections, described how dons turned from speculation in theology to speculation in railway shares. The railway mania of 1847 was the first material to fill the

¹¹³Pattison, Memoirs, pp. 236-37.

¹¹⁴Faber, Jowett, p. 138. William George Ward was a "fat, invincible, inextinguishable, mathematical lecturer" at Balliol. He converted to Rome a month before Newman. (Faber, Jowett, p. 139)

vacuum. He said,

Instead of High, Low, and Broad Church, they talked of high embankments, broad gauge, and low dividends. Brunel and Stephenson were in men's mouths instead of Dr. Pusey or Mr. Golightly.¹¹⁵

Intellectually, the Oxford world was shaken by the late 1840s too. By that time German criticism finally made an impact on English universities. The Tractarians necessarily opposed any move that could conceivably alter the Anglican character of the university.¹¹⁶

Pattison remarked,

We were startled when we came to reflect [after 1845] that the vast domain of physical science had been hitherto wholly excluded from our programme. . . . Science was placed under a ban by the Theologians, who instinctively felt that it was fatal to their speculations.¹¹⁷

He claimed that deliverance from Tractarians was deliverance from obscurantism. Many former Tractarians and others began to question the truth and relevance of Christianity. As a result there was a flood of reform which did not spend itself until it had produced two governmental commissions and until "we had enlarged and remodeled all our institutions."¹¹⁸

At Cambridge also, reform and new directions emerged by the

¹¹⁵George Valentine Cox, Recollections of Oxford (London: Macmillan, 1868), p. 238. Cox earned his B.A. from New College, Oxford. He held various university offices, including coroner, from 1806 until 1866 when he retired on pension. He published novels, made translations from German on ancient history, and wrote a commentary on the Book of Common Prayer.

¹¹⁶V.H.H. Green, The Universities, p. 63.

¹¹⁷Pattison, Memoirs, p. 238.

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*

late 1840s. It was the university's good fortune to have as its Chancellor since 1847 Prince Albert, who was popularly thought of as "the great patron of all arts and sciences." Prince Albert had shown an interest in education for some time. From 1841 William Whewell had instructed him in the procedures, statutes and other details about the university. However, from 1845 Prince Albert relied more on Dr. Philpott the Vice-Chancellor from St. Catharine's College, as his mentor in university affairs.¹¹⁹ Whewell originated the idea of nominating Prince Albert in order to avoid a Tory-Whig fight in the university. The Tories had just foundered in 1846 with Peel's repeal of the Corn Laws. Perhaps the Tories hoped that Prince Albert as a Chancellor would show interest in the university, make it more efficient, but stave off radical reform. As a man with enlightened views on education, the Prince would be accepted by the Whig ministry.¹²⁰ He would serve as a living symbol of the university's intent to reform itself. Prince Albert took his post seriously and he became a keen, well-informed critic of its studies. He initiated or took part in changes which required every candidate for a degree to make the acquaintance of one in a long list of special subjects outside the beaten track of mathematics and classics. The Moral Science and Natural Science Triposes date from his Chancellorship.¹²¹

Winds blowing for curricular reform came from other directions,

¹¹⁹Winstanley, Early Victorian Cambridge, p. 201.

¹²⁰Ibid., pp. 106-07.

¹²¹Adamson, English Education 1789-1902, p. 178.

both from within and without the university. Dr. Philpott, writing to Dr. Phelps, the new Vice-Chancellor, in December 1847, pointed out criticisms of the university and made some suggestions for reform. Among the problems he noted several: the neglect of professorial instruction, the very general use of private tutors, and the narrow range of studies at Cambridge. This last problem was largely responsible for the other two. Philpott urged as a remedy that professorial lectures be in subjects where students had an opportunity of gaining honors and distinction (increase prizes and examinations). He suggested encouraging "the pursuit of them by awarding honours and emoluments so as to provide scope, according to the tastes and inclinations of different students to the free and independent efforts of their minds." He suggested the appointment of a syndicate (committee) to consider examinations for honours and prizes in subjects taught by Professors.¹²²

The state of Cambridge evoked concern outside its own cloistered confines. A petition addressed to Parliament which declared that the University had "failed to advance learning, that it was vain to expect them to do so, as they were unable to make necessary reforms, and that the state should intervene and as a first step appoint a commission of inquiry," was signed by only two resident Cambridge men. However, there were two hundred twenty-four signatures in all, of which one hundred thirty-three were Cambridgemen. It was signed by many impressive figures: Charles and Erasmus Darwin, W.M. Thackeray,

¹²²Dr. Philpott to Dr. Philps, 30 December 1847, Royal Archives Windsor Castle, cited in Winstanley, Early Victorian Cambridge, p. 204.

Matthew Arnold, John Romilly, George Cornwall Lewis, and Sir Charles Lyell.¹²³

By mid-century with the increased agitation for, and actual initiation of Parliamentary investigation and reform of the ancient universities, the purposes of liberal education had to be more clearly defined. Arnold and Newman, although of the same generation and both solidly Christian, nevertheless, developed contrasting educational philosophies. Arnold's ideals represent the views of the earlier generation at the universities. He said most explicitly that schools should be first of all a place for the formation of character, and next a place for learning and study which was a means for the attainment of this higher end. Discipline and guidance, in his view, should predominate over the imparting of knowledge. Thus Arnold subordinated mere knowledge, which he termed professional training, to the true formative education, which he termed liberal.¹²⁴

Considering that Newman outlived Thomas Arnold by nearly fifty years, it is not surprising that about a decade after Arnold's death, Newman formulated a philosophy of liberal education more modern in conception. Indeed, to most twentieth-century contemporaries, Newman's Idea of a University is probably the best known statement of the goals and purposes of higher education. It was this attempt, which proved abortive, to establish an English-speaking Catholic university in

¹²³Winstanley, Early Victorian Cambridge, p. 210.

¹²⁴J. Fitch, Thomas and Matthew Arnold and their Influence on English Education, p. 33.

Dublin about 1850, that provided the opportunity for Newman to fully set forth his philosophy of liberal education. In an unguarded moment he confided that he felt called, "To teach the Paddies what education was, what a university, and how it was their duty to have one with me for a Rector."¹²⁵

Although Newman acknowledged having borrowed from Copleston, no intimacy ever existed between them at Oriel. The young man's painful shyness prevented it. To Newman, Copleston was always something of an enemy and a danger; to Copleston, Newman was in the end something of a traitor to the College which had reared him. He spoke of Newman in the language of the chorus in the Agamemnon, "as the lion-cub brought up by the fireside, gently and harmless, playing with the children and charming the old people, but destined to bring destruction upon the house."¹²⁶ Even before 1845 it became perfectly clear that Copleston held variant educational goals, not to mention theological ones, from Newman.

Writing after his conversion, Newman sought to integrate the classical Oxonian definition of culture with the Catholic notion of the Church's intellectual authority. He wished to affirm the Renaissance while condemning the Reformation, to assert the intellectual role of the medieval Church while maintaining the secular role of the contemporary cultured gentleman. He was concerned with an alliance between the classical ideal of mental independence (disinterestedness) and his

¹²⁵Dwight Culler, The Imperial Intellect (Yale: 1955), p. 140.

¹²⁶Cited in Faber, Oxford Apostles, pp. 101-02.

complete distrust of private judgment in religious matters.¹²⁷ This paradox accounted for many of the seeming contradictions in his ideas, and the frequently exasperating proliferation of overly-nice distinctions. His theory proposed an educational system whereby men became intellectually free yet they remain religious.

Newman emphasized that knowledge was one whole which could not be separated into portions except artificially. He was particularly sensitive to the dangers that lay in specialization. The different subjects were simply abstractions which represented particular aspects of the whole. By philosophy he meant understanding the relation of one subject to another, and having an appreciation of them all. He denied the right to the name "philosopher" to any who would exclude any portion of the whole; explicitly he would deny it to those who would exclude theology.¹²⁸ Newman argued that if a student's reading were restricted to one subject, regardless of how this may advance his particular pursuit, it had the tendency to contract his mind. In a university, even though the range of studies might be too broad for the student to pursue all of them, he would profit by living in connection with the variety which represented the complete circle of knowledge.

To Newman's way of thinking, just like Arnold, Whewell, Sedgwick, Copleston, and other worthies, liberal education built character and formed gentlemen.

¹²⁷Clifford-Vaughan and Archer, Social Conflict and Educational Change in England and France, p. 97.

¹²⁸Newman, Idea of a University, pp. 59-60.

It causes most men to be possessed of good sense, sobriety of thought, reasonableness, candor, self-command, and steadfastness of view. Liberal Education will make it possible for all easily to enter into any subject of thought, or take up any science or profession.¹²⁹

In addition to possessing the qualities mentioned above, a gentleman as defined by Newman would be a product of civilization, not of Christianity. He pointed out that knowledge was one thing, virtue was another; good sense was not conscience, refinement was not humility, nor was largeness or justness of view faith.¹³⁰ Education implied an action upon our mental nature, and cultivation of the mind would produce characteristics of a gentleman.

A gentleman never inflicts pain. He is possessed of a characteristic courtesy, propriety, and polish of word and action. He avoids shocking the sensibilities of his associates, all clashing of opinion, all suspicion, gloom or resentment, and irritating topics. These and similar qualities are obtained through liberal education, but they also may be obtained through such media as foreign travel, good society, or the innate grace and dignity of the Catholic mind.¹³¹

After itemizing all of these traits of Newman's "gentleman" one might seriously question, Is he human? Summing up his arguments for liberal education, Newman enumerated three major justifications. First, moral character is developed. The university trains good members of society. Its art is the art of social life, and its end is fitness for the world. Second, university training raises the intellectual tone of society, by cultivating the public mind, by purifying the national

¹²⁹Ibid., p. xxxiv.

¹³⁰Ibid., p. 120.

¹³¹Ibid., p. 185.

taste, and by giving enlargement and sobriety to the ideas of the age. Third, it prepares a man to fill any post with credit and to master any subject with facility.¹³²

Although Newman's ideals may never have been, nor ever will be, fully attainable--and perhaps that's just as well--they were transmitted to the next generation; and liberal education, including elements defined by Newman, even today has its defenders. Thomas B. Macaulay's report of 1854 on the universities included the following:

We believe that men who have been engaged up to one- or two- and-twenty in studies which have no connections with the business of any profession, and of which the effect is merely to open, to invigorate, and to enrich the mind, will generally be found, in the business of every profession, superior to men who have at eighteen devoted themselves to the special studies of their calling.¹³³

Benjamin Jowett, the great Master of Balliol and educator of some of the most prominent civil servants of the second half of the century, asserted that the greatest jurists were improved by "the time which they gave to Thucydides, to Cicero, and to Newton." He also proposed to include the moral sciences in the examinations. In keeping with an emphasis on development of faculties he said that the object of the examination should be to put to the test the candidate's powers of mind rather than to ascertain the extent of his metaphysical readings.¹³⁴

Mark Pattison, a contemporary but collegiate and academic rival of

¹³²Ibid., pp. 156-57.

¹³³Cited in Sanderson, Universities in the Nineteenth Century, p. 97.

¹³⁴Abbott and Campbell, Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett, pp. 185-86.

Jowett at Oxford, also perpetuated the ideal of liberal education, but he evaluated Newman's contribution more critically. In commenting on Newman's idea of science, "Knowledge which has undergone a process of intellectual digestion," Pattison asked,

Are we to suppose that this magnificent ideal of a national institution, embracing and representing all knowledge, and making knowledge its own end, was the wisdom of riper years . . . ? Perhaps so; it required much time and enlargement for any of us who were brought up under the old eight-books system of an Oxford College of 1830, to rise to the idea of a university in which every science should have its proper and appointed place.¹³⁵

Liberal education, as understood in the first half of the nineteenth century, always contained a central paradox--the rejection of specialization or professional training. Newman called liberal education,

the process of training by which the intellect, instead of being formed or sacrificed to some particular or accidental purpose, some specific trade or profession, or study or science, is disciplined for its own sake, for perception of its own proper object, and for its own highest culture.¹³⁶

He went on to say,

all other functions are secondary to the impartial dissemination of knowledge. The University is a place to teach universal knowledge. . . . [By universal, Newman means] nothing is too vast, nothing too subtle, nothing too distant, nothing too minute, nothing too discursive, nothing too exact to engage attention.¹³⁷

In spite of his concern for the breadth and wholeness of learning in Oxford and Cambridge, a liberal education as established there had a

¹³⁵Pattison, Memoirs, p. 95.

¹³⁶Newman, Idea of a University, p. 152.

¹³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 334 (New York: 1947, edition).

designedly very narrow curriculum, "exactness within a narrow range" as Sir John Seeley described it. It aimed not at width, but at highly specialized excellence and polish in the deep study of classics and mathematics in a way totally alien to modern conceptions of "liberality."¹³⁸ Liberal education as practiced in this context remained a strictly narrow intellectual training. This nineteenth century approach contrasted with the eighteenth-century ideal of breadth in liberal education. A century earlier breadth meant the total education a gentleman received--the accomplishments of body as well as mind. It also meant that a gentleman was to remain an amateur or dilettante rather than to acquire a specialized or professional knowledge or skill. Except for Arnold who supported "games" at Rugby, most of the other Oxford apologists, and Newman most particularly, emphasized a strictly cerebral education even though they appealed to the Greek classics as their model. Ancient Greeks trained both the mind and the body. However, many nineteenth-century Englishmen with their belief in faculty psychology developed the notion of a strictly mental development as a goal of education. In so doing, they distorted the original classical practice of training the whole man, mind and body.¹³⁹

¹³⁸Sanderson, Universities in the Nineteenth Century, p. 7.

¹³⁹Perhaps some nineteenth century Englishmen avoided the Greeks' emphasis on the physical aspects because they feared any association with Greek vices. Victorian squeamishness about homosexuality may, in part, explain their distortion of the classical educational ideal which attempted to develop the whole man. Particularly Newman, a suspected homosexual, defined liberal education as an exclusively cerebral process. On the other hand, a mind/body polarization did permeate Victorian thinking among both sexes and sexual orientations.

The Oxford and Cambridge educator's contention that liberal education needed to be unrelated to vocational or professional preparation did not ring true in practice. Newman said that education may be useful to society without being utilitarian, and conducive to religion while not religious.¹⁴⁰ His protestations to the contrary notwithstanding, education at Oxford was at least in one sense both utilitarian and religious. Within the social context of its students' background and future occupations, the universities served as a distinct vocational and professional training ground. In the first half of the nineteenth century nearly a third of Cambridge students came from families with fathers in the Church (32%), and almost the same proportion from landowners (31%). Law and medicine each accounted for 8%.¹⁴¹ At Oxford from 1752 to 1886, 90% of students came from a gentry, clergy, or military background.¹⁴² Lawrence Stone has found that "Oxford was never so socially exclusive as it was in the second quarter of the nineteenth century."¹⁴³ The future occupations of their students were as narrow as their social backgrounds. The curriculum suited the professional future of most students at that time. Two-

Many educators not only rejected associations with the body, but also with emotions such as anger, which Newman and others viewed as "ungentlemanly."

¹⁴⁰Newman, Idea of a University, p. 104.

¹⁴¹Jenkins and Jones, "Social Class of Cambridge Alumni," cited in Sanberson, Universities in the Nineteenth Century, p. 17.

¹⁴²Anderson and Schnaper, School and Society in England, cited in Sanderson, Universities in the Nineteenth Century, p. 17.

¹⁴³*Ibid*, p. 17.

thirds (62%) of Cambridge students went into the Church and at Oxford likewise two-thirds (62%) during the period 1752-1886. Although Newman may have insisted on the non-vocational nature of liberal education, some Oxford administrators most unabashedly affirmed the practical and pecuniary advantages of the university curriculum. Dean Gaisford, who became Dean in 1831 of Christ Church, Oxford, preached annually in the Cathedral on Christmas Day. One observer recalled a sentence from one of his sermons which reverberated into term time.

Nor can I do better, in conclusion, than to impress upon you the study of Greek literature, which not only elevates above the vulgar herd, but leads not infrequently to positions of considerable emolument.¹⁴⁴

Perhaps Gaisford was not a typical example of Oxford thinking in his time. Tuckwell called him a "rough and surly man." Nevertheless, in their social function Oxford and Cambridge were largely receiving the sons of clergy and gentry, and returning them to the same classes.

However, the social backgrounds of students and their career choices became much more diversified in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Scottish universities were never as socially exclusive as Victorian Oxford.¹⁴⁵ Except for such select careers as those in the Church, as Classics became vocationally useless, so they increasingly became the symbol of the gentleman's education. Gentlemen, by definition, did not have to work. Perhaps for this reason grammar and public schools in the eighteenth and nineteenth cen-

¹⁴⁴Tuckwell, Reminiscences of Oxford, p. 129.

¹⁴⁵Anderson and Schnaper, School and Society in England, cited in Sanderson, Universities in the Nineteenth Century, p. 18.

turies, especially those in close connection with a university retained Latin and Greek as the staple fare. The more academically successful the school, the more narrowly classical the teaching tended to be.¹⁴⁶

The Oxford and Cambridge educators, as part of the upper crust, often restricted the focus of learning as a result of their class-bias. A few teachers like Thomas Arnold spelled out a program of social, as well as religious, reform and encouraged students to develop a social conscience and to respond to the needs of the poor. Some of his students filled the ranks of the next generation who became social critics and reformers, and doubting Christians. Nevertheless, the writings of many university apologists seem strangely silent about rampant misery and injustice, especially in light of the horrific conditions existing among the working class in the burgeoning industrial towns during the 1830s and 1840s. The Tractarians, in particular, arguing at such length about church polity, baptismal regeneration, and other theological niceties appeared to operate in a social vacuum, or an upper-class oasis. Oxford, from which the railroad had been diverted ten miles, and Cambridge were towns which experienced no industrialization in the first half of the century; thus, the agony evident to many other observers in England during the 1840s, Karl Marx not least among them, was not near at hand to university men, either geographically or socially. Perhaps the universities' geographical and social distance from the problems of the miserable multitudes may account for the

¹⁴⁶Lawson and Silver, A Social History of Education in England, p. 196.

discrepancy between their ends--to develop mature Christian leaders, aware of and concerned about all facets of national needs, and the means--to utilize a curriculum centered on the Classics.

No matter what the arguments may have been with regard to faculty psychology and theories of learning, the place of examinations and their reforms, the courses included in the curriculum and their effect on students' character, or the various ways to define liberal education and its proper goals, none of these could make a significant impact on individual students without the personal attention of a teacher. Therefore, we must next consider the effects of teachers and approaches to teaching on the formation of student character.

C H A P T E R V
TEACHING AT THE UNIVERSITIES

That the teaching of the intellect alone is insufficient to prepare man for his place in society, and for all the higher purposes of his destination, is allowed by all who have thought seriously on education.

William Whewell
English University Education, 1838.

To aim at novelty is ever one of the prime temptations of a teacher, but it is little less than abuse of his office.

Edward Hawkins
An Inaugural Lecture, 1848, p. 27.

Undoubtedly the university provision and method of teaching formed one of the most crucial factors in a program of character building and moral education. Before closely examining the teaching methods and instructional structure in operation in England during the first half of the nineteenth century we need to consider perceptions about college teachers in the eighteenth. Pedantry, a synonym for fussy scholarship, self-absorption, and useless learning was the most frequently used term of opprobrium to describe deficiencies at Oxford and Cambridge in the eighteenth century. The seventeenth century virtuosi, antiquarians of sorts, came to represent for eighteenth century men the epitome of befuddled scholarship and misplaced knowledge. They could not differentiate useful from useless knowledge. They were identified with their donnish successors whose learning was similarly

regarded as irrelevant.¹ Pedantry was the universal enemy of the civilized man of the eighteenth century. Many observers at the time believed that pedantic learning and fussy academic endeavors might lead to an idiosyncratic lifestyle. Indeed some university men gained a definite reputation for their distinctly unsocial and eccentric behavior. William Pugh (1767-1825) of Trinity, Cambridge, who took his B.A. in 1789 and M.A. in 1792, may stand for an eternal academic type; observations on him transcend time and society and bring together complaints of students from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. "He was a man of unsocial habits, very slovenly, and altogether unprepossessing in his appearance; but he possessed considerable talent, and devoted most of his time to reading."² It was reported that when he took his B.D. degree he read a very long, a very learned, and eccentric thesis, which was entirely written on the covers of letters.

Pugh became a fellow in 1790 and Vicar of Bottisham, Cambridge, from 1811 to 1825. Whatever his academic interests or projects may have been, he died at the age of 58, unpublished. Soon after he became a fellow he was asked to make a catalogue of the books in the University library. Although he almost lived in the library he made little progress. Rather than just look at the title pages, if he did not know the book he read it entirely. He was dismissed from this job and his pay ceased. "On the evening he received his dismissal, he

¹Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education, p. 81.

²Gunning, Reminiscences of Cambridge, Vol. II, p. 53.

sallied into the streets with a long stick in his hand, breaking lamps as he proceeded . . . until Trinity and Trumpington streets were in darkness."³ Possibly with such socially undesirable results in mind as shown by the example of William Pugh, fathers wrote to sons advising them to avoid hard work and not to endanger their health or compromise their social life by excess studying. Too much reading, they said, injured health, enforced long and lonely hours, and resulted in narrow views or prejudices, which in turn inevitably led to the irreparable loss of friends.⁴

To complicate and to make matters worse for college teachers, they were, like the lower clergy to whom they were socially related, of low status in the mid-eighteenth century. However, their economic and social position rose in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. More of the younger sons of gentry families entered orders. During the Regency a special fund, Queen Anne's Bounty, was augmented and used to increase clerical incomes. In order to improve a reputation for low birth and social inferiority, fellows in the University tried to approximate the standard of life expected of a man of liberal education, spending their college income on comforts rather than on teaching. New English gardens (Capability Brown), paneling, china, silver all à la mode were introduced. The College common room, a cross between a London dining club and the library of a country house,

³Ibid., p. 55.

⁴Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education, p. 82.

arrived.⁵

The recognition of dons' shortcomings of temperament and pedagogy, even in the midst of their improving financial and social position, did not escape the notice of those inside as well as those outside of the universities. Samuel Powell, master of St. John's, Cambridge, made the dons a subject of his rebuke. He claimed that the generally unstimulating environment, the lack of career incentives and consequent falling off in personal ambition, and the loneliness of the bachelor community, all combined to produce a cramped, bigoted, carping, paranoid and ungenerous--that is to say, illiberal person.⁶ Much the same sentiment another observer expressed in a letter of 1821.

The dons are obscure pedants . . . excellent judges of an obscure passage in a Greek author--understanding, perhaps, the value of a bottle of old port--connoisseurs in tobacco, and not wholly ignorant of the mystery of punch-making; but certainly a sort of person whom I, for one, would never wish to sit with, as assessors of fine arts.⁷

Another Cambridge student commented on the distant, formal, pedantic, and heavy style of his Greek teacher.

Stiff and formal to a degree, he could never relax into a smile, much less could he endure anything bordering upon jocularity, however pleasant might be the subject of his lectures, or admit the slightest familiarity from these grown-up young men. Equally solicitous was he, to elevate his diction, and succeeded, so as to deliver himself in a style--to say the

⁵Ibid., p. 97.

⁶Discourses by W. Samuel Powell, ed. Thomas Smart Hughes, pp. 5-6, cited in Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education, p. 82.

⁷Cited by Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education, of an author named Pellew, p. 482.

least of it--semi-bombastic . . . his voice . . . closely resembling the drone of a bagpipe, thus stealing time for the selection [of words], and making his speech continuous.⁸

In spite of Professor Monk's unappealing personal mannerisms, Wright did say that he respected the professor's "rare and extensive knowledge of Greek." The characterization of the don as narrow-minded and unso-cialable became one of the lasting stereotypes in university circles. Henry Gunning recounted the impression created by Dr. Kipling at Cambridge in the 1780s. He always preserved an "immeasurable distance" between himself and the undergraduates and was "by no means popular among them; indeed he mixed but little in any society, his time being much engrossed in a voluminous work he was preparing for the press."⁹ Although a caricature of a pedant, alas, the likes of Dr. Kipling have not yet been completely eradicated from universities in the twentieth. Even in the mid-twentieth century a commentator on the Universities reiterated the traditional view. He noted that by the later nineteenth century with the growth of the research ideal "departmental barriers were hardening, and the generalist was being ousted by the man of narrow interests and blinkered viewpoint." "The bad don is still with us, and dons are like little girls--when they are bad they are horrid."¹⁰

Particularly during the eighteenth century few professors took their positions or duties seriously. Many lectured little or not at

⁸John W.F. Wright, Alma Mater, Vol. I, p. 127.

⁹Gunning, Reminiscences of Cambridge, Vol. I, p. 22.

¹⁰John H. MacCallum Scott, Dons and Students, pp. 81-82.

all. In time professorships, endowed chairs, became prizes for place hunters; no special knowledge or competence was required and few academic responsibilities were incurred unless one happened to be exceptionally conscientious.¹¹ For example, Francis Barnes, Knightsbridge Professor of Moral Philosophy at Cambridge from 1813 to 1838, never, as far as is known, delivered a single lecture.¹² However, the younger generation revived the professoriate. By the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century, a recently elected professor was expected to lecture regularly.¹³

Of course if there is a tradition of the "ugly instructor," which undoubtedly included unfair exaggerations, a parallel tradition, perpetuated by teachers, also existed about students. Mark Pattison claimed that of the vast majority of students, "it can hardly be denied [they] flock to the university like sheep, simply in order to be able to bleat B.A., B.A., B.A.! after their names . . . in plain language to get the qualifications for a business or profession, or for further academic employment that is conferred by a university degree."¹⁴ Of course such accounts and attitudes usually betray a distortion. Often teachers assume that in their own time as students, or slightly earlier, the calibre of students exceeded that of the present time.

¹¹Lawson and Silver, A Social History of Education in England, p. 212.

¹²Winstanley, Early Victorian Cambridge, p. 174.

¹³Ibid., p. 175.

¹⁴Mark Pattison as cited by John Sparrow, Mark Pattison and the Idea of a University, p. 139.

While this perception has continued to exist, generation after generation, rarely has it ever been more graphically portrayed than by Frances M. Brookfield in 1906. The third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century found together at one time at Oxford and Cambridge, he said, an extraordinary number of exceptionally gifted men: men of keen wit, of solid thought, of brilliant achievement. But while we acclaim these giants of the past, we are constrained to compare them with the "pygmies of the present." By comparison, the undergraduates of today appear "dull, mediocre, and unpromising."¹⁵ True to this obnoxious tradition, Brookfield drew an extended invidious comparison between the brilliant students of the past (the same generation which Mark Pattison castigated as totally unworthy) and those of the turn of the century.

We are no longer dazzled by a few blazing beacons, but illuminated by rows upon rows of twinkling lanterns. Still, one of these may continue to burn more and more brightly as his fellows flicker out, until he shall beam upon a generation to come with as brilliant an effulgence as was shed by the shining lights of "those dawn golden times."¹⁶

If there were a problem of quality at all, perhaps it ought to be placed to a greater extent on the teachers. That, in fact, is the opinion of at least one early nineteenth century critic of the universities, Sydney Smith. He claimed that, "an infinite quantity of talent is annually destroyed by the universities of England by the miserable

¹⁵F.M. Brookfield, The Cambridge Apostles, p. 1.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 2.

jealousy and littleness of ecclesiastical instructors."¹⁷ And not just ecclesiastical instructors we might add! As a final comment on the quality of teaching, as perceived by a non-graduate of an endowed English school let us quote from Carlyle's Sartor Resartus, 1833. Though highly idiosyncratic, he expressed the opinion of many men of his time.

My teachers, says Teufelsdröckh, were hide-bound pedants, without knowledge of man's nature, or of boys; or of aught save their lexicons and quarterly account-books. Innumerable dead Vocables . . . they crammed into us, and called it fostering the growth of the mind. How can an inanimate mechanical Gerund-grinder, the like of whom will, in a subsequent century, be manufactured at Nürnberg out of wood and leather, foster the growth of anything, more of Mind, which grows, not like a vegetable (by having its roots littered with etymological compost) but like a spirit, by mysterious contact of spirit. . . . How shall he [the teacher] give kindling in whose inward man there is no living coal, but all is burnt-out to a dead grammatical cinder?¹⁸

Having reviewed some of the traditional and popular English views about teachers at the universities, we may now make a closer examination of the instructional system.

