THE FREE LIBERTY OF THE MIND

CHARLES DICKENS

AND THE EDUCATION OF ADULTS

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ABSTRACT

Dickens saw his work largely as a mission to assist the poor, suffering masses of Britain in their struggle to attain decent environments in which to live and a hopeful future for their adult and family lives. This vision, evident throughout his works, literary and practical, was to be achieved through enlightenment, and by means of education, particularly for adults.

The inspiration for Dickens' work in aid of adult education stems from:

a) his early experiences of poverty, educational deprivation, and family problems;

b) his observation that Britain was degenerating in morals as well as in environmental and social conditions;

and,

c) his personal interpretation of Christ's teachings.

The coalescence of these factors at different times and varying degrees throughout his working life resulted in an interrelated three-part effort to lift the underprivileged towards enlightenment through education.

My method will be to establish the scholarly context of "adult education," which is followed by an overview of Dickens' early life and educational experiences as the formulation of his ideas. Much of the evidence of his thinking, contained in speeches to Mechanics' Institutes and other agencies, demonstrate his public statements on
adult education. The neutral ground of such establishments (he believed) would provide opportunities for the "classes" to mingle for mutual improvement without destroying the social fabric, thus avoiding a disastrous breakdown of law and order.

Secondly, the creation and management of Urania Cottage Reformatory gave Dickens the opportunity to consider the implications of educating adults, both philosophically and practically. His letters, reporting to Miss Coutts, provide evidence of this, as well as of personal details of inmates' behaviour and their moral and educational redemption.

The third, most sustained thrust, is Dickens' twenty years' involvement with his journals which were his attempt to spread knowledge and information to all readers in their homes. This principal effort linked information with the creative, progressive use of the Imagination through which the raising and the enlightenment of the People would be achieved.

The conclusion aims to show Dickens to be ahead of his time in adult educational thinking, and for the first time links together evidence that his work in this field was a considered, developed and consciously executed series of progressive efforts, based on ideas being "proven" by present-day research. Thus the claim for Dickens' recognition as an important adult educator is confirmed.
DECLARATION OF COPYRIGHT

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CHARLES DICKENS AND THE EDUCATION OF ADULTS

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Signed: Peter G. Buck.

Date: 30 September 1985
DEDICATION

TO The Memory of EDWARD J. PORTER, Bootmaker, late of Southampton, who, from his "Library," first introduced me to the Joy of Dickens' Works, in true Victorian fashion, by reading aloud, with grateful Thanks.

And

TO My Wife, ROSALIE, who has borne with my enthusiasm with exemplary fortitude; but who also shares with me the delight of reading aloud "The Works." My most Heart-felt and Loving Thanks.

Peter G. Buck
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I must acknowledge the opportunity my students at Richmond Adult College, Richmond, Surrey, gave me to develop my knowledge of Dickens in a systematic manner so that we could study some of the works together in a chronological order. I must thank them, too, for their own enquiries about Dickens, his work, his times and his circle, which inspired me to greater search in biographies and the works themselves. These all led to a developed study of Dickens and the Nineteenth Century and frequent readings aloud of chosen texts.

As for this research I would like to acknowledge the friendly and most helpful attentions of the Staff in the Library of the University of Surrey, and thank them for their obtaining many obscure articles for me, as well as a thesis from U.S.A.

My thanks go also to:

Mrs Elizabeth Aquilina of the History Section of Hammersmith Central Library for her great assistance in uncovering maps and photographs of great value to my researches;

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lastly, but not the least, Dr Alan Chadwick for his incisive criticism and advice, and Dr Brian Crossley whose
enthusiasm has upheld my own.

**TECHNICAL NOTES**

To curtail inset references, I have used the following abbreviations:

- **CD** - for Charles Dickens Snr, in the Notes section
- **HW** - HOUSEHOLD WORDS
- **AYR** - ALL THE YEAR ROUND

and dates I have blocked thus: for "21 March 1851" you will find "21MAR51". All dates like this are within CD's lifetime. Any others (and where continuity of language or clarity demanded) are written in full.

As to Dickens’ spelling system, whereby he adopts "Americanisms", such as "color," and older spellings, as "shew," I have felt that it was necessary to leave alone, bringing his time into ours, even as his words do.
As this thesis is concerned with "adult education" (in particular, as promoted by Charles Dickens), it is important to state what this term means as applied here. Before defining the concept more precisely, I must say that it subsumes more than that form of educational practice now carried on in "Adult Education Centres." I am concerned here with the education of adults on a broad front, with the assistance of varying agencies, the forms of which I define in Chapter Two. Hence the subtitle of this thesis: "Charles Dickens and the Education of Adults."

Attitudes to phenomena are determined largely by experience and whatever knowledge so far gained is possessed by the user. However, attitudes to terminology are affected also by inference and ideological stance. Certainly this is true about the word "education," which tends to be equated with schools and school teachers, because of the state of English law concerning "education" and requirements placed upon citizens. Therefore, the term "adult education" may well have little or no clear meaning for many adults (1). A popular view is that it is euphemistic for the pursuit of whim, while different age groups regard adult education as not for them but for other groups (2). It does not seem to imply any kind of systematically developed programme of learning from a
degree of simplicity to a degree of complexity. Nor does it imply any degree of necessity, in the sense that the "student" feels he/she must learn about the chosen topic, except, perhaps, where job enhancement is concerned. The concept of personal volition is a difficult thing for many adults to accept, for it is a truism of frequent experience for those who work in the field of State-provided adult education that adults will not put their learning needs before many other things: eg their children's learning, or the need to do other things such as housework or interior decoration. Compulsion to learn is confined to children, mostly because the law requires their attendance at schools, despite the fact many adults have urgent needs to learn all kinds of things (3).

From these "feelings" stems the debate as to what "adult education" is, turning on two major issues:

(a) the argument as to whether adult learning is different in kind from child learning; and,

(b) the legal status of State provision of adult education.

The first argument is polarized into two broad views:

(1) that child learning is different from adult learning because of a number of factors: eg the age and lack of knowledge and experience of the child, and its inability to decide for itself, which requires a quasi-parental attitude from teachers; and that teaching is the major function, the child being assumed to have little or no interest in the content, or to be ignorant of the content's importance.
(ii) that adult learning derives from an inner motivation and drive of the "student" to want to learn because a need is perceived. Because of this, teachers become "tutors" who advise, facilitate, assist the adult to learn, decisions in the main being made by the student.

To complicate these points, the popular concept of "education" as that which is done before "going out to work," brings about an equation of education with compulsory school attendance (presumably with the "hope" that learning will occur!). Once an individual is "out of school" (and possibly out of college), education is deemed to have occurred or even to have been completed. This view is referred to as "the front-end model" of education (4). By this argument, education is confined to children and young people, and a degree of compulsion. To go to "classes" is regarded, therefore, as leisure activity, unless examinations and enhanced work (i.e., paid employment) prospects ensue. "Adult education," therefore, is almost a non-meaning term in this popular sense.

By the same token, "inservice education" is regarded with suspicion as near-meaningless ("time-wasting") since "work" and "education" are not equated in any way (5). "Inservice training" is more acceptable as "training" is concerned with work and job enhancement, and is specific to the occupation pursued. "Education" is too amorphous for general acceptance.

Finally, the argument of what "liberal education" is about is also drawn into the debate. Chapter Two discusses this concept, and all I would wish to say here, is that,
once again, "liberal" is too frequently regarded as "time-passing," "unnecessary," "frivolous" as applied to learning. It also has class structure connotations in Britain, in that "liberal adult education" is the kind of activity which middleclass individuals carry out, because they have both the leisure-time and money so to do.

To summarize, therefore: adult education is popularly regarded as being peripheral, having little legal status as no law actually requires its provision (though many argue that the 1944 Education Act does require it), and no Government has demanded its provision as yet (6). Thus, adult education is not "recognized" as proper. Because of the persistence of the "front-end model" concept, adults are not deemed to be seriously engaged unless "working" for examinations as a means to employment advancement. "Liberal adult education" is too unrestricted in connotation also to be accepted by the public and legislators alike.

Further Reading

For general reading on this theme, v. the works cited in Chapter One, n. 3, Chapter Two, and:


On the debate of "work," "leisure" and "education," v. Flude & Parrot supra, chp. 1, and:


KELEHER, Anne WORK AND LEISURE, Tyndall, 1975.


As an example of governmental policy towards adult education in the formal/informal area of provision, in the creation of the Open University, v. HALL, P.; LAND, H.; PARKER, R.; WEBB, A. CHANGE, CHOICE AND CONFLICT IN SOCIAL POLICY, London, Heinemann, 1975 esp. II, 8 pp 130 ff; III, 10 pp 231 ff.

Notes


(2) Newman, op. cit. 25: "The common prejudices one hears expressed about adult education are wildly conflicting. The middle classes tend to assume it is all knees up Mother Brown while the working class often imagine it is all middle-class ladies doing pottery. The elderly believe it is for the young; and the young that it is
patronised by no one under the age of fifty. Some believe it is too rigid and formal; and others that it is all too improvised and amateur. Some people believe that adult education is to do with training sixteen-year-old Post Office employees; and others that its main function is to provide the disadvantaged with something to keep them occupied. And many without any first-hand knowledge of adult education automatically accuse it of mediocrity."

(3) Rogers & Groombridge, op. cit. 31 ff.

(4) V. Houghton & Richardson supra.

(5) It is interesting to note that schools and colleges did not come under legislation such as the Factory Acts until very recently. Such buildings and "plant" and all the processes that are carried out there were not really taken into a concept of "work places" until the advent of the Act for Health and Safety at Work, implemented in 1975.

(6) In simple terms, the argument for the legal status of adult education rests on : Part I,1 (1) of the 1944 Act which provides for the appointment of a "Minister ... whose duty it shall be to promote the education of the people of England and Wales and the progressive development of institutions devoted to that purpose, and to secure the effective execution by local authorities, under his control and direction, of the national policy for providing a varied and comprehensive educational service in every
Part II, 7 requires the provision of primary, secondary and further education by local authorities "so far as their powers extend, to contribute towards the spiritual, moral, mental, and physical development of the community by securing that efficient education throughout those stages shall be available to meet the needs of the population of their areas."

Part II, 41 requires local authorities to provide further education for "full-time and part-time education for persons over compulsory school age ... and leisure-time occupation, in such organised cultural training and recreative activities as are suited to their requirements, for any persons ... who are able and willing to profit by the facilities provided for that purpose."

For further reading on this matter v. :

The Education Act, 1944
The Education Act, 1975
White Paper on Educational Reconstruction 1943
Further Education Regulations 1975 et seq.


Rogers & Groombridge supra.


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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

Charles Dickens was by far the most popular novelist and journalist of all English writers. No other author before him had commanded so wide a readership not only in Britain but also in the United States, without counting the vast amount of his work which was translated and pirated in Europe, Russia and elsewhere (1). Indeed, it is true to say that amongst Dickens’ achievements we must number the fact that he was directly responsible for the creation of a mass readership, which middleclass booksellers hardly reached, through his publication of stories in parts and his twopenny journals. As a writer, Dickens has been rightly credited with being the first to draw readers from the working and aspiring lower middle classes. His personal popularity, enhanced by his public readings and added to his circulation figures over thirty years attest to these claims. While these matters are not in doubt, his place in the canon of English letters, from a critical point of view, is less certain.

At his death, Dickens was something of a national figure, a literary hero and probably the best known man in England. So great was his popularity as a story teller and public speaker that his literary merits have for a long time overshadowed his other achievements, especially his commitment to education and the People. Biographers and scholars have recently examined Dickens’ work as writer and philanthropist (v. infra), but his ideas on education and the welfare of the People, intrinsically bound up with his
religious faith and his philosophy of life, have been obscured by the popularly held view of him as novelist and eminent Victorian. While broad statements of his educational concepts are obvious in books such as HARD TIMES and GREAT EXPECTATIONS and in certain speeches to a variety of institutions, a closer examination of the journals and letters indicate the pervasiveness of his devotion to education, especially the education of adults, which in sum adds up to a coherent, developed "philosophy" of education. This has not yet been systematically explicated, and, briefly, that is what this thesis essays.

I : Statement of Intent

I shall attempt to show Dickens' practical efforts to further the education of adults, whilst tracing the emergence of his ideas which stemmed from his own educational and autodidactic experiences. Also to be examined closely are Dickens' religious perceptions, his faith and moral commitment, and subsequent development of these into theory and praxis particularly in the field of adult education. Thus I contend that Dickens was not only an eminent novelist, but what remains to be established equally is his important commitment to educational reform and advancement for adults (especially those lacking means of helping themselves), as a way to their gaining greater social, economic and political justice.

Secondly, I shall show Dickens' thought on the education of adults, and its place in the underlying adult
educational philosophy as it has evolved since the beginning of the nineteenth century. I claim support from recent researches, INTER ALIA, in Dickensian studies, the history of educating adults, and other evidences of social reform.

Finally, I shall argue the importance of my reassessment of Dickens as an outstanding figure in spreading understanding of the continuing need for and the means to the education of adults, because of the uniqueness of his position and personality.

This section outlines the theme, introduces some of the problems involved, and gives an overview of relevant literature. Since Dickens is a major figure in English culture, much of relevance is to be found in literary criticism, though this is not my chief concern. Dickens was also involved with social problems of his day (some, not unrelated to our own), thus some socio-historical researches are important. I shall demonstrate that the main statements and philosophical bases of Dickens' furtherance of adult education are in his speeches, and in the two main journals he "conducted," namely, HOUSEHOLD WORDS (1850-1859) and ALL THE YEAR ROUND (1859-1870). Added to these, Dickens also used, firstly, the quasi-essay form, in SKETCHES BY ROZ (1833-1836), secondly, public letters to the Press; and, thirdly, direct by word of mouth to audiences at dinners, literary presentations, working men's clubs and societies, and Mechanics' Institutes, throughout his life.

It will suffice, as regards his fiction, to make some
general remarks in amplification of specific points, reserving more detailed attention for one more patently politico-reformist novel, *HARD TIMES* (v. Appendix "B").

Against these pronouncements are set Dickens' work on behalf of Mechanics' Institutes and related organizations, and, far more importantly, his ten years' devotion to Miss Coutts' Home for Fallen Women. This stewardship tested, in practical ways, many of Dickens' theoretical and philosophical ideas about educating adults (albeit with women only), proving to him, and, as I contend, to us, the sound, lasting basis of a continuing philosophy of adult education. The evidence for this work resides in Dickens' letters to Miss Coutts. As for the Journals (the most extensive documentary evidence in support of my argument), one important point must be stated at the outset. Dickens did not write all the items in their many volumes. However, the authors of virtually every article in one entire magazine (2) are known from the Contributors' Book (or Office Book), kept by W.H. Wills, Dickens' Sub-editor of *HOUSEHOLD WORDS*. We know, too, that Dickens was a dictatorial editor, publishing only views with which he agreed (3). Thus, it can be said that Dickens' views are evident throughout, because he knew all that was written under his editorship and approved what was eventually published, with a few minor exceptions in stories. Thus the Journals clearly express Dickens' developing philosophy and may be deemed source materials.

That Dickens held firm, unshakable opinions is clear to any reader. How they fit into his life as artist is
less clear; and how one differentiates between what is essentially religious, as separate from (say) political in his thought, is difficult to attest. The problem of what constitutes Dickens' philosophy (if that is a fitting term, as I maintain) is that ideas forming his attitudes are diffuse and not, in some cases, mutually exclusive (as in his views on the class structure of the time), so making it difficult to see where religious views end and political ones begin. Dickens' mental life exhibited no true distinction between religious and political thought, since his political life resulted from his religious convictions.

II: Dickens and the Social Question

It is also necessary, at the beginning, to take account of the political and religious world in which Dickens lived both as man and artist, whereby his uniqueness as the most popular of all writers as well as a social reformer of stature may be seen in context. Equally important to ascertain is what he read (V. Appendix "A"), and how his experience as a journalist-reporter informed and amplified his incipient world-vision.

Dickens' "radical" views have been discussed, by writers as diverse as G.K.Chesterton and Orwell, but with no firm consensus as to what exactly his political views were or how he applied them. His journalistic feelings very likely prohibited any overtly partisan statements as such. Most views indicate his being a "radical reformer," a term useful as a working description, and yet when set
against the lives and deeds of others (eg Shaftesbury, Gladstone, Elizabeth Fry, or George Eliot), are revealed as being both ambiguous and inexact. The expression needs investigation and perhaps refining. My analysis follows a different path in the light of much recent evidence and research, which still has tended to concentrate on his literary status, or on his biography, such as the work of Thurley and the MacKenzieys (v. Chapter Three).

That Dickens held and expressed sincere recognizable political opinions is confirmed by the fact that he was asked twice to stand as a Liberal (and therefore "radical") parliamentary candidate. Despite his refusals, he clearly had political aims, because he insisted that he could achieve more outside the House, using his personal freedom to work where his aid was most needed (4). A danger here is that critics may well look for confirmation of thought akin to their own political or religious leanings, as Jack Lindsay (5) and George Orwell (6) were to do. Impartiality, always difficult to maintain, is especially so for such politically committed writers as these last two. Their extreme persuasions led them frequently to look for Socialist thought in Dickens' work, which is to some extent present, but compared with other attitudes, such as his views on class and station, clearly show him as other than a Socialist.

There is no doubt of Dickens' contribution to national development (made as it was in the social, religious and political upheavals of Hanoverian and Victorian England). Andre Maurois epitomizes it when he says:
Dickens has not only remained the great popular writer of a race; it may even be said that he took a great part in shaping that race...
Dickens can be counted among the causes of moral order whereby England was spared a revolution. If certain shades of gentleness have become predominant colours in English family life, if the brutality of certain spectacles, such as public hangings, or if certain usages, such as imprisonment for debt, have vanished from British life, if the children of the poor are treated in England with some respect and kindness, these things are in part the work of Charles Dickens. Few authors have influenced their country so much because few have so exactly embodied their race, in its greater as in its smaller aspects.

As I have noted, Dickens eschewed party politics and showed himself to be a journalist, with a journalist's need to inform others of the world's doings, but possessing, too, an educator's concept of knowledge as a key to other things. These urges on Dickens' part were, as Chapter Three demonstrates, firmly rooted in a moral and ethical code deriving directly from Christ's teachings. As Dickens made clear, writing to one of his sons, his tenets did not stem from any sectarian interpretation. He urged THE NEW TESTAMENT upon the boy, saying that it was

... the best book that ever was or will be
known in the world, and it teaches you the best
lessons by which any human creature who tries
to be truthful and faithful to duty can
possibly be guided ... I have written to each
[of my sons] such words ... and have entreated
them all to guide themselves by this book,
putting aside the interpretation and inventions
of men ... Only one thing more on this head.
The more we are in earnest as to feeling it,
the less we are disposed to hold forth about
it (9).

As this statement makes clear, it is the expression of
a Scriptural or Biblical Christian, not an ecclesiastical
one, thus making some interpretation of his ideas more
difficult than it might be otherwise, because of the
private nature of his proceeding. Dickens remained
suspicious of institutional faith, and even more so of
"enthusiastic" purveyors of such creeds. He was a true
protestant dissenter of his own kind, antagonistic alike to
ritual and "chapel ranting". In this he much resembled
John Bunyan, with whose book, THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS, he
was very familiar, and, indeed, used its structural form
to relate the earthly journey of Little Nell and her
grandfather in THE OLD CURIOSITY SHOP, as Welsh has pointed
out in THE CITY OF DICKENS (9). In addition, his many
caricatures of preachers of the "ranting" school display
his antipathy towards "enthusiastic" witness (10). He
followed the maxim of "By their deeds shall ye know them."

"Enthusiasm" was much debated in early nineteenth
century religio-political circles, but Dickens, like many of simple faith, held such enthusiasm at arms' length; though his life exhibited it in joyous abundance in the everyday things of social existence. The hilarity and sheer animal enjoyment demonstrated in his children's parties and theatricals, his delight in conjuring, toy theatres and pantomimes, his love of chilling Gothick Horrors -- all are clamouring witnesses of his own enthusiasm. His belief in the necessity of cheerfulness, combined with the use of the Imagination (v. Appendix "B") as the means to comprehension and understanding, as well as his dedication to work, the solemn aspect of enthusiasm, are all essential components of the Dickensian philosophy of adult education and learning. Ensuing chapters enlarge these points.

As I have said, Dickens accepted Christ's teachings as he read them in the Gospels, believing in a personal, private religion, whilst accepting the "evidences" of science as truths. It is not surprising, therefore, that the advent of Darwin's THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES (1859) appears to have had little effect on him. ALL THE YEAR ROUND (which began publication the same year) reviewed the book appreciatively, by which one may reasonably assume that Dickens knew of the book's basic premises, even though he may not have read it himself (11). He certainly did read Sir Charles Lyell's ANTIQUITY OF MAN, and, at his death, the catalogue of the Gad's Hill library contained ECCE HOMO ("a survey of the Life and Work of Jesus Christ" by Professor Seeley), as well as ESSAYS AND REVIEWS (a
collection by a number of authors, mostly scientists, which "challenged the English clergy to re-examine some of their assumptions in the light of biblical criticism"(12)). All these "advanced" works exposed large areas of received thought to the intense light of new research findings, without disturbing Dickens’ own faith.

Keeping his religion to himself, Dickens eschewed the ensuing controversies, debates, accusations and rebuttals which publication of such writing inevitably signalled. It may be claimed, that this placed him well ahead of his time, in spite of the fact that in his early life he was sceptical about what he regarded as pseudo-scientific matters being discussed by the new British Association (v. Chapter Three). As far as Darwin’s discoveries revealed "truth," Dickens regarded them rather as concrete evidence of immutable, natural laws, than as an impious, blasphemous denial of Divine Preordination, since they deepened the Wonder of Creation, but, simultaneously, destroyed the last accretions of outdated mediaeval theology which sought the exact hour and day of the world’s creation. Houghton tells us

The disintegration of Christian theology and even religious belief which was so often agonizing was also an enormous relief. The new vision of a "scientific" universe was a nightmare -- and it was a glorious dream, as men discovered that much or all of dogmatic Christianity was sheer superstition, thank God, and looked forward ... to a new revelation of
man's destiny. To put the situation another way, if modernism for most Victorians threatened to destroy the comfort of belief, for a substantial minority it promised to end the DIS-comforts of belief (13).

For Dickens, Darwin's revelations did not affect the Sermon on the Mount, or the Divinity of Christ; but they did help to annihilate archaic ecclesiastical sophistry and mumbo-jumbo.

Dickens' ideal remained ... untouched by any influence from the new mediaevalism ... He wanted a brighter world; he hated the gloom of Little Bethel; but he recoiled in almost neurotic horror from all the most vigorous and original work that aimed to bring colour and form back into art and religion. Pre-Raphaelites and Puseyites were equally targets for his scorn.

His verdict on Millais' "The Carpenter's Shop" is extraordinarily vituperative: the boy Jesus is "a hideous, wry-necked, blubbering, red-headed boy, in a bed-gown"; the Virgin Mary, "so horrible in her ugliness, that ... she would stand out from the rest of the company as a Monster, in the vilest cabaret in France, or the lowest ginshop in England." Yet

For all [Dickens] insisted so much on the "humanity" of Christ, he evidently disliked the idea that he or his family had any of the ordinary physical imperfections of humans; and
the suggestion of a little dirt ... was unwelcome to a generation ... preaching a loud gospel of personal cleanliness ... But deeper than these was the suspicion of asceticism, of the idea that there was some integral connexion between the lean sinewy figures and the goodness of the possessors. 1850, the year in which the picture was exhibited, was also the year of the "Papal Aggression." The Pope had declared his intention of establishing regular dioceses in England, and anti-Roman feeling was running high. Anything that savoured of Romish ethics was liable to be suspect, and asceticism was such a thing (14).