In order to appreciate the task done by college tutors we ought to review the teaching method prevailing at that time. In his Reply to the Calumnies, Copleston clearly expresses his view of the proper approach to teaching. Copleston warns against too many subjects being studied at once. He urges that tutors "detain the mind upon the several principles he is teaching till they are thoroughly worn in . . . and to check that ambitious pursuit of higher objects, till it

¹⁷Smith, 1810, p. 268.

¹⁸T. Carlyle, Sartor Resartus, 1833.

can be indulged without prejudice to more solid and necessary attainments." He warns against "what Bacon emphatically calls the canker of epitome" which instead of increasing real knowledge, and forming accurate thinkers, fills the world with so many empty talkers. Nor can Copleston imagine a more crude and preposterous misconception "of a student's task than to fancy that his mind can go in quest of new discoveries by which new arts may be invented and old ones improved, before he has yet learned any one of those arts in its present form and condition."¹⁹ After boiling down Copleston's rhetoric, a tutorial lecture usually consisted of the reading and construing of Greek and Latin authors.

Unfortunately, Copleston's insistence, one generally shared at both universities, that students could not proceed to anything at all advanced until they had fully mastered some "art in its present form and condition," had the effect of excessively limiting the range of learning. Even Thomas Arnold, surely an orthodox Christian and curricular conservative, complained that in times past the "neglect of philosophy at Oxford was so shameful, that it almost neutralized the other advantages of the place . . . and the utter neglect of viva voce translation at Cambridge was another great evil, even though by construing instead of translating they almost undo the good of their viva voce system at Oxford."²⁰

¹⁹Edward Copleston, A Third Reply to the Calumnies, p. 19.

²⁰Stanley, Life of Thomas Arnold, D.D., Letter 16 June 1841, CCLXXI, p. 599.

In English universities the primary burden for teaching rested on the fellowship system which supplied tutors for colleges. Tutors were chosen among the fellows, and fellows were elected usually with little regard to their teaching qualifications.

Among contemporaries this system had both its supporters and detractors within the universities. Not surprisingly Edward Copleston defended the fellowship system. Copleston claimed that only one-fifth of the fellows of colleges are resident, about the same proportion as actually teach.

The rest are employed in the world in various ways. Indeed, [he claimed], so many fellows are non-resident that few are left with leisure to carry out learned works. Consequently, writing is often assumed by the most incompetent hands; while abler men are occupied in the more useful but less shewy task of tuition. . . . On this subject I believe the public are much misinformed.²¹

The more things change, the more they remain the same. Copleston made this observation in 1810!

Utilitarians raised questions about an endowed teaching system in general. John Stuart Mill argued against public provision or endowed security for teaching salaries. He maintained that competition was beneficial.

Things in which the public are adequate judges of excellence, are best supplied where the stimulus of individual interest is the most active; and where pay is made in proportion to exertion: not where pay is made sure in the first instance, and only security for exertion is the superintendence of government; much less where, as in the English universities, even that security has been successfully excluded.²²

²¹Copleston, A Reply to the Calumnies, p. 185.

²²J.S. Mill, Dissertations and Discussions, 89b, p. 95.

In particular he opposed endowments which deprive the public and students of accountability in teachers who get paid regardless of their merit or slough. Mill claimed that University teachers and staff excel only in self-congratulations.²³ Whatever the merits of Mill's insights the old fellowship system continued without significant alteration until Parliamentary reform of the 1850.

Undaunted by such criticisms as those slung by Sydney Smith or J.S. Mill, University champions, like Whewell and Pusey, struck back. For example, William Whewell itemized at least four reasons to support the existing system for college fellowships and tutorships. First, tutors enforced college discipline. Second, they served as examiners. Third, the institution of fellowships, awarded by merit, determined by examinations, provided an incentive to academic studies, "which are essential to the preservation and progress of intellectual civilization and would not be adequately supported by the demands of practical life and popular opinion."²⁴ Fourth, fellowships instilled in the minds of possessors, "something of a literary and speculative tone to the mind because of the opportunity which they afford of lingering a little while in the region of letters and science, before the business of professional life absorbs the powers of thought and action"--a kind of advanced intellectual character formation.²⁵

Cambridge in 1838 had about one hundred and fifty fellowships

²³Ibid., p. 98.

²⁴Whewell, English University Education, p. 119.

²⁵Ibid.

attached to different colleges, most of which were given on examination and by merit only. These positions varied in value from £150 to £300 a year, besides free commons and apartments. Many fellows became tutors of colleges.²⁶ Although nothing was absolutely required of them, fellows swore that they would be faithful and friendly to the college and avoid antagonisms or any actions to bring on it ill fame. Fellows of the same college frequently formed something approaching a family bond. They had common possessions, a common home, table, and common interest to deliberate on. "They had numerous ties of intimacy and regard . . . which render friendships most durable and dear . . . in the institution of which they are all children."²⁷

Although the examination reforms may have made it possible for some colleges to identify and elect more academically distinguished teaching fellows, Whewell argued that exams had a deleterious effect on teaching itself. Whewell distinguished between indirect and direct teaching. When using the indirect method students direct their exertions toward examinations, disputations or other public trials of his acquirements. The student is motivated principally by the prospect of distinctions, honors, or advantages which attend upon success in such trials. Direct teaching, by contrast, claims the students' attention on the ground of the intrinsic merit of the lesson, because of his level of knowledge, based on the advice and authority of his instructor, and because of the general sympathy of the group with whom he

²⁶Ibid., p. 115.

²⁷Ibid., p. 118.

lives.²⁸

Of course, English universities Whewell points out rightly use both methods. The direct teaching however usually does more than the indirect to help shape a distinct character. This method relies on and cultivates a greater internal commitment within the student's will than the other which depends on external display or conformity. In like manner young men attending professorial lectures using a speculative approach, "must fail to acquire any steady and unhesitating conviction of the immutable and fixed nature of truth, such as the study of mathematics gives."²⁹ The constant change in the system of received doctrines, such as professors pose to students, "must unsettle and enfeeble his apprehension of all truths." Students, he argues, have less incentive to study a doctrine with commitment if there is constant change. To the extent that tutors related more to direct teaching and catechetical sessions while professors delivered speculative lectures and relied on the indirect teaching method, Whewell and most Oxford and Cambridge figures had all the more reason to support the tutorial system. Whewell felt that in recent years (1840s) there had been a great tendency to rely excessively upon the indirect method. He pointed out that examinations were not ends in themselves. The "sound and liberal cultivation of the faculties" was the object at which the universities must aim, and "when examinations interfere with this

²⁸Ibid., p. 52.

²⁹Ibid., p. 46.

object they cease to be beneficial."³⁰

At Oxford University, Pusey championed the tutorial tradition. He defended both the established teaching system and clerical influence in the training of young men. In his pamphlet, Collegiate and Professorial Teaching and Discipline, he insisted on the training of the moral and religious nature as the true object of the universities, with and through the discipline of the intellect; however, he argued, it would be a "perversion of a university to turn it into a forcing-house for intellect."³¹ Few doubted Pusey's own ability or dedication as a model teacher. As a Professor of Hebrew, he addressed large classes on general subjects such as inspiration or prophecy, and gave "solid instruction" in the deeper meaning of Scripture.³²

The whole university structure rested upon the colleges since their heads comprised its most authoritative body, the Hebdomadal Board

³⁰Ibid., pp. 52-54.

³¹E.B. Pusey, cited in the D.N.B., Vol. XVI, p. 501.

³²Pusey in his early years was a liberal in politics who spoke of the Test Acts as "disgraceful laws," and who advocated Peel's re-election for the university in 1829, after his adoption of Catholic Emancipation (Ibid., p. 498). In 1832, in conjunction with his brother Philip and his friend Dr. Ellerton, he founded the three Pusey and Ellerton Hebrew scholarships.

The overwhelming triumph of political liberalism in 1832, particularly when followed by the suppression of a number of Irish bishoprics, seemed to threaten the Church of England. The sermon "National Apostasy" marked the beginning of the Oxford Movement. He maintained Anglican truth rested on Church fathers and seventeenth Century Divines. The Church had suffered from malign influences of Whig indifferentism, deism, and ultra protestantism. In spite of his theological ups and downs, he remained loyal to Oxford. Pusey was elected to the Hebdomadal Council which, under the 1854 Reform Act, replaced the old board of Heads of Houses. (Ibid., pp. 498-501)

at Oxford and the Senate at Cambridge. The tutors were college based. Thus the academic policy as well as the administrative policies were decided separately in the common room of each college, giving rise to a considerable variety within the University. The teaching functions of the University itself were restricted to public lectures by professors, and, since the reforms of 1800 in Oxford and 1780 in Cambridge, public examinations. Resistance to change derived both from individual self interest and institutional inertia. Any attempts to extend these functions were combatted by the colleges who jealously guarded their power of direct influence over the students by the tutor and quoted the legal terms of their endowments in support of their claims. Thus tutors and Professors stood opposed, like the colleges and the universities, in the internal struggle for power within English higher education.³³

Of course there were repeated calls for reform particularly after the first decade of the century and during the 1830s. However, these periodical demands for reform lacked a sense of urgency and an insistent ideological element. It was one thing to request the end of celibacy restrictions or to insist that holy orders be eliminated as a condition of life tenure for fellowships, and quite another to require that fellowships released in this way be used for teaching and learning. By the 1850s and later, the ideals of a knowledge revolution and research ideal provided an emotional dynamic in the service of reform. Dons could find a new work ethic, career teaching. In fact,

³³Clifford-Vaughan and Archer, Social Conflict and Educational Change in England and France 1789-1848, p. 53.

the example had already been set by their northern neighbors; Scottish Professors had more of a tradition of teaching and scholarship than their English counterparts up to 1850.³⁴ The structure of teaching and scholarship at Oxford had long been unstable.

The purpose of the fellowship system, at least at Cambridge, was to spread the wealth among young men who had distinguished themselves in the examinations, but not to build up a permanent academic staff. The professoriate, with the exception of holders of divinity chairs, was inadequately paid, and the teaching function of professors, like that of the college fellows, was becoming ancillary to the examination system. In the first half of the century the university system was capable of producing a certain level of efficient teaching, though scarcely better than that at the best secondary schools. However, Oxford and Cambridge did not offer viable careers to promising young men who might be interested in becoming practicing scholars and scientists.³⁵

Many Churchmen conceived of institutions of higher education as places where medieval and Renaissance conceptions of moral and intellectual education were furthered. Religion, learning, and morality were all, ostensibly at any rate, prime clerical desires. At a less ideal level, clerical tutors and masters had personal self interest in defending the status quo. First, they derived pecuniary advantage from

³⁴Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education, p. 177.

³⁵Ibid., p. 166.

their positions as receivers of the founders' bounty. Second, they defended classical languages in the curriculum because that formed the extent of their knowledge as teachers. Third, they ignored the alleged paucity of either moral or intellectual attainment, on their own part or that of the students, because an admission that the system had broken down would be a reflection on themselves.³⁶

Even from within Oxford some men proposed moderate reform of the instructional system. Stanley and Tait authored an anonymous pamphlet appearing at Oxford in 1839, the same year as the abortive attempt of the Hebdomadal Board to establish more professorships and to require all undergraduates to attend some professorial lectures. They advocated both the maintenance of the tutorial system, but relieved of lecturing, and the expansion of the professoriate. Tutors would thus be enabled "to devote much more time to the moral superintendence of their pupils, and the development of their minds by strictly tutorial lectures, conducted, that is, by the aid of question and answer." They assumed that, "of course in the nineteenth century . . . a liberal education necessarily means a religious one."³⁷

Even in a leading college like Oriel, which had more open fellowships than most others, the results were not necessarily progressive. Oriel College had one of the better teaching staffs. Its tutors Pusey, Keble, Froude, and Newman became the backbone of the Oxford

³⁶Edward C. Mack, Public Schools and British Opinion, p. 107.

³⁷A.P. Stanley and Tait, Hints on the Formation of a Plan for the Safe and Effectual Revival of the Professorial System at Oxford, cited in Faber, Jowett, pp. 194-95.

Movement by reacting against religious apathy at the university. Ironically, Oriel with its open fellowships recruited better teachers, but they proved detrimental to curricular reform. If anything, the Tractarians resisted the modern world and regressed into medievalism. A similar movement at Cambridge occurred in the Cambridge Camden Society in the 1840s, but it was quietly suppressed by the no-nonsense authoritarian Whewell.³⁸

While moderate reformers and their opponents argued within the universities, utilitarians assaulted the teaching system from without. They reasoned that if tutors educated an intellectual elite, then Professors provided a wide diffusion of knowledge. The critics of the university were convinced it was not enough that the university should educate future clergymen and, in much smaller numbers, lawyers and physicians; provision should be made for the future bankers, merchants, solicitors, surgeons and for scientific occupations indispensable in modern life. It was thought by utilitarians that this extension of university education could not be effected so long as universities were under clerical control. They believed that the denial of privileges required the separation of education, regarded as the process of acquiring knowledge, from all ecclesiastical ties or from religion itself. By the 1850s, and to a greater extent in the 1870s, the critics outside the universities had their way.

Ironically if the critics intended to foster a younger more progressive teaching staff, at least half of this goal was frustrated

³⁸Sanderson, The Universities in the Nineteenth Century, p. 29.

because of the reforms themselves. These reforms had the effect of raising, not lowering, the average age of dons. This was a natural result of the old rule that a man vacate his fellowship on marriage. Contrary to the usual notion that Oxford Colleges of a hundred fifty years ago were filled with old men, the truth was the exact reverse. Youth was in the majority if not at the helm.³⁹ Thus by the 1850s the university controversy presented itself, superficially, as one between the English collegiate system conducted by college tutors, and the professorial system which stood apart from colleges. Its opponents regarded the professorial system as distinctly Prussian, and therefore bureaucratic, although in fact it was the system adopted in Scotland and almost universally on the Continent. The college tutors gave catechetical teaching as well as instruction by lecture or monologue to a small group of students; their practice was essentially a medieval one of expounding a book, or author. The opposite "un-English" system consisted in lectures to a large number of students delivered by specialists who did not expound authors but taught "subjects" and made no use of catechetical forms.⁴⁰ The difference in teaching methods followed a difference in aim. The professor with his large audience communicated knowledge, more particularly a knowledge of modern science and learning, "useful knowledge" as many advocates of the system regarded it. Not surprisingly utilitarians favored the professorial

³⁹Faber, Jowett, p. 108.

⁴⁰Adamson, English Education, p. 183.

system. By contrast, the primary aim of the tutor was mental discipline.

II

Before looking at specific duties of college tutors we might note that by the 1820s there was a revival of interest in character formation beginning first in certain reformed public schools and spreading in the next four decades to other schools and to Oxford and Cambridge. Character formation, like mental faculty training, thrust the teacher into prominence making him an indispensable figure in education. The teacher during the nineteenth century assumed a larger shaping influence on the student, replacing, to some extent, "the world" at large as emphasized so prominently in the eighteenth century.⁴¹

As early as 1816 Robert Owen opened an "Institute for the Formation of Character" including a school at New Lanark. He rejected Lancaster's mechanical method of teaching and use of monitors. Instead he encouraged the use of "visual aids" and "music and movement" under the supervision of qualified teachers. Of course Owen was aiming his education at children, but the concern over character formation remained crucial.⁴²

Nineteenth century character formation theories presupposed or

⁴¹Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education, pp. 133-34.

⁴²Malcolm Seaborne, Education: A Visual History, illustration 113.

reflected three conditions. The teacher became indispensable. Second, a sub-culture developed, often based on the personality of the headmaster. Rugbyman's rooms at Cambridge could be identified by a portrait of Dr. Arnold displayed conspicuously. Third, a change came about in the ultimate value assigned to the end process. Victorians came to believe that those who assume leadership in an industrial and democratic society had to be prepared to take a stand against the majority. Men of the "right" character, it was hoped by the old order, would emerge from public schools and colleges equipped to lead, if not steer, the masses in morally (and politically) acceptable directions. This aspiration denoted a society losing a consensus of values.⁴³ As evidenced by the writings of Cobbett, Carlyle and other culture critics, many Englishmen at various levels of society, and with differing visions, became more fully aware by the 1820s and 1830s of a need for a new kind of leadership in the nineteenth century.

Within the colleges, tutors both trained mental faculties and shaped character. For example, tutors delivered college lectures which usually were much more popularly attended than those given by university professors. Whewell claimed that the steady habits of attendance at these lectures were good for the students even if their attention wandered. Further, tutors can do their utmost to cause the students to devote an hour to effective study by personally addressing the student, pointing out mistakes, and bringing work before the student in a regular and familiar manner. By frequent contact with the student the

⁴³Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education.

tutor became acquainted with the student's habits and powers of thought.⁴⁴

Although Whewell may have presented an idealized portrait of a Trinity College tutor, some did take their responsibilities very seriously. At Balliol College, Edward Goulburn (afterwards Headmaster at Rugby and Dean of Norwich) and Samuel Waldegrave (afterward Bishop of Carlisle), both senior scholars, "made it a point of duty to get hold of the more promising undergraduates so as to prevent their falling into a bad set." They immediately guided young Jowett into the prayer meetings and Bible readings which they held regularly in their rooms.⁴⁵ Thus there can be no doubt that some tutors did promote and protect promising pupils. A tutor's responsibilities were not restricted only to matters of the mind; they extended also to the strings of the purse. Many tutors took charge of students' finances and paid their bills for them, out of the students' own funds, of course. Whewell counted this practice as part of college discipline and ascribed great value to it. Tutors paid bills owed to the college and also they supervised and paid bills to local tradesmen for clothing and other things. This practice moderated the "extravagance of young men" and "keeps up among the students a general feeling of the necessity of probity and punctuality in pecuniary matters" which might be imposed were there no checks to students' "inexperience, levity,

⁴⁴Whewell, English University Education, pp. 99-100.

⁴⁵Faber, Jowett, pp. 122-23.

and caprice."⁴⁶

Provost Hawkins⁴⁷ at Oriel offered Thomas Mozley a tutorship in 1835, but he declined it on the ground that he did not feel himself equal to it. Mark Pattison thought that the college standards did not demand such an act of self denial on his part. He said that Mozley's own estimate of tutorial fitness was only that which prevailed in Oriel at that time. Mozley said, "I could certainly keep ahead of my pupils," which according to Pattison was all that many tutors ever did. "I could come round my class by questions they were not prepared for. I was sure to hear mistakes which it would be easy to correct."

Pattison commented that in matter of fact a tutor often did no more than half the class could have done quite as well. Nevertheless Pattison concluded by admitting that "the method of instruction was

⁴⁶Whewell, English University Education, pp. 86-87.

⁴⁷Son of a country clergyman, educated at Merchant Taylors, and matriculating at St. John's College, Oxford, in 1802, Edward Hawkins earned a Double First Class in 1811. He became a fellow of Oriel in 1813 and Provost in 1828, succeeding Copleston.

As Censor Theologicus at Oriel, he had the duty of inspecting and correcting the abstracts of University Sermons extracted from every undergraduate. This had in earlier hands been a somewhat loose performance. Hawkins invariably attended the sermons, followed and retained their substance, and demanded of each man evidence that he had been present, and had attentively followed the preaching. (Tuckwell, Pre-Tractarian Oxford, p. 152) Previous Censors examined the exercises perfunctorily or not at all; the students had sometimes been accustomed to write what the text seemed to demand, or what the preacher might be supposed to have said. On occasion some students deputed one of their members to be present, and then they copied his production with a few judicious alterations. (Ibid., p. 152) Thus at least a few tutors like Hawkins tried to be thoroughly conscientious in their duties, though depravity could never be entirely expunged.

very effectual, yet it was easy sailing."⁴⁸

Apparently, Pattison's own evaluation of the tutorial system remained ambivalent.

The tutors of each college taught everything that was taught in the college to all its students. Under this monstrous abuse . . . a zealous tutor was entirely baffled as to what courses to take; if he wanted to make a good lecture on any one classical book . . . he must devote an amount of time to his preparation for it which was quite inconsistent with his also doing well the other lectures he had to give--looking over Latin writing, teaching English composition, seeing that men know their divinity, and the vague, but heavy duties of personal inspection and advice.⁴⁹

Based on Pattison's description tutors have not only teaching responsibilities but also "personal inspection and advice." Presumably this latter area served as the place for individual moral instruction, examples of which we will see later. In addition to the list of duties mentioned by Pattison above, tutors also made it possible for undergraduates to borrow books from the library. F.D. Maurice found that he, as an undergraduate at Trinity, Cambridge, had access to books in the college library

merely by application to the tutor for a note, which he is always pleased to be asked for . . . I can procure these for nothing. This is a grand point in which Trinity surpasses, as of course she does in everything else, all her rivals--the libraries at St. John's, etc., being open only to Masters of Arts.⁵⁰

Not surprisingly for any institution, the quality of individuals serving varied. J.H. Newman, Hurrell Froude, and Robert

⁴⁸T. Mozley, Reminiscence, I, p. 237, commented on by Pattison, Memoirs, p. 93.

⁴⁹Pattison, Memoirs, p. 216.

⁵⁰Frederick Maurice, Life of F.D. Maurice, pp. 48-49.

Wilberforce, all of them considered to be among the most promising men in the university, were the Oriel tutors in 1830. They were "bestowing on their pupils as much time and trouble as is usually only expected from very good private tutors."⁵¹ In return they were rewarded by the enthusiastic following of a band of admiring disciples. Pattison described this as the situation in 1830; however, by May 1832, when he came up to reside, the scene had changed. Hawkins, the Provost, had gotten rid of the three tutors and replaced them with "three inefficients," W.J. Copleston, G.A. Denison, and J. Dornford.⁵² Newman had been turned out because he wanted undergraduates enrolled specifically under his "pastoral" care. This proposal antagonized Hawkins.⁵³

We might wonder, what was a tutor like as a person? Before considering Richard Whately (1787-1863), Benjamin Jowett, and a few

⁵¹Mozley, Reminiscences, I, p. 229.

⁵²Joseph Dornford, 1794-1868, had an unusual career for a sometime don. His mother had been described by Mozley (Reminiscences, Chapter lxxviii) as the chief lady friend of Charles Simeon who poured out the tea for his weekly gatherings. He entered Trinity College, Cambridge, but left it in 1811 to serve as a volunteer in the Peninsular War. Mozley said, "He would rather fly to the ends of the earth and seek the company of cannibals or wild beasts than be bound to a life of tea and twaddle." Entering Wedham College, Oxford, he earned a B.A. in 1816 and M.A. in 1820. Elected to an Oriel fellowship in 1819, Dornford became a tutor, dean, and proctor. Succeeding Keble in the tutorship, "some of the students felt it a sad let down. . . . Yet they who came after, as I did, found Dornford a good lecturer, up to his work, ready, precise, and incisive" (Mozley, Reminiscences, Chapter lxxviii-lxxx). In 1832 Oriel presented him to the rectory of Plymtree. "In his bearing Dornford was more of a soldier than a priest, and his talk ran much on war. He was a man of strong will, generous impulses, and pugnacious temper." J.M.S., "Dornford, Joseph," Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. V, p. 1155.

⁵³Pattison, Memoirs, p. 85.

other ideal tutors, we may want to consider Christopher Wordsworth's recommendation for an academic candidate. The Master of Trinity, Cambridge, writing to the Bishop of Durham 3 June 1833, recommended a man for a chair at the new University of Durham. He put forth this man not only for his competence in Mathematics, which was "reasonable if not dazzling," but also because, "He has by no means the air and manners of a mere recluse; but seems to me to combine very well the character and habits of a gentleman and practical philosopher, with those of the student and the clergyman."⁵⁴ This recommendation by a prominent figure at Cambridge suggested that the character of the candidate, more than "mere intellectual merit," weighed heavily at that time.

Indeed, in a Christian tutorial system the teacher could be more important than his subject. He potentially had Charisma in the Weberian meaning. He inspired students by his examples, and by the right conduct visible in his own life. He was in touch with ultimate values. Knowledge was important but never as important as the values themselves. Who could possibly be in a better position to form good character than a Christian saint-like teacher? On the other hand, the professorial model, more identified with the German approach, regarded the teacher as subordinate to his subject; thus personality gave way to academic discipline. A professor imparted scientific method and

⁵⁴Christopher Wordsworth to Bishop of Durham, 3 June 1833, Jenkyns Papers, Balliol College Library, Oxford, cited in Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education, p. 94.

advanced the research ideal.⁵⁵ The latter approach seemed more in step with modern industrial society. In time the question of the personal inspiration of the teacher, as well as his moral conduct and the example he set as an individual, diminished, as the ideal of advancing knowledge throughout the international university world supplanted it⁵⁶ and as definitions of "saintly" behavior became more diverse.

By appearance, strength of mind, dynamic personality, or Christian character, Richard Whately was a paragon as a tutor and, according to the standards of the time, an exemplary man.⁵⁷ Big and powerfully built, with a strong keen face, he had bluff and unconventional manners. Tuckwell described his "blatant voice, great strides, and rough dress." He recalled his mother's terror when he came to call. She had met him in the house of the newly married Mrs. Baden-Powell, who had filled her drawing room with the spider-legged chairs just then coming into fashion. On one of these sat Whately, swinging, plunging, and shifting on his seat as he talked. "An ominous crack was heard; a leg of the chair had given way; he tossed it onto the sofa,

⁵⁵Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education, p. 178.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 180.

⁵⁷Archbishop of Dublin, fourth son of Joseph Whately of Surrey. His father was vicar of Widford, Hertfordshire, 1768-90, and prebendary of Bristol, 1793-97. A sickly but precocious boy, he went to a private school near Bristol with a large West Indian connection; went to Oriel College, Oxford, matriculated, 1805, B.A. double second class, 1808, M.A. 1812, and was elected fellow of his college, 1811, B.D. and D.D., 1825.

without comment, and impounded another chair."⁵⁸ Whately's extreme individualism may have offended some of the more conventionally minded at the university. His opinions clashed with those prevalent in the lower but broader strata of academic society; his presence, said a contemporary, inspired terror amongst all who desired immobility and dreaded change. "He was supposed, too, to feel disdain for the common Oxford herd; while his roughness of manner scared the timid and revolted the fastidious."⁵⁹

Whately's distinctiveness of character grew out of an unusual childhood. As a child he possessed an extraordinary passion for "castle building," speculation on abstract subjects, such as utopian schemes for ameliorating the world and theories of improved government.⁶⁰ Painfully shy as a child and youth, and even in the beginning of his university life, Whately conquered this defect and went to the opposite extreme.⁶¹ By young adulthood, Whately outgrew this problem; yet he frequently and emphatically remarked in later years: "If there were no life but the present, the kindest thing that one could do for an intensely shy youth would be to shoot him through the head."⁶²

⁵⁸Tuckwell, Reminiscences of Oxford, p. 18.

⁵⁹Tuckwell, Pre-Tractarian Oxford, p. 61.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁶²Elizabeth Jane Whately, Life of Richard Whately, Vol. I, p. 12.

He may have appeared eccentric or unsociable to some people. Tuckwell reported that Whately was deficient in that minor curiosity which feeds domestic and local gossip because he took little interest in the comings and goings of acquaintances. He could rarely meet ordinary persons upon equal terms, and he often remained ignorant of matters which formed the substance of casual conversation. "It gives me [Whately] no pleasure to be told who is dead, who married, what wages my neighbor gives his servants. . . ."63 Nevertheless, his uniqueness did not prevent some of his followers from applying an affectionate sobriquet to him. Clad in a long white coat, white beaver hat, and wielding a formidable stick, he was known as the "White Bear."64

His mind was vigorous, skeptical, and speculative within the widest bounds set by Christian formulae. As a teacher he delighted in drawing out the learner's mind, forcing him to think for himself. He dismissed a merely retentive memory as a deadly foe to thought; and he demanded that answers should be given in a pupil's own words, not by rote from a text book.⁶⁵ His favorite students formed between 1812 and 1820, a special set. To them his attitude was feminine in its tenderness; "all his geese were swans" said Newman in the Apologia. Newman went on to recall Whately as the gentle and affectionate instructor, through whose encouragement he exchanged timidity for

⁶³Tuckwell, Pre-Tractarian Oxford, p. 54.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 62.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 59.

assurance, and from whose lips he learned to use his reason.⁶⁶ He was a tremendous talker; witty, original, trenchant; at his best with young men who were content to be what he called his "anvils, on which he could beat out his ideas."⁶⁷ Newman became such an anvil for a time in 1822. He had an adoring, hero-worshipping friendship with Whately. Faber saw between these two men "the mutual attraction of two complementary characters, one [Whately] strongly masculine and objective, the other [Newman] sensitive and introspective; both capable of warm feeling."