Dickens, as I have said, opposed all forms of panoplistic or Pharisaic display. Equally, any attempt to re-establish mediaevalism or quasi-mediaevalism faced his antagonism because such actions smacked of a denial of progress and improvement, as well as of reversion to a time when the domination of nobility and gentry over the people was openly sanctioned by both Church and Law. Such a state was anathema to Dickens, and, therefore, a picture such as Millais' proffered new superstitions, thus rendering it totally unacceptable to him.

On the other hand, it would be fair to say that many of the middle-classes turned to this nascent neo-mediaevalism as an escape route from the uncertainty caused by scientific discovery which (for some) apparently encouraged at best agnosticism, at worst, atheism. Perhaps
the most eminent "escapee" was Newman, who moved from Calvinism through the Oxford Movement (15) to Roman Catholicism.

This was not so with Dickens, whose views of being and doing good are amply, if simplistically demonstrated through such famous characterisations as Pickwick, the Garland Family, Little Nell, Esther Summerson, or the Cheeryble Brothers. They are "good" people, passing about the world, doing good by assisting unfortunates wherever they are able to, continuing to do so even when they are duped as Pickwick is by Alfred Jingle. They are practical Christians: not preaching goodness, but doing it; and, consequently, being good themselves. Furthermore, they may be deemed to teach rather by example than by precept.

As to good works, Dickens wrote in the letter (quoted above, page 8), to his departing son, Plorn: "Never take a mean advantage of anyone in any transaction, and never be hard upon people who are in your power. Try to do to others, as you would have them do to you, and do not be discouraged if they fail sometimes. It is much better for you that they should fail in obeying the greatest rule laid down by our Saviour, than that you should." Dickens' whole life was a living example of this tenet, in that he gave of his time and substance more than generously to his parasitic family (both the elder Dickenses and his in-laws) and to others in need.

It will be seen, as I develop the evidence of Dickens' efforts in aid of adults, their education and his objectives for their enlightenment, that he was a
courageous, plain-speaking practical Christian, following
the Lord's behest to love our neighbours as ourselves. He
made himself the target of reactionary bigotry in
championing the cause of the poor by creating **Oliver Twist**
and attacking the worst elements of the "reformed" Poor
Law; he assailed the disgusting conditions in metropolitan
London which allowed faecal particles in drinking water,
and the dead to lie, fly-blown, and alive with insects,
against which the poor could do nothing, having no ability
whatsoever to rectify such horrors (16). Above all, he
declared in a ringing voice that ignorance, on all fronts,
was the greatest enemy which enthralled the People. He
attacked all who permitted that ignorance to persist or
encouraged its continuance by denying working people
opportunities to improve themselves in any way. He scorned
the ruling classes who considered the lower orders childish
and incapable of improvement, and, therefore, unfit to take
upon themselves any form of real responsibility for
themselves or anything else (17)!

The hidden side of London life was no new experience
to Dickens. He had been poor; he had wandered the streets
with an empty belly staring into shop windows crammed with
all manner of tempting things; yet, like Oliver and Little
Dorrit, he had not succumbed to theft. He knew the
sponging house, the debtors' prison, the pawn shop; and he
had cause to dread the bailiff's knock upon the door. He
was familiar with "low life" (such as Henry Mayhew revealed
in his astonishing books); he knew, too, those other early
works of English sociological research, the Reports on
Factory Conditions; on sanitary problems and public health; on the exploitation of women and children in mines; on the Reform of the Poor Law; on the state of the education of the masses. His first-hand knowledge of the wretchedness, misery and anguish suffered by society's "problem people" abounds in his writings and speeches. Some of these will be considered in Chapter 3.

III : Reform or Revolution?

Dickens' reaction to the appalling conditions then prevailing was political, as he realized that philanthropy -- no matter how generous and loving its efforts -- was no more than a palliative. He sought both cure and prophylactic through legislation and governmental action, even though he held governments of little account. He was aware that the enormity of the problems demanded a remedy of commensurate magnitude which only central government could provide.

Revolution was as constant a fear throughout the Victorian period, as the thought of universal suffrage and democracy. Macaulay "regarded universal suffrage 'with dread and aversion' because it was 'incompatible with property, and ... consequently incompatible with civilization'." In his speech on "The People's Charter" (1842) he prophesied that the first use of democracy would be to "plunder every man in the kingdom who has a good coat on his back and a good roof over his head (18)." And Macaulay was a Liberal!
Some cause to hope that the masses might after all be human was evinced by the attendance of thousands of cleanly, if humbly, dressed working people at the Great Exhibition of 1851. It had been most fearfully anticipated that there would be trouble -- destruction of objects, rioting and unseemly behaviour of every kind -- but the authorities were astounded to witness the quiet, orderly, interested attention which the "lower orders" gave to that extraordinary spectacle of artifacts and displays (19). Dickens had been demanding since 1836, in SUNDAY UNDER THREE HEADS, re-creative use of galleries and museums for the people on the Sabbath, but it had not occurred to leading Victorians that people might congregate for reasons other than riot, especially when in family groups.

Dickens had experienced the hard-hearted and insensitive attitudes to the People (20) which characterized early Victorian society. This society was repressive, fiercely class-conscious and class-oriented: epitomized, perhaps, by such expressions as "place," "deference" and "knowing one's station." The ruling classes blatantly flaunted their privileges, taking swift and harsh steps to maintain the STATUS QUO (21). These gilded ones knew nothing of the lower orders, except as servants or objects of charity (often harshly administered), or to be ruthlessly put down as dangerous mobs threatening revolutionary anarchy (22). What Dickens saw (and he was not slow to comprehend) was the throes of an old order refusing to let go, despite advances in technology and new knowledge. He saw, too, the emergent
universal phenomenon of work people combining into organized labour groups to become a political power (23).

While Dickens eagerly accepted "modern" things (railways, telegraphy, sewerage, street lighting), in no way did he contemplate abolishing class structures or institutions. Indeed, he held the opposite to be true and necessary, upholding the process of amelioration as the evolutionary means to desired ends. He acknowledged contemporary social levels and differences making his pronouncements from the relatively safe position of the middle-class. He was, to all intents and purposes, untouchable, provided he sustained his reputation and work to ensure the income he felt he needed to preserve the standards he had reached; and, I might add, to ensure the solvency of his family. Paradoxically, he also believed a man with sufficient personal drive and effort, assisted by education, might advance himself to higher levels of society.

Such ambivalence is a problematic and puzzling aspect of Dickens' views, yet it accords with the uncertainty then prevalent, caused (or at least aggravated) by such new ideas as evolution and the humanity of Christ. It accords also with the ambivalent neutrality of the good reporter—journalist, and, perhaps, this, too, is an explanation for Dickens' expressed views. A third possibility may have been the time's well-founded fear of revolution.

However, Dickens was no revolutionary, wishing to destroy all for the sake of building anew. He did not wish to see one oppressive order overthrown only to be replaced
by another, equally, but differently oppressive. His view is reflected by that of Henry Marsh:

... however radical the changes which new circumstances or new aspirations may require, these are always most successful when achieved without the destruction of the framework of society... Man can be free only within a peaceful environment. So the acceptance -- even by the most radical elements of society -- of the need for the maintenance of domestic peace is a prerequisite of useful change (24).

To sum up: Dickens saw his literary and social work as a means to enlighten, to inform, and to galvanize authorities into action; and he saw himself as an educational missionary to the people.

IV: Relevant Literature

Since Manning's DICKENS ON EDUCATION (1959) and Collins' DICKENS AND EDUCATION (1963), work in a number of fields impinges on the present theme. Firstly, many books and articles treating of various interests have been published, discussing the education of adults under different nomenclature as "continuing education", "extended education," "recurrent education," "education permanente," "life-long education," and others (25), be they formal, informal or non-formal, as defined in Chapter Two. Meanwhile, a growing body of criticism has questioned the conservative-orthodox connotation of "education," the
so-called "front end model" (26). Manning's book is, however, closer to "continuing education" in concept than is that of Collins. Though Manning gives full treatment to schools, school-teachers, theories of education and the like, his approach is broad enough to give useful guidelines and source materials for other research concerned with education in toto. Collins, conversely, starts from the basis that education is more concerned with schools and all that implies. However, in fairness, he, too, mentions Mechanics' Institutes, Urania Cottage, and a few other items, but appears to regard anything outside schools as at best educative rather than educational.

Since both books were published, and with the development of full-time staffing and full-time centres, the old concept (in many ways the reality of Dickens' day) of "night school" (the "gaslight and hob-nail boots" image) has receded, though the concept of continuing learning as "education" is not commonly realized.

In research terms, greater attention is now being paid to a multitude of records and documents, scantily regarded until recently, which have disclosed data previously unidentified. An important source of this kind of "information", which puts early nineteenth century educational sociology into a new perspective, is West's 

EDUCATION AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION (1975). His closing paragraph aptly summarizes the book's content and importance in setting out a background to the present theme. He writes:

... in the early nineteenth century there is no
evidence to show that education (of persons of all ages) did not play some significant part in the industrial progress. Education expansion accompanied industrial growth in the towns of England, Wales and Scotland. The extraordinary literacy attainments in the towns testifies to the success of educational endeavour among all industrial classes during the period ...

Meanwhile the belief that educational deficiency was an important obstacle to prosperity in the latter half of the nineteenth century, has been shown to stem from confusion and misinformation ... The main conclusion here is that despite the widespread belief to the contrary, education expanded significantly during the period examined; and at least as an A PRIORI reasoning, there is a fair presumption that it significantly assisted economic growth throughout. There was an Educational Revolution as well as an Industrial Revolution; and both were interrelated (27).

West has shown the errors of early educational sociology, in that scientific research methods had not been perfected or even standardized. For example, the phrase "school age" is used in many reports but with different base figures each time (3-12 ; 5-15 , etc.). Researchers, until recently, assumed that their bases were the same, made comparisons and drew conclusions. West has conclusively demonstrated how misleading these conclusions were. Our picture of Victorian education,
therefore, needs reassessment and correction, and Dickens' contribution should form part of that revision, since his fictionalized accounts of educational matters have been largely accepted uncritically, neglecting the philosophical foundations of his writings.

When West's researches are added to Rude's work on mobs (28), and Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class*, it becomes evident that many other assumptions about early nineteenth century history have been popularly distorted (29); particularly by casually accepting Dickens' images of education, ignorance, Bumbledom and the like, in the more popularly read novels, eg *Oliver Twist*, *Nicholas Nickleby*, *David Copperfield* and some of the *Christmas Books* and *Stories*. However, fiction, even when grounded in fact and "evidence", necessarily involves great selectivity, "dressing up," "poetic licence," to meet demands of plot, characterization, etc. (30).

Little attention has been paid to Dickens' non-literary works, primarily *Household Words*, *All the Year Round*, such writings as *Sunday Under Three Heads* and his public letters. Only recently has any interest been shown in his practical Christianity and charity. Pope's *Dickens and Charity* (1978) is the latest, but lacks detail of work at Urania Cottage and Dickens' long-standing charitable undertakings with Miss Coutts (31). Two biographies of Miss Coutts appeared recently (32) revealing in more detail some of their joint enterprises. Furthermore, they show, with Kanner (33) that Dickens and Miss Coutts were curiously unhelpful in recording the administration of Urania Cottage; insomuch, only scrappy items of payment by cheque remain in the archives of Coutts Bank and Lambeth Palace.
In 1973 Louis James published his valuable FICTION FOR THE WORKING MAN 1830-1850 (34) which reviews "the literature produced for the working classes in early Victorian urban England," a fascinating study based on an enormous quantity of ephemeral cheaply-manufactured reading matter, which James scrutinized and has analyzed into a number of major categories.

Looking at the general picture of popular literature in the early nineteenth century [he writes] there is no doubt that it has become professionally more sophisticated ... more expert in the art of manipulating its readers. One of the attractions of the earlier period is its open-ended variety. Popular tastes and traditions emerged and disappeared to some extent free from the dead hand of editorial formulae. Readers also had a more open mind. Many educators of the 1830's thought universal education would introduce a utopian age of reason. They did not see that it would bring what R.P. Blackmur has called "the New Illiteracy" ... unless accompanied by a total education in ways of reading, seeing and living (35).

A work of great importance, as, at present, in conjunction with Forster's LIFE it forms the definitive biography of Dickens, is Johnson's CHARLES DICKENS: HIS TRAGEDY AND TRIUMPH, written in 1952 (36), for which the author has drawn on the monumental Pilgrim Edition of
Dickens' letters, still a-making (37), as well as other sources (some unpublished). Johnson has also published a collection of letters from Dickens to Miss Coutts, which acts as background to his educational charity at Urania Cottage (38). The latest biography by the MacKenzies (39) has been able to draw further detail forth about Dickens' life and doings from the (now) five volumes of the Pilgrim Letters.

Other biographies of older date have their uses as their writers have each a different sympathy with their subject's life and work, and therefore enlarge different aspects for our closer scrutiny. Forster's original biography cannot be ignored, but it is far from complete (eg he ignores the Dickenses' marital difficulties) (40). On the other hand, the very attractively written biography by Una Pope-Hennessy is novelesque in its approach, yet certainly presents the man, his friends, family and times in vividly realized pictures (41) though it lacks the authority of Johnson's work having only the Nonesuch edition of Dickens' letters as its base (42).

As for other materials, those by Dickens himself must have the foremost position. Firstly, the best text of his speeches is that published by Fielding in 1960, and remains the definitive text (43). It is interesting to compare this text with that of Richard Horne Shepherd of 1884, which is reviewed by Fielding in his "Textual Introduction" (44), and makes curious reading. The old edition, first published anonymously, has always been ascribed to Shepherd. In fact, it had been "put together" by John
Camden Hotten in 1870, "and no one has ever questioned the way in which they [the speeches] were edited, with the result that many of the mistakes caused by Hotten's haste to profit by Dickens' death have been perpetuated."

Fielding shows that, even in death, Dickens was still pursued by pirates, eager to benefit from his efforts and prestige. Shepherd's 1884 edition (45), as Fielding clearly demonstrates, was no more than a reshuffle of the old 1870 edition of Hotten's doing. There is a biographical essay at the beginning of the book, and a lengthy, very detailed "Bibliographical List of the Published Writings in Prose and Verse of CHARLES DICKENS, from 1833 to 1883 (including his letters)," running for some 20-odd pages of very small print. Shepherd's edition contains merely 56 speeches, whereas Fielding's carries 115, each with background notes and source material.

The real expression of the theme will be found largely in Dickens' journals, which have not yet been fully analyzed and reviewed as a body. Some useful work has been done by Collins in his DICKENS' PERIODICALS; ARTICLES ON EDUCATION (46). Lastly, an index to the Dickens Fellowship
V: Conclusion

The immediate task, then, is to consider in Chapter Two the nineteenth century adult educational circumstances and so provide a framework for the study. This done, Chapter Three provides a consideration of Dickens' life and personal educational background. It is important to understand the term, "Fancy," and its central importance to Dickensian educational philosophy, both in its descent from the eighteenth century essayists and Dickens' special application, but this I have discussed in Appendix "B", and should be read in conjunction with these foregoing chapters.

The second part of the thesis, Chapters Four to Seven, deals with Dickens' statements about adult education, and his support for various forms of activity, from the formal provision of Mechanics' Institutes and Athenaeums (Chapter Four), to the practical working through of his theories at Urania Cottage (Chapter Five). The journals as educational materials and Dickens' educational intentions in their use, in informal and non-formal modes, are considered in Chapters Six and Seven. Finally, Chapter Eight concludes with a summary of the development of Dickens' adult educational philosophy and its place in the continuing movement for the education of adults.
Chapter Two  THE NINETEENTH CENTURY ADULT EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT

Terminology often possesses duality of aspect: one part carrying a "portmanteau" significance, and the other, a more precise or confined connotation. "Adult Education" is no exception. The popular concept seems still to signify "evening classes" or "night school," usually with added significance of advancing one's work prospects or keeping healthy (and these two may be related), sometimes with a further possibility of developing an interest, as Rogers and Groombridge have indicated (1). Adults generally do not readily associate "adult education" with the concept of human need to learn continuously in order to cope with constant change in work situations, home and family circumstances or in personal matters (2). "Education" is too often equated simply with formalized, book-based teaching/learning situations; i.e. with teachers in schools or colleges. Learning from individually selected reading matter (magazines, newspapers, as well as books), or from friends and relatives (older and younger), or from associations (clubs, societies, work-mates) is not seen as "education." In terms of assisting adults to learn (sometimes scholastically referred to as "andragogy" (3) in contrast to "pedagogy", which treats of the craft of making children learn in formal situations), "adult education," in this thesis, is deemed to subsume the wider understanding of "the education of adults", whatever form
that takes (whether autodidactic or carried on in a group) and wherever it occurs, at work, at home or in loose associations. However, to give more precise definition to the various forms of adult education considered here, I shall describe three broad categories of activity and show some of the variants that occur within them, as they were extant in the nineteenth century.

1. Categories of Adult Education Activity

The three broad categories considered here I shall call: FORMAL, INFORMAL and NON-FORMAL.

FORMAL ADULT EDUCATION is that form of educational activity which takes place in institutions recognized as educational in intent and practice, such as schools, colleges, Mechanics' Institutes. There is frequently an element of prescription in courses and/or entrance qualification, and a summation of the student's work through examinations by the internal tutors and possibly by external moderators and examiners. Fees may or may not be levied.

INFORMAL ADULT EDUCATION occurs in loose associations such as Corresponding Societies and Educational Associations, (e.g. Lancashire and Cheshire), where members meet from time to time to share knowledge and experience, as well as their expenses, but may also call upon the visiting expert to add further or
new knowledge to their own communal wisdom. Groups of this kind come together usually because of mutual interest in some pursuit, which may have a work element in it or may be purely for other reasons, such as shared pleasure or profit, such as gardening or pig-keeping. This bracket also includes literary, scientific and philosophical societies, corresponding and debating societies, sponsored by a variety of sources. Often, a structure resembling formal institutions may exist, but the participants are self-elective and frequently involved in their own regulation and governance. Chapter Seven shows examples of these, such as the gardening and rowing clubs, and the "Budding Chathams" debating society.

NON-FORMAL ADULT EDUCATION is most frequently associated with self-direction and the use of agencies which exist for educative or informative or even commercial purposes. This includes such things as public libraries and reading-rooms, museums, art galleries (as Dickens advocated in SUNDAY UNDER THREE HEADS), concert halls, theatres, newsagencies, bookshops and their associated materials, books, papers, pictures, music etc. The typical student in this bracket is not only self-elective but frequently autodidactic, making irregular use of agencies and materials as need arises, in a recurrent fashion, rather than in a developmentally extended programme. Hence, Dickens supported the newsvendors and the
public press.

Why so many forms of educational opportunity were available may be seen from the chief reasons for educational expansion during the nineteenth century. Four general reasons may be cited. Firstly, the nineteenth century, following leads begun in the eighteenth, reluctantly came to accept the idea of education as a duty owed by society to all its members if that society was to maintain itself in the light of rapid changes. It was logical that adult workers should receive education to keep them abreast of developments, as a sequel to child education begun in the charity and Sunday-schools of the eighteenth century and continued in the early nineteenth monitorial schools. Secondly, there was an upsurge in philanthropic and humanitarian sentiment to assist the masses whose lot grew increasingly worse, as information, such as that promulgated by Dickens' journals, was assimilated and consciences moved. Thirdly, there was an expanding interest in science and technology. Adam Smith had proclaimed the value of geometry and mechanics in primary education in 1776 in his Wealth of Nations; and Bentham had propounded (1816) almost the identical curriculum for secondary education offered by Mechanics' Institutions some ten years later. The fourth reason, accepted by some and strongly questioned by others (4), was that the Industrial Revolution required better educated workers. However, one must be clear which sort of workers were needed. Administering large-scale mass production and its buying and selling activities certainly demanded
better clerical assistance. It is arguable whether shopfloor workers were required to be more literate or not (5).

These reasons, then, inspired agencies and individuals to attempt some kind of rectification of the situation, because other ideas were current which stirred emotions of a different order. One was that the whole of society was threatened by a number of potentially perilous movements. Among those was the fact that cities were springing up and filling with armies of beggarly, uncouth and uncontrolled people, who owed allegiance to no one, had no knowledge or care for the country's security and peace, who might be sparked into revolution at any moment. Amongst thinking people who viewed the situation with growing anxiety and genuine concern for these deprived and neglected masses was Charles Dickens.

The principal claim of this thesis is that Dickens was an educator of adults, and that his views on adult education, deriving from some of the then current ideas and others, deserve recognition, as they were in advance of his own time and are very much in tune with much being vigorously advocated today and still to be realized in practical outcomes. His own practical achievements and leadership demand that he should be accorded a place in the history of ideas concerning adult learning. To see how this may be justified, Dickens must be set within the adult educational context of the nineteenth century, if we are to see how valid his ideas were and to assess their value today in an age which in some ways mirrors his own.
II Philosophers and Thinkers

The eighteenth century, that age of enlightenment, was a time of stir in intellectual and especially philosophical circles. Agricultural experiment and innovation on a scale to warrant the title of the "Agrarian Revolution," had elicited scientific principles of soil fertility and cultivation, accompanied by practical experiments in drainage, tillage and conservation, as well as real advances in animal husbandry. The quality of land, crops and herds was increasing; so, too, therefore, was the nutritional value of foodstuffs thus produced. This was to lead on to the major thrust of the Industrial Revolution in engineering and other heavy industries along with the factory system, developed from the end of the eighteenth century into its massive manifestation in the nineteenth. Over this, little or no control of its spread existed until the advent of the Factory and Mining Reports and subsequent Acts, regulating work and conditions, by which time much of the misery and suffering brought about by dispossession and drift from the land had already occurred, and industrial squalor had become endemic.

Intellectually, the eighteenth century had thrown up thinkers and writers who were to influence attitudes and beliefs in very fundamental and lasting ways. The religious revival under John Wesley (1703-1791) brought about a major shift in values with the establishment of Methodism from 1784. In political spheres, men like Thomas
Paine (1737-1809) also shaped people's thinking. Paine's *Rights of Man* (1790-92), a riposte to Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), was regarded as highly dangerous material by the ruling establishment of the day. So much so, that constrained to flee to France in 1792, Paine became a French citizen. Equally, his *Age of Reason* (1794-95, finished in prison) found notoriety as political sedition. These works, among others, were nevertheless far-reaching in their educational value for the increasing mass of the working-classes, culminating in the formation of the Labour Movement and Trade Unionism.