Other students, too, enjoyed a close personal friendship and derived inspiration from Whately. The future Bishop Samuel Hinds, a student between 1811-1815, went to Whately's apartment.

There was no ostentatious display of talent and acquirement. Never did a tutor in his teaching seem to think so little of himself, and be so thoroughly engrossed with making his pupil comprehend what he taught. As was his custom, he often digressed from the lecture proper into some other topic, but was always instructive and entertaining. We immediately took to one another; I parted from him dazzled and fascinated.⁶⁸

The Rev. R.N. Boulton recalled when he was a student at Oriel that Whately was a friend of his eldest brother, so out of regard for him,

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 61.

⁶⁷Faber, Oxford Apostles, p. 104.

⁶⁸Elizabeth Jane Whately, Life of Richard Whately, Vol. I, p. 21. Samuel Hinds, 1793-1872, son of a landed proprietor in Barbados, entered Queen's College, Oxford, in 1811 and earned a B.A. and M.A. in 1815 and 1818. Early in life he was connected as a missionary with the Society for the Conversion of Negroes. In 1827 he became vice-principal of St. Alban Hall, Oxford, under Richard Whately, who had been his private tutor. Becoming Whately's chaplain after his elevation to the Archbishopric of Dublin in 1831, Hinds received various posts in Ireland. In 1849 he became Bishop of Norwich.

when Boulton went up to college,

He took me by the hand, and was during my whole career at Oxford as an elder brother, friend, tutor--in a word, everything to me; and to him I always consider that I owe my chief success in life. I was in the habit of walking out into the country with him two or three times a week, and during these rambles, I was made the recipient of many of his most original thoughts. . . .⁶⁹

Others, too, remembered the Oxford morning walks from five to eight with one or two favorites. These included scrambles along cross country roads, through hedges, swamps, ditches, and brooks during which students were "beguiled by his brilliant talk on philosophy, religion, literature, with occasional disquisition of a practical naturalist on plants and animals which they encountered."⁷⁰

Whately cut quite a figure with other men, too, including his colleagues: "Timid dons shuddered as they saw the great man, in his rough clothes, striding with huge steps round Christ Church meadow, accompanied by a horde of dogs, tossing sticks for their amusement, and shouting logic to some younger companion."⁷¹ Such an appealing man, of course, attracted many friends. With Edward Copleston to whom he owed much, as well as with Thomas Arnold, and Nassau William Senior who owed much to him, Whately formed life-long friendships. College life was congenial to him and he found teaching a delight. He enjoyed some solitary diversions, such as fishing and walking cross country, and also some undonnish pranks with his trick performing dog. Though kind

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 38.

⁷⁰Tuckwell, Pre-Tractarian Oxford, p. 58.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 104.

at heart he was rough in exterior, and according to the author in the DNB, he lacked subtle sympathy and the intuitive discernment necessary for wide and deep personal influence. His favorite authors included Aristotle, Thucydides, Bacon, Shakespeare, Bishop Butler, Warburton, Adam Smith, Crabbe, and Sir Walter Scott. However, he never mastered German and hardly even French. He had no ear for music and little interest in painting, sculpture, and architecture.

Although intellectually capable himself, Whately warned against idolizing mental powers for their own sake as an ultimate end.

I warn you not to trust to intellectual powers for forming a moral character; at least till you can find, which I never could, some one instance of success. It is a great paradox, but it is true, that though honesty is the best policy, no one ever yet did . . . steadily act upon it, without moral sentiment. The fact is, that it is only by long experience the truth of the maxim can be fully brought home to each man's own understanding; and long before this experience can have been acquired the moral character is so far formed that the habits are nearly inveterate.⁷²

For Whately, like most other university men in the first half of the century, moral sentiments and character formation took precedence over intellect. Whately even went so far as to argue that while First Class men may be quicker in learning than Second Class men, the latter make better teachers. "I myself, being more of a hone than a razor, should at this day be justly placed in an Examination a class below some other men in point of knowledge, whom I should surpass in power of imparting it."⁷³

⁷²Elizabeth Jane Whately, Life of Richard Whately, Vol. I, p. 349.

⁷³Tuckwell, Pre-Tractarian Oxford, p. 56.

In spite of his qualifications about an over-emphasis on intellect, Whately contributed to students' mental agility and published professionally. Following Common Room talk, Whately and some other fellows and students began other discussions which they "looked upon not as modes of convivial relaxation, but as argumentative combats vitalising and strengthening mental readiness."⁷⁴ One student used to report that Davison and Whately crammed habitually for post-prandial talk. A rural clergyman on one occasion, after listening to Whately throughout the evening, thanked his host formally for the pains he had taken to instruct him. "Oh no," said Whately, with no sarcasm but in all sincerity, "I did not mean to be didactic, but one sometimes likes having an anvil on which to beat out one's thoughts."⁷⁵ He beat out some of his thoughts in articles contributed to the Quarterly Review and other publications. One of these, Historic Doubts Relative to Napoleon Buonoparte, London, 1819, was no mere jeu d'esprit, but a well-known work. In it Whately attempted to hoist Hume with his own petard by showing that on his principles, the existence of Napoleon could not be admitted "as a well-authenticated fact."

By 1821 he married and accepted the living of Halesworth, where he proved conscientious in his duties. In his Bampton Lectures, delivered in 1822, he attempted to define the via media between indifference and intolerance. By 1825, Whately returned to Oxford as Principal of St. Alban Hall. This Hall, at the time Whately arrived, had become

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 58.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 59.

a kind of "Botany Bay" to the University, a place where students were sent who were "considered too idle and dissipated to be received elsewhere." Of course, the new Principal remedied the evil. He raised academic standards and did some of the lecturing himself.⁷⁶ With the help of Newman and Samuel Hinds, each of whom served under him as Vice-Principal, Whately transformed St. Alban into a resort of reading men.

With Julius Hare, Cambridge too, like Oxford with Whately, had inspiring teachers. F.D. Maurice, as a Freshman, described his lecturer Hare as a lively admirable classical scholar. He said that students in his class had no reason to complain of flippancy or poor preparation. Maurice was particularly pleased with Hare's manner, especially his recommendation of books bearing upon the subject in question, but out of the regular college routine.⁷⁷ Maurice recalled that the subject of his first term with Hare was Antigone by Sophocles. Under Hare's guidance the class "hammered at the words and at the sense." Hare took infinite pains to make the class understand the force of nouns, verbs, particles, and the grammar of the sentences.

⁷⁶E.J. Whately, Life of Richard Whately, Vol. I, p. 46.

⁷⁷Frederick Maurice, Life of F.D. Maurice, p. 48. In contrast to the complaints of some critics that the Cambridge curriculum was too narrow and rigid, Maurice in a letter to his mother praised the variety of studies.

Nothing at Cambridge is so earnestly recommended as the perusal of general literature, except it be, which is absolutely necessary, the study of evidences of Christianity--Paley, Butler, etc. So false is the general opinion that the English Universities have a regular coach-road system, out of which their members are not for an instant allowed to deviate under penalty of life and limb. (Ibid., Letter of 23 October 1823, p. 48)

"We often spent an hour on the strophe or antistrophe of a chorus."⁷⁸ Maurice said that philological carefulness did not prevent learning higher ideals too. He learned about poetry in general, the Greek love of beauty, and other eternal verities.

I cannot the least tell you how Hare imparted this conviction to me. I only know that I acquired it, and could trace it very directly to his method of teaching.⁷⁹

Maurice compared himself and his class to students in natural philosophy, "feeling our way from particulars to universals, from facts to principles." In another course taught by Hare, Maurice said that he brought his own scholarship to bear on the text of Plato's Gorgias. Hare threw out hints as to the course the dialogue was taking, by exhibiting his own fervent interest in Plato and his belief in the high purpose he was aiming at. Maurice said,

to give us second-hand reports . . . to save us the trouble of thinking, to supply us with a moral, instead of showing us how we might find it, not only in the book but in our hearts, this was clearly not his intention.⁸⁰

As much as Maurice admired Hare he could also compare him with other, even more stimulating contemporaries. Hare did not communicate to his students that vivid sense of locality which seems to have "formed the great charm of Dr. Arnold's historical teaching," and which is united with "much higher qualities in Carlyle's magnificent epic of the French

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 52.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 53.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 54.

Revolution."⁸¹

If Whately and Hare were some of the leading teachers in the early nineteenth century, Jowett assumed such a role by the middle and later part of the century. George Brodrick, a contemporary, assessed Jowett's unique strengths. He claimed that character as well as intelligence gave impetus to his teaching.

No one can dispute Jowett's originality, but I have always believed that it was an originality of character rather than intellect. Not that he was not, in the best sense, an independent thinker, or that, by his free interpretations of ideas derived from others, he did not become a fountain of thought to his pupils. But, after all, the secret of his power and of his success lay in his unswerving devotion to work, as his paramount duty.⁸²

According to Faber, his strength of character rested firmly on a Christian foundation which provided for moral direction. "He believed in God: in a divine governor of the world, in a divine companion of mankind, in a divine originator and sustainer of all known and unknown values."⁸³ For Jowett Christianity was not a mere abstraction or an eternal set of theological propositions. He translated his belief into a philosophy of education. He wanted to help students to develop their God-given talents for service in this world. He reasoned that although it may be hard for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven, "we have it on the same authority that admission is not to be bought with a

⁸¹Ibid., p. 55.

⁸²Faber, Jowett, p. 168.

⁸³Ibid., p. 34.

talent hidden under a bushel."⁸⁴ Thus he hoped students would later exercise worldly power and develop their talents as encouraged by Biblical injunctions. Jowett applied his goal to himself as well as to others. On his fifty-ninth birthday he expressed a wish, "To arrange my life in the best possible way, that I may be able to arrange other people's."⁸⁵

Jowett's work as a shaper of men who would serve the nation and empire had been foreshadowed by Charles Simeon's preparation of men for the Church of England a generation or two earlier. Simeon (1759-1838), a teacher at King's College, Cambridge, advanced an Evangelical ministry among students for many years. He emphasized the ministry of the Word, the centrality of the Cross, devotion to the Book of Common Prayer, and a revival of sacramental life. Michael Hennel, one of his biographers, claimed that Simeon was greatly in debt to Henry Venn, the famous Evangelical minister at Yelling for guidance and training.⁸⁶

In order to accomplish his goals Simeon set up sermon classes and conversation parties to fill the need for ministerial training. There was a definite need for such training. From the sixteenth century there were two divinity professors in both universities, but few lectures were delivered until 1780 with the establishment of the Norrisian Professor in Revealed Religion who gave fifty lectures per

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 35.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 34.

⁸⁶Michael Hennell, "Simeon and the Ministry," Charles Simeon 1759-1836, p. 140.

year. During Simeon's lifetime there were no degree courses per se in theology; these were not established until the late nineteenth century.

The Conversation parties, open to all members of the university, began in 1812. Abner Brown and William Carus, two disciples and later biographers of Simeon who became prominent Evangelical leaders, have left accounts of them from 1827 to 1830. These parties were held weekly on Friday at 6 p.m. and the sermon classes at 8 p.m. fortnightly. Simeon habitually used Claude's Essay on the Composition of a Sermon as a text. Instruction focused on outlining, writing sermons, and elocution. When in 1828 Abner Brown began to attend the sermon class on alternate Fridays in term, he found the class numbered between 15-20 men. At the beginning of an academic year those who wished to attend had to take the initiative for the term. Each term had its own syllabus. The class lasted an hour, at the end of which Simeon gave a text to be treated in some special way and read next time. Next time each man read his sermon outline and Simeon criticized it orally and made suggestions for improving it.⁸⁷

The Conversation parties, in contrast to the sermon classes, were larger and less formal gatherings. Open to all members of the university, not just ordinands, forty to sixty students would usually attend in Simeon's quarters on the top of Gibbs' building. Most of those who attended came from two colleges, Magdalene and Queens.⁸⁸

⁸⁷Abner W. Brown, Recollections of Simeon's Conversation Parties, 1963, p. 51.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, p. 191.

William Farish, a Tutor at Magdalene and Isaac Milner, President of Queens after 1788, both prominent university Evangelicals, made those two colleges special havens for earnest Evangelical young men. The topics of conversation ranged over a wide variety of contemporary issues: slavery, repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, Roman Catholic Emancipation, Parliamentary Reform, and state aid to education.⁸⁹

Simeon's conversation parties and sermon classes were no mere ivory tower exercises. According to contemporary observers and later historians, he made a real impact on students and on institutions they later manned. Of these students present at his Conversation parties, many became parochial clergy, colonial chaplains, and missionaries; others became lawyers, soldiers, and members of other professions. Hennell suggests Simeon's influence on officers of the Indian Army was a prime cause of the extension of the work of the Church Missionary Society.⁹⁰ As part of his character training program on all "Sims," whether ordinands or not, Simeon imposed certain obligations: hard work, daily exercise--"constant, regular, ample," and unfailing obedience to university statutes. Many students, not just "Sims," respected Simeon, a good horse rider and honest man whose deeds matched his words.⁹¹ However, some of the Simeonites did not earn or enjoy equal admiration. One student reported some gossip which cir-

⁸⁹Ibid., pp. 51, 64; and Carus, pp. 648-54.

⁹⁰Hennell, Charles Simeon, p. 145.

⁹¹John Wright, Alma Mater, Seven Years at Cambridge, p. 56.

culated during chapel. A ribald story dealt with Simeonites who threw slops on townspeople who made love at night under a window of Trinity College. "To put down this crying sin (for such they deem all love unknown to Pa and Ma) they collected slops about my room and poured it ruthlessly forth upon a happy pair."⁹² In addition to these classes and parties Simeon also led the Cambridge Clerical Society for married undergraduates and their wives. During these times the men discussed Biblical and parochial subjects while the wives "compared their own schemes for local usefulness."⁹³ Among his own contemporaries his influence displayed itself clearly. Lord Macaulay wrote in 1844, "As to Simeon, if you knew what his authority and influence were, and how they extended from Cambridge to the most remote corners of England, you would allow his real sway in the Church was far greater than that of any primate."⁹⁴

Particularly during the 1830s and the 1840s when the Oxford Movement held such sway, it is important to keep in mind that the Simeonites and Evangelicals flourished at the very same time, and probably in larger numbers than the Newmanites. Nevertheless, Newman did set an example as a teacher. Becoming Dean of Oriel in 1834, he had to look over the weekly themes. Mark Pattison, an undergraduate in Oriel at that time, remembered that Newman inculcated seriousness.

⁹²Ibid., p. 59.

⁹³Hennell, Charles Simeon, p. 146.

⁹⁴G.O. Trevelyan, Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay, 1883 ed. I, p. 70.

Whereas former deans had contented themselves with writing their initials in lead-pencil at the bottom of your (unread) essay, with the words good, bad, or indifferent, Newman took this office au sérieux, sent for you, made you aware where you had gone off the point into sophistry, or where you had left out the main feature of your case.⁹⁵

Of course, like all the great teachers and moral educators, Newman instructed students with particular purposes and goals in mind. Following in the steps of Keble, who was the first to "turn the tide" and bring "the talent of the University round to the side of the old theology," Newman undertook the task of providing a challenge to the Arnoldian liberals. Newman summarized his position as united in hatred of "heresy, insubordination, resistance to things established, claims of independence, disloyalty, innovation, and a critical censorious spirit."⁹⁶ According to Newman those who stood for the primacy of reason, of the intellect, for freedom of speculation--inevitably also stood for changes in the method and content of education. The Arnoldian reformers, as Newman saw it, began to look upon themselves as an elite. They stressed the teaching function of the university, and claimed for themselves the potential of having a career forming pupils who would come into public life. Newman feared that students thus prepared would become "exposed to the temptation of ambitious views," and to the spiritual evils signified in what he called, "pride of reason."⁹⁷

⁹⁵Pattison, Memoirs, pp. 168-69.

⁹⁶J.H. Newman, Apologia pro Vita Sua, pp. 319-20.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 316-18.

In spite of Newman's earnest endeavors Dr. Arnold's efforts proved more effective. Arnold expressed ideals both for teachers and for students.

I hold a man is only fit to teach so long as he is himself learning daily. If the mind once becomes stagnant, it can give no fresh draught to another mind; it is drinking out of a pond, instead of from a spring. And whatever you read tends generally to your own increase of power, and will be felt by you in a hundred ways here after.⁹⁸

He hoped that teachers in general, and himself in particular, would provide both intellectual stimulation and moral leadership.

I am sure that the more active my own mind is, and the more it works upon great moral and political points, the better for the school; not, of course, for the folly of proselytizing boys, but because education is a dynamical, not a mechanical process, and the more powerful and vigorous the mind of the teacher, the more clearly and readily he can grasp things, the better he is to cultivate the mind of another. . . . I care less and less for information, more and more for the pure exercise of the mind; for answering a question concisely and comprehensively, for showing a command of language, a delicacy of taste, and a comprehensiveness of thought and power of combination.⁹⁹

Pursuant to his goals for teachers, he developed a basic method for teaching and character development at Rugby. He arranged what amounted to a four point program. First, establish personal contact with Sixth Form students and overcome barriers of suspicion between students and masters. Second, initiate a new style in Chapel by delivering short personal sermons which related daily events to Christian principles. Third, delegate authority to prefects who become part of the moral

⁹⁸Stanley, Life of Thomas Arnold DD, Letter CXCIV 20 March 1839, p. 586.

⁹⁹Ibid., Letter Teacher's Edition, 1901, CXIX, 2 March 1836, p. 396.

example system. Finally, create at the school an organic unity reflecting the genius of one man, thereby avoiding an atmosphere characterized by a "collection of discrete and lifeless mechanisms."¹⁰⁰

Arnold had a way of fostering both independence of thought among students as well as devotion to himself. His expectations for written themes, for example, demonstrated his insistence on student initiative. He considered the best papers those which showed that a student had read and thought for himself; the next best theme, one which showed that he had read several specified books, and digested what he read; and the worst, the paper which showed that a student had followed but one book, and followed that without reflection.¹⁰¹ Although encouraging independent reflection, Arnold did provide direction and noble purposes for his students. He said that the three greatest objects deserving of human effort were the premiership of a great kingdom, the government of a great empire, and the authorship of a great book. To these three Arnold's own career may have suggested the addition of a fourth, the mastership of a great school.¹⁰² Worthy though these aspirations may have appeared in Arnold's eyes, and in the eyes of upper-class Victorians, these goals clearly reflect a narrow and class-ridden bias. Although a social critic and reformer and a

¹⁰⁰Edward C. Mack, Public Schools and British Opinion, pp. 270-74.

¹⁰¹Tuckwell, Pre-Tractarian Oxford, p. 107.

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, p. 100.

loving parent and spouse himself, Arnold, like most other university leaders, did not hold these personal accomplishments up to such a pre-eminent position as a prominent career in the affairs of kingdom and empire.

Rugbeians bore the Arnoldian stamp into college life. Charles Bristed, an American student at Trinity College, Cambridge, in the early 1840s, characterized Rugbeians in general as "less brilliant and quick than Etonians, good sound scholars, but not remarkably showy and striking. . . ." ¹⁰³ Apparently, Arnold preferred diligence over brilliancy. Bristed, an American Yale student at Cambridge, went on to describe Arnold's students as men of great weight and character; "they seemed to have been really taught to think on ethical as well as purely intellectual subjects better than any set of young men I ever knew; they had better grounds for their belief, and always appeared to have looked into the reason of what they said or did and to go back to first principles." ¹⁰⁴ Bristed noted their veneration for Arnold was unbounded and he observed that a Rugby man's rooms could always be recognized by the portrait of Arnold conspicuously suspended in it.

For all of his effort and high ideals, there remained some fundamental flaws in Arnold's system of moral education. His central difficulty was to reconcile dogma and individualism, faith and thought. His insistence on the omnipotence of individual conscience and the

¹⁰³Charles Astor Bristed, Five Years in an English University, p. 335.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 336.

right of private judgment was ultimately fatal to the religious principals which he taught. So long as he was alive the "magnetism of his personality" made his disciples take these principals for granted, in spite of the "inoculation of individualism and intellectualism" which he administered. The "acids of modernity bit deeper and deeper into the metal of doctrinal Christianity" in the 'forties and 'fifties, and some of Arnold's best pupils, like his son Matthew and Arthur H. Clough, found themselves "floating, unhappy and alone, on a vast and unstable sea of skepticism."¹⁰⁵

These melancholy results of his educational system, sometimes on his most intelligent, perceptive, and sensitive students, surely came about in spite of Dr. Arnold's best efforts. The soul crisis suffered by such a favorite student as Clough, or by his own son Matthew, would have been the last result wanted or foreseen by Thomas Arnold. He wanted to create a world of boys, and then men, who felt duty-bound to ideals rather than selfish pursuits,¹⁰⁶ who had chastened their instincts in accordance with Christian principle. He wanted to teach a boy to do his duty to his fellow man and to sacrifice his own interests to the good of others. He contributed to English education the idea of corporate duty to the new Civil Service and local government.¹⁰⁷ In

¹⁰⁵Basil Willey, Nineteenth Century Studies, p. 261.

¹⁰⁶In order to inculcate such ideals Arnold, like many other teachers, appealed to examples from classical literature. For example, the story of Cincinnatus, a hero and savior of Rome who declined offers of wealth, honors, and offices in order to resume his humble duties at home behind the plow, proved instructive for Dr. Arnold's purposes.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*, p. 254.

order to instill his moral goals on students Arnold often used the most direct emphatic method--sermonizing. In speaking about students he asked,

What then, you will, is wanting here? . . . a spirit of manly, and much more of Christian, thoughtfulness. There is quickness and cleverness; much pleasure, perhaps, in distinction, but little in improvement; there is no desire of knowledge for its own sake, whether human or divine.¹⁰⁸

He then chided the lack of seriousness of purpose of some students about their common opinions and conduct. He exhorted students to "assert a more manly and Christian standard of duty."¹⁰⁹

Apparently, Arnold achieved at least some success as a former of character and moral educator. The Clarendon Commission of 1861-62 noted the moral change that had passed over the schools within the preceding generation. Subsequently this improvement passed beyond the Rugby boys to Oxford and Cambridge and so to English education as a whole. Arnold's principles and practice became patterns for the English schoolmaster though others had also been doing the same things.¹¹⁰ Even a contemporary historian with the benefit of added hindsight has said that his pupils, when they arrived at Oxford, were "thoughtful, manly minded, conscious of duty and obligation."¹¹¹

Manly character and its cultivation remained an issue of con-

¹⁰⁸T. Arnold, Sermons, Vol. IV, pp. 37-38, from 1901 edition of Miscellaneous Works.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 38.

¹¹⁰John William Adamson, English Education 1789-1902, p. 67.

¹¹¹David Newsome, Godliness and Good Learning, London, 1961, especially Chapter 4, "Godliness and Manliness."

cern throughout the nineteenth century. Early in the century Coleridge in Aids to Reflection portrayed manliness as the opposite of childishness. To be manly was to be mature, to be conscious of the duties of manhood, and so to cultivate the powers of intelligence and energy. Thus one's moral character should be elevated to a higher plane and one's understanding should aspire to "that perfection of human intelligence which is the Christian faith."¹¹² The influence on Arnold is plain. He distrusted childishness and wanted to convert unruly boys into Christian men. At Oxford in the first half of the century Charles Wordsworth, an exemplar of manliness, exhibited scholarship, piety, and athletic prowess and good looks. Tuckwell ranked Charles Wordsworth first among the Oxford comrades of that generation. He called him the best scholar, cricketer, oar, skater, racquet player, dancer, pugilist of his day. His proficiency in the last branch of athletics was attested to by a fight at Harrow between himself and Richard Chenevix Trench, which sent the future Archbishop of Dublin to a London dentist, in order to have his "teeth set to rights." "That man," whispered Lord Malmesbury to Lord Derby when Wordsworth had shaken hands with the Chancellor on receiving his honorary degree, "That man might have been anything he pleased." His attainments and capacities were set off by an "unusually tall and handsome figure."¹¹³ After Oxford he became

¹¹²Samuel Coleridge, Aids to Reflection on the Formation of a Manly Character, p. xvi.

¹¹³Tuckwell, Reminiscences of Oxford, pp. 85-86. Charles Wordsworth in 1830 took a First in the "Greats" having already won the university Latin Verse and Latin Essay Prizes. He was also a member of the Oxford Cricket XI in the first match between the two universities in 1827. (David Newsome, Godliness and Good Learning, p. 204)

Master at Winchester where he "raised the scholarship as well as the morality of the boys."¹¹⁴ He imparted to Winchester a tone of unaffected, thoughtful piety which long outlived his rule. Later he became Bishop of St. Andrews. While at Oxford he had been tutor to Gladstone, Manning, Francis Doyle, Walter Hamilton, Acland and others.¹¹⁵

By the middle and during the second half of the century a new idea of manliness emerged. To Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes manliness meant something quite different from Coleridge or Arnold. Whereas Coleridge had equated manliness and αρετή--the fulfillment of one's potentialities in the living of a higher, better and more useful life--Kingsley equated manliness and θυμός--robust energy, spirited courage and physical vitality.¹¹⁶ Coleridge had regarded manliness as something essentially adult, Kingsley and Hughes stressed the masculine and muscular connotations of the word and found its converse in effeminacy. Thus manliness, according to Kingsley, was an antidote to the poison of effeminacy, the most insidious weapon of the Tractarians which was sapping the vitality of the Anglican Church. Muscular Christians feared that young men came to the Church for spiritual nourishment; they went away perverted. Their enthusiasm was allegedly diverted into unnatural, "un-English pursuits," as Kingsley called them. Tractarians encouraged their followers to think of themselves as being set apart from other men, their minds bent on other-worldliness,

¹¹⁴Tuckwell, Reminiscences of Oxford, p. 87.

¹¹⁵Ibid., p. 86.

¹¹⁶David Newsome, Godliness and Good Learning, p. 197.

the beauty of holiness, and the satisfaction of self-denial. Kingsley and others of like mind presumed that Newmanites, scorning all earthly loves, released their frustrated emotion upon saints long dead and upon the Holy Mother of God; renouncing the love of women, they clung to each other, casting aside all manly reticence by confessing to each other their secret temptations, and seeking solace in their own passionate attachments which seemed to a normal healthy male undeerably high-pitched.¹¹⁷ In the difference of meaning about manliness, we see the distinctive features of two opposing schools of Victorian idealists, represented by the followers of Coleridge and Arnold, on the one hand, and by the "muscular Christian" school of Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes on the other.¹¹⁸ Regardless of the degree to which college tutors formed manly character or stimulated intellectual growth, they could not provide the totality of the teaching needs of all the students.

The efforts of ideal tutors like Whately, Simeon, Newman and others, not to mention the polemical skill of university champions like Whewell and Pusey notwithstanding, there clearly were some problems with the regular university teaching system. The existence of a parallel and extra-university teaching system testified to deficiencies

¹¹⁷Ibid., pp. 207-08.

¹¹⁸Ibid., p. 197. Kingsley, Hughes and Leslie Stephen put together ideals which became the creed of the typical public school.

Duty of patriotism, the moral and physical beauty of athleticism, the salutary effects of Spartan habits and discipline, the cultivation of all that is masculine and the expulsion of all that is effeminate, un-English and excessively intellectual. (Ibid., p. 216)

there. By the 1830s the selection of most college fellows, at Cambridge, was tied to success in the examinations. With the increased importance placed on success in the examinations the fellows of the colleges were insufficient to provide all the teaching of undergraduates. Successive examination reforms only made this problem more acute. A new system of private teaching developed to help students with a prescribed curricula to face the modern examination system. Richard Whately, about 1830, said that most private tutors' pupils, perhaps three-fourths, were preparing just to pass the regular examinations.

Private tutors are the crutches of our lame system. If you can restore strength to a lame man, you do him good; but by simply taking away his crutches, you leave him worse off than before.¹¹⁹

Standardization of teaching was necessary. Private tutors', or coaches' success in attracting students depended on the number of successful candidates they coached through the honors examination.¹²⁰

These coaches took up the slack in the need for teaching. Although usually men who had taken "firsts" in their subjects, coaches had no formal position in the university. For undergraduates seeking the highest honors it was virtually essential to become part of the "team" of a coach. Cambridge regularly arranged for serious reading men to receive an hour of private instruction, according to John Wright, a student there about 1820. He claimed that all B.A.s who

¹¹⁹E.J. Whately, Life of Richard Whately, Vol. I, p. 81.

¹²⁰Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education, p. 125.

have also attained high honors in the Senate House, first through fifth Senior Wranglers, received pupils. The university fixed pay was £14 each term and £30 for the long vacation. Fellows of colleges and others charged £20 per term and £50 for the long vacation.¹²¹ At this early period in the century Wright did not indicate any stigma attached to private tutoring.

Another observer, Charles Bristed, compared coaches to German professors who attracted students in numbers according to their reputation and ability. He asserted that private tuition was, after examinations, the major feature of the university instruction, and that the public lectures had become "entirely subordinate to it."¹²² Bristed recognized that "of late there has been some outcry against private tuition," but if not absolutely a vital, it is certainly an important element in the whole system. He thought private coaching should not be regarded as a necessary evil, but admitted as a positive good.¹²³ In particular, Bristed indicated that for the Previous examination Paley was the most important part to prepare thoroughly.¹²⁴

Some detractors within the university interpreted the existence of an extra-collegiate private tutoring system as an indictment of the frequently inadequate teaching provided by the official college tutors.

¹²¹Wright, Alma Mater, Seven Years at Cambridge, p. 171.

¹²²Charles Bristed, Five Years in an English University 1840-1845, p. 93.

¹²³*Ibid.*, p. 94.

¹²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 122.

Mark Pattison, although himself part of the old system, was not loath to criticize it.

Every undergraduate, therefore, paid his college a tuition fee, in return for which he was so inadequately instructed that, if he took his work at all seriously (such as preparing for Honours exams) he had to pay a further fee [usually £10 a term for an hour every other day and £20 a term for an hour a day] to obtain from a private coach the help that his college tutor ought to have given him.¹²⁵

Pattison was not the only one to criticize the private teaching system. Some college dons resented coaches who may have taken a lower degree, who had no formal or legal place in the University, and yet who often enjoyed a larger income and local reputation, not to mention the comforts of a family.

In order to appreciate the position and role of a private coach, a glimpse at one individual may prove helpful. William Hopkins, a student of Adam Sedgwick, and the most famous of the early Victorian mathematical coaches, declared in 1854 that the teaching of mathematics had never before been so completely and systematically in the hands of private tutors.¹²⁶ Hopkins became the teacher of many of the "Cambridge School" physicists of mid-century, such as Stokes, Tait, Kelvin, Clerk Maxwell, and others. As a private tutor from 1827 Hopkins was spectacularly successful.¹²⁷ He used his mathematics to

¹²⁵John Sparrow, Mark Pattison and the Idea of a University, p. 72.

¹²⁶William Hopkins, Remarks on the Mathematical Teaching of the University of Cambridge, 1854, p. 23.

¹²⁷William Hopkins did hold a ceremonial university office as Esquire Bedell. From January 1828 to January 1849, in twenty-two years he had among his pupils one hundred seventy-five Wranglers, including

explain the details of geological phenomena.¹²⁸

In spite of these successes on the part of some coaches, or perhaps because of them, university figures objected to this system. William Whewell claimed that private tutors generated intellectual dependence and superficial knowledge; furthermore, they interfered with public teaching and created an additional expense. Another objection, and perhaps one closer to Whewell's own heart, related to moral character formation.

Tutors must not be indifferent about the general character and conduct of their pupils. They must exercise a general superintendence and control over their expenses and habits . . . the tutors must be placed in some direct official position, and their authority and responsibilities clearly declared and enforced.¹²⁹

Whewell also saw the coaches' role as a very limited one. They did only indirect teaching--preparing students for examinations. Nevertheless all of these limitations notwithstanding, he realized that private tutors had something to offer, so Whewell suggested the inclusion of them within the official system.¹³⁰

While the coaching system contained several of the fundamental principles upon which the ideal of a collegiate university was based, it did not contain others: notably, the idea of education as character

seventeen Senior Wranglers. Of these one hundred and eight had been in the first ten and forty-four in the first three on the tripos. (Henry Gunning, Reminiscences of Cambridge, Vol. II, p. 335)

¹²⁸W.F. Cannon, "Scientists and Broad Churchmen: An Early Victorian Intellectual Network," p. 72.

¹²⁹Whewell, English University Education, p. 73.

¹³⁰Ibid., p. 74.

formation, teaching as a dynamic process leading to individual growth, and self-cultivation on the part of both teacher and student. Coaching was not concerned with moral education, with Socratic inquiry, or with Christian admiration.¹³¹ Private tutors were mainly college fellows, college lecturers, or B.A.'s kept from a fellowship by marriage. In other words, some college teachers also worked as private coaches on the side. Because coaching could be a full-time activity, the college lecturer who coached often was not inclined to stimulate his classes at the expense of his pocket; college lectures were therefore sometimes neglected.¹³²

The remuneration received by private coaches for their services introduced a new, and some believed, a base element into the ancient university educational compound. He was a sophist-utilitarian hired to produce results, a remarkably skillful crammer.¹³³

The reputation of a coach was measured by his ability to cram an undergraduate, to drill him intensively for a high place in the examination list. He was hired to do a job, and his performance could be strictly measured by the number of first class honours or pollmen he coached. His labours were given a market price and evaluated in commercial terms.¹³⁴

The limitations of the teaching provided by the university and of that available for a price from coaches, occasionally may have produced some scholarly results in spite of the system. For example, Mark Pattison,

¹³¹Rothblatt, Revolution of the Dons, p. 209.

¹³²Ibid., p. 199.

¹³³Ibid., p. 209.

¹³⁴Ibid., p. 199.

for lack of good tutors at Oriel, decided to set out on his own self education. This style of education he made his own life-long goal.

As frequently happens during institutional development, what initially may appear as a problem combines with other circumstances to produce an unforeseen good. It is an odd paradox that the personal relationship between tutor and pupil, developed in the individual "tutorial hour" which is

supposed to give Oxford and Cambridge so great an advantage over other Universities today, should have its archetype [in Oxford, at any rate] in the relation between the pupil and his private coach. This was no part of the university system, but an excrescence that came into being as a result of its defects, like a plant that had sown itself on a decaying college wall.¹³⁵

While university officials may have been assessing the value of private tutors, the students evaluated the impact of the tutors within the colleges. The example set by tutors constituted one of the most important facets of moral education. The following examples of student comments about their instructors while illustrative do not purport to be demonstrative, much less statistically valid. Typical of other aspects of pre-reformed Cambridge, the quality of teaching seemed perfunctory by comparison with the standards which arose by the nineteenth century. Henry Gunning, a student at Trinity in the 1780s, recalled, "We were lectured immediately after chapel, and generally in a very hasty manner, as Parkinson [the tutor] not unfrequently was equipped in boots and spurs, which his gown but ill concealed . . . we were usually

¹³⁵John Sparrow, Mark Pattison and the Idea of a University, p. 72.

dismissed with a recommendation to be better prepared for the next lecture."¹³⁶ Although the tutor offered to help students with problems, when Gunning went to him he got little assistance. "He received me kindly, but I fear he found me incorrigibly stupid; for after two or three ineffectual attempts to remove the difficulties that puzzled me, he generally added, in a peevish tone, 'I cannot make it any plainer Sir; it requires only common sense to understand it.'"¹³⁷ Disheartened by the difficulties he met, and annoyed at the tutor's contemptuous mode of treating Gunning's questions, he "determined to give up reading altogether." Therefore he told his tutor of his intention who then released Gunning from attending his lectures the remainder of the term. The tutor remarked that, "I could doubtless pass my time more pleasantly, and perhaps more profitably, in my own room."¹³⁸ Gunning's experience with his tutor Parkinson did not represent the pattern for the future at Cambridge.

By the nineteenth century many students at Oxford and Cambridge described much more satisfactory learning experiences. For example, a Trinity man about 1815 recorded the following:

I discovered very shortly the important truth, that if a man exhibit a strong desire to distinguish himself, and an intellect vigorous enough to render his exertions available, there is scarcely a Fellow of Trinity who will not hold out a helping hand--who will not strive hard to make him one of them.¹³⁹

¹³⁶Gunning, Reminiscences of Cambridge, Vol. I, p. 6.

¹³⁷Ibid.

¹³⁸Ibid., p. 7.

¹³⁹John M.F. Wright, Alma Mater, Seven Years at Cambridge, Vol. I, p. 177.

Frederick Denison Maurice refuted the notion that narrow pedantry abounded at Cambridge. He admitted that there were a few "northern plodders" who in later life became "men of most odious habits," but such men "instead of being venerated and looked up to here, as a prodigy, are a subject of constant and almost illiberal sarcasm." Wright asserted that most Trinity fellows, "especially the tutors and younger part," united classical learning and a correct and elegant taste with an "utter absence of all pedantry."¹⁴⁰ Going up to Trinity, Cambridge, in October 1823, Maurice was delighted by the justification his mathematics lecturer gave for that subject. "It saved England from Napoleon" and furthermore "those who felt the greatest distaste for mathematics generally stood most in need of the mental discipline which it affords."¹⁴¹

Julius Hare, a tutor at Cambridge, earned the greatest respect as an individual from some of his students. Arthur Stanley and Frederick Maurice, two of his best and most intimate friends, affirmed that "in practical judgment of men and things, he could lay claim to the name of wisdom." "What he was will always be greater than what he did."¹⁴² Maurice was an undergraduate at Cambridge and attended Hare's lecture on Sophocles and Plato. He said that of those lectures he could trace "the most permanent effect" on his character and on all his modes of contemplating subjects, "natural, human, and divine."

¹⁴⁰Maurice, Life of F.D. Maurice, p. 50.

¹⁴¹Ibid., Letter to his mother, 23 October 1823, p. 47.

¹⁴²A.P. Stanley, "Archdeacon Hare," p. cxxv.

Hare's method was to hammer away at the text of what was being studied; Maurice could not remember that Hare ever indulged in a single excursus.¹⁴³ Maurice said Hare had too much in common with Plato and Coleridge and Dr. Arnold, to have much in common with the Aristotelian Whately.¹⁴⁴

In a tutor of exemplary stature, like Newman, even a slight expression carried tremendous moral weight. Mark Pattison remembered an incident in 1836, when as an undergraduate, he made some flippant remark about a philosophical point.

Newman turned round and deposited upon me one of those ponderous and icy "very likelies"; after which you were expected to sit down in a corner, and think over amending your conduct.¹⁴⁵

This incident may have been formulative to Pattison, because in later years he developed some of the same moral aura in himself. When he became a teacher he recorded, "In dealing with students I soon became aware that I was the possessor of a magnetic influence which . . . gave me a moral ascendancy in the College, to which, at last, everybody, the

¹⁴³F.D. Maurice, "Hare's Position in the Church," pp. xxii-xviii.

¹⁴⁴Sanders, Coleridge and the Broad Church Movement, p. 124.

¹⁴⁵Pattison, Memoirs, p. 171. Newman himself as a student sometimes encountered difficulty as well as provoking some of his masters. Referring to Provost Hawkins of Oriel he said, His virtues leaned to the side of failings. They were therefore troublesome to those around him; he would needs take into his keeping not only his own but his neighbor's conscience, insisting on what you ought to think, as well as on what you ought to do.

"He provoked me very often," said Newman, and he added with a very probable surmise, "I dare say I as often provoked him." (Tuckwell, Pre-Tractarian Oxford, p. 162)

Rector, even the students, the very servants . . . succumbed."¹⁴⁶

Pattison was not alone in his capacity to impress students. Pusey's sermons drew large crowds of students. Tuckwell described "the pale ascetic furrowed face, clouded and dusky always as with suggestions of a blunt or half-used razor, the bowed grizzled head. . . ."

It seemed to some observers that his preaching was

not so much ambassadorial as from a man inhabiting his message; now and then the searchlight thrown with startling vividness on the secrets hidden in many a hearer's heart. Some came once from mere curiosity and not again, some felt repulsion, some went away alarmed, impressed, transformed.¹⁴⁷

Not only did some teachers like Newman, Pattison and Pusey recognize their capacity to sway students and others around them, but also, many students explicitly sought out and acknowledged a tutor's moral insights.

According to Hughes, Arnold moved even those who had been impervious to religion because they felt that they were listening to a man who was striving "with all his heart and soul and strength . . . against whatever was mean and unmanly and unrighteous in our little world." Arnold spoke not from "serene heights" but as one "fighting by our sides, and calling on us to help him and ourselves and one another." He had "no misgivings, and gave no uncertain word of command."¹⁴⁸ Hughes also claimed that Arnold produced earnest and yet

¹⁴⁶Pattison, Memoirs, p. 78.

¹⁴⁷Tuckwell, Reminiscences of Oxford, pp. 136-37.

¹⁴⁸Thomas Hughes, Tom Brown's School Days, London 1928, pp. 121-22. No one expressed this side of Thomas Arnold better than his

genial young men, not prigs.¹⁴⁹ By sheer power of moral persuasion Arnold could transform the lives of some of his students. "Now Lake," Dr. Arnold said, "I know you can do well if you choose, and I shall expect you to do so." "These few words," Lake wrote many years later, "altered my whole character, intellectually, at all events."¹⁵⁰

In their pursuit of truth teachers could not always predict their own impact on students, nor would students necessarily respond the way the tutor might hope. One example about Thomas Arnold may illustrate this point. At Rugby Dr. Arnold highly approved of young Spenser Thornton's evangelical activities. "From the day of his confirmation, Thornton regarded himself as one publically and solemnly

son did in "Rugby Chapel."

Ye alight in our van! at your voice,
Panic, despair, flee away.
Ye move through the ranks, recall
The stragglers, refresh the outworn,
Praise, reinspire the brave!
Order, courage, return.
Eyes rekindling, and prayers,
Follow your steps as ye go.
Ye fill up the gaps in our files,
Strengthen the wavering line,
Stablish, continue our march,
On, to the bound of the waste,
On, to the City of God. (1867)

¹⁴⁹Hughes, Tom Brown's School Days, Introduction to the sixth edition.

¹⁵⁰David Newsome, Godliness and Good Learning, p. 58. W.C. Lake, later Dean Lake, had been a former "blood," a muscular extrovert athlete. He became an intimate friend of Stanley and Vaughan at Rugby. However, he was not liked at Oxford either as a tutor or as a Proctor. His manner was cold, sarcastic, and sneering. A certain slyness earned him the nickname of "Serpent." He also bore another sobriquet, an obvious degradation of his name, "Puddle." (Tuckwell, Reminiscences of Oxford, pp. 207-08)

given to the service of God." Therefore he spent his time "visiting the poor in the town and neighborhood of Rugby, distributing tracts, and laboring earnestly for the conversion of his school fellows."¹⁵¹ Apparently Arnold saw no danger in a boy's deep religiousity and developing a boy's moral sense too early and too strongly.¹⁵² Clearly with Thornton, Arnold fostered a morally committed young disciple who was all, or even more than, he could have hoped. On the other hand, Arnold created an opposite impression on another student, W.G. Ward (1812-1882). According to Ward's testimony Arnold was touched by the "spirit of free inquiry" and he wondered how much would it leave undamaged. He began to attend Newman's Oxford sermons, and the very first one changed his life. He became convinced that the answer to his question was none.¹⁵³

Another teacher, Joseph William Blakesley, one of the "Cambridge Apostles," had a sense of humor even when confronted by religious questions of eternal importance. As a tutor he was once asked by a perplexed undergraduate, reading for orders, "Pray, Sir, do you consider that eternal punishment will consist in moral or in physi-

¹⁵¹W.R. Fremantle, Memoir of the Rev. Spencer Thornton, London, 1850, p. 3. Spencer Thornton, 1814-1850, after graduating from Rugby, matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1832. He earned the B.A. in 1836 and M.A. in 1839. After becoming Vicar of Wendover, Bucks, in 1837, Thornton married two years later. Although only in his thirties he died suddenly while on a walk. John A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigiensis, Part II, Vol. VI, p. 178.

¹⁵²E.C. Mack, Public Schools and British Opinion, p. 252.

¹⁵³Wilfrid Ward, W.G. Ward and the Oxford Movement, 2nd ed., 1890.

cal suffering?" "Why," said Blakesley, a little puzzled between the conflicting claims of Orthodoxy, common sense and prudence, "I should incline to think moral." "Oh, I am so relieved to hear you say so!"¹⁵⁴ The light touch must have been most welcome particularly in the 1830s, an age of both earnest Tractarians and earnest Evangelicals.

Other tutors, too, had a reputation for common sense and humor. In particular Benjamin Jowett remembered his teacher Archibald Campbell Tait, later Archbishop of Canterbury, a successor of T. Arnold at Balliol, who was "full of life, common sense, and Scotch humor . . . he was one of the first persons who broke down the wall of partition which used to separate undergraduates from their teachers."

Many of us had to thank him for piloting us safely through the rocks and shoals of theology . . . we needed him to keep us in the straight path of common sense. He did not attempt the higher flights of metaphysical philosophy, yet his lectures were very interesting and useful. He did not read but spoke them; and he knew how to keep the attention of the class alive by questions and sallies of various kinds. . . . They were always plain and clear, though the knots were sometimes cut after the Gordian fashion.¹⁵⁵

Apparently Jowett learned his lessons well from Tait's example, for a few years later Lewis Campbell, one of his students, lauded Jowett in similar terms. Campbell went to Balliol from Glasgow University as a Snell exhibitioner in 1849 when he was nineteen and Jowett thirty-two. He said of Jowett,

His criticism in those days stimulated without discouraging: In setting before the mind a lofty ideal, he implied a belief in powers hereafter to be developed, and the belief seemed to

¹⁵⁴Francis M. Brookfield, The Cambridge Apostles, p. 90.

¹⁵⁵Jowett, Sermons Biographical and Miscellaneous, pp. 180-81.

create the thing believed in. But the intellectual stimulus was not all. He seemed to divine one's spiritual needs, and by mere contact and the brightness of his presence, to supply them.¹⁵⁵

Other students too praised Jowett's example and capacity as a teacher. Contrary to the impression some university critics had that pre-reformed Oxford, with its clerical tie, indulged in constant indoctrination, Jowett's students, in 1849, said that he honestly opened their minds.

His greatest skill consisted, like that of Socrates, in helping us to learn and think for ourselves. . . . No other tutor, within my experience, has ever approached him in the depth and extent of his pastoral supervision, if I may so call it, of young thinkers; it may truly be said that in his pupil-room, thirty, forty, and fifty years ago, were disciplined many of the minds which are now exercising a wide influence over the nation.¹⁵⁷

Brodrick also defended Jowett against accusations of instilling theological doubts into students (George Brodrick, afterward Warden of Merton, went up to Balliol in 1849). T.H. Farrer, later a civil servant and economist, was Jowett's first pupil after he got his fellowship in 1839. Commenting on Jowett's teaching, Farrer said that Jowett had done the one essential thing; he had opened a vista which you were to follow up yourself. He had the Socratic art of saying to youthful eagerness, "Are you sure you are right?" But he said it "in such a manner as to develop a zeal in the pursuit of truth."¹⁵⁸

Having reviewed the comments of some students about the

¹⁵⁶Faber, Jowett, p. 166.

¹⁵⁷Ibid., p. 167.

¹⁵⁸Ibid., p. 134.

character-forming or moral impact of certain tutors on them, we might wonder about longer range implications of moral education. Sometimes students may not have appeared to respond immediately to the lessons, intellectual or moral, presented by their university instructors.

Newman, for example, had a most sanguine view of the ultimate effectiveness of college tutors to improve character, particularly when contrasted with a "cram coach."

He thought that the tutor who aimed at leading and forming his pupil's minds, even supposing him to have at the time less weight than the successful cram-coach, might succeed in making an impression which would gradually gain upon the pupil as he got older, took his degree, got out of the influence of the schools and began to see things in a truer light.¹⁵⁹

Perhaps Newman had in mind the proverb that encouraged parents and others to train a child in the way of the Lord, so when he is old he shall not depart from it. Sometimes just the presence of one tutor could significantly affect character formation. According to Mark Pattison when he was evaluating the impact of a college on students, "everything depends on the moral ascendancy of a single tutor." He went on to assert that the most enduring quality of a university education was the social and character style developed there.

The most permanent stamp of a college reputation is the social stamp. This measure of worth often remains stationary under every variety of moral and intellectual change.¹⁶⁰

Pattison's assessment that the enduring quality borne by students was a social attitude and distinct character type was attested to by

¹⁵⁹Pattison, Memoirs, p. 202.

¹⁶⁰Ibid.

another, and not necessarily friendly evaluator of Dr. Arnold, Bertrand Russell. He emphasized chiefly the effect of Arnold's system on the outside world. Arnold, he contended, was responsible for the creation of the modern Empire builder, a man who, because he was "energetic, stoical, physically fit, possessed of certain unalterable beliefs," imbued with "high standards of rectitude, and convinced that [he] . . . had an important mission in the world," was adapted to exert authority at home and in the empire. His mission was to reform the "benighted heathen." According to Russell, Dr. Arnold sacrificed intelligence to "virtue."¹⁶¹ Thus, Russell argued that definitions of moral character are historically and socially rooted. Lytton Strachey went one step further in this negative evaluation of Arnold. He thought that Arnold's disciples created a type of man who would follow orders blindly and would at the same time enforce on others a rigorous and repressive code.¹⁶²

III

Whatever students thought of individual tutors or however they may have influenced students' moral development, educators both within and without the old universities argued the relative merits of the tutorial and the professorial teaching systems. No matter how persuasive the arguments may have been on either side of the issue there

¹⁶¹Bertrand Russell, Education and the Good Life (New York, 1926), pp. 38-40, 47, 53.

¹⁶²Ibid.

could be no denying that the professorial system became the wave of the future. New universities, except for Durham, beginning with London in the 1820s, used the professorial rather than the tutorial model. It was cheaper for several reasons: no special provision for residence, no individual tutoring, and no expensive buildings and gardens had to be built or maintained to create the appropriate atmosphere. Character, if it was to be shaped at all, was shaped intellectually in the class room.¹⁶³

Of course, well-balanced educators realized that there was a proper place for both approaches to teaching, even though most individuals personally preferred one approach over the other. William Whewell, for example, described a relation between particular subjects and the mode of teaching. Language and mathematics he maintained could best be taught practically by tutors with questions and answers. Newly developing subjects like geology, political economy, and metaphysics might best be taught speculatively by professors. Professors teach speculatively because the lecturer expounds his ruminations in a given branch of knowledge. He indicated that already in the 1830s professors at Cambridge lectured in the following fields: history, morals, political economy, law, medicine, anatomy, geology, botany, mineralogy, chemistry, and the mechanical sciences.¹⁶⁴ The mere existence of professorial lectures, of course, did not necessarily imply many students availed themselves of the opportunity. Commenting on the small atten-

¹⁶³Rothblatt, Tradition and Change, p. 178.

¹⁶⁴Whewell, English University Education, p. 8.

dance of Cambridge professor's lectures Bristed noted,

Dr. Whewell, notwithstanding his high reputation, had a comparatively small class when I attended his Lectures on Moral Philosophy, probably not more than fifty. Very probably it has been much increased since the establishment of the Moral Science Tripos."¹⁶⁵

Professor Sedgwick fared even worse. Attendance at his geological lectures in 1841 amounted to no more than thirty. "In all this there is nothing so bad as Buckland's lecturing on geology to three hearers at Oxford."¹⁶⁶ Bristed attributed the paucity of hearers to the students' exertions with college work and private coaches. Nevertheless, some students made special efforts to attend the professorial lectures. Wright reported during the 1820s that although the lectures do not cover material on the examinations for honors or for fellowships, "many Bachelors, even of those who are not looking forward to Fellowships, remain a term or two after they have taken their Degree, for the express purpose of attending them."¹⁶⁷

Although the tutorial system prevailed in the first half of the century, even at Oxford some Broadchurchmen supported the professorial system. They did so not only to raise the standards of scholarship, but also to undermine strongholds of privilege, the colleges. Indeed, according to Sewell, a partisan of colleges, "a tutorial system of education has always been connected with monarchical principles and insti-

¹⁶⁵Charles Astor Bristed, Five Years in an English University, p. 166.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., p. 167.

¹⁶⁷John Wright, Alma Mater, Vol. II, p. 35.

tutions, a professorial almost always with democracy."¹⁶⁸

There were other arguments, too, used by opponents of the professorial system. No doubt some of them, to twentieth century readers, would seem quite ludicrous. Some tutors charged that the professors would proliferate and teach "outlandish subjects, that they posed a danger of innovation or infidelity and a threat to the Church, that being married, perambulators would crowd the courtyard, and that physical science, the forte of professors, was illiberal." On the more serious, and intellectually more respectable, side of his argument, Mark Pattison formulated a more sophisticated critique of the professorial system. He argued for the necessity in higher education of a personal relationship between the teacher and person being taught. Professorial lectures, he says, are in place at Mechanics Institutes or to exhibit a superficial view of a serious subject before a fashionable audience. For serious students in higher reaches of learning, what is needed is the immediate contact of mind with mind. Instruction at those levels is a voyage of discovery taken by the teacher in company with the student being taught. The best kind of instruction is the college catechetical lecture to a small group. Pattison claims that the chief mischief of the professorial system is that it implies a different idea of education. "It aims at, and is the easiest and readiest way to a very inferior stamp of mental cultivation; but, this cultivation which from its showy, available marketable character, is really an

¹⁶⁸Sewell, quoted by Ward, Victorian Oxford, p. 158.

object of ambition in an age like the present."¹⁶⁹ Pattison regards professorial lectures for the general public as diffusing a smattering of culture or learning. He says that educators in universities "should never lose sight of their higher function, that of sustaining the student through a long course of painful and rigorous discipline of the intellect, toward which the Professor's chair can render little if any help."¹⁷⁰ Of course, in Pattison's day, Professors only lectured to large groups. They did not conduct seminars as we know them in the twentieth century though the Germans already did.

The professoriate had its defenders, often of Benthamite bent, outside of the ancient universities. Sometimes in the context of writing about English national character or when commenting on modern civilization in general, these authors would write in laudatory ways about an ideal professoriate. For example, Bulwer-Lytton points out that there is no Idealist school in England comparable to that in Scotland or Germany. He claims that the system of professorships and endowments in Germany and Scotland sustained the "study of pure ethical philosophy and metaphysical researchers." Such a system is especially needful in England, Bulwer-Lytton claims, because of the excessive preoccupation with strictly material things:

Professorships compel a constant demand for ethical research, while they afford a serene leisure for its supply; insensibly they create the taste upon which they are forced, and maintain

¹⁶⁹John Sparrow, Mark Pattison and the Idea of a University, pp. 92-93.

¹⁷⁰*Ibid.*, p. 93.

the moral glories of the nation abroad, while they contribute to rectify and to elevate its character at home.¹⁷¹

J.S. Mill would probably have agreed with the points outlined by Bulwer-Lytton but he had some additional perspectives too. He has a fundamental objection to what he perceives to be the process of moral education at the universities. He also takes issue with some other university reformers. Mill maintains that both university reformers and their defenders are making an error. They both regard the object of education not as the capacity for the student to judge what is true or what is right, but to provide that the student shall think true what we think true, and right what we think right. Thus, in practice, their teaching means to "inculcate our own opinions . . . to make disciples rather than inquirers."¹⁷² Mill claims that this is the greatest error that reformers must combat. He asks, "Is it astonishing that great minds are not produced in a country where the test of a great mind is agreeing in the opinions of the small minds?"¹⁷³ It is somewhat ironic that J.S. Mill should have such a low opinion of his countrymen. Most observers and historians of the nineteenth century would agree that in Mill's generation, England reached the zenith of her power, influence and prestige, and she produced an exceptionally large proportion of great minds. Most of the leaders in the English state, church, and

¹⁷¹Edward George Bulwer-Lytton, England and the English, p. 321.