Perhaps one of the most influential thinkers and activists of the eighteenth century, in terms of political and intellectual persuasion, was Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) whose formulation of the principles of Utilitarianism was a dominating factor in thinking circles. His work on education (which he considered should be useful, work-oriented, in brief: utilitarian) was *Chrestomathia* (1816), embodying the concept of the purpose of social organization -- the greatest happiness of the greatest number (his "felicific calculus"). This aim would be realized, he believed, by individuals following their own best interests, guided by seeking what was pleasurable and avoiding what was painful: an enlightened self-interest, untouched by State interference. However, that was not possible in certain areas of social policy; eg removing refuse, facilities for education etc. Here, the State had to intervene to preserve its people.
Other philosophers accepted this, such as Adam Smith (1773-1790), James Mill and Thomas Malthus (1766-1834). To spend money on educating the poor was to save money on prisons, crime detection and prevention and social control of harsher denominations. Thus Bentham has often been seen as the inspiration of Victorian individualism and liberalism, as well as the instigator of a welfare state coercive in its use of commissions, reports, inspectors and penalties (7).

Bentham propounded his theory of Utilitarianism in CIVIL AND PENAL LEGISLATION in 1802. This was more closely delineated and expanded by James Mill (1773-1836) in his ELEMENTS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY IN 1821. Mill then moved to more broadly philosophical considerations of Man in his ANALYSIS OF THE HUMAN MIND (1829). His son, John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) followed his father’s Utilitarian philosophy in publishing LOGIC (1843), UNSETTLED QUESTIONS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY (1844), PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL ECONOMY (1848), ON LIBERTY (1859), TREATISE ON REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT (1860), UTILITARIANISM (1862), THE SUBJECTION OF WOMEN (1869). From the mid-eighteenth century onwards these and many other texts abounded for any serious student of society, such as the self-taught Francis Place (1771-1854) and many other Radical tradesmen. Men like Cobden (1804-1865), with his free-trade pamphlet ENGLAND, IRELAND AND AMERICA (1835), an attempt to obviate Russophobia, were subjects of everyday discussion among thinking people of all classes, if for different personal reasons, in discussion groups and corresponding societies,
which led on to movements such as Chartism. William Cobbett (1766-1835) published his *POLITICAL REGISTER* from 1816 at 2d becoming the first cheap periodical for mass reading, and the first of an unending flow of serial publications. His *RURAL RIDES* (1830) established him in English culture as a writer of both literature and sociology since the book records a fast-disappearing England and its people, in a style which can only be described as "belles lettres".

Other aspects of political life, philosophy and civil rights had been under constant and often urgent discussion, spurred on by both the American (1776) and French (1789) Revolutions. Women, such as Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797), with her *VINDICATION OF THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN* (1792), had also entered the political arena, marking the emergence of a feminine consciousness, and early feminism, a topic to grow more insistent throughout the nineteenth century. In a sense, her daughter Mary Shelley (1797-1851) broadened the theme in *FRANKENSTEIN* (1818) into questioning what makes Man and what rights exist for such a creature.

In terms of adult education, this short list of politico-philosophical writings indicates that for autodidacts as for some informal groups (eg corresponding societies) there was an increasing plethora of literature of a very solid nature available, especially with the advent of steam presses, and cheaper imprints which flowed thence. Before the emergence of any regular institutions open to the public at large, learning by reading at home was the only means for many.
Circulating and eventually public libraries, as well as reading-rooms, added greater encouragement to this mode of advancing personal knowledge and education. I shall consider popular literature in more detail in Chapter Six where I relate it to Dickens' own journals.

III: The Scientific and Cultural Climate

*Frankenstein* represents more than the most classical of Gothic tales. It combined horror with scientific curiosity, reflecting the time's preoccupation, thus becoming true science fiction, epitomizing many intellectual problems faced by nineteenth century minds. Religious, moral and ethical thought and belief melded with scientific need and justification for seeking answers to life's great mysteries. In that sense, it was no different (for some) from irreligious and blasphemous works that questioned Christ's divinity or the Creation of the World in 4004 B.C. Science had not, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, freed itself from religious constraints and prohibitions. Nevertheless, some enlightenment existed among Dissenting Churches. Natural law (as shown by research) was thought to reveal a rational design in the universe, thus "proving" the existence of a Creator God. This reasoning had led to the setting up (after the Act of Uniformity of 1662 and the Act of Toleration of 1689) of Dissenting Academies in London, Manchester, Warrington and other places. These academies, through the brilliance of outstanding dissenting scientists such as
Joseph Priestley (1734–1804) and John Dalton (1766–1844) largely seized middleclass minds, both by their progressive courses, such as Warrington's 3-year business education courses, and by the "extramural" work of itinerant lecturers.

Scientific, mathematical, statistical and astronomical societies spread between 1750–1900. Birmingham's Lunar Society flourished from the 1760's to around 1800, as did its offspring, the Derby Philosophical Society (founded by Erasmus Darwin in 1784), which "...tended like so many similar societies, to consist mainly of Radicals and Dissenters." Manchester's Literary and Philosophical Society began in 1781, whilst London coffee-houses served the same needs, especially Rawthmell's in Covent Garden, from whose meetings emerged the Royal Society of Arts for the application of sciences to manufactures and commerce.

Scientific publishing increased, enabling middleclass scientific self-education to flourish. Attending lectures, reading papers and forming clubs among professional classes, were activities increasing class cohesion at some levels, which also created, non-formally, a community of individuals well-disposed towards scientific development wherein industrialization thrived.

One formal move to impart similar learning to artisans was the founding of Mechanics' Institutes, begun by Dr George Birkbeck (9) in England, with the London Mechanics' Institute in 1823. This was to give tuition in physics and chemistry, in much the same way as earlier efforts such as the London Institution (1805), the Philomathic
Institution (1807) and the Russell Institution (1808) had provided programmes of scientific lectures, libraries, reading-rooms and collections of scientific apparatus. Others joined the cause, such as Henry Brougham (1778-1818), the Whig MP, who toured the country exhorting towns to set up their own Mechanics' Institutes, with notable success in the north. 109 existed in 1826, 305 by 1841, and 690-700 by mid-century. Brougham also founded in 1827 the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Birkbeck, however, doubted that the literacy level of England was sufficiently high to support greater levels of education or scientific rigour. He was proved right as the curricula and students of institutes responded to various, different social and local pressures. Some institutes became, in part, centres of basic education (the Three R's), others social clubs (reflecting Dickens' demand for re-creational pursuits), yet others centres for radical political activity (Chartist, Co-operative and trade unionist) in the 1830's and 1840's, though some, such as the Huddersfield Mechanics' Institute continued to thrive. In 1851 it still offered reading, writing, arithmetic, commercial subjects, history, geography, literature, languages, music, elocution, chemistry and natural philosophy to its 600 students. Many others became middleclass institutions for general cultural pursuits, peopled by business and professional men. Indeed, the Chatham Mechanics' Institution of which Dickens was President at his death, was just such a one. Though many
remodelled their curriculum to meet changes in needs (Samuelson Report 1884, I, IV), Mechanics' Institutes in general failed to provide for the mass of artisans the scientific knowledge and culture enjoyed and exploited by the middleclasses since the mid-eighteenth century, mainly because of the high level of literacy and numeracy expected, which few mechanics had opportunities or even the energies to reach, because of their long working hours.

IV : Politics, Christianity and Liberal Education

Chartism failed in its efforts after the mass demonstration in 1848, but from it grew a new movement, Christian Socialism, founded by two churchmen whom the Church had denounced. Charles Kingsley (1819–1875) and F.D. Maurice (1805–1872) founded the Christian Socialist movement in 1849. Maurice was expelled from his professorship at King's College, London, for questioning the doctrine of eternal punishment in his THEOLOGICAL ESSAYS in 1853. In the following year, in London, he founded The Working Men's College, and became its first Principal. Other institutions of similar persuasion followed in Sheffield, Nottingham, Ancoats, Salford, Wolverhampton, Cambridge, Oxford, Halifax and Leicester. In the 1870's these merged with the wider university extension movement, eventually some becoming civic universities such as Manchester and Leeds.

Debate on the purpose and content of education flourished from the eighteenth century onwards. Perhaps
the most potent view was that of "liberal education," which, stated briefly, held that what was learnt (and that meant chiefly the Classics) was not important in itself. Education in not being focussed upon any ensuing occupation could be said to fit its receiver for any pursuit. R.L. Edgeworth's *ESSAYS ON PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION* (1809) attacked Oxbridge by the round statement that "the value of all education must ultimately be decided by its utility." The Benthamite utilitarian organ, the *EDINBURGH REVIEW*, took up the book's theme and the Revend Sydney Smith, a former Oxford Fellow, joined the attack, declaring the study of the Classics to be useless. Replies from Oxford and Cambridge followed defending the liberal view, but the culmination of the old ideal came in J.H.Newman's *DISCOURSES ON UNIVERSITY EDUCATION*, given in Dublin in 1852, in which he claimed that liberal education "stands on its own pretensions ... independent of sequel." It was "the especial characteristic or property of a University and of a gentleman," resulting in "a cultivated intellect, a delicate taste, a candid equitable dispassionate mind." Such education was not training for a profession, but a man so educated could "fill any post with credit and master any subject with facility." These views and those from Oxbridge itself were to have damaging effects in the day school sector in preserving an adherence to Classical education, to the detriment of industry, commerce and the nation at large when faced with competition in commercial and military terms from the end of the nineteenth century onwards. Nevertheless, the Liberal Education ideal of a
broad base of learning, which was espoused by men such as Birkbeck, who did not see education as being solely preparation for work and other narrow vocational demands, continued to hold advocates even as it does today (eg in Local Authority Adult Education centres), and as Dickens himself was to hold. (V. Chapter Four.)

V : Women's Education and Feminism

As Chapter Five deals with this topic more fully, I shall confine myself here to outlining some factors which helped women to better education. Mary Wollstonecraft had claimed equality for girls and women with boys and men. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries were to see the working out of that claim. The nineteenth saw an increasing female population over males. In 1841, there were some 202,400 women more than men between 20 and 35 years old, which rose to 262,300 in 1871. This meant that more than a quarter of a million women had little or no chance of marriage. The marriage age was rising and parents were living longer; all exacerbated the problems of "redundant" women. More and more women had to find work to support themselves even into their old age, having no children or spouses to support them. Widows with children were in an even more desperate state. Education and work were the only means to solve their difficulties. Chapter Seven shows some of the attempts to help females gain sufficient education (albeit mainly domestic in nature) to earn their own livings. These fell into two broad categories of housework as servants for the lesser women
and private tuition as governesses for those with more ability or money to buy further education. The industrial cities and towns still saw women working in mills and factories, frequently lacking even rudimentary educational skills (9). A third outlet for middleclass women was by their facility with the pen and composition of stories. Women such as the Bronte sisters were able to earn something of a comfortable living, and more importantly, gain independence, through publishing novels or plays, but these women were in the minority, some of whom, nevertheless, gained useful criticism from Dickens himself.

The search for women's education was entangled with arguments (mainly religious but also partly political in origin) about woman's place in the scheme of things, and her descent from Eve. The Church and Law as well as social custom saw to it that women were regarded and treated as inferior beings, of lesser physical and mental capacities than men -- in an age which employed armies of women to carry coals up lengthy staircases from cellars to lofty bedrooms, and to work from before dawn until late into the night. The advances made in the period of Dickens' life were almost entirely on the part of middleclass education for girls and women. Poor girls and women had to gain what education they could from such institutions as the Ragged Schools movement (actively supported by Dickens, such as that in Field Lane), which tended to attract the most deprived of young people, often too dirty and starveling to be admitted to other institutions. Here, females would receive the same kind of educational fare as boys and men:
basic reading, some writing, Bible study, with the possible addition of knitting and sewing. Housewifely skills of cookery, domestic economy, caring for children and clothes, received little if any attention until mid-century when philanthropists such as Angela Burdett Coutts set up classes for working-class women and girls. "Brown's Lane" classes were typical of this assistance proffered.