¹⁷²J.S. Mill, Dissertations and Discussions, p. 196.

¹⁷³Ibid.

other institutions were products of the educational system at Oxford and Cambridge which Mill abhorred. In particular, Mill objected to forcing students to affirm belief in the Thirty-Nine Articles and to the University's intent to make them do so. Mill consistently stressed the goal that students should become independent thinkers.

Most youths who have had much knowledge drilled into them, have their mental capacities not strengthened, but overlaid by it. They are crammed with mere facts, and with the opinions or phrases of other people, and these are accepted as a substitute for the power to form opinions of their own . . . incapable of using their minds except in the furrows traced for them. Mine, however, was not an education of cram.¹⁷⁴

Although stressing intellectual training, Mill did not ignore moral considerations. He emphasized the importance of the moral example set by teachers. He admitted that direct moral teaching did much, but indirect did more. "The effect my father produced on my character . . . depended . . . still more on what manner of man he was."¹⁷⁵ In his views of life he partook of the character of the Stoic, the Epicurean, and the Cynic, in the ancient sense of the word. Temperance, stopping short at the point of moderation in all indulgences, J.S. Mill described as his father's "central point of educational precept."¹⁷⁶ Mill believed that the professorial system came closer to providing teaching and learning in line with his own educational goals, than did the tutorial system in endowed colleges. While appreciative of the individual attention and teaching provided for him-

¹⁷⁴J.S. Mill, Autobiography, p. 31.

¹⁷⁵*Ibid.*, p. 47.

¹⁷⁶*Ibid.*, p. 48.

self by his father at home, J.S. Mill did, in later years, appreciate the necessity for a school environment.

The education which my father gave me, was in itself much more fitted for training me to know than to do . . . while he saved me from the demoralizing effects of school life, he made no effort to provide me with any sufficient substitute for its practicalizing influences.¹⁷⁷

In defense of the professorial system Mill argued against those critics who maintained that professors just put forth a multiplicity of ideas without any regard as to their relative merits or to truth.

We are not so absurd as to propose that the teacher should not inculcate his own opinions as the true ones, and exert his utmost powers to exhibit their truth in the strongest light. To abstain from this would be to nourish the worst intellectual habit of all, that of not finding, and not looking for certainty in anything.¹⁷⁸

Mill claimed that in German and French universities, professors teach subjects from a spirit of free inquiry in which the teacher fairly presents all views while showing the truth of his own.

Within Oxford University, Mark Pattison stands as a transitional figure who went through Oriel College in the days of Newman, and who served as a tutor, and yet who also became a paragon, if not a caricature, of the research-oriented professor. Because of his cold disposition and obsession with dry scholarship, Pattison's popular image was rather unflattering. For example, Swinburne, to whom Pattison represented what was least attractive at Oxford, contrasted his own patron, Jowett, with "such spiritually and morally typical and

¹⁷⁷Ibid., p. 37.

¹⁷⁸J.S. Mill, "Civilization," Westminster Review, April 1836.

unmistakable apes of the Dead Sea as Mark Pattison,¹⁷⁹ whose renowned pedantry novelists immortalized in fiction. Rhoda Broughton (Belinda, 1833, Prof. James Forth), George Eliot (Middlemarch, 1872, Mr. Casaubon), and Mrs. Humphrey Ward (Robert Elsmere, 1888), all had portrayed Pattison. They used such phrases to describe him as the following: "unattractive creature, sallow faced;" a "bitterness in the mouth and a venom in the glance," whose protestations of love were like "the cawings of an amorous rook;" this "dried preparation," this "lifeless embalment of knowledge," "no better than a mummy;" "his ill humour renders yet more pinched and captious his pinched pedantic face."¹⁸⁰ Clearly he was not the sort of man to whom one could warm up easily. Even when outside the classroom, students noticed,

his temperament was cold, including even his bodily nature. After a brisk walk to the top of Headington Hill, when other men would be aglow with exercise, Pattison's hands were as clammy as though he had not walked a hundred yards.¹⁸¹

A contemporary historian of education has perpetuated this unappealing image of Pattison. When describing influences on his scholarly direction, Armytage wrote that Bunsen persuaded "the unloved and desiccated" Mark Pattison "to study J.J. Scaliger, and so become a leading disciple of German-type research in an English university."¹⁸² By our own time,

¹⁷⁹John Sparrow, Mark Pattison and the Idea of a University, p. 3.

¹⁸⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 7, 10.

¹⁸¹*Ibid.*, p. 63.

¹⁸²W.H.G. Armytage, The German Influence on English Education, p. 46.

however, Pattison has, at last, won at least some sympathetic treatment from V.H.H. Green (1957), and John Sparrow (1967).

Born in Wensleydale in Yorkshire, he was educated first at home by his father, an Evangelical clergyman until he went to Oxford. V.H.H. Green wrote that Pattison's character was shaped by his "neurotic father, pietistic mother, and a family of sisters in a remote village." His personality was marked by a love of nature and the countryside, intense intellectual ambition, a deep sensitivity, an inner reserve not easy to penetrate, and a quick resentment.¹⁸³ His love of the countryside and poetry lasted throughout his life.

When I came in after years to read, The Prelude, I recognized, as if it were my own history which was being told, the steps by which the love of the country boy for his hills and moors grew into poetical susceptibility for all imaginative presentations of beauty in every direction.¹⁸⁴

Having these sentiments Pattison naturally felt attracted to the poetry of Wordsworth.

He matriculated at Oriel in 1832 even though by the 'thirties Oriel's academic preponderance had given way to that of Balliol. Pattison was strongly critical of the instruction he received and the lack of adequate guidance.¹⁸⁵ After his graduation in 1836 he obtained a fellowship in Lincoln College, and later a Tutorship. Like many others, he was enthusiastic over Hampden's Bampton lectures in the mid-1830s. By 1838 he was "drawn into the whirlpool of Tractarianism."

¹⁸³V.H.H. Green, Religion at Oxford and Cambridge, p. 231.

¹⁸⁴Pattison, Memoirs.

¹⁸⁵R.G. McPherson, Theory of Higher Education, p. 63.

Fortunately for Pattison, his affinity for Tractarianism apparently did not become widely known for a few years or he might not have received his college fellowship at Lincoln in November 1839. Lincoln College in the 1830s was solidly Evangelical. Miles Atkinson, Pattison's predecessor, came from a well-known Evangelical family, and the other tutors Richard Michell, an able tutor and scholar, John Hannah, and William Kay were all Evangelicals.¹⁸⁶ Pattison himself went the whole religious route. Reared an Evangelical he became one of Newman's disciples before 1840 but later he drifted into agnosticism. Years later he wrote scathingly about Lincoln College in his Memoirs but that was when he was an "embittered, spiritually frustrated dying old man."¹⁸⁷

What were the influences which shaped the character of this man? Clearly the university and a concern for learning centered his life. In his Memoirs he noted a line his father repeated to him from the Eton Latin Grammar. "I withdrew to Cambridge to improve my mind." This quotation, he said, was the proverb which presided over my whole life. "I think no other sentence of any book had so large a share in moulding my mind and character as this one." Thus for Pattison mental culture, the improvement of his mind remained to its end, the dominating purpose of his life.¹⁸⁸ Other books influenced him, too. He named Dugald Stewart's Elements, which "grounded in me the principle of

¹⁸⁶V.H.H. Green, Religion at Oxford and Cambridge, pp. 283-84.

¹⁸⁷Rothblatt, Tradition and Change, p. 283. He married Emilia Francis Strong, a woman twenty-seven years his junior. The marriage was childless. A year after his death she married Sir Charles Dilke.

¹⁸⁸Sparrow, Mark Pattison, p. 63.

strictly applying the Baconian induction in psychology, a principle which has saved me from being led away by the gratuitous hypotheses and a priori constructions of Kant and other German schools."¹⁸⁹ He also mentioned that the Autobiography of Gibbon, a "minute history of self-education, conducted on so superb a scale, was just what I wanted."¹⁹⁰

In contrast to the inspiration which he received from some books, Pattison's actual first encounters both with teaching and with fellow students at Oriel, deeply disappointed him.

My boyish inexperience was such, that I could not understand how it could be that the others, many of whom were below me in attainments, were before me in manliness of character; that they dared to assert themselves as they were, while I was deficient in character, and hid, instead of standing by, the small amount I possessed. . . . Surely, no boy ever reached eighteen so unformed and characterless as I was.¹⁹¹

By a variety of means over the years after the age of eighteen, Pattison developed a most distinct character as has been noted by various novelists and other observers. He made a powerful impression on some of his students. John Morley, a student at Lincoln College in the 1860s, wrote of Pattison,

He spoke to no one, saluted no one, and kept his eyes steadily fixed on infinite space. He dined at the high table, but uttered no word. . . . He was a complete stranger in the college. We looked upon him with the awe proper to one who was supposed to combine boundless erudition with an impenetrable misanthropy. In reading the fourth book of the *Ethics*, we regarded the description of the High-souled Man, with his slow movements, his deep tone, his deliberate speech, his irony, his

¹⁸⁹Pattison, Memoirs, p. 129.

¹⁹⁰*Ibid.*

¹⁹¹Pattison, Memoirs, pp. 48-49.

contempt for human beings . . . as the model of the inscrutable sage in the rooms under the clock.¹⁹²

Clearly Pattison earned some respect and awe from some of his pupils, but not warmth or emulation. If character was influenced or formed by example, Pattison probably had less to offer as a moral educator than a man like Dr. Arnold. Nevertheless, he did make an intellectual impact on some students.

Mr. Pattison was not a successful maker of 'first classes.' He did not give to his pupils ready-made conclusions in mental science or history which might be conveniently reproduced in examination. . . . He used to send us away from his lectures with the feeling of roused curiosity rather than with that satisfied sense of acquisition which is so conducive to success. But he made us think. He made us desire to know. He taught us to enter into the real minds of Aristotle and Plato, rather than to furnish ourselves with well-formulated theories of what they wrote.¹⁹³

Church had been a reading man among Pattison's pupils. Whatever his personal shortcomings, Pattison was an outstanding tutor and rector at Lincoln College. He was instrumental in redirecting the college by emphasizing research, learning, and conscientious teaching. According to some contemporary educational historians there was more concentration on scholarship, together with a more earnest interpretation of religion, learning, and the nature of an educated gentleman at Lincoln after Pattison's arrival.¹⁹⁴

Even in the generation before Mark Pattison reshaped the

¹⁹²Sparrow, Mark Pattison, p. 109.

¹⁹³A.J. Church, Spectator, 2 August 1884.

¹⁹⁴Lawson and Silver, A Social History of Education in England, p. 297.

academic environment at Lincoln College, an American student at Cambridge declared that English dons read as much as German professors, but more of their time is taken by teaching and study. Bristed explained that their "modesty and excessive fastidiousness produced by hyper criticism" also limited their writing. One of Bristed's friends who won a prize for an essay in mathematics said, "I should not like to publish anything myself; when you put a thing in print it seems as if you were perfectly satisfied with it, and I never am with what I write." Bristed believed that such an attitude kept many a competent man from making a name among the scholars and literary men of the world.¹⁹⁵

In spite of the activities, accomplishments and enthusiasm of some university men to advance scholarship resistance remained entrenched in the old universities. Regardless of what the arguments about the best teaching method or the most effective approach may have been, during the first half of the century arguments alone would never have provided a sufficient ground swell from within the universities to initiate any major self reform, or significantly alter the balance between tutors and professors. In 1839, a Statute making attendance at certain lectures a prerequisite for a degree was introduced by the Hebdomadal Board; it was thrown out by Congregation, the majority evidently regarding such a requirement as a criticism of, and a threat to,

¹⁹⁵C.A. Bristed, Five Years in an English University, pp. 394-95.

the tutorial system.¹⁹⁶ William Whewell most emphatically rejected a significant shift to the German professorial speculative system. Whewell recognized that some Englishmen wanted to adopt the Continental professorial and examination system. "Such a system is quite intelligible; but it behooves us to understand what it is . . . it has never been our system; and that when we talk of its establishment among us we propose not the improvement, but the destruction of our College practices;--not a modification, but a revolution in our English University education."¹⁹⁷ He believed that if young men, "when they ought to be quietly forming their minds for future action," fill their minds with a host of conflicting systems which they judge, then they will develop a "conceit of their own importance;" become accustomed to deliver superficial and hasty judgments; and lose a due appreciation of the knowledge, thought, and gravity of mind which are required for true knowledge.

Even after the 1850s and Parliamentary reform of the universities, many of the traditional goals of higher education continued, sometimes modified, to prevail in the second half of the century; indeed, down to our own time. It may be fair to say that the purposes of the universities, as articulated by Pattison and Arnold, continue to serve as the most widely acknowledged goals. The first and indispensable condition of higher education, Pattison said, was the possession by all the members of the university of a substantial intellectual

¹⁹⁶Sparrow, Mark Pattison, p. 66.

¹⁹⁷Whewell, English University Education, p. 64.

activity, the cultivation of the powers of reflection and reason. Pattison's ideal clearly represents quite a change from the Anglican goals defended by William Sewell in 1834. In keeping with other faculty psychologists, he stressed the value of classics and science as tools to develop intellect more than to impart particular information. Like Copleston or Newman, Pattison supported liberal education, but he also undertook for the universities new responsibilities especially in relation to science and research.¹⁹⁸ Thus Pattison perpetuated intellectual faculty development, a purpose for an Oxford education already clearly stated by Copleston as early as 1810.

The Arnoldian character formation and moral imperative was perpetuated, too. Significantly, it had been Arthur Clough, one of Arnold's most distinguished Rugby pupils, who, in his evidence before the Oxford Commission, had recalled his headmaster's success, and urged that "more and more men, sons of the more affluent parents, destined for business," should be "brought under the influences of the ancient national education." The Commission echoed the sentiment. They urged that sons of industrialists and landed aristocracy both should be "brought up where so many eminent statesmen of the past and present times have trained; and that the Universities should not cease to send forth a succession of persons qualified to serve God in the State as well as in the Church."¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸McPherson, Theory of Higher Education, p. 68.

¹⁹⁹Brian Simon, Studies in the History of Education 1780-1870, p. 298; see also Evidence, Part I, 212 of Parliamentary Investigation of Oxford.

CHAPTER VI

ENVIRONMENT OF COLLEGES AS A CHARACTER DEVELOPER

I cannot find any words to explain how much my whole life has been influenced by intercourse with men of my own age there. They were often men whose tastes were most unlike my own.

Frederick Denison Maurice,
Life of F.D. Maurice, p. 176.

The unique atmosphere and tradition of the ancient colleges profoundly shaped their students. Perhaps Matthew Arnold, when referring to the Oxford of his youth, has captured the quintessential qualities of Oxford's romantic attraction. When introducing his American discourse on Emerson in 1883, Arnold said,

Forty years ago, when I was an undergraduate at Oxford [1840s], voices were in the air there which haunt my memory still. Happy the man who in that susceptible season of youth hears such voices! They are a possession to him for ever. No such voices as those which we heard at Oxford are sounding there now. . . . Oxford has more criticism now, more knowledge, more light . . . but no longer such voices. . . . Who could resist the charm of that spiritual apparition [Newman], gliding in the dim afternoon light through the isles of St. Mary's Church.¹

He portrayed a Newman who, like the dreamy spires and moonlit gardens of Oxford, had become a symbol of lost youth and lost causes--the last enchantments of the Middle Ages. Thomas Arnold also appreciated the mystical aura:

The aura of antiquity in the old schools [and Colleges] gave a kind of mystical fusion of the present with past generations,

¹Matthew Arnold, The Works of Matthew Arnold in Fifteen Volumes, Vol. IV: Discourses in America: Emerson (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1903), pp. 349, 350.

producing a vision of the centuries, and of the school immersed in past problems of the nation and contributing to their solution.²

Clearly Arnold saw the old endowments providing special places which nourished successive generations organically rooted in England's past--in the best Burkean tradition.

From a work of fiction emerges another popular view about the advantages of an ancient university environment. A rector is depicted giving Squire Green reasons to send his son to the University.

It is not so much from what Verdant would learn in Latin and Greek, and such things as make up a part of the education, that I advise your sending him to a university; but more from what he would gain by mixing with a large body of young men of his own age, who represent the best classes of a mixed society, and who may be taken as a fair sample of its feelings and talents. It is formation of character that I regard as one of the greatest of the many great ends of a university system; and if for this reason alone I would advise you to send your future country squire to college.³

The rector praises the opportunity to mix socially with peers and comments on the inspiring atmosphere. "There is something in the very atmosphere of a university that seems to engender refined thoughts and noble feelings."⁴ Another novel, Tom Brown at Oxford, describes every phase of college life as it exuberated in the 1840s--fast and slow, tuft and Bible clerk, reading man and lounge, profligacy and debt, summer term and commemoration, boat races and wine parties, University

²T.W. Bamford, Thomas Arnold on Education, p. 20.

³Edward Bradley, The Adventures of Mr. Verdant Green, p. 10.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 11.

sermons and chapel services.⁵ One student writing about his first impressions of Cambridge recalled at length the legacy of Newton, his rooms, observatory, noble thoughts, and anecdotes. He stood as an example whom other students tried to emulate. In some way his spirit still inhabited the university, and J.M.F. Wright reported with awe seeing Newton's statue in the Trinity Chapel.⁶

The references above mention most of the crucial elements relating to the environment of the colleges in forming character: the role of the Anglican Church, the effects of peer association, the identification with English tradition, and the realization of change taking place in the old collegiate system.

More than any other factor, the institutional connection between the Church of England and the universities shaped the program of discipline. This discipline required subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles, mandatory attendance at Chapel, theological studies, in loco parentis policies, and housing regulations. This system came increasingly under attack by the 1830s as a result of developments and reforms in the country at large; but defenders of the system within the universities, emerged to defend it. Parliament's repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, in 1828, and Catholic Emancipation, in 1829, place the fears of university Tories in context.

⁵Tuckwell, Reminiscences of Oxford, p. 199. Other college novels include Reginald Dalton, Vincent Eden, Peter Priggins, Loss and Gain, Verdant Green, Alton Locke, and Pendennis.

⁶John Martin Frederick Wright, Alma Mater: or Seven Years at the University of Cambridge by a Trinity Man (London: Black, Young, and Young, 1827), p. 19.

Many at the universities saw Anglicanism threatened by the Whigs. The Irish Church Temporalities Bill which abolished two archbishoprics and eight bishoprics in Ireland, in 1833, confirmed their worst fears. By October of the same year, 1833, the rising tide of Dissent lapped at the very doors of Oxford and Cambridge. Various towns including Norwich, Plymouth and others petitioned Parliament for admission of Nonconformists to the universities. No doubt worst of all to the Tories, were the Judases in their own midst. In March 1834 a minority at Cambridge, consisting of the heads of two houses, nine professors, eleven tutors, and forty-one other members of the senate, presented a petition to Parliament. This petition, presented by Earl Grey to the House of Lords on 21 March 1834, and by Mr. Spring-Rice to Commons on behalf of the government, supported Dissenter admission to the universities. Not to be taken by storm, the Orthodox at the universities counter-attacked. At Trinity College, Cambridge, for example, Dr. Christopher Wordsworth the Master requested Connop Thirlwall, Fellow and Lecturer of Trinity, and later Bishop of St. David's from 1840 to 1875, to resign. Thirlwall had dared to write a public statement in favor of the admission of Dissenters. Thirlwall had responded to Dr. Turton, the Regius Professor of Divinity, who argued against the Dissenters. Thirlwall refuted his arguments, criticized compulsory attendance at chapel, and deprecated the worth of the University's religious instruction in general.

In spite of the criticism from utilitarians and Nonconformists, not to mention seeming betrayal from within, such as that of Thirlwall

to be elaborated upon later, the universities, especially Oxford, reaffirmed their established ways. Believing that it would be impossible for the "internal system of collegiate discipline and the course of academic administration to be effectively adjusted so as to comprehend persons of different religious opinions without neglect of religious ordinances, the compromise of religious consistency, or the destruction of religious peace,"⁷ Oxford convocation petitioned in April 1834 to oppose the admission of Dissenters. This manifesto, which claimed that "Oxford had always considered religion to be the foundation of all education," was signed by about one hundred university members and twenty-two heads of houses, with nine hundred members of convocation concurring.⁸ Those who signed also declared "our firm opinion" that a Bill now before Parliament, "to remove certain disabilities . . . will, if passed . . . violate our legal and prescriptive Rights; subvert the system of Religious Instruction and Discipline, so long and so benefi-

⁷Quarterly Journal of Education, VIII, April 1834, p. 83.

⁸J.W. Adamson, English Education, p. 70. The preamble to the Oxford Declaration of 2 May 1834 most unambiguously affirmed Christianity as central to instruction and specifically excluded any but the Anglican formulation of it.

The University of Oxford has always considered Religion to be the foundation of all education; and they cannot themselves be parties to any system of instruction, which does not rest upon this foundation. [Those who signed] protest against the notion that Religion can be taught on the vague and comprehensive principle of admitting persons of every creed. . . . The admission of [Dissenters] would lead to the most disastrous consequences; that it would unsettle the minds of the younger members of the University, would raise up a spirit of controversy which is at present unknown; and would tend to reduce Religion to an empty and unmeaning name, or to supplant it by scepticism and infidelity. (Ibid., p. 1)

cially exercised by us; and, by dissolving the union between the university and the Church of England, will impair the efficiency, and endanger the security of both."⁹

The religious and political movements of the late 1820s and early 1830s contributed to the outburst of controversy surrounding the university tests. For example, at Cambridge, greatly affected by the Evangelical revival, some dons, who had support from Nonconformists outside the university, tried to pass a waiver for non-Anglicans in 1829. Professor Pryme introduced a motion to abolish or at least to modify the religious tests; but it was vetoed in the Caput by Dr. King, the Tory Vice Chancellor.¹⁰ In order to insure doctrinal conformity and a visible position for the Church, students were required to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles and to attend Chapel. Already by the 1830s this university policy stirred controversy. The denunciations and scurrilities of free thinkers notwithstanding, the Universities had their own champions. For example, F.D. Maurice, when a young graduate, in 1835, wrote, Subscription No Bondage. This was a defense of the Articles as guides to thought, not as mere dogmatic formulae hampering the conscience.¹¹

Maurice wrote Subscription No Bondage to prove that subscription to the Articles was imposed on students entering Oxford as a help to education and not as a test of faith. Of course, it was ironic that

⁹Oxford Declaration, p. 1.

¹⁰V.H.H. Green, The Universities, p. 62.

¹¹F.D. Maurice, The Friendship of Books, ed. Thomas Hughes.

F.D. Maurice, the son of a Unitarian minister, went both to Cambridge and Oxford and that he would defend subscription. Cambridge required every person taking a degree to declare himself a bona fide member of the Church of England. Oxford required all matriculating students to sign the Thirty-Nine Articles. Although Maurice said that the pamphlet made little impact at the time on the English public or even on the University, he declared that no book he had ever written "expresses more strongly what then were, and what still are, my deepest convictions."¹² His experience with the practice of Unitarian teachers of the Priestley and Belsham schools had forced upon him the conviction that a teacher who was not bound by any predetermined conditions "always tied down his pupils much more rigidly than one whose conditions of teaching were fixed beforehand."¹³ Hence Maurice looked upon subscription as a defense of liberty.¹⁴

Arguing that subscription is a help to education, Maurice perceives the Articles as providing conceptual unity for learning. He

¹²Frederick Maurice, Life of F.D. Maurice, p. 174.

¹³Ibid., p. 168.

¹⁴Maurice answers the objection: "the desire of saddling the mind with theological rules of thought under pretence of emancipating it, is more cunning and more odious than to force a particular creed upon the conscience" (F.D. Maurice, Subscription No Bondage, p. 14). First, he argues that all universities in England and elsewhere impose some conditions of thought on students. Every teacher imposes his own thought on the minds of students. Second, since God, Man, and Nature are the three primary objects of ordinary human interest, a university, if it teaches all branches of learning, must include Theology which relates to all three. Maurice pointed out from examples in the Classics, some of the many times Homer appeals to unseen powers, gods, etc. This concern is part of the tradition of humanity: the university should appeal to God, too. (Ibid., pp. 30-34)

asserts that a superior authority is needed to unite positive truth rather than to descend to the least common denominator. He rejects the juste milieu: that is reconciling men by concentrating on their weakness. According to Maurice, such a method seeks whatever is not decisive or positive in the opinion of either opposing party which then becomes amalgamated, thus leaving out what is vital and energetic in each.

He is half a Tory and half a Whig; that is to say, he has no politics at all. He is half Arminian and half Calvinist, that is to say, he has no theology at all.¹⁵

Of course, Maurice insists that the Church of England is an inclusive communion and not an exclusive sect.

Maurice develops four points to substantiate his thesis. First, he wants to prove that his interpretation of the use of the Articles is consistent with the views of those who drew up the Articles and introduced them into the University. Second, he shows their purpose--"that in all schools and universities there is a contract expressed or implied between teacher and learner, as to the principles on which the one agrees to teach and the other to learn." To state the terms of this contract impresses Maurice as the most honest method and the most serviceable to education. Third, he shows that if the rules of study imposed by the University on pupils are practical in explaining general education, they must be drawn from the "Science of Theology." Fourth, he argues that by means of his principles university defenders are enabled to answer popular objections to our system

¹⁵Ibid., p. 104.

and even to convert them into arguments in its favor. He insists that the "Articles are not enforced as a confession of faith; they are imposed for the sake of our general studies; and were they removed, our education would lose its meaning, its manliness, its coherency."¹⁶

Maurice mentions a number of examples of how the Articles relate to, and illuminate, deeper meanings to specific issues in teaching. Oxford uses Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics as a text. Moral energies presume moral habits and vice versa says Aristotle. Maurice recognizes a "living Spirit--an Absolute Being, good in Himself, the only source of all good, and its only end."¹⁷ Thus, the Articles shed additional light and meaning on the study of the Classics. Not only when discussing Aristotle, but also when dealing with modern subjects, such as political economy, an understanding of Divine Overlordship in the world would be helpful. Maurice takes issue with, for instance, Malthus's Essay on Population. He denies that Malthus can generalize that a "mass or multitude of people who gratify their instincts to a degree which is unfavorable to their happiness" can also generalize this tendency into a law. He denies that "we get the true idea of humanity . . . from a multitude of irregular cases, altogether unfit for experiment."¹⁸ Thus, for Maurice, for thoroughly non-sectarian reasons, the Articles had a most deserving and necessary place at the foundation of an Oxford education.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. i, ii.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 41.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 100.

Cambridge, too, brought forth its defenders of religious tests and the role of the Articles. Dr. Thomas Turton, Regius Professor of Divinity, authored a pamphlet, though one more sectarian in focus than that of Maurice.¹⁹ Turton constructed a series of arguments against the admission of non-Anglicans to Cambridge. Typical of his age and theological background, he argued by analogy. Turton recollected the experience of Dr. Doddridge's academy founded in Northampton in 1729. Although "Calvinistical" himself, Doddridge accepted young men to his school of any sect. Turton traced the theological voyage at this Dissenter academy from Orthodoxy to Unitarianism and attributed it to the lax admission policy.²⁰

Turton elaborated on a number of subsidiary points relating to alleged depravity at Daventry. Somewhat in contradiction to the practice at Daventry Turton pointed out that most Nonconformists have formularies of religious truth which they use as a basis for teaching; therefore, so may the Church of England at Oxford and Cambridge. However, in the context of schools without religious admission tests he warned of the "vortex of unsanctified speculation and debate which will inevitably await every young man."²¹ Specifically at Oxford and Cambridge, Turton maintained that if there were no religious tests then

¹⁹Thomas Turton D.D., Thoughts on the Admission of Persons without Regard to their Religious Opinions to Certain Degrees in the Universities of England (Cambridge: At Pitt Press by John Smith, Printer to the University, 1834).

²⁰Ibid., pp. 5-18.

²¹Ibid., p. 24.

young men would "leave the Universities with understandings bewildered by the jargon of controversy" which might lead to a "general breaking up of the constitution of the country."²² Turton also feared the political ramifications of admitting Dissenters. The repeal of religious tests might be a first step in a Nonconformist plan to disrupt the established Church from the state. Dissenters will vote in Convocation at Oxford and the Senate-House at Cambridge.²³ He also perceived threats to England's social fabric in the absence of religious tests. "Unrestrained investigation at too young an age without the intervention of some guiding and restraining power may endanger the stability of our social system."²⁴ Finally, Turton summed up his position by saying "When an experiment is notorious for having been productive of evil, it ought not to be repeated. The results of the proceedings at Daventry need not be confirmed by their application to the Universities of England."²⁵

Not all Cambridge men saw the issue of Religious Tests from the same perspective as Turton. Some of these men signed a petition in favor of Dissenters in 1834. This action, while making little tangible impact on Parliament, greatly aroused Coleridge.

There are, to my grief, the names of some men to the Cambridge petition for admission of the Dissenters to the University, whose cheeks I think must have burned with shame at

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid., p. 25.

²⁴Ibid., p. 28.

²⁵Ibid., pp. 26-27.

the degrading patronage and befouling eulogies of the democratic press, and at seeing themselves used as the tools of the open and rancorous enemies of the Church . . . and this by a faction bonded together like obscene dogs and cats and serpents, against a church which you profoundly revere! (1 May 1834)²⁶

Coleridge's dismay over the willingness of fellow Cambridge men to sign such a petition probably was shared by others. Indeed no other issue during the whole decade aroused so much controversy at Cambridge.

Renn Dickson Hampden at Oxford held a middle position on the Test question. He distinguished between religious (based on facts of the Bible) truth and Theological (based on speculation and logic) truth. He claimed that all Christians share religious truth though they differ on the theological. Therefore, he opposed university tests merely as a device to exclude Dissenters but favored the maintenance and teaching of Church of England formularies.²⁷ He opposed a Parliamentary Bill to force the Admission of Dissenters, preferring that the university resolve this issue by consensus.

In the midst of this controversy, Thomas Arnold, like Thirlwall, spoke in favor of Dissenters. In his work of 1833, Principles of Church Reform, he had already proposed the promotion of social solidarity through the mingling of classes at the universities. According to A.P. Stanley, Arnold wrote, but did not publish, a pamph-

²⁶S.T. Coleridge, Specimens of the Table Talk of Samuel Taylor Coleridge (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1905), pp. 316-17.

²⁷Renn Dickson Hampden, Observations on Religious Dissent with Particular Reference to the Use of Religious Tests in the University, second edition (Oxford: S. Collingwood, Printer to the University, 1834), pp. 34-36.

let in favor of the admission of Dissenters.²⁸ Arnold did, however, circulate a declaration favoring Dissenters for signatures in April and May, 1834. He considered the exclusion of a large part of Englishmen from the benefit of the ancient universities a national evil. While insisting that the great truths of Christianity must form the foundation of all education, he argued that these truths are also held by most Dissenters (except Unitarians); thus, every essential point of Christian instruction may be communicated without touching on those particular questions on which the Church and the mass of Dissent are at issue.²⁹ Of course Arnold's position vis à vis Oxford placed him in a small minority. What an irony that three years later he would end up a minority of one vis à vis the Senate of London University. In one case he was too liberal in accepting Nonconformists and in the other too Orthodox for insisting on some Biblical knowledge as a prerequisite for

²⁸A.P. Stanley, Life and Correspondence of Dr. Arnold, p. 293. He believed in the exemplary life of Christ. To him revealed truth was restricted to the scriptures and could not be supplemented by "official" interpretation. The only additional authority in religious life was the personal judgment of the faithful, guided by conscience, not clergy. Private judgment was not seen as bending over other Christians, but only as an expression of equality between Christians before God. Arnold could only accept an ecclesiastical hierarchy as an administrative institution not as a scale of religious authority.

This concentration on the scriptures and Christ's example minimized the importance of the Church membership. Christians were all who believed in Christ. Denominations were thus matters of tradition rather than fundamental divisions.

Arnold's ecumenicalism was an attempt to integrate all denominations within a common system of morality. He feared that "if Dissent becomes general then the Establishment will cease to be national." Arnold's ecumenicalism was related to nationalism. (Arnold, Principles of Church Reform, 1833, pp. 86-90)

²⁹A.P. Stanley, Life of Arnold, pp. 330-31.

a degree.

In the end the bill to abolish University tests was rejected by the Lords in 1834. Indeed, until the 1850s, the only concession by Parliament to non-Anglicans in higher education was the granting of a Charter to London University. The Church itself founded Durham University, out of the Cathedral treasure, in part as a response to the success of secular London University. The high feeling generated by the tests question deflected attention from the more important issues of academic reform. In particular, conservatives were alarmed by the apparent connection between those who wanted to change academic practice and those who called for change in the Church of England.³⁰

As a reflection of the tie between the Church and the universities theological studies had a prominent place. At Cambridge, Bristed noted the lecture outlines by various professors.³¹ Like most instruction, the colleges, rather than the university, carried the major load. At Balliol College, for example, two days per week were devoted almost exclusively to theology.

In the course of the first year and a half each undergraduate reads the four Gospels and Acts of the Apostles in Greek, and Paley's Horae Paulinae; then a Term is occupied with Paley's Evidences or Bishop Pearson on the Creed, or Bishop Jewell's

³⁰V.H.H. Green, The Universities, p. 63.

³¹At least three professors prepared theological lessons: the Lady Margaret Professor, the Norrisian Professor, who delivered lectures on Church history, Creeds, and the Bible, and the Knightsbridge Professor of "Moral Theology" or casuistry. (Charles A. Bristed, Five Years in an English University, pp. 359-62)

Apology: and the last year is devoted to the Thirty-Nine Articles.³²

These lessons were conducted with questions and answers by students and teachers "in order to shew that they understand and remember what they have already heard."³³ Besides the lectures in college, religious instruction also extended to a weekly lecture delivered on Sundays in the college chapel. The subjects comprehended the doctrines of the Church as contained in her formularies. During each week students must write answers to questions based on the previous lecture. Also in each term students prepared a paper consisting of an abridgement of one of the historical books of the Old Testament. These exercises were arranged so that in the course of about two years each student abridged all of the historical books from Genesis to Nehemiah. Oral examinations on these subjects concluded each term.³⁴ Of course, the examination in the rudiments of religion, considered to be the most essential part of the examination for the B.A. degree indicated a sort of general recognition of religion as the leading principle in university institutions and forms.³⁵

The Chapel system, regarded as an essential part or instrument of college discipline, in addition to religious instruction, consti-

³²George Moberly, A Few Remarks on the Proposed Admission of Dissenters in the University of Oxford (Oxford: J.H. Parker, 1834), p. 10. Moberly was a Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College.

³³Ibid., p. 10.

³⁴Ibid., p. 11.

³⁵Quarterly Journal of Education, VII, no. 14, April 1834.

tuted an essential part of university policy. Guidance for thought was institutionalized by regular required attendance at the College Chapel. The efforts to enforce Chapel attendance at Trinity College, Cambridge, may serve as a microcosm of a system in practice in all the colleges at Cambridge and Oxford at this time. In 1820, the college rule required undergraduates to attend every week three morning services, three evening services, and two on Sunday.³⁶ Dr. Christopher Wordsworth, after taking office as Master in 1820, soon discovered that the Bachelors of Arts, and, probably, also the Fellow-Commoners and Noblemen, were not attending Chapel as they should; even many of the Fellows were very remiss. Greatly distressed, he consulted in October 1820 with the Senior Dean and decided at the outset to "try them not on principles of coercion but of good will."³⁷ To further this end Wordsworth exacted a pledge from both Tutors and Assistant Tutors at Trinity College that they would attend Chapel "in the morning as much as may be, and on all evenings when you are not engaged by company at home or elsewhere."³⁸ In February, 1822, he published a notice to the

³⁶Chapel met at 7 a.m. and 6 p.m. Students were expected to go eight times per week. Bristed thought this was a moderate requirement in contrast to the sixteen times per week requirement in New England Colleges at that time (1830s at Yale). "It must be owned that their conduct in chapel is very orderly and proper, considering the great opportunities for subdued conversation by the way in which they are crowded together when kneeling" (C.A. Bristed, Five Years in an English University, p. 37).

³⁷Wordsworth's R.B. Books, Vol. I, p. 61, as cited in Winstanley, Early Victorian Cambridge, p. 389.

³⁸Wordsworth's R.B. Books, Vol. I, pp. 158-60; W. Whewell to J.C. Hare, 17 July 1822, Whewell Papers, cited in Winstanley, Early Victorian Cambridge, p. 73.

Bachelors of Arts warning them that the Master's patience was not inexhaustible and that "it would be particularly satisfying to him to notice on their part a voluntary and habitual attendance at chapel, without any interference from him or the college in the way of constraint or discipline"---and then he specified the minimum attendance requirements.³⁹ Apparently, conformity to the principles of "good will" was not sufficiently forthcoming; consequently, by 22 April 1824, a motion passed the Seniority at Trinity that required Chapel attendance a prescribed number of times, or else the term would not count as a residence fulfillment for undergraduates. Wordsworth required no more Chapel attendance than formerly, but he hoped to insure, as far as possible, that the requirement was obeyed. Even fourteen years later he had not given up the chapel struggle. Wordsworth had a new rule approved by the Seniority on 7 February 1838. It deprived delinquents of scholarships, and for repeated offenders, rustication was the final punishment after being referred to the Deans, the Tutors, and the Master of Trinity. Throughout a Mastership of nearly twenty years Wordsworth struggled to make chapel attendance a practiced reality. Perhaps Winstanley's comment, "Wordsworth had several bees in his bonnet, and the chapel bee was forever buzzing,"⁴⁰ may stand as a somewhat

³⁹Wordsworth's R.B. Books, Vol. III, pp. 30-31, cited in Winstanley, Early Victorian Cambridge, p. 390.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 389.

"What is a college without a chapel?" Bishop Christopher Wordsworth once asked a friend, a Canon of Winchester Cathedral. "An angel without wings," was the prompt reply. (J.H. Overton and E. Wordsworth, Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln (1870), p. 217)

pathetic epilogue to this man's pious efforts.

Why was the Master of Trinity so insistent about Chapel attendance? Many at the universities were convinced that the religious ethos of the university, as epitomized in Chapel services, created a Christian moral environment. Cambridge freshmen had explained to them in a pamphlet the worthy purposes provided by Chapel.

[I]t would be a promise that you (students) would every morning of your life be in your proper place in the College Chapel. First it is your duty: which ought to be reason enough for you. At your time of life, coming here to be trained . . . to the formation of a sound judgment and wholesome habits of thought, it can never be for your profit to have your mind continually distracted by a captious spirit of doubt and cavil and crude questioning of the laws formed for your direction by the concentrated wisdom of many by gone generations.⁴¹

While Thorp argued in favor of Chapel from a rather authoritarian position, based on the wisdom of bygone generations, Whewell argued in favor of the same point, but from a more familiar perspective. He compared the college community to a family. He maintained that a practice of daily prayer in common was most appropriate for Christian members of a Christian institution who live like a family. He then extended the

This phrase evokes a picture of that influential world of eminent ecclesiastics, intellectual giants and earnest idealists--rulers in school, university and diocese--who demonstrated to their generation the grandure and power which comes from the steadfast pursuit of noble aims. (David Newsome, Godliness and Good Learning, p. 1)

⁴¹T. Thorp, A Few Words to Freshmen, 1841; cited by Winstanley, Unreformed Cambridge, p. 388. Thomas Thorp, 1797-1877, entered Trinity College where he graduated eighth Wrangler in 1817, and earned an M.A. in 1822 and B.D. in 1842. He held a variety of university offices: a fellow, assistant tutor, junior dean, senior dean, tutor and vice master. While a student he was President of the Union in 1818 and the first president of the Cambridge Camden Society in 1839. From 1836 to 1873 he also held the offices of Archdeacon and Chancellor of Bristol. John Venn, Alumni Cantabrigiensis, Part II, Vol. VI, p. 182.

family metaphor in order to elaborate three arguments in favor of Chapel. Large families have common prayer; colleges should too. Failure to enforce rules for attendance would lead to laxity of good habits, Christian virtue, and seriousness of purpose. Established devotional habits, instilled in a child by his family, should not be lost at college.⁴² The fact that Wordsworth, Thorp, Whewell and others felt compelled to argue in favor of Chapel and that they frequently reiterated the regulations, testified to large scale indifference or opposition.

As has been previously noted, subscription to the Articles and Chapel were frequently connected. One of the most heated controversies at Cambridge during the 1830s grew out of these issues. Connop Thirlwall, an assistant tutor in Trinity College in 1834, responded in a pamphlet to the Reverend Thomas Turton D.D. who had written against the admission of Dissenters. Thirlwall claimed that Cambridge colleges were not theological seminaries and theology was hardly even included in the curriculum. The Divinity lectures were undogmatic. To open the way for Dissenters he remarked, "our daily services might be omitted altogether without any material detriment to religion," as the majority of those who attend do not come to pray, and the few who come in a spirit of piety find them unedifying and of little spiritual value. He held that compulsory services in college chapels were not only useless but positively harmful. He defiantly asserted that, "if one half at least of our present daily congregation was replaced by an equal number

⁴²Whewell, English University Education, pp. 104-14.

of Dissenters, they would not have come with greater reluctance, nor pay less attention to the words of the service, nor be less edified, or more delighted at its close."⁴³ This gem of candor so infuriated Wordsworth, an arch-defender of chapel, that he dismissed Thirlwall from his Cambridge post. A tremendous controversy ensued. Adam Sedgwick, asked by William Whewell, intervened to moderate the enraged Whigs in Trinity who were preparing to call in the Visitor to investigate the problem.

Criticism of Chapel came from quarters outside of the university, too, at least in one case from the Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston. Although he had been at St. John's College, Cambridge, and though he had been elected to Parliament in 1811 as a Tory from the University, Palmerston had fallen out of favor at his alma mater by the early 1830s. He was turned out by the universities in 1831 in favor of an anti-reform candidate. In the midst of the controversy surrounding Thirlwall's response to Dr. Turton, Palmerston asked,

Was it either essential or expedient that young men should be compelled to rush from their beds every morning to prayers, unwashed, unshaved and half-dressed, or in the evening from their wine to chapel, and from chapel back again to wine? By such a course the interests of the Church and true religious feeling could not be really served or advanced. A change in such a system of discipline would not be injurious, either to the interests of religion or to those of the University.⁴⁴

Although Palmerston definitely took issue with the university's Chapel

⁴³Thirlwall's pamphlet is dated 21 May 1834, A Letter to the Rev. Thomas Turton D.D., Ibid., p. 74.

⁴⁴Palmerston, as cited in Winstanley, Early Victorian Cambridge, p. 91.

policy, his basic allegiance to the Church and the University could hardly be doubted in public.

Opposition to enforced chapel attendance came from below as well as above. Christopher Wordsworth's various attempts to cajole, then badger, students into worship evoked a response from at least a few of the wayward. Particularly following the implementation of the new Chapel rules of 7 February 1838, the undergraduates did not quietly submit to what they thought to be a tyranny. Some of them composed and circulated violent lampoons and blasphemous parodies in which the fellows and, particularly Whewell and Charles Perry, then Assistant Tutor, were ridiculed.⁴⁵ John Lang, caught in the act of dropping a parody of the Litany into Parry's letter-box, was expelled.⁴⁶ Not all the malefactors could be caught and punished so widespread was the discontent.

Some students organized a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Undergraduates, which weekly circulated lists of the attendance of the Fellows at Chapel with ribald comments. A footnote to the list for the week ending 3 March 1838 was a fair example of their jeers.

The Society, in laying the report for the past week before the public, have great pleasure in remarking that the Fellows have been, on the whole, rather more regular in their attendance at chapel than on any previous week. A prize for general regularity and good behavior when in chapel has been instituted by the Society, who are as anxious to reward merit as they are to punish immorality. (The prize, a handsomely bound Bible, was awarded to Perry) . . . the Society most distinctly declare

⁴⁵Joseph Romilly, Cambridge Diary 1832-1842, 6 March 1838.

⁴⁶Ibid.

that they should not be guided merely by an outward show of religion. It is not, therefore, enough to go merely eight times a week to chapel, and when there to utter the responses so loud as to attract attention, or otherwise disturb the prayers of undergraduates. Such conduct will at all times be severely punished. But there will be a general examination of the Fellows at the end of each term, when they will be classed according to their merits.⁴⁷

The first of these lists appeared on 17 February 1834 and the last on 24 March. They may have been discontinued because the students feared detection or the college relaxed enforcement. Trinity wanted to avoid embarrassment.

At least one student at Trinity of the Wordsworth era has left an account of his impressions about Chapel. Upon entering Chapel for the first time as a freshman, John Wright enjoyed it as an exhilarating experience.

The chapel was thronged to excess . . . and the spectacle, presenting in long parallel lines, one rising above another, the select youth of Britain, pure and unspotted (at least in appearance) as their angelic vests, was to me, at first sight, as it were, a peer into Heaven. But when . . . notes of solemn sound first struck my tympanum with the chant, the delusion was complete. So fond a remembrance have I of the ecstasies wrought in my soul by the divine harmonies. . . .⁴⁸

Such a high-pitched level of spirituality could not be maintained for long. Later in his college career Wright reported that "the bore of chapel, in my time, was so sensibly felt that the Readers or Chaplains were afraid to do the full duty." A very conscientious man would read the Litany in the morning, persevering for some time amid the groans

⁴⁷According to D.A. Winstanley, some of these lists circulated by the "Society" are in Trinity College, Cambridge Library. The above passage was cited from Early Victorian Cambridge, pp. 392-93.

⁴⁸John Wright, Alma Mater, pp. 21-22.

and stamping of the shivering audience. "The faintest readers have always been held in highest estimation."⁴⁹ Perhaps most disturbing to those who emphasized the spiritual value of Chapel, Wright noted a lack of reverence during the service.

As things now go, there is not one man who goes to pray—not even amongst the saints or Simeonites. In the morning they munter, with all the reluctance of a man going to be hanged. [In the evening], enlivened with wine, the Dean, with all his eyes about him, cannot keep the cork in. [The students talk throughout the service.]⁵⁰

The state of affairs in chapel may have been aggravated by the frequency of attendance and by compulsion. Summoned at 7 a.m. to Matins, unless the students arrived in time for the markers to "get a glimpse at, and run their pins through us, we may as well be hugging the pillow."⁵¹

Perhaps, most serious of all the criticisms of worship at the universities was the charge that the services lacked spiritual vitality. This problem cut to the very heart of the defense of the connection between the Church and the universities. This was much more serious than the lampoons of obstreperous undergraduates or the ranting of a disgruntled utilitarian. An anonymous author of "Oxford Unmasked," in the 1830s, portrayed a most disheartening condition of divinity lectures and Chapel services.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 82.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 73.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 31. Markers with lists of the names in their hands, walked up and down chapel during a considerable part of the service, running a pin through the names of those present.

Then the Divinity lectures, besides being delivered in the most careless and lax manner imaginable, are generally but the extempore prosings, nay drivellings, of men, who have no incitement to excel or take pains. . . . It is true, there are chapels to attend . . . but it is little better than a remnant of monkish custom. . . . Observe the sleepy form, listen to the muttered curse, the impatient whisper of the morning, while the dull-eyed tutor mumbles, wearily through the service. . . .⁵²

According to this witness, at least, the heavy pall of the established church had dried up many sources of religious life and spiritual vitality. By no means were all critics of the divine services themselves lacking in spiritual fervor. The renowned Evangelical, Charles Simeon of King's College, Cambridge, complained of the perfunctory and irreverent services.⁵³ On some occasions, the quality of the minister's sermon just was not up to standard. Joseph Romilly, the Cambridge Registrar on Sunday, 20 January 1833, said in his diary, "an atrociously bad sermon from T.S. Hughes on the Millenium, never go to hear him again. . . ."⁵⁴ Although some individuals at times were disgruntled with the quality of divine services, perhaps we ought not be surprised that there was often a wide gap between the ideal set forth by apologists and the practice.

Indeed some might debate whether the religious life at the universities made any impact on students' character at all. V.H.H. Green, for example, claimed, "nor is there any evidence that the religious

⁵²Oxford Unmasked, undated but in 1830s, cited in V.H.H. Green, Religion at Oxford and Cambridge, p. 257.

⁵³William Carus, Memoirs of the Life of the Reverend Charles Simeon, 1847, p. 10.

⁵⁴J. Romilly, Diary of Cambridge, 1832-1842, p. 27.

character of the University in any marked fashion affected the morals or manners of its members." He then proceeded to enumerate incidents of wild and debauched undergraduate activities by giving examples from the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth centuries. He concluded this paragraph by saying that the majority of the undergraduates, like the dons, were doubtless law abiding citizens; but the religious influence of the University could be said hardly to have made a deep impression on all who attended it. Of course such a generalization may, in part, be true, but one cannot deny that it made an impression on many.⁵⁵ A contemporary, Bulwer-Lytton, also questioned the influence of worship services. "The College Chapel hath no damnation for the lords." The fellow commoners (noblemen) sat in privileged pews in chapel. He suggested that the young aristocrats did not take chapel seriously and that Chapel did not really constitute a grounding in religion or inculcation of virtue.⁵⁶

Adam Sedgwick testified in 1834, "that on no occasion, either public or private have I seen his holy rite of our Church performed with more solemnity or devotion than it is at the altar of a College Chapel."⁵⁷ Sedgwick was referring to the one Sunday in the term, usually known as Sacrament Sunday, on which Holy Communion was celebrated. Sometimes listeners to sermons felt sufficiently moved by

⁵⁵V.H.H. Green, Religion at Oxford and Cambridge, p. 235.

⁵⁶Edward George Bulwer-Lytton, England and the English.

⁵⁷A. Sedgwick, "Four Letters to the Editor of the Leeds Mercury, 31"; C.H. Smyth, Simeon and Church Order, p. 119.

good ones to take note of them--just as they noted the bad ones. If Joseph Romilly was disgusted by the sermon of T.S. Hughes, he was greatly impressed by that of Henry Melville, incumbent of Camden Chapel, Camberwell. He was reputed to be one of the most popular preachers in London and one of the greatest rhetoricians of the day. Romilly entered in his diary for Sunday, 28 February 1836,

Fine sermon from Melville on Rev. 2:5, "Remember . . . from whence thou art fallen and repent; or else I will come unto thee quickly and will remove thy candlestick out of his place except thou repent."--a beautiful passage in it on the efficacy of memory as an instrument of repentance . . . recalling the days of innocence in which (a man) knew sin by name alone and knew it but to abhor it.

He ended with a touching address to the young students who in a few years would be dispersed all over the land and would be intrusted with the awful responsibility of keeping the lights of Christianity burning.⁵⁸

Chapel services and sermons which exhorted students to keep the lights of Christianity burning were but one aspect of an overall program of discipline.

University officials adopted an in loco parentis attitude in their structuring and enforcement of discipline. Edward Copleston expressed his educational philosophy through the use of a garden image. He envisioned university administrators and teachers as gardeners who shape character by pruning improper growths. He used a sapling image to describe the process of moral education.

Let the students grow naturally, but with appropriate pruning of luxuriance, to keep the rust and canker of vice away from

⁵⁸Joseph Romilly, Diary of Cambridge, 1832-1842, p. 97.

them. The sunbeams of heaven and the elements of nature will do the rest.⁵⁹

The Provost of Oriel did qualify the above statement by saying, "Native vigour and persevering exertion are the rare qualities which lead to excellence of every kind."⁶⁰ Both at Oxford and at Cambridge a comprehensive structure of discipline was designed to shape student behavior and to demonstrate the authority of the university officials. Whewell, in English University Education, had a ten page section on College punishments. He discussed various ways that pressure could be applied to erring students to show the college's disapprobation. He argued that punishments should be increased after each successive infraction of rules--and, after a certain point, lead to expulsion. However, the intention of the student should be taken into account before applying any punishment. Clearly for Whewell, an archetypical authoritarian, punishment, and effective but fair ways of applying it, played a large role in his system of discipline.⁶¹

The entire disciplinary structure at the universities, including Chapel attendance, rested on an in loco parentis assumption. As previously mentioned, one defender of compulsory Chapel specifically argued that the system of prayers in the home ought not be lost when a child became a student at the university. This paternalism expressed itself in other areas of college life, too. Thomas Arnold, speaking of

⁵⁹E. Copleston, A Reply to the Calumnies, p. 157.

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Whewell, English University Education, pp. 89-98.

the staff, said they should be concerned with the whole growth of students within the Christian spirit. The training of the ministry was invaluable for this purpose. The joint Master-Clergyman bestowed the status of the cloth, and this, in turn, ensured the complete confidence of the public in the academic competence and moral reliability of the staff. This confidence, he claimed, was the basis of all professionalism.⁶² In this endeavor of Masters to mold students' character Arnold saw a kind of divine game--a contest between good and evil.

The management of students has all the interest of a great game of chess with living creatures for pawns and pieces, and your adversary, in plain English, the devil, who truly plays a tough game and is very hard to beat.⁶³

Arnold was not the only Master, either, in a Public School or at Oxford who engaged in moral exhortation. William Kay, an Evangelical tutor at Lincoln College, Oxford, in the 1830s, set an example for pious labors and devotion to duty as a serious-minded tutor. Mark Pattison wrote of his intellectual power and accomplishments; he later went to India as Principal of the College of Calcutta. According to Pattison, Kay "knocked the men about with his horns of iron, waking them up and rebuking their vices."⁶⁴ Pattison, perhaps somewhat snidely, noted that drinking, gambling and other vices continued in spite of Kay's earnest nocturnal entreaties.

One student notes, about 1820, that the University expects to

⁶²T.S. Bamford, Thomas Arnold on Education, p. 26.

⁶³J. Fitch, Thomas and Matthew Arnold and their Influence of English Education, p. 75.

⁶⁴Pattison, Memoirs, pp. 219-20.

receive none "but such as are so formed by time, precept, and example, as to be capable of conducting themselves like rational beings and gentlemen." Nevertheless, in spite of the liberty which is left to the gownsmen, "their conduct is watched over with unceasing vigilance by officers, Proctors, specially appointed for the purpose."⁶⁵ Proctors could enter any house at any time in Cambridge to search for errant gownsmen.

At Cambridge, college authorities closely guarded the morality of their young men. Christopher Wordsworth, as one of his first tasks as Master of Trinity, in 1820, initiated a building program to house all undergraduates in residence. He opposed the growing practice of undergraduates being housed in lodgings in town as a detriment to discipline. By 1823, King's Court was being erected at a cost, ultimately, of £50,000. On 15 June 1822, he made a "lengthy and impassioned" speech in which he enlarged upon the deplorable dissipation of undergraduates, and the extent to which it was encouraged by lodging-house keepers.⁶⁶

⁶⁵John Wright, Alma Mater, Vol. II, p. 145.

⁶⁶Trinity College Document, Box 29 C.l.b., cited in Winstanley, Early Victorian Cambridge, p. 62. "In the early nineteenth century, the internment of the child and the young man far from the world and his own family was considered one of the ideal forms of education, together with the individual tuition made famous by Rousseau's Emile" (Philippe Aries, Centuries of Childhood, p. 281). Such ideas about the beneficial influence of a school's housing were not confined to Europe. Contemporaneously in New England, Catharine Beecher, in 1829 at her Hartford Seminary for Women, wanted to institute a department of moral education and a boarding element for the young ladies. She affirmed that in a boarding home the real shaping of character would take place. The hours spent outside the classroom "are the hours of access to the heart, the hours in which character is developed, and in which opportunities for exercising beneficial influence are continually occurring" (Katharine Sklar, Catharine Beecher, p. 91).

Wordsworth's dislike of lodging houses was very widely shared. "There was a widespread suspicion that . . . intoxication and sexual offenses were distressingly common, and with the object of checking these vicious habits, the Senate, in April 1818, had passed a Grace for the annual appointment of two Pro-Proctors to assist in the enforcement of discipline."⁶⁷ It was alleged, by some, that to live out of college meant freedom to indulge in drunken orgies and to frequent haunts of vice without fear of discovery.