Middle-class girls and women received most of their education, such as it was, at home with governesses, a group of women to be despised and treated badly by their employers and charges alike. However, in 1843, the Governesses' Benevolent Institution set up Queen's College in Harley Street, London, inspired and abetted by F.D. Maurice, on Christian Socialist principles, much akin to Dickens' own. This institution offered a highly academic curriculum, including sciences and languages as well as the basic accomplishments of drawing, music, dancing and needlework. Evening lectures were also provided for practising governesses as inservice-training. Alongside this development was the founding of Bedford College, London, in 1849.

VI  Towards State Education

In the nineteenth century, the first real involvement of central government in compulsory educational provision for the people came in Peel's Factory Act of 1802, "An Act for the preservation of the health and morals of
apprentices and others employed in cotton and other mills and cotton and other factories (10)." The employer was required to provide "adequate instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic during the first four years at least of the seven years of apprenticeship." Also this "secular instruction [had to] be included in the twelve hours of daily occupation beginning not earlier than 6am and ending not later than 9pm (11)." Though enforcement of this statute was imperfect, it does indicate the beginnings of acceptance on the part of the State of its responsibilities in the matter of education, brought about by a realization of "educational destitution."

Between 1816 and 1818, Henry Brougham promoted a Select Committee "to inquire into the Education of the Lower Orders" which found "a very great deficiency ... in the means of educating the Poor..." Like much in educational legislation which ensued, the old dichotomy of secular versus sectarian education was adumbrated: "... it is material to direct the attention of Parliament ... [to] the two opposite principles, of founding schools for children of all sorts, and for those only who belong to the established church." This obviously excluded all dissenters of any description, and signalled the unsolved dilemma which persists today: should education be a matter of private conscience and private solution; or, should the State see to it that its people are given provision sufficient to meet all their needs? The nineteenth century complicated this further by the secular/sectarian arguments. In all fairness, however, the churches had
traditionally been the prime providers of education up to that time, but their exclusivities had moved the arguments into bitter antagonisms and a struggle for power over the minds of the people.

In 1833, during the time Dickens was reporting from the House Commons, Roebuck, with a good deal of support, moved a plan for the universal and compulsory education of the people. This proposed a complete national system under the control of the government. Opinion generally was against this, holding private education to be the proper method. The year of Victoria’s accession, 1837, saw yet another attempt by William Lovett and the Chartists for a comprehensive, State supervised public education system, but it, too, failed. M.E. Sadler declared that "for three generations this principle was upheld in spite of much opposition and it was abandoned only when it was clear to all that voluntary effort alone could not relieve the whole of the educational destitution in many of our great cities ... This conclusion opened the way for the passing of the Elementary Education Act of 1870, the aim of which was to supplement voluntary effort by collective action (12)."

In 1840, the Committee of the Privy Council in Education appointed the first two of Her Majesty’s Inspectors, who began systematic reporting on the condition of education as they found it. These Inspectors soon observed that "many of those who are at work during the day attend night schools between the hours of 7 and 9 pm." The Reverend W.J. Kennedy, HMI, reported in 1848, that "youths should here [in night schools] systematically carry on the
education which they have commenced in the elementary school. The same buildings would serve. What is wanted is the masters and the funds to pay them. I see no way to bring about this vital measure except by large special assistance from the Committee of Council."

This was agreed to in 1851 by the Committee of Council, but they refused to sanction any arrangement which allowed the day-school teacher to work three sessions a day. An additional certificated teacher had to be employed on a payment of £5 to £10. This, however, led to difficulties in areas outside large towns in finding adequate supply of such teachers.

A further report on "the State of Popular Education" (the Newcastle Report, commissioned in 1858), appeared in 1861. Its brief, again, was to inquire into "what Measures, if any, are required for the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction to all classes of the people." This was the first comprehensive survey of English elementary education, following on the spate of defeated Bills between 1847 and 1857 (three alone in 1855). The Report was innovatory in its recommendations. It proposed the Committee of Council should extend its operations, but that the chief features of the old system should remain -- no interference with denominational bodies and no central control over school management. However, it also proposed capitation grants from the State and additional support for Pupil Teachers. Moreover, it recommended these fundings should be supplemented from local rates. County and Borough boards of education should
be set up, responsible for supervising secular education, and for paying certain grants. The only recommendation to be adopted by the government of the day (Palmerston's administration), was the notorious "payment by results." Reactionary views were still too powerful for so radical a report to succeed.

The Elementary Education Act of 1870, often regarded as the foundation-stone of the State education system in England and Wales, was, however, more a gap-stopping exercise to provide schools for children where schools did not exist. Forster himself said in the House when introducing the Bill:

Upon the speedy provision of elementary education depends our industrial prosperity. It is of no use trying to give technical teaching to our artisans without elementary education; uneducated labourers ... are for the most part, unskilled labourers, and if we leave our work-folk any longer unskilled, notwithstanding their strong sinews and determined energy, they will become over-matched in the competition of the world. Upon this speedy provision depends also, I fully believe, the good, the safe working of our constitutional system (13).

This Utilitarian expression has, in the main, held good ever since, as far as adult education is concerned, with a recognizable bias, at least on the part of the majority of students, towards improvement of work opportunities
The nineteenth century saw further reports on technical and scientific education, on teacher training and university provision, but, as a movement recognized in its own right, adult education had to wait until 1919 before a report devoted exclusively to the education of adults appeared: "the only major review of adult education in England and Wales ever to have been undertaken... (14)."

More than fifty years on from the 1919 report was published the Russell Report (1973), which declared:

Education is concerned with developing the ability of individuals to understand and to articulate; to reason and to make judgments; and to develop sensitivity and creativity.

Initial education is designed for these purposes too, but it would be surprising if individual development were completed and curiosity satisfied by the age of sixteen or even twenty-six... If individuals are to be given the chance to develop their talents and abilities to the full and to meet with understanding the impact of rapidly changing patterns of employment and the stresses of a rapidly changing society, they require access to education in adult life as their needs emerge (15).

As this thesis will show, these words are almost a resume of Dickens' own beliefs, as applicable in his day as well as in ours.
Perhaps the final governmental effort to be mentioned is the advent of distance learning through the Open University. The stress this body puts on "post-experience" learning and "associate studentship" reflects its commitment to the continuing learning needs of adults who have to return to study in a recurrent fashion rather than in a continuous, "full-time" mode. The use of materials in a "flexi-study" method is a development of the nineteenth century's magazines and compendiums of knowledge (such as "Cassell's New Popular Educator", published between 1890 and 1892 in eight volumes (16)), which flowed from the presses in increasing magnitude throughout the period. With instant mass media communication people can now take advantage of these opportunities at will.

Thus, the nineteenth century saw the origins of much that is still extant in adult education, even to some of the enduring problems, such as difficulties of persuading the bulk of the population that education is a multi-purpose tool for the human mind; and conflict of ideology between those who see education as subject-based, and those who see it as student-based. Both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are periods of rapid and fundamental change in society and in such concerns as work and leisure, "education for what?", and the means of production of wealth and social responsibilities towards
those who cannot help themselves. Many of these topics occupied the mind and life of Charles Dickens and it is to the relevance of his thought to ourselves and our time that this thesis is devoted. His concern that the People should know what the real state of their circumstances was, engaged more than half his working life. His constant efforts to persuade those in power and authority of the insidious evil of neglect held his attention throughout.

VII: Dickens in Context

This short survey shows how complex a thing the nineteenth century educational situation was. The whole period was beset with factional difficulties, not the least in the hardening of a new class structure (employers and workers, as opposed to the older squire and dependents), which the Industrial Revolution was bringing in. Prolonged official inactivity resulted only in a hotch-potch of educational provision, largely supplied by philanthropy and self-help. No real system of national education emerged until the end of the nineteenth century. Dickens' contribution to the educational scene encompassed both children and adults, but it is on the latter that this study concentrates, as it is a topic so far neglected both in educational circles and in Dickensian studies generally (17). Clearly, many and various agencies as well as individuals were attempting to provide educational opportunities for the masses. It is clear, too, that their reasons for so doing embraced diverse purposes. Some felt
that it was a religious duty to help men and women to read the Bible and so learn their duties to God and man. Others felt there were political reasons why men at least should have some elementary education. Dickens' reasons are more extensive, and they may be examined on a number of levels. Certainly, there was a religious and moral stimulus to his efforts, in that he felt injustice was being meted out to people who could do nothing about it, nor even were truly aware that their mode of existence was the result of injustice and neglect. His contribution was to attempt a mass spread of information and knowledge which would give the humblest person at least a chance of improvement through an understanding of what was going on around him. The fact that Dickens employed all his skills in journalistic ways has clouded much of his effort in educating adults to an extent that it has been largely ignored. This thesis shows that he began what he saw as his mission by making speeches specifying the claims which he believed were the right of all to universal, comprehensive, truly liberal education both for work and for improvement in the general quality of family and individual life. These two aims would thus fit the individual for greater understanding of God’s Will and His purpose for Man, and so eventually bring about His Kingdom on Earth. Dickens' various works, fictional and journalistic all exemplify, along with his practical achievements, a continuing and enlarging purpose and resoluteness of mind to succeed in this mission, as his journals most patently show in their topicality and
precision. There is no deviation from it, in spite of the difficulties and tribulations of his own personal life. Chapter Five, which deals with his unceasing labours for Urania Cottage and its inmates shows also that this devotion was sustained in the face of his rapidly growing dissatisfaction with his marriage, much of which was of his own making, primarily because of his inability to tolerate his wife's lack of drive and lesser intellectual endowment.

In marital break-up, such a phenomenon is commonplace, since the person who prompts the rupture often is unaware of his (or her) action, being blinded by the passions thus aroused, as Dickens' unquestionably were. His somewhat authoritarian attitude to life was exhibited again in the running of his journals, for which he brooked no contradiction to his will in creating a single philosophical viewpoint throughout. Such emotions too frequently blurred or obliterated a real assessment of his personal situation, but, nevertheless, he kept his mind free from taint in his dealings with others outside his family circle.

It is true he exhibited certain degrees of naivety in his view of matters with which he was not intimately acquainted. He approved of working men combining to advance their own educational (and, thereby, social) prospects, as his address to the Lancashire Educational Association shows; but he never overtly supported trade unionism as such. Indeed, his picture of it in HARD TIMES is indefinite and predominantly unfavourable. His concern is to pillory characters such as Slackbridge, the orator,
even in his name, indicating a poor link between men and management. To speak out openly for trade unionism might well have lost him an audience he valued so highly; or so he may have believed. Such a reason cannot be ruled out; but, in truth, it was people, not organizations, which held his unflagging interest.

Dickens can be criticized in his lack of curricular suggestions, in that he seems to believe that the individual should make up his own mind what was needed to be learned. This can, on the other hand, be justified by his wish not to inhibit personal development because of his central belief in the developmental powers of imagination (which I have discussed at length in Appendix "B"); but that is too feeble in the face of the crying need for the masses to gain some kind of power to lift themselves up through education and social reform generally. Clean air, good drains and pure water in decent dwellings might well be the true priority before getting into more specific educational matters. After all, the factories, with much of the work consisting of "machine minding," did not necessarily require any particular level of educational attainment for workers to earn a wage. In this sense, Dickens' view was perhaps too limited in that it postponed the People's success too long and too far into the future. If they are to be recognized at all as significant, Dickens' efforts must be seen in a different way, which forms the burden of this study.