A tragic event, which took place in the Lent term, 1818, confirmed the worst fears of the opponents of the lodging houses and, undoubtedly, explains the Senate's inspection of such houses, which allegedly undermined the discipline of the University.

On the evening of February 5, Lawrence Dundas, an undergraduate of Trinity, dined with some friends at a lodging house in Bridge Street, and on his way home, being very drunk, fell into a ditch, from which he vainly endeavored to extricate himself. Frenzied with drink, and perhaps hoping to gain greater freedom of movement, he divested himself of most of his clothes, and as the night was cold, he was found on the following morning dead where he had fallen, having perished from exposure. The moral was driven home by the verdict of the Coroner's jury which stated that, "the said Lawrence Dundas . . . came by his death in consequence of being exposed all night to the severity of the weather in a naked state in a wet ditch, and that it was a fatal and melancholy result of having been intoxicated."⁶⁸

This unsavory tragedy was given publicity by an "eccentric and unbalanced evangelical clergyman," named Maberly, who published a pamphlet in which he asserted that the lax discipline of the university was

⁶⁷Gunning, *Ceremonies*, 1828, pp. 23-26, cited in Winstanley, *Early Victorian Cambridge*, p. 59.

⁶⁸This anecdote was cited in Winstanley, *Early Victorian Cambridge*, p. 59.

responsible for the young man's death, and that dissipation and licentiousness would remain unchecked as long as undergraduates were allowed to live in lodgings.⁶⁹ Recognizing the dangers to students' character, indeed, their very lives, if their environment were not closely scrutinized, Wordsworth reacted in what he believed to be the only responsible way under the circumstances. Under his Mastership, Trinity College did attempt to monitor students "off campus" by allowing them to live only in places where the landlord promised to report any student who returned after 10 p.m. and who had guests to visit. Their tutors were to make "searching inquiries" with the servants in these lodging houses about students.⁷⁰ While university Masters and Tutors attempted to create and maintain certain community standards, the students themselves forged a powerful moral influence through peer pressure.

Most observers regarded the student subculture in a positive light. Charles Simeon, for example, said, "One of the great blessings of a Cambridge education is that here we lose our rigidity: as stones on the sea shore lose their angles by rough friction so do we, by asperity of doctrine."⁷¹ Simeon saw the process of rough friction as a valuable one; he urged students to "be Bible Christians and not system Christians." By wearing away the rough edges of church parties and

⁶⁹F.H. Maberly, The Melancholy and Awful Death of Lawrence Dundas, Esq. (1818), cited in Winstanley, Early Victorian Cambridge, p. 60.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁷¹Brown, Letters of Charles Simeon, pp. 280-81.

sectarianism, students might come to a truer faith. Simeon maintained, "It is faith, not learning, which is required for a right understanding of the Scriptures."⁷² Newman, on the opposite end of the Anglican spectrum from Simeon, also appreciated the student community as a moral shaper. He sought some commonly held judgments and norms. In fact, he regarded the public schools as a better educational institution than a college with lectures and examinations because boys stimulated and learned from one another, and were "moulded together" into an "assemblage." According to Newman this grouping would constitute a whole, would embody a specific idea, represent a doctrine, administer a code of conduct, and furnish principles of right action. An assemblage would give birth to a living teaching, which in course of time would take the shape of a self-perpetuating tradition, of a "genius loci . . . which embraces and forms . . . every individual successfully brought under its shadow."⁷³

Even Newman realized that not every aspect of college living related only to the most elevated or divine purposes and subjects. He admitted that almost everything depends at Oxford, in the matter of acquaintance, on the proximity of rooms.

You choose your friends, not so much by taste, as by your staircase. . . . Thus, in the choice of friends, chance often does for us as much as the most careful selection could have effected.⁷⁴

⁷²Ibid., p. 37.

⁷³J.H. Newman, Idea of a University, p. 147.

⁷⁴Newman, Loss and Gain, pp. 3, 4.

Of course relations with friends could have a long lasting influence on a student's character, not to mention his religious persuasion--the whole point of the plot in Newman's novel. Friends exchanged ideas and expressed feelings as they walked arm-in-arm on the street or went for long walks, the major physical activity.⁷⁵ Also tutors' breakfast parties provided a place for meeting and conversation. "It was an arduous undertaking to provide the running accompaniment of thought, or at least of words, without which breakfast would have been little better than a pig trough."⁷⁶ As portrayed by Newman, student association could inspire and educate or pander to the lowest urges.

John Ruskin recounted an anecdote revealing one of the common activities among students at that time, and, perhaps in our time too. At his first supper-party at Christ Church he held his own only by pouring the punch down his waistcoat, after which he helped carry four of his companions headfirst back to their rooms.⁷⁷ Not all the students respected learning either. "A confounded quiz" was a name which the "idle and profligate were in the habit of applying to one of the most respectable of the undergraduates."⁷⁸ These two incidents, seemingly demonstrating little of character or intellectual improvement, did not necessarily typify students' experience.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 53.

⁷⁶Ibid., pp. 75-76. Newman itemized the menu of a typical breakfast: rolls, muffins, eggs, toast, boiled ham, cold lamb, strawberries, and mutton cutlets.

⁷⁷Philippe Ceries, Centuries of Childhood, p. 321.

⁷⁸Gunning, Reminiscences of Cambridge, p. 10.

Many students and observers reported valuable, constructive, and wholesome interchanges. For example, some students tutored their slower fellows. Even in the late eighteenth century Gunning, as a Cambridge student, reported that he did well on an examination. He "felt humbled by praise undeserved," and he confessed to his teacher that he was indebted to Hartley for all the advantages which he could have received from a private tutor.⁷⁹

Frederick Denison Maurice requested a letter of recommendation from J.C. Hare, his Tutor, so that he could go up to Trinity Hall, Oxford. He received not only the recommendation but also some advice.

For myself the great and almost only benefit derived from the University was from the friends I formed there: and in order to be a recipient for that, one must be of the same age with them, with the same freshness of thought, the same ardour to enter upon the fields of speculation then for the first time opening our view. Of course you will keep aloof from the turbulent excitement of the intellectual contests, and for the purpose of independent meditative study, the life of a bachelor appears to me far the most appropriate.⁸⁰

Prior to studying at Oxford, Maurice had first attended Cambridge. He wrote to his mother about the effects of Cambridge on his character. "From the style of persons among whom I have been thrown, I have become somewhat less selfish, and a good deal less conceited and dogmatical."⁸¹ A few years later Maurice wrote to Hare and commented on the lasting value he had derived from associating with other young men at

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 15.

⁸⁰Frederick Maurice, Life of F.D. Maurice, J.C. Hare to F.D. Maurice, 15 November 1829, p. 100.

⁸¹Ibid., Letter to his Mother, 28 April 1826, p. 71.

Cambridge.

If I could hope to combine in myself something of that freedom and courage for which the young men whom I knew at Cambridge were remarkable, with something more of solidity and reverence for what is established, I should begin to fancy that I had some useful qualities for a member of the English Church.⁸²

While at Oxford Maurice became friends with W.E. Gladstone, among others. Making new friends at Oxford had been aided by letters about Maurice from Arthur Hallam at Cambridge, to some of his friends at Oxford. His biographer wrote that it was impossible to exaggerate the tone of respect for Maurice's intellectual and moral power by all of his contemporaries at Cambridge. "Before he left the University he found himself the acknowledged leader of the most remarkable body of men within it."⁸³ "Sterling used to speak . . . of spending time in picking up pebbles beside the ocean of Maurice's genius."⁸⁴

Unfortunately, not everyone found such fulfilling and beneficial friendships as Maurice. Mark Pattison, by contrast, complained bitterly of the detrimental effects of group pressure on his character:

the yoke of moral tyranny which I fastened around my neck, by the growing anxiety as to what others were thinking of what I said and did. I cannot dwell enough on this as it became the governing law of my words and actions. How I struggled and prayed against my weakness, but in vain! . . . This gave my whole behavior an insincerity and affectation which, when

⁸²Ibid., Letter from F.D. Maurice to Julius Hare, 3 December 1829, p. 103.

⁸³Ibid., p. 56.

⁸⁴Ibid.

impossible to shake off as it was bound up with the attempt to do and think as others do. . . .⁸⁵

Pattison found that the "yoke of moral tyranny," not only distorted his social life, but also detracted from intellectual accomplishments. Although Oriel, where he matriculated, was, along with Balliol, a leading college, Pattison was bitterly disappointed.

I found lectures regarded as a joke or a bore, condemned by the more advanced, shirked by the backward; Latin and Greek regarded as useless, except for the purpose of getting a degree.⁸⁶

In his innocence, Pattison was surprised by "a paradox . . . that men should come to a university not to study." Although Mark Pattison, as a youth in the 1830s, found Oriel an inhospitable environment personally and socially, at least some other students found their peers more stimulating.

As Pattison clearly indicated not all students devoted themselves enthusiastically to academics. Some were more interested in athletics. Although Tuckwell in the 1830s and 1840s described "unathletic Oxford," there were opportunities for exercise and some sports. Many men who could not afford equestrianism took long walks. "At two o'clock, in pairs or threes, the whole University poured forth for an eight or ten miles' toe and heel on the Iffley, Headington, Abingdon, or Woodstock roads, returning to five o'clock dinner."⁸⁷ Tuckwell believed that the relatively limited alternatives for physical

⁸⁵Pattison, Memoirs, pp. 559-60.

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 63.

⁸⁷Tuckwell, Reminiscences of Oxford, p. 124.

activities operated in favor of intellectual life. The thought devoted in later years to athletic "matches and events, high jumps and bikes, moved then on loftier planes." Perhaps with some exaggeration, or the distortion with which old men recall the days of their youth, Tuckwell claimed that

in our walk, no less than in our rooms, then, not now:
 We glanced from theme to theme,
 Discussed the books to love or hate,
 Or touched the changes of the State,
 Or threaded some Socratic dream.⁸⁸

Tuckwell was not alone in attributing a declension in academic life by the second half of the century to the rise of athleticism. Mark Pattison had expressed disgust at the "overgrown boys" who populated Oxford by the 1860s and 1870s.

A generation before Tuckwell described "unathletic Oxford," John Wright portrayed the situation at Cambridge. Wright showed a much more accepting attitude toward sports than Pattison or Tuckwell. Indeed, he recommended that the University construct some tennis courts. Although cricket was played, "tennis is infinitely more attractive and less time consuming--an hour's play being enough in all reason to brace the body and invigorate the mind."⁸⁹ His support for tennis was no mere passing fancy. Wright developed a three-point rationale for it which he argued would improve morals, health, relations between students, and learning. First, morals would improve because the dissipation of money and time would be cut as men would play

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 125.

⁸⁹John Wright, Alma Mater, Vol. II, p. 242.

tennis instead of billiards, gambling, or other unwholesome activities. Second, participation in tennis would "ensure a closer connection between gay-men [sic] and reading men." "The austerities and pedantic habits too often contracted by the latter, and the reckless unthinking levities of the former, by thus being brought into contact, would by degrees, become conspicuous, and be mutually corrected."⁹⁰ Third, a study of the trajectories of the "little elastic whizzers" presented interesting problems on the motion of rotation and other puzzles for mathematicians.

In addition to being a place for wearing down rough edges of personalities, fostering the development of a collective spirit, learning from each other, following exemplary leaders, and engaging in wholesome physical activities, the school environment provided a special kind of testing. According to Lockean and Humanistic theory, external pressures in the school environment served the purpose less of molding than testing. There were obstacles against which a student struggled; by overcoming them he sharpened his faculties and strengthened his character.⁹¹

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 242.

⁹¹E. Mack, Public Schools and British Opinion, p. 31. Group association could foster other virtues too, particularly in the context of the public schools. According to Mack, relations could exert a constructive influence on men's characters that would make them ideally suited for service in the British Empire.

1. Develop manliness, the ability to overcome obstacles by fitting him for competition.
2. Destroy false pride of rank or fortune by learning to endure and live with equals at school.
3. Foster a democratic spirit.

In addition to a variety of informal student activities, university men sometimes formed associations for particular purposes. One of the first of these societies in the century, and a very controversial one at the time, was the Cambridge Auxiliary Bible Society. Innocuous as this organization might sound, it encountered fierce opposition by many university authorities. It originated with the undergraduates, and was carried out by their zeal and perseverance. Henry Gunning recalled that leading members of the university strongly opposed, as a dangerous precedent, an initiative taken by young men to found a deliberating body; "it would be productive of a great mischief to the discipline of the University."⁹² Students' zeal, however, was unabated, and they seemed determined to struggle against all difficulties. They at length succeeded in obtaining the sanction, if not the support, of the Vice-Chancellor for a meeting to be called of the University, Town, and County of Cambridge, for the purpose of establishing a society. The meeting was crowded, and the proceedings excited the most intense interest. The Evangelicals, who supported the founding of the Bible Society carried the day, much to the rejoicing of Wilberforce and Simeon.⁹³

Students sometimes formed societies specifically to advance

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4. Promote generosity, honorableness and loyalty to the group, and later to the nation.
 5. Conform men to group norms. Discourage the original, the eccentric, or intellectually independent.
- (Ibid., pp. 189-90).

⁹²Gunning, Reminiscences of Cambridge, Vol. II, p. 259.

⁹³Ibid., p. 260.

learning, sharpen oratorical skills, and enjoy each others' company. Particularly at Cambridge students seemed inclined to organize themselves. Only a few years after the founding of the Bible Society, another student organization, one with a completely different purpose, came into being, the "Atheist Club," founded about 1815. John Wright recalled, "a club of Voltaire's way of thinking, headed by a semi-Frenchman, and consisting of several of the leading characters of the University." However, when they began to argue various issues,

they soon discovered the monstrous folly of such doctrines and dispersed. I could name a few bright characters now shining in full lustre in the University and out of University, and passing for great moral and religious exemplars, who took the lead in this infatuated and iniquitous assembly.⁹⁴

During the 1820s, at the height of its reputation, the Union Debating Society was an arena where what were then extreme opinions in politics and philosophy were weekly asserted, face to face, with their opposites, before audiences consisting of the elite of the Cambridge youth. Not only did Benthamism permeate English society in general during the first third of the century, but it even penetrated its bastion of opposition, the ancient university. Benthamism was popular among some Cambridge students in the 1820s. Many men, later to become prominent in Victorian society, made their oratorical debuts in the Union Debating Society. J.S. Mill wrote, "Although many, including Lord Macaulay, gained their first oratorical laurels in these debates, the really influential mind among these intellectual gladiators was

⁹⁴Wright, Alma Mater, p. 62.

Charles Austin.⁹⁵ While the Union Debating Society focused on "advanced" issues and opinions, often those reflecting a Benthamite slant, another group took up what they regarded as issues of eternal significance.

Undergraduates at St. John's College gathered in the early 1820s, attracted by mental attainments and literary taste. Originally called the "Cambridge Conversazione Society," they got the name "Apostles" in banter, their number being limited to twelve. In its prime from 1824 to 1840, by the late 1820s they met in Trinity College. Founded by John Sterling and F.D. Maurice for the purpose of discussing all the leading questions of the time the Society was a place for intellectual ferment.

They discussed such topics as The Origin of Evil, the Derivation of Moral Sentiments, Prayer and the Personality of God, Have Shelley's poems an Immoral Tendency? Is there any Rule of Moral Action beyond General Expediency?, and the like.⁹⁶

The "Apostles" hoped to "advocate moral earnestness and purpose in literature, art, and society."⁹⁷ Their earnestness seemed overwhelming

⁹⁵J.S. Mill, Autobiography, p. 77. J.S. Mill in his Autobiography commented about Charles Austin who left the university in 1824.

He had shown as a man of intellect and a brilliant orator and converser. The effect he produced on his Cambridge contemporaries deserves to be accounted an historical event, for to it may be traced the tendency toward Liberalism in general, and the Benthamite and politico-economic form of it in particular, which showed itself in a portion of the more active-minded young men of the higher classes from this time to 1830. (J.S. Mill, Autobiography, p. 76)

⁹⁶Willey, More Nineteenth Century Studies, p. 61.

⁹⁷Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, Vol. II, ed. Walter E. Houghton, p. 724.

at times. Their biographer wrote, "It was not the wont of the early Apostles to choose their associates on account of any mirthfulness of disposition."⁹⁸ He went on to say that the apostles of the first five years of the Society's existence possessed minds of a different caliber from those who followed. They were deeper, heavier, and possibly a little narrower.⁹⁹ Another historian has described the "Apostles" as a sociable set of students and fellows who combined historical scholarship, German Idealism, and modern poetry, along with modern science--all in a Christian context at Trinity. In the 1820s they were led by F.D. Maurice, Richard Trench (later Maurice's colleague at King's College, London and still later Archbishop of Dublin), John Kimble (Cambridge's Anglo-Saxon expert), John Sterling, immortalized in Carlyle's biography, and Alfred Tennyson.¹⁰⁰ Some of the "Apostles" were even connected by marriage: the Maurices, the Hares, and the Stanleys.¹⁰¹ In spite of their seriousness of purpose the group had a sociable routine. They met weekly in each other's rooms, delivered an essay, commented on it, had refreshments (coffee and anchovies on toast), and even some fun.¹⁰²

Some of the students in the Union Debating Society served as a

⁹⁸Frances M. Brookfield, The Cambridge Apostles, p. 107.

⁹⁹Ibid.

¹⁰⁰W.F. Cannon, "Scientists and Broad Churchmen: An Early Victorian Intellectual Network," p. 78.

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 80.

¹⁰²F.M. Brookfield, The Cambridge Apostles, p. 16.

moral inspiration to their fellows. A.H. Hallam at the age of nineteen wrote to W.E. Gladstone about Maurice. Although he did not know Maurice personally he knew many whom he has known, "and whom he has moulded like a second nature." These men admire him even though they might have been jealous of him. "The effect which he has produced on the minds of many at Cambridge by the single creation of that Society of Apostles (for the spirit, though not the form, was created by him) is far greater than I can dare to calculate, and will be felt, both directly and indirectly, in the age that is upon us."¹⁰³ Although Maurice may have been an exemplar and the Union Debating Society may have included some of the more active minds in Cambridge, the University still remained out of touch with the contemporary world. About 1823 Maurice commented that since the fall of Spain, "I have been almost utterly uninterested about anything in the public line." The debates in the Union were "confined to all time previous to the year 1800," and therefore make a member attend more to history than to passing events.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, so inspirational were the Union's meetings and activities that another earnest young man, W.E. Gladstone, founded an Essay Club at Oxford based on the model of the Apostles.¹⁰⁵

Many university men did not confine their interest in

¹⁰³Frederick Maurice, Life of F.D. Maurice, Letter of A.H. Hallam to Gladstone, 23 June 1830, p. 110.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹⁰⁵Brookfield, The Cambridge Apostles, p. 16. This endeavor may have been assisted by Thomas Acland at Oxford with whom Maurice frequently corresponded in the early 1830s. Maurice was baptized into the Church of England in 1831.

Benthamism to the colleges. They carried ideas into the world. In another section of his Autobiography, J.S. Mill recounted some of the activities and participants in the London Cooperative Society active from 1825 to 1827. This society modeled on the Speculative Society at Edinburgh, cultivated debate and public speaking on major issues of the day. J.S. Mill and other Radicals advanced political economy. Members included George Villiers, later Earl of Clarendon, and his brother Charles, Samuel Romilly, Charles Austin, a number of Members of Parliament and "nearly all the most noted speakers of the Cambridge Union and of the Oxford United Debating Society."¹⁰⁶ The Society had a major difficulty finding a sufficient number of Tory speakers. The members were mostly liberals. Among the participants Mill named the following: Macaulay, Thirlwall, Praed, Lord Howick, Samuel Wilberforce, Charles Poulett Tomson (Lord Sydenham), Edward and Henry Bulwer-Lytton, and Fonblanque.

Earnest groups of students, coming together for serious purposes, were not limited to debate societies. By contrast to the "tea and hassocks" Charles Simeon provided for young Evangelicals at Cambridge, the Tractarians at Oxford set up a regimen which they encouraged students to follow. Students were encouraged to observe regular ecclesiastical practices: attend Church daily, receive communion as frequently as possible, keep canonical hours, and consider private confession and absolution. Also, students should abstain from extravagance, "from all needless dainties as well as from the use

¹⁰⁶Mill, Autobiography, p. 126.

of tobacco." They ought to avoid dissipations of theaters, public halls, races and such diversions. Tractarians recommended celibate living. Finally, they encouraged visits to the poor and sick, and the setting aside of part of one's income for charitable purposes.¹⁰⁷ The group of Newmanite protégés who followed this procedure sometimes found that it debased their character rather than built it. For example, Mark Pattison, who had for a time been a devoted Newmanite, later revolted from it.

I adopted the plan which many others did, of reciting the Hours of the Roman Breviary, and seemed to please myself for some time in this time wasting and mind-drowning occupation. I once and only once, got so low by fostering a morbid state of conscience as to go to confession to Dr. Pusey.¹⁰⁸

Pattison claimed, though did not prove, that years later he discovered Pusey divulged a fact about himself which someone else used to annoy him. Based on Pattison's account alone, it is not clear if Pusey did, in fact, violate the seal of the confessional.

The result of moral education to a student, such as Pattison, often was quite different than what his mentors may have hoped. On the Vigil of St. Matthew, 1843, Pattison wrote,

When I think of the state of my soul, it fills me with concern and alarm. I am living outwardly a regular, moral, and even religious life, attending public prayer and communion. . . . Yet, I fear, I have not even begun to lead the spiritual life. I have even very little wish to do so--I shrink from the sacrifice of all earthly things--I dread the necessity (which I acknowledge) of giving my whole heart to God. And I am very

¹⁰⁷V.H.H. Green, Religion at Oxford and Cambridge, p. 291.

¹⁰⁸Pattison, Memoirs, p. 189.

ignorant of the way of salvation--ignorant of God's will--at thirty years of age I am without principles.¹⁰⁹

His inability to find enduring principles, in spite of the efforts of Newmanites to instill them, left Pattison with permanent scars and enduring bitterness. Clearly Mark Pattison saw the university as the main formulator of his character. Even from his childhood days, his father often repeated a line from the Eton Latin grammar: "I withdrew to Cambridge to improve my mind." This, Pattison said in his memoirs, was the proverb which presided over my whole life. I think no other sentence of any book had so large a share in molding my mind and character as this one.¹¹⁰ Although recognizing the powerful impact of the university on his character, Pattison rejected the message of those at Oxford who strove most earnestly to influence him morally. Dean Church in a review of Pattison's Essays said he had passed from the extreme ranks and strong convictions of the Oxford movement to the frankest form of Liberal thought. Nevertheless, Pattison himself had written that he could not give up early beliefs, much less the deep and deliberate convictions of manhood, without some shock to his character. Church remarked that in Pattison's case the change certainly came about. It made him hate what he had left, and all that was like it, with the bitterness of one who had been imposed upon, and has been led to commit himself to what he now feels to be absurd and contemptible.

¹⁰⁹Pattison, M.S. Diary, 1843, fol. 6, cited in Green, p. 288.

¹¹⁰John Sparrow, Mark Pattison and the Idea of a University, p. 63.

The bitterness of this disappointment gave an edge to all his work.¹¹¹

The results of moral education on students, of course, did not always lead to the kind of bitterness and distortion of character experienced by Pattison. Even so, another student, Arthur P. Stanley, strongly influenced by Thomas Arnold, also had difficulty making an adjustment to becoming a well-balanced adult, at least according to Geoffrey Faber. He claimed that "the purity of his heart and life, whom those who knew him best considered to be the distinguishing quality of his character and career," was not a deliberate conquest of the old Adam. Stanley "did not set out to discipline or mortify his senses; they merely withered away." Faber regarded this alleged process as a defect, a negation cutting himself off from any comprehension of the animal affirmatives in which human nature is found. Tuckwell reported, "Stanley never was a boy; he left school as he entered it, something between a girl and a man." Pattison and Stanley, though they went on to assume positions of leadership and responsibility in the Church and the University, experienced personal conflicts as a result of the moral education they received. In spite of their reactions to character building, they both became nationally renowned successes in their respective fields.

John Stuart Mill, although himself not a university man, commented on the university's capacity to educate morally. He asserted that it is beyond a university's power to educate morally or religiously if that consists in training the feelings and habits. He

¹¹¹Sparrow, Mark Pattison and the Idea of a University, p. 58.

insisted that it is the home and family which gives us the moral or religious education which we receive. That early preparation is completed and modified by society for better or worse. Universities can create the pervading tone to bolster moral or religious influences rather than teach classes in morality. Whatever it teaches should be penetrated by a sense of duty and of elevating character. Universities should teach what mankind and the best and wisest individuals have thought on the great issues of morality and religion.¹¹²

On a less philosophical level than Mill, an American student at Cambridge assessed the influence of the university environment on young men. Bristed saw both positive and negative features. On the one hand he approved of students' physical appearance, well rounded activities, and their health of body and of mind.

Nor must it be supposed that the gownsmen are thin, study-worn, consumptive-looking individuals. The stranger's first impression was that he had almost never seen so fine a body of young men together. Almost every man looked able and ready to row eight miles, walk twelve, or ride twenty, across country, at the shortest notice, or to eat half a leg of mutton and drink a quart of ale after it.¹¹³

Although heartily approving of the general state of health among students, in a chapter on religion and morals Bristed criticized at length the English bent for drink and sexual immorality. He perceived that many of his English colleagues had a tendency to regard all "common women, particularly milliners and domestics, as objects for

¹¹²J.S. Mill, Inaugural Address Delivered to St. Andrews, 1867, p. 186.

¹¹³Bristed, Five Years in an English University, pp. 17-18.

sexual gratification."¹¹⁴ He found the open profligacy of some students, particularly those entering orders, especially repugnant.

Whatever the results on particular students of dons' efforts to inculcate precepts or to mold character, the universities were a place that made a lasting impression on young men. Cambridge meant more to Alfred Tennyson, who entered Trinity in 1827, than it ever meant to Wordsworth, Coleridge or Byron. It formed his mind, widened his interests, introduced him to current thought and founded life-long friendships. In this context Willey characterized unreformed Cambridge as "a beautiful place of ancient colleges filled with young men who educated each other in their spare time."¹¹⁵

Whatever the value and purposes of moral education and character formation as defined and practiced in the first half of the century, the system changed by the 1850s. Probably, the research ideal was one of the most significant innovations at the old English universities. Unlike their German and French counterparts, until the mid-century Oxford and Cambridge had held back this new academic activity, undoubtedly realizing its corrosive effect on the old ecclesiastical system. Indeed, as late as the Third Report of the Devonshire Commission issued in 1873, Adamson noted, "no English University regarded original research as one of its functions." "Even the University of London, which had been foremost in advancing experimental

¹¹⁴Ibid., pp. 415-29 *passim*. Brasted discusses the social place of women and university education and attitudes toward them.

¹¹⁵Willey, More Nineteenth Century Studies, p. 61.

sciences, gave its highest degree in science without any proof that the candidate possessed the faculty of original research, or was competent to extend the boundaries of science in which he graduated."¹¹⁶

Frequently, the German research ideal at Oxford and Cambridge prior to the 1870s was disparaged as producing nothing more constructive than "unorthodox views about the Bible," an opinion widely held during the controversy between Darwinism and the Church.¹¹⁷

Even some spokesmen for educational practices and goals during the second half of the century recognized the need for a generalist education. For example, Jowett held that education, not research, was the first and final function of a tutor. Research, he seemed to have thought, was more often than not a self-indulgence; an agreeable escape from more urgent, if more tedious, duties. Thus, if teaching was their function dons must put their pupils first and do research in their spare time.¹¹⁸ Not surprisingly, with the triumph of the research ideal in the West in the twentieth century, Jowett's reputation declined and fell. Nevertheless, even the father of positivism, August Comte, recognized the need for emphasizing general principles.

Special studies carried on without regard for the encyclopaedic principles which determine the relative value of knowledge, and

¹¹⁶Third Report, p. lviii, Dr. Frankland's evidence, cited in John W. Adamson, English Education 1789-1902, p. 421.