The sum of Dickens' contribution to the education of adults rests in the fact that his efforts were spread wide
through his own personal contacts and influences. He was
the friend and companion of many of the day’s great
figures, Dr Southwood Smith, A.H. Layard, Henry Austin,
Sergeant Talfourd, Caroline Chisholm, Angela Burdett
Coutts, Carlyle, prisoner governors (such as Chesterton),
writers, artists, musicians and many others, whose
assistance he sought and gained, and, indeed, which he
frequently returned in kind. His written works reached
enormous audiences of all classes, as did his public
readings. Above all, the magnetism of his personal
presence and characteristics drew many and bound them to
him and his ideas. The failure of his task perhaps resides
in his inability to identify with precision how he would
achieve his educational and social vision, since his views
were often naive in approach, lacking an over-all
investigation in depth which it must be recognized was not
always available to him. Moreover, he lacked, too,
anything approaching a scholar’s attitude to research,
ever having received an education which demanded analysis
and synthesis of that kind. In an age renowned for its
sentimentality, it is not surprising to see him using the
sharpness of his feelings and his intuitive logic to arrive
at findings not far short of those discovered by more
strictly scientific means (V. Chp. 3).

It can be said that his journals were written with a
vocabulary demanding a high level of literacy and
linguistic understanding, not something easily found among
the working classes. Nevertheless, the impact of those
journals stretched over all the land for twenty years of
Dickens' own life and twenty-five after his death, with circulation numbers exceeding those of THE TIMES (V. Chps 7 and 8).

His work at Urania Cottage certainly was effective as both the letters home and other inquiries from different areas about the Home show. The collapse of his marriage broke off his commitment very sharply, and he was to make no further attempts to carry out similar work elsewhere. The bulk of his effort thence went into the journals. Nonetheless, he had carried out more than ten years of very complicated and delicate work very efficiently with Miss Coutts' financial support. He had given a well-tried and well-practised example for others to follow, and his piece, "Home for Homeless Women," was extant for others to emulate.

As for the articles which I have examined, their chief task is plainly to spread the news of what was happening and to give some examples for emulation or avoidance. They fall short in that they do not follow on with any systematic development or sequential writings, with perhaps the exception of the articles on "idiots." In this way, Dickens' journals did not build up, even in piecemeal fashion, any kind of social reform programme by emphatic concentration on particular topics. The volumes as a corpus indicate quite clearly that they were concerned to show the state of things, good and bad. They do not exhibit consistently developed themes, or plans for action. Dickens was unsuccessful in this matter, anxious, no doubt, to preserve his image and reputation, and in this he
must be regarded as failing unnecessarily, led astray by his own misplaced propriety and sense of what was decent. In terms of his commitment to the importance of all things human, he can only be regarded as pre-eminent, because of the uniqueness of his position as England's most popularly-read author, a reputation of which he was justly proud, and one which he exploited for the advantage of others (v. Chp. 4). His teaching resides in the canon of his work, and the impetus he gave to the formulation of ideas in adult minds, so eloquently delineated by Maurois (page 6), and which figured so prominently in social reforms of various sorts, from the kindly treatment of children, animals and old people to the banning of public executions and the final outlawing of inhuman incarceration for debt. There were many eminent Victorians as Strachey has implied. Dickens remains the most eminent because of his own humanity as well as for his concern for his fellow beings, and despite his failure to achieve so much because his ideal was suprahuman. The sadness which coloured his later years so markedly no doubt reflected his own sense of under-achievement, since he never set his aims lower than the highest. That he knew he could never reach those targets must have made him increasingly dissatisfied with his own efforts, even though he knew his strengths were declining.
Chapter Three  DICKENS' PERSONAL BACKGROUND
AND EDUCATION

His Background

It is unnecessary here to trace all of Dickens' life; that has already been done very thoroughly, initially by John Forster, and latterly by Edgar Johnson, between them forming a definitive biographical survey of Dickens and his circle, to which other biographers have added mostly their own interests about Dickens' life. However, it is necessary, if we are to understand his contribution to and enthusiasm for education, to trace in Dickens' life -- especially the first three decades or so -- those events and persons which were to have both a profound effect and lasting influence upon him; and, secondly, to note the influences of ideas and information which he received from reading, discussion and recorded observation.

Moreover, the accuracy and penetration of his observation, coupled with a memory of extraordinarily detailed tenacity, are phenomena to be reckoned with, as fundamental to Dickens' entire activity as a man and artist of genius. To this list, a final characteristic must be added, intrinsic to his powers of observation which directly bears upon his uniqueness. This was his unusual yet accurate gift of intuition (described by a number of critics as "almost feminine"), and which may be called, perhaps more precisely, his "intuitive logic" (1). This enabled him, for example, to predict and diagnose certain kinds of morbid, psychological conditions, since proved by
psychological, psychiatric and medical research to be so accurate as to be valid as "case studies" (2). However, the concentration here, and throughout this thesis, will remain on those factors which contributed most to the formation of his views concerning the education of adults and his practical efforts in its advancement.

I. His Early Life

Charles John Huffam Dickens (3) was born on 7 February 1812, in moderately affluent circumstances (4) at 387 Mile End Road (also known as 1 Mile End Terrace), Landport, Portsmouth (5): the first son and second child of John Dickens (1785-1851) and his wife, Elizabeth, nee Barrow (1789-1863). John Dickens was at this time a clerk in the Naval Pay Office at Portsmouth Dockyard. The immediate antecedents of the Dickens' family were of "below-stairs" origins: Charles' paternal grandfather, William Dickens (1719-1785), had risen from being a footman to Head Butler to John Crewe (later Lord Crewe) of Crewe Hall, MP for Chester in Cheshire. His paternal grandmother, Elizabeth Dickens, nee Ball (1744?-1824), had been maid-servant to the Marquis of Blandford, Lord Chamberlain in George III's household, resident in Grosvenor Square, when she married William Dickens (he, some twenty-five years her senior). After the latter's death in 1785, Elizabeth, then in her early forties and possessing two sons, William Jnr and John, was appointed Housekeeper at Crewe Hall at a salary of eight guineas a year. John Dickens (Charles' father)
born the same year as his father's death, eventually received preferment to his post in the Naval Pay Office, in 1805, through the influence of Lord Crewe, an intimate friend of George Canning, then Treasurer to the Navy. Four years later, John married Elizabeth Barrow (she then 20 and he 24 years of age).

Charles makes no reference, in any direct manner to his own "below-stairs" ancestry, though clearly he was intimately familiar with "kitchen" and "servants' hall" life (6), which is drawn in some detail in the stories and novels, frequently with compassion, and so realistically as to be copied from first-hand experience and observation. Nevertheless, Charles conveniently forgot to mention this part of his family history in his writings.

II. Dickens' Social Class

It is apposite at this juncture to make some statement about Dickens' class and class-consciousness and how they relate to his thinking and the eventual expression of that thought (7). It has been commonplace to bandy about all kinds of class descriptions of Dickens: "middle-class," "bourgeois," "declasse," or even "Little Cockney of the London streets." Few, if any, have really tried to locate his exact social position, except to say that because of his financial success and literary fame he was in a class of his own. This is true in so far as his success goes; but it does not link Dickens with any particularized part of the social structure of his day. Neale's analysis of
five classes is useful at this point and helpful in distinguishing the status of Dickens' views as far as the rest of society (at all levels) is concerned.

Working up from the proletariat towards the nobility, it would seem (to follow Neale's definition) that since he was born into a family of the petite bourgeoisie, Dickens belonged to the "middling" class.

The early stages of industrialization in Britain brought about a proliferation of petty producers, retailers, and tradesmen -- collectively the petit bourgeois -- and a class of professional men ... [whose children] ... flooded the grammar and private school system only to be turned out half-educated, half-gentlemen, unfitted for industrial employment... As this group of ... 'literates' came to maturity they added to the competition for the limited number of respectable places (8).

This aptly describes John Dickens' situation and that of Charles also, at least at his starting-out point. This explanation also reveals a new dimension to Charles' love-affair with Maria Beadnell, and her parents' refusal to accept him, since the Beadnells were clearly placed in the Middle-class, and, therefore, "above" Dickens in "station."

Such "literates" as "members of the literate and professional strata possessed of few liquid assets and having no property or connections were particularly
inclined to assert the rights of man as against the rights of property, status, and traditional authority. Prominent among them were doctors and lawyers;" and it is of note that many of Dickens' friends and acquaintances fell into the last two professions (eg Talfourd, Southwood-Smith).

The "Uneasy Class," Edward Gibbon Wakefield's "collective name for both the petit bourgeois and the underemployed literates" (page 15) are defined by Neale as "petit bourgeois, aspiring professional men, other literates, and artisans." (page 23) The Middling Class is "the central and most unstable class," continually undergoing replacement from "a variety of sources: from successful occupants of upper strata of the industrial proletariat in factory areas, workers in domestic industries, collectivist and non-deferential, and wanting government intervention to protect rather than liberate them;" and "from less successful occupants and their children, of the Upper and Middle Classes, as well as from its own natural increase. It also loses population to all other classes. Consequently the Middling Class itself displays divergent political and social tendencies." (pages 23, 24)

The Middling Class is, therefore, a shifting, but essentially dynamic group, conscious of its individualism and decidedly non-deferential. Charles Dickens, ever restless and always seeking and finding more to do, was clearly one of this group.
III. Dickens' Class-consciousness

In the light of these considerations, perhaps two possible explanations may be advanced for Dickens' "forgetfulness" about his family background. Firstly, it might be argued that this was an act of snobbery on Dickens' part, in that he felt he would be at a disadvantage "in society," in spite of his early success and fame as a writer, if such facts were common knowledge. That he was keenly conscious of the existence of the social ladder and of the kinds of people who aspired to ascend it by whatever means, is clearly in evidence throughout his work, from the SKETCHES to his major novels, such as DOMBEY AND SON or LITTLE DORRIT, as well as in his journals, in pieces such as "Subscription Lists," and particularly "The Toady Tree" (9).

As a characteristic, well understood and much treated of by Dickens, snobbery is pervasively present in all Dickens' work. In Dickens to be a snob is not as it largely is in Thackeray, for instance, to be a cad, guilty of certain offences against good form. It is to be guilty of far worse offences against oneself... Dickens wasn't a gentleman at all. His social inferiority in fact was of the most vulnerable kind, and made him a snob as Thackeray never was. But, we might almost argue [says Thurley], it was necessary that Dickens should be a snob; it was precisely
this representativeness of position that afforded Dickens his great insight into the nature of snobbishness: he knew that it was not merely not "nice," or "bad form" ... but that it ALIENATED THE SNOB FROM HIMSELF. It was Dickens ... who understood that far from being a faintly ridiculous and ephemeral property of Manners, snobbishness was a paradigm of the social consciousness of bourgeois man: that snobbishness is simply the most characteristic disease in modern society (10), and is best exemplified in his novel, GREAT EXPECTATIONS.

He saw himself set squarely at the centre of the classes, as his attitude to the Blacking Factory episode shows. Indeed, he was at pains to show the intensity of the shame he felt at being "reduced" to manual labour; equally, he perceived himself as "a child of singular abilities, quick, eager, delicate and soon hurt," who was being casually and carelessly neglected both bodily and intellectually (11).

No words can express the secret agony of my soul as I sunk into this companionship [of the boys at Warren's. I felt my early hopes of growing up to be a learned and distinguished man, crushed in my breast. The deep remembrance of the sense I had of being utterly neglected and hopeless; of the shame I felt in my position; of the misery it was to my young
heart to believe that, day by day, what I had learned, and thought, and delighted in, and raised my fancy and emulation by, was passing away from me, never to be brought back any more; cannot be written (12).

It is important to note that Dickens’ childhood ambition was to be “a learned and distinguished man,” and to realize his horror and misery that what he “…had learned, and thought, and delighted in … was passing away … never to be brought back any more,” was a future which he could not contemplate in any way. The story of his adult life can be seen as a working-out of that ambition, albeit revised and redirected towards a different form of didacticism through magazine journalism rather than the academic life as his expressed ambition might suggest.

Secondly, Dickens was a journalist, with a didact’s desire to inform, persuade and assist others to a worthwhile situation through knowledge and information. A good journalist — and Dickens was superlative (13) — is able to present arguments, adequately researched, from opposing views, and yet refrain from partisanship. Such is the case with Dickens; but this lack of bias may be seen by some as inconsistency. However, it is the objectivity of a mind of rare capacity, able to marshal a case well, even when to his own disadvantage, and to couch that case in telling terms with disarming persuasiveness, that is at work. This is one reason why he was able to tell Forster and others, in his private letters, that he wholly despaired of legislation and Parliament as means to
answers for pressing, urgent, social problems, and yet continued in his journals to demand State intervention into social ills of many kinds because it was obvious to him that many of these abuses were insoluble in terms of individuals or small organizations. The solutions went beyond his views, and so he propounded others.

IV: Good and the Masses

He believed that, in the main, people were not inherently bad or evil (14) but that unavoidable circumstances often forced them into wrong-doing. Such was his belief about the prime cause of prostitution, for instance, which Shaw was to echo in MRS. WARREN'S PROFESSION, hence, Dickens' efforts to reclaim and rehabilitate young prostitutes from prisons at Urania Cottage, in conjunction with Angela Burdett-Coutts (15).

On the other hand, throughout his writing life (1836-1870), Dickens felt that the nation was heading into an extremely serious — even catastrophic — situation, which no one was anxious to avoid or even acknowledge. He wrote to A.H. Layard, 10 April 1855, I believe the discontent to be so much the worse for smouldering instead of blazing openly, that it is extremely like the general mind of France before the breaking out of the first Revolution, and is in danger of being turned by any one of a thousand accidents — a bad harvest — the last strain too much of aristocratic insolence or incapacity — a
defeat abroad -- a mere chance at home --
into such a Devil of a conflagration as never
has been beheld since.

(His thoughts here were running on the Government's
appalling record in the Crimea as well as on Palmerston's
wilfully blind arrogance and insouciance concerning the
condition of the masses.)

All these reasons added to the rapidly deteriorating
physical environments of the urban poor, accompanied by the
inevitable increase in vice and crime; grinding poverty
and brutal ignorance; starvation and epidemic disease;
increasing oppression of the Law in general and the Poor
Law in particular; industrial pollution and injury; the
isolation and careless ignorance of the Upper Classes about
the Lower Orders and their desperate needs. The
outstanding example was Ireland in the 1840's (referred to
in the letter just quoted), in that four million people
lived entirely on potatoes.

Dickens reluctantly accepted that the people had no
chance or hope of political success or means whereby they
could improve their lot in the way they might choose. To
make political decisions or policies would imply political
know-how (information and comprehension, through
organization). This could not be, since, firstly, the
ruling classes of the 1840's had little knowledge of
working-class life (at least in ways that could be
construed in any reasonable manner as "knowledge" or
familiarity); and, secondly, the urban masses had no view
of their rulers except as "masters." The divide was wide
and seemingly unbridgeable.

Something of a lead was given by Shaftesbury and a few others. Shaftesbury’s evangelicalism straitened many of his views, so that he virtually ignored problems such as prostitution, claiming little knowledge of the problem, and wishing to know less (16), nevertheless, his moral leadership indubitably helped the aristocracy begin some kind of accommodation towards the urban masses, other than just that of command and obedience. Ironically enough, the proletariat was becoming a force to reckon with, without its knowing it in any meaningful sense, simply because of its vast numbers.

V Christian Self-respect and Smilesian Self-help

This view of Dickens was reinforced further by two other sources within him: his own knowledge of how much worse than helpless the ignorant poor were, and all the implicit inabilities to help themselves; and, secondly, his deep religious conviction that man must help man.

Little evidence survives about Dickens’ attendance at particular churches, or churches of any particular denomination. This has been a problem for scholars who have attempted to place him within one specific persuasion. We know that he attended, for two or three years, the Little Portland Street Chapel, where the Minister was Mr Edward Tagart, who remained his close friend for a long time after Dickens left his congregation.

As we know, Dickens objected to the Church of
England's catechism, and, instead, "for the use of his own children he prepared a catechism which he considered more suitable and more in harmony with what he believed to be the teaching of Jesus Christ" (17). It would seem that at least while he actively attended the Little Portland Street Chapel he was definitely "out of sympathy" with the Church of England, and yet understandably accepted the need for some kind of code to guide his children. The fact that Dickens rejected dogmatic statements about religion, relying on his own interpretations of the Gospels, is essential to an understanding of his religious views, and the overt signs of his religious life. Connell argues convincingly that Dickens' views accorded very well with those of Dr Channing (18), whom Dickens had met in America, and with those of the Reverend Tagart (19). His views, it would seem, therefore, were broadly of a Unitarian kind, which rejected many forms of dogma and ritual, such as the concept of the Trinity, to be found in more orthodox sects.

Dickens' deep and lasting concern for the education of adults saw self-respect as one of its main benefits. As he told his audience at the Manchester Athenaeum's Soiree:

... this I know, that the first unpurchaseable blessing earned by every man who makes an effort to improve himself in such a place as the Athenaeum is self-respect -- an inward dignity of character which once acquired and righteously maintained, nothing, no, not the hardest drudgery, not the direst poverty can vanquish. (Applause) Though he should find it
hard for a season even to keep the wolf of
hunger from his door, let him but once have
chased the dragon of ignorance from his hearth,
and self-respect and hope are left him (20).

Self-respect had become one of Dickens’ prime searches
in life from the time of Warren’s Blacking Factory onwards,
and this was also a major element in his views about the
mass of people and their condition. Self-respect, he
believed, was a quality which could be instilled or
encouraged by the process of improving oneself (as Dickens
had done), and that meant disciplining oneself to a task,
and seeing that task through. When, for example, he
imposed editor’s rules upon the contributors to his
magazines — and there were many of stature among them
— knowing they were the only way to create an efficiently
prepared and tight-knit structure, giving good value all
round; he even complained to Forster about the irksome
burden these very rules laid upon himself. He was too
great an artist to reject them, knowing their value, and
consequently increased the two-fold burden of self-control
and self-discipline upon himself for the sake of his
journals, but even more so for the sake of his beloved
public, the people. That this discipline produced an
excellent magazine is amply proven by the lasting, popular
success of both HOUSEHOLD WORDS and ALL THE YEAR ROUND
(21).

An extension of self-respect is self-sufficiency, or
"self-help" as it was commonly called in the nineteenth
century. It was a topic of interest to many, and fitted in
well with the prevailing industrial and commercial ethic of "laisser faire," as well as with the attitudes of the ruling classes who reformed the Poor Law in 1834.

The archprotagonist of this idea was Samuel Smiles (as Dickensian a name as one could wish for in its own right!), who wrote, perhaps, the definitive book on individualism, called SELF-HELP, in which he declared that "what some men are, all without difficulty might be. Employ the same means, and the same results will follow."

As Perkins comments: "By individual competition anyone with energy and ability, however humble his birth, could climb the ladder of entrepreneurial society. From this belief logically stemmed one of the most powerful instruments of propaganda ever developed by any class to justify itself and seduce others to its own ideal; the myth of the self-made man (22)."

Smiles, in his simplistic smugness, was not content to leave it at that. He elaborated on the idea to include the concept of what makes a "gentleman." "Gentleness," says Smiles, "is indeed the true test of gentlemanliness ... Riches and rank have no necessary connexion with genuine gentlemanly qualities. The poor man may be a true gentleman -- in spirit and in daily life. He may be honest, truthful, upright, polite, temperate, courageous, self-respecting and self-helping -- that is to be a true gentleman." (23) Dickens, being the "modern" progressive that he was, in company with many good journalists, seems to have accepted much of this contemporary view (at least in his fiction) (24), because even a progressive, modern
"Radical" embued with "fire-eyed radicalism," as Dickens dubbed it, must acknowledge something about which to be radical.

In Dickens' case, he recognized that self-help and self-improvement were priorities before any further steps could be taken by the masses themselves to rectify social evils on any effective scale. Priorities, which would be acceptable to both the masses and their fearful rulers, had to be drawn up and acted upon if any true progress were to be made. His argument followed this line: The mass of working and indigent people are near starvation, suffer epidemic disease, have short life-expectancy, are desperately and chronically poverty-striken, lacking all means and power to change things, as well as to improve their abject physical environments. Since they lack everything to make life tolerable and decent, the first priority must be to assist them to be aware of their plight and to help them to help themselves. By improving themselves, they can gain respectability and acceptability, make themselves better workers, able to work more efficiently, earn more and therefore be able to pay for better dwellings in better areas.

This argument ignored any change in the social structure as part of the case for improvement; it virtually proposed, by implication, that the working classes should be regarded as a fourth estate. Radical might well be Dickens' own label; but it most certainly contained no elements of revolution -- unless his view be interpreted as subtly subversive as Orwell suggests in his essay on
Dickens. To suggest at all that the Lower Orders had all the same human characteristics as the higher orders was "radical" enough; to suggest that they might be able to govern themselves would have been construed as tantamount to revolutionary socialism.

In true Victorian philanthropic manner, therefore, Dickens wished to improve the lot of the Lower Orders. All things might be improved, but not overthrown, as any good would be swept away with the bad. Reform and amelioration were to be the order of the day; overthrow and revolution most definitely were not.

With hindsight, it is perhaps clear to us today that Dickens was right in his view. "If you hate violence and don't believe in politics, the only major remedy remaining is education." (Orwell, 17) Undernourished, undisciplined, untrained and unarmed mobs would have been put down by regular soldiers and militia in hours. Revolution was, in fact, impossible, as riots in the Midlands and North had shown. Small bands of machine-wreckers could cause disruption and localized damage; unquestionably, there were not sufficient numbers of able, informed and eager people to take over government.

Dickens' view may seem curious or even paradoxical, but can be simply explained by two pre-eminent thoughts in his mind: firstly, that the people had no means to achieve a better life, nor any awareness of what a better life could mean to them; and, secondly, because of this, the time was not apt or propitious for measures remotely revolutionary. A third factor must be added, viz. that
Dickens felt that the hope of legislation to achieve social reforms which would be effective in their execution, was, at best, slight. From this it becomes clear that he had little confidence in governments — especially the House of Commons, where he had spent some years as a short-hand reporter. He had listened to the great debates on the Reform Bill, and had lived to see what little real effect it had had for the masses — and governments would not be trusted until the working people were part of those governments. Therefore, priorities had to be made on other things first. Thus we return to the beginning of the argument.

The way to self-improvement as a worker, or as a parent, or as a young person starting from a lowly background, or starting again, having renounced prostitution or crime, was through rehabilitatory education and the acquisition of knowledge (both secular and religious). To change a system effectively and permanently requires being on the inside of the system, and working from within by adaptation and evolutionary means. To change it from without would have been to invite open revolution and certain civil bloodshed. In any case:

"the ruling class [in England] resorted to violence less easily than elsewhere, being more inclined to retreat from untenable positions than to seek to hold them by violent and possibly self-defeating means. The British parliamentary system ... excluded the bulk of the population from the franchise, nevertheless for most people it remained a system to be improved and amplified rather
than overthrown. The Reform Act of 1832 enfranchised the rising entrepreneurial class, thus pre-empting any subversive alliance between the middle and working classes (25).

VI : Dickens as Anti-Revolutionary

For the majority of the population, revolution was terrifying as the results of the American and French Revolutions had manifestly shown. Peterloo and the Tolpuddle Martyrs were too close for comfort; the Year of Revolutions (1848) was contemporary experience. At all costs, revolution had to be avoided; but resistance to the development of democratic government was widespread.

The possibility that ... [the democratic franchise] ... might happen here [in England] was abundantly supported, a priori, by the spread of radical propaganda, both political and religious, among the working classes. The two most influential books, Tom Paine's THE RIGHTS OF MAN and THE AGE OF MAN, hardly seem dangerous now, for the former did not go beyond democracy nor the latter beyond deism. But democracy ... carried connotations much like communism today. "The last time I saw Southey