¹¹⁷Robert G. McPherson, Theory of Higher Education in Nineteenth Century Britain, p. 112.

¹¹⁸Faber, Jowett, p. 43.

its learning on human life, will soon be condemned by all men of right feeling and good sense.¹¹⁹

Unfortunately for academic life, Comte's words of wisdom and advice have not always been heeded.¹²⁰ Nevertheless, the resistance to academic innovations evident during the first half of the century notwithstanding, the research ideal began to make inroads at Oxford and Cambridge by the second half of the century. To the extent that researchers fragmented a former encyclopedic comprehension of knowledge, and in the process fragmented social cohesion, they did so in contradiction to the intention of Comte.

The total environment as established, maintained and defended by university men like Wordsworth, Whewell, and Copleston was threatened and ultimately overthrown by the research ideal. This educational goal, associated with German Lehrnfreiheit produced the intellectual characteristics now associated with academic work generally: the bold, inquisitive, speculative mind, challenging traditional beliefs, and valuing, most, originality and discovery.¹²¹ The

¹¹⁹Comte, as cited in Willey, Nineteenth Century Studies, p. 203.

¹²⁰On the contrary, in the twentieth century many researchers have dissected and chewed subjects to death.

One gets the impression that American academics have descended on the world of learning like a swarm of locusts, leaving it so parched and bare that they have had to find other outlets for their energies; perhaps this is why so many of them have turned to more fruitful fields of government employment, speech writing for presidents, evaluating weapons systems, manning the government think-tanks, and writing popularized sociology and psychology. (John H.M. Scott, Dons and Students)

¹²¹Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education, p. 157.

research ideal's emphasis on the pursuit of new truth meant teachers were free to innovate. Obviously this was opposed to the earlier situation when dons, like Thirlwall, were dismissed from their fellowships or tutorships for advocating unorthodox views on the religion or practice of the Church of England. To expose young persons to an educational ideal that emphasized new knowledge was to admit the uncertainties in received knowledge. This might lead to heresy, or it could be socially disruptive; the authority of a hierarchical society and an Established Church were repeatedly, but with greater intensity, questioned throughout the nineteenth century. With a trend toward specialization and contributing to original research, a teaching knowledge of a subject was becoming insufficient as a test of professional competence by the turn of the twentieth century. When the ideal of universal knowledge, based on the classics, faded and was replaced by an emphasis on the specialist scholar, who made contributions to the advance of learning, the moral education system perpetuated and defended by Copleston, Sedgwick, Whewell, and Arnold was finished. In fact, the research ideal led to a totally new concept of higher education and intellectual atmosphere. Meaning could not be derived until all the facts were available; yet, research being a continuous process, made it appear that the task of collection would never end. While this new ideal had certain self-serving advantages--it justified prolonged research--it also produced frustration. The process of seeking truth became more important than finding it. Liberal education became the process of training that allowed the search to go on. To follow the

argument whithersoever it goes became the new purpose of a liberal education.¹²² Neither of these nineteenth century genres of education, the one stressing Classics or the other stressing research, related to the development of democratic social conscience according to our contemporary definition. However, the university spokesmen early in the nineteenth century who emphasized Classics, self-consciously attempted to integrate personal and public values to a much greater extent than did the proponents of the research ideal later in the century.

Perhaps of all the possible areas of innovation, research aroused the greatest consternation among Oxford and Cambridge men. Even Newman, frequently regarded as a champion of liberal education by the twentieth century, threw himself somewhat out of harmony with the trend of later years by minimizing the university's function of advancing knowledge, and concentrating upon that of propagating it. He went to the extreme by arguing that if research were the university's goal, there would be no need for students. "To discover and to teach are distinct functions; they are also distinct gifts, and are not commonly found in the same person."¹²³ He claims the great discoveries are not made in universities, rather they are done in societies: the Royal Society, the Ashmolean Society, the Architectural, the British Association, the Antiquarian, and the Royal Academy for Fine Arts.¹²⁴

Although the ultimate triumph of the research ideal may have

¹²²Ibid., p. 197.

¹²³J.H. Newman, Idea of a University, p. xxx.

¹²⁴Ibid.

contributed more than any other single factor, other forces combined to erode the old collegiate system after the 1850s. Most of the other changes were institutional though some reflected wider social movements. Many of the institutional changes resulted from Parliamentary reform of the universities in the 1850s. The Church's monopoly and the college's domination over the universities was broken. Close fellowships and religious oaths were abolished. Intercollegiate lecturing by professors increased at the expense of tutors, who had students drawn away, and of colleges, whose endowments were shifted to university control. Furthermore, with the growth of science, money to support it came to the universities from the colleges. The governance structure changed too. The power of the Hebdomadal Board at Oxford was broken while the power of Congregation, the resident graduates, increased. Finally, as a reflection of generally increased social mobility, Oxford and Cambridge became somewhat more democratic in that their undergraduate population was drawn from an increasingly wide range of social classes.¹²⁵

In spite of these changes the notion of colleges forming communities of common purpose survives, if in an altered condition. Theoretically, an undergraduate, upon matriculation into a college, becomes a member of it where the only division is between senior and junior members. Thus the student immediately acquires legal status within the university and is invested with certain rights and corresponding obligations. However, because the college is made up of

¹²⁵Sparrow, Mark Pattison and the Idea of a University, p. 116.

those who are already skilled in its purpose and those who have still to acquire these skills, the rights and obligations of the two groups, and the manner of participation of each, necessarily differs. Nevertheless, members of both groups are equally parts of an organic whole, equally elements of the institution's metabolism, each in its own way and within limits imposed by experience and understanding, responsible for its well-being and progress.¹²⁶

During the nineteenth century, many public schools and colleges turned inward, away from the world at large, even though their announced purpose was to bring Oxford and Cambridge back to the mainstream of national life. In the early part of the century, students recognized that they formed distinctive communities.

We were then a small society . . . and with more than the ordinary proportion of ability and scholarship. . . . One result of all these circumstances was, that we lived on the most familiar terms with each other: we might be, indeed we were, somewhat boyish in manner, and in the liberties we took with each other; but our interest in literature, ancient and modern, and in all the stirring matters of that time, was not boyish; we debated the classic and romantic question; we discussed poetry and history, logic and philosophy; or we fought over the Peninsular battles and Continental campaigns with the energy of disputants personally concerned with them. Our habits were inexpensive and temperate.¹²⁷

In such a sheltered and distinctive atmosphere educators such as Arnold and Jowett hoped to influence students in a particular way. Students would be imbued with certain values. When they left the university

¹²⁶J.H.M. Scott, Dons and Students, p. 125.

¹²⁷A.P. Stanley, Life of T. Arnold, Vol. I, pp. 8-9. For an additional example of the sense of special community see J.T. Coleridge, A Memoir of the Reverend John Keble, 1869, Vol. I, pp. 10-12.

they would bravely bear the school message to society at large.

In the meantime, the process of education required the creation of a unique subculture within the university, with a distinct tone, a recognizable style, and something of a social mystique.¹²⁸ After 1850 the humanizing or character building aspect of Oxford and Cambridge was no longer so much centered in the syllabus. It was no longer Aristotle, but the recreations and social life of the colleges: the balls, the games, the parties and picnics, performances of music and plays, which shaped the distinctive university man.¹²⁹

By the second half, and perhaps it was also true during the first half, of the nineteenth century, Oxford and Cambridge formed character by instilling a distinct social tone. This moral and social tone, while not empirically measurable, was sufficiently distinctive to be commented upon by a Parliamentary investigation committee. The Clarendon Commission held that the tone of moral and religious education had improved considerably in the last thirty years, a tribute to Arnold's influence. The report concludes its highlighting of academic

¹²⁸Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education, p. 136.

¹²⁹Ibid., p. 142. Concerning sports dons were deeply divided over their value, some maintaining that they distracted from learning and the serious purposes of education, that they were philistine and anti-intellectual, encouraged social conformity, and discouraged true independence of self. Others claimed that allowances had to be made for the development of Character, for qualities such as loyalty and selflessness, which the training of mind alone could never do. One group of dons looked outward to the developing world of advanced scholarship, anxious to acquire international reputations for themselves and their institutions. The other group looked inward, desirous of preserving unique traditions and continuity with an aristocratic and privileged past. (Ibid., p. 144)

failures notwithstanding, with a paean in praise for the public schools, "the chief nurseries of our statesmen" where "men of all classes . . . destined for every profession and career, have been brought up on a footing of social equality." "It is not easy to estimate the degree to which the English people are indebted to these schools for the qualities on which they pique themselves, their aptitude for combining freedom with order, their public spirit, their vigour and manliness of character, their strong but not slavish respect for public opinion, their love of healthy sports and exercises." All this could be summed up in one phrase: the public schools "have had perhaps the largest share in moulding the character of an English gentleman."¹³⁰ The implications were that mere attendance at Oxford and Cambridge imparted a gentlemanly stamp, like the public schools and purchase of estates. Thus, even as they became more secular, the universities became mechanisms whereby the second and third generations of families of new industrial and commercial wealth, like the Peels and Gladstones before them, could merge into, and indeed dominate, the highest social ranks of the land.¹³¹ Ironically, the atmosphere, social tone, and environment which the Church had done so much to create in the first half of the century in order to mold Christian Character, became, if anything an even more dominant aspect of university character formation, though the Church itself, the original raison d'être, lost its importance.

¹³⁰Report of the Public School Commission, Vol. I, p. 56, cited in Brian Simon, Studies in the History of Education 1780-1870, p. 312.

¹³¹Michael Sanderson, The Universities in the Nineteenth Century, p. 2.

CONCLUSION

Although prereformed Oxford and Cambridge have sometimes been regarded as semi-monastic backwaters of European higher education in the first half of the nineteenth century, new ideals emerged there by mid-century, though often with great resistance. Education at these two universities was, their apologists claimed, the antithesis of professional training. These universities had a largely non technical or professional utility, but a growing body of nineteenth-century opinion defined them as useless. Paradoxically, university spokesmen failed to admit the direct correlation of the classics curriculum to a clerical vocation into which a majority of graduates entered. Particularly at the turn of the nineteenth century, if the universities seemed complacent, it was because they were confident that they were fulfilling their ultimate mission. It was the whole elevating experience of three years in Oxford or Cambridge that was important. Spending those years in comparative idleness did not result in any stigma, and was more agreeable than spending them in strenuous reading. The objective of university and student was not the attainment of a high degree of specialized knowledge, but rather the development of intellect and character--to produce a gentleman. A gentleman would know classical literature, have a love and respect for English traditions, and an abiding sense of moral responsibility, particularly to state and

Church.¹

In the face of increasing questions and challenges to the traditional university system and goals, Oxford and Cambridge apologists articulated the structure and purposes of a liberal education. In combatting the tendency toward specialization, some men realized that traditional liberal education, through the medium of the Classics, was an increasingly unpopular ideal. Therefore, they undertook, during the second half of the century, to salvage what they could by amending the means of attaining the goal. By eliminating such portions of the curriculum as might be considered less essential or unnecessary, and by introducing new literary elements more directly related to the modern world, dons hoped to maintain interest in a literary curriculum as a foundation upon which to build the specialized training demanded by contemporary society.²

In spite of the specialized and technical requirements of modern industrialized society, the ideal of liberal education, and some form of character formation and intellectual development, quite apart from the market place, has persisted from the eighteenth century to the present. Each generation of academicians since the eighteenth century has bequeathed some ideal which has helped define liberal education. Different generations may emphasize truth, taste, sociability, liberality, humanism, sensitivity, sound critical principles, permanent

¹Robert G. McPherson, Theory of Higher Education in Nineteenth Century England, p. 17.

²Ibid, p. 116.

realities of existence, civilization, culture--all of these have at one historical time or another been identified with the purposes and meaning of liberal education.³ According to Sheldon Rothblatt the search for contingent truth (based on facts and sources), characterizes the major emphasis among university educators in the twentieth century and results from a number of developments. These include some of the following: the knowledge revolution, the research ideal, belief in the power of intellect, of specialization and professionalism, the breakdown of the teleological universe, and the disintegration of a traditional confidence in the strength of education to produce a creative citizen.⁴

That the idea of a liberal education should have become so secularized ought not to surprise us. Not only does this parallel the movement of western civilization in general, but also stems directly from developments in the first half of the nineteenth century. Newman's conversion to Rome in 1845 consolidated the Broadchurch victory in public opinion. While the ideal of liberal education, of which Newman had been one of the most brilliant spokesmen, was transmitted by Pusey to the Anglo-Catholics, the influence of the anti-Erastian defense of Anglican domination was over. The concept of liberal education continued to gain support within the colleges, but it became completely dissociated from the doctrinal authority of the Church over

³S. Rothblatt, Tradition and Change, p. 196.

⁴Ibid.

instruction.⁵ Surely it is an irony of history that some agnostic faculty in many contemporary universities and colleges, many of whom know little of the Christian context in which the ideals of liberal education were forged, and perhaps care even less, nevertheless quote from Newman, and other Anglicans of his generation, in defense of what they still hold dear in higher education.

No matter how obscurantist or anti-utilitarian some ancient university men may have been, the English public came to desire greater accountability and demonstrable usefulness in the "national" universities. "Do you consider that the great object of a university ought to be to produce the greatest number of useful members of society, whereby the nation at large may be most extensively benefited?" Lord Redesdale posed this question to Mark Pattison on November 2, 1877 during a parliamentary investigation of Oxford's finances.⁶ Clearly this question implied more of an answer and an attitude toward the universities than it asked. Such a question posed by a member of Parliament would have been almost unthinkable fifty years earlier. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, and certainly nowadays, some educators have envisioned universities as assuming positions of leadership for social innovation, but Oxford and Cambridge during the Regency clearly stood fast as conservative reflections of society, rather than as dynamic shapers of its future. We need not necessarily make

⁵Clifford-Vaughan and Archer, Social Conflict and Educational Change in England and France, 1780-1850, p. 115.

⁶John Sparrow, Mark Pattison, p. 107.

judgments about the relative merits of these two approaches. For what purpose is man educated? The conservative approach defended by the Oxford and Cambridge men reflected the needs and desires of their constituents at that place and point in time.

By the second half of the nineteenth century, following Parliamentary reform, teachers and others set new trends in character development in response to different needs and desires of their constituents. Of course, they were indebted to the established patterns and work already done by the previous generation. The Germans, through Carlyle and Coleridge, stimulated a moral revival in England, and at the same time liberalized the dogmatic basis of morality. Kant, Fichte, and Schleiermacher gave philosophical justification to the idea of a morality that was of the heart, and thus individualistic, and yet which came from God, and thereby derived from a different source from utilitarian morality. For example, Kant as early as 1803, in On Education, introduced the idea of discipline as a means of subjecting the individual will in the interest of social regeneration, and Fichte, in his Nature of the Scholar, and more particularly in his Address to the German Nation, evolved the idea following Napoleon's disastrous invasions of moral education as the way to a national cultural revival. However, the Germans emphasized the subjection of the individual's will to the state, an idea inimical to the English.⁷

There were several intellectual strains among the moral and university developments at this time. In addition to the Coleridgean

⁷E.C. Mack, Public Schools and British Opinion, p. 196.

group at Cambridge, Benthamite ideas, to some extent, also flourished there too. From Coleridge, men learned that new truths could be confronted and welcomed without loss of older meanings. Thus at Cambridge, either through the Benthamite or the Coleridgean strain, men were intellectually better equipped and more disposed to come to terms with new thought and to adjust to the future. On the other hand, the Oxford movement tended to be Catholic and reactionary, looking back to the early Fathers and the High Church divines of the early seventeenth century. Oxford took its inspiration from Hurrell Froude, Newman, Keble, and Pusey.⁸

After the Oxford and Cambridge reform acts of the 1850s, a new generation and new trends, including modification in ideas about character development, emerged. A need to redefine the role for dons within Oxford and Cambridge arose. This need was precipitated by the realization that English society was no longer dominated by values of a landed aristocracy, and that the connection between the universities and the aristocratically governed state and Church would soon be broken. There were other new pressures too, from parliament and from an increase in enrollment of undergraduates. The universities responded by re-emphasizing new styles of learning. The German example of scholarship opened up the possibility of a new calling.⁹ The renewed emphasis on research and more refined learning came as a mixed blessing. Although it did provide an opportunity for dedicated professional

⁸Basil Willey, More Nineteenth Century Studies, p. 62.

⁹S. Rothblatt, Tradition and Change, p. 174.

scholars to assume teaching and research as careers, specialism fragmented the ancient university world as it had never been fractured before. The two universities of the early nineteenth century had concentrated on a few subjects and carefully ordered the priority given to others. The expansion in the number of fields after 1850, the establishment of new chairs, and the revival of professional schools ended whatever educational unity had hitherto existed.¹⁰

For better or for worse, the new age brought changes, but not necessarily radical ones. The younger generation who became prominent in the universities by the 1860s had been students themselves during the ancien régime. The Oxford liberals enjoyed the fruits of victory. Mark Pattison, after defeat at the hands of his diehard opponents in 1851, was ten years later elected Rector of Lincoln; Benjamin Jewett was made Master of Balliol. Their appointments must have been especially galling to conservatives as they had both contributed to Essays and Reviews in 1860. Other eminent liberals acceded to professorial chairs: A.P. Stanley (ecclesiastical history), Goldwin Smith (modern history), Conington (Latin) and Max Müller (European languages). "Above all the influence of J.S. Mill and his philosophy suffused radical thinking at Oxford."¹¹

Although the dominant figures, the curriculum, the administrative structure, and other aspects of the universities may have changed, the interest in character formation continued. The reform of the

¹⁰Ibid., p. 184.

¹¹V.H.H. Green, The Universities, p. 69.

fellowship system improved teaching possibilities of the colleges. It produced a new type of career don who, like his counterpart in the leading secondary schools, was interested in making residence more attractive to undergraduates than it had been.¹² The post 1850 generation continued writing about and emphasizing character and moral education. For example, Spencer wrote Education Intellectual, Moral, Physical. John Ruskin, in appendices to Modern Painters and The Stones of Venice, said "the greatest error of the time is the mistaking of erudition for education."¹³ F.W. Farrar, later Dean of Canterbury, edited Essays on a Liberal Education, 1867, which included essays by Henry Sedgwick, the historian, and T.H. Huxley. The whole purpose of Farrar's work was to focus attention on goals and purposes of higher education and to discuss how students should be formed by it.

For at least the next two generations, and perhaps down to the present, this issue has continued to stir interest and support. As Oxford and Cambridge men increasingly entered the professions outside the Church, they began to instill antiphilistine humanistic values in a wider social setting. There was, of course, some resistance and some lag on the part of the business community. From the 1860s to the early twentieth century there had been an aversion of Oxbridge men to business, and of business and industrial men to the liberally educated. By the 1930s, however, business managers preferred hiring university men.

¹²S. Rothblatt, Tradition and Change, p. 135.

¹³Ruskin, Stones of Venice, Vol. III, Appendix 7 ("Library Edition").

Both employers and graduates in business gave character as the most important ingredient for success in business; and it was emphasized that Cambridge, as a collegiate university, was singularly able to provide for character formation. Character was defined as initiative, as an ability to promote group loyalty and secure the cooperation of all types of men, in all occupations and from all social backgrounds.¹⁴

Thus in the wider world by the twentieth century, Rothblatt claims that a man of character, at least in the English context, would be equipped with an ethic of social service and would not regard himself as a capitalist or businessman engaging exclusively in profit seeking.¹⁵

Among the essays included by F.W. Farrar was one by J.S. Mill, his 1867, "Inaugural Address at St. Andrew's University." Along with Newman's Idea of a University, Mill's Inaugural Address is one of the classical nineteenth century statements about liberal education. Mill's ideas about higher education, stated in 1867, may represent a synthesis of some utilitarian principles moderated and combined with some older university ideas. While avoiding an old discredited notion of education as consisting in the dogmatic inculcation from authority of what the teacher deems true, Mill said that information of great value should be brought before the students' minds and that they should be made acquainted with "an important part of the national thought and of the intellectual labours of past generations."¹⁶ If William Whewell would object to the failure to inculcate Truth, as conceived by the concentrated wisdom of bygone generations, Jeremy Bentham would choke

¹⁴S. Rothblatt, *Revolution of the Dons*, p. 272.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 272.

¹⁶J.S. Mill, Inaugural Address Delivered to St. Andrews, 1867.

on the emphasis to become so acquainted with the intellectual labors of the past and collected national thought. Mill wanted teaching to represent a diversity of religious thought and experiences and be conducted in a spirit of enquiry not dogmatism. He hoped that students could form their own beliefs. Mill admitted that Christianity being a historical religion, the study of ecclesiastical history would be appropriate in the curriculum.¹⁷

Although sounding progressive in some ways, Mill did not adopt every new fad or even all of the old utilitarian platform. For example, he denied Spencer's exclusive emphasis on science in liberal education, and he asserted the traditional view that professional education had little place in the university. He claimed that law, medicine, and engineering were not part of what one generation owes to the next; they were not those things on which civilization depends. In 1867 Mill maintained that the classical languages remained the best educational material for imparting stimulation and discipline for the intellect. However, unlike Whewell, he valued them not so much as received truths, but as a means of learning to think and speculate--for Mill, the very purpose of education. Yet he fully accepted the sciences, along with classics, as part of a complete higher education program, forming in the students a capacity to reason and to express thought.¹⁸

There is a tone, style, or mystique peculiar to Oxford and

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Michael Sanderson, The Universities in the Nineteenth Century, p. 117.

Cambridge.¹⁹ This mystique was one direct result of the revival of interest in character formation theories and of liberal education in the middle of the nineteenth century; although for support, the university style drew on the past association of the two senior universities with members of the clergy and the territorial aristocracy. The tone is familiar, to some reprehensible, permeated as it is with suggestions of social as well as educational superiority.²⁰ This tone was one against which the civic universities were always measured, against which they reacted, or to which they occasionally deferred.²¹

¹⁹N.G. Annan in his biography of Leslie Stephen has portrayed what he calls the Victorian intellectual elite.

The same blood can be found appearing among the headmasters of the public schools and the fellows of Oxford and Cambridge colleges: the same tone of voice can be heard criticizing, teaching and leading middle class opinion in the periodicals; and the same families fill the vacancies among the senior permanent officials in a Civil Service open to talent. (Noel G. Annan, Leslie Stephen, p. 1)

David Newsome points out that what makes the group described by Annan cohesive is not so much their blood kinship as their common spirit and determined sense of mission. Having come from a similar home background, having been trained in the same disciplines in the same universities, and having formed intimate friendships at an age when it is proper to see visions, they developed a common standard of values and they shared a common resolve to impress their ideals upon the particular society in which their work was to take them. (David Newsome, Godliness and Good Learning, p. 7.) Annan describes the Victorian élite as united by a common upbringing, training, and interest, and stimulated by the zeal and earnestness which had characterized their religious education. With this background they formed an "establishment" which set the tone and dominated the social and intellectual life of the age. (N.G. Annan, "The Intellectual Aristocracy," Studies in Social History: A Tribute to G.M. Trevelyan, ed. John Harold Plumb (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1969, reprint of the 1955 edition.)

²⁰S. Rothblatt, *Tradition and Change*, p. 136.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 139.

Of course there were always some problems and contradictions in the universities' practice of their character forming and liberal educational ideals in the first half of the nineteenth century. Although the universities continually asserted the essentially liberal character of their work, and set their faces against the idea of vocational training for professions; nevertheless, large parts of the curriculum directly related to the most common career followed by graduates, namely the Church. Prior to the 1850s over half of the Cambridge graduates and nearly two-thirds of those from Oxford prior to the 1850's went into Holy Orders.²² The study of classics which had been justified on courtly grounds, and then on psychological grounds, was also a vocational key to preferment in a career in the Church or public schools. Universities fulfilled two functions. The liberal education curriculum gave the gentlemanly stamp and trained the intellect of those with no need to follow a career, but it also provided the essential technical skills for those who had such a need in the Church and public schools.²³

The universities' attempt to instill a distinct mental or moral character frequently encountered difficulties in practice and also criticism, even from those who were themselves engaged in the process. Mark Pattison, for one, complained that following the reforms of the 1850s the formation of a distinctive character became more difficult

²²Anderson and Schnaper, School and Society in England, p. 6.

²³M. Sanderson, The Universities in the Nineteenth Century, p. 23.

than ever. He decried the "excesses of the examination system." He claimed that the sudden withdrawal after Tractarianism of all reverence for the past had generated a type of intellect which was "not only offensive to taste, but is unsound as training."

Our young men are not trained; they are only filled with propositions of which they have never learned the inductive basis. From showy lectures, from manuals, from attractive periodicals, the youth is put in possession of ready-made opinions on every conceivable subject; a crude mass of matter which he is taught to regard as real knowledge. Swollen with this puffy and unwholesome diet, he goes forth into the world regarding himself, like the infant in the nursery, as the center of all things, the measure of the universe. He thinks he can evince his superiority by freely distributing sneers and scoffs upon all that does not agree with the set of opinions which he happens to have adopted from imitation, from fashion, or from chance. Having no root in itself, such a type of character is liable to become an easy prey to any popular charletanism or current fanaticism.²⁴

Pattison realized that one of the most effective ways to avoid rearing a rootless generation liable to become an easy prey to current fanaticism was to help instill true character.

Regardless of whether one refers to inherited character, or to a character acquired by adaptation, habit, or training, it was presumed to remain stable once set. This stability, which would ensure rootedness, was first regarded by the ancients as a gift of nature, and subsequently by modern men as a product of self-activity. The significance of the term has been transferred from the external to the internal and from necessity to freedom. Perhaps the spiritual pilgrimage of Western man may be reflected in the history of this concept.²⁵ In the

²⁴M. Pattison, Memoirs, p. 240-241.

²⁵James Hasting, Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, p. 365.

modern world civilized men increasingly focus their activities on the empirical world, but they doubt the existence and lose the conviction of a supernatural world. Under these circumstances it is difficult for our contemporary generation to find a foundation for life and conduct. This situation applies to the early industrial age in England as well as now. Attempts to form character may represent an attempt to cling to old certainties in the new age of steam engines and doubt. Furthermore, the hurry of modern life hardly favors the task of calm reflection or of combining the various activities of life into a single and coherent whole. If our contemporary society, with its many fads, fanaticisms, and foolishness, which among other circumstances reflect alienation, rootlessness, and disorientation, needs more people with clearly defined characters, then we face an unfortunate paradox. If character can be formed to some extent by virtue of individual decision, action, and commitment, which requires reflection, then fast-paced modern industrial society affords fewer opportunities.²⁶

If modern universities could select the ideals of liberal education and character formation which remain appropriate for our age, then a quiet life in universities might be part of the solution to contemporary social problems. Unfortunately, however, the universities, these days, themselves exhibit the societywide lack of direction and stability. As one contemporary observer of the university scene has commented,

²⁶Ibid., p. 365.

There is nothing new in cant, but it has rarely been more widespread than it is today. Fuzzy thinking, reluctance to take a firm line, uncertainty over both ends and means--these are all symptoms of a malaise that can only be cured by going back to the simplicities of the moral law as they have been stated and restated by the great thinkers both sacred and secular, throughout the ages.²⁷

Perhaps part of the problem lies in the universities themselves. Contemporary universities are divided like any political organization; "there are conservatives, who like the poor will always be with us, progressives, who weigh anchors but don't know where to chart the course, and liberals, Whiggish reformers."²⁸

In the midst of the foundering of contemporary Western culture we might do well to consider the example of such moral leaders as Coleridge and Arnold who had an unquestioning sense that life has momentous meaning. The unrelenting diligence in the effort to realize a worthy mission gives to the great men of the last century a quality which inevitably overawes the present generation--a generation which has so largely lost its sense of direction and of any distinct moral summons, and yet, is anxious to recover both.²⁹ Montaigne, centuries ago, perceived a problem and proposed a solution for a valuable education. He wrote that the duty of the university student is "to adorn and enrich his inward mind, desiring rather to shape and institute an able and sufficient man than a base learned man . . ."

²⁷John H. MacCallum Scott, Dons and Students, p. 147.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Basil Wiley, Nineteenth Century Studies, p. 52.

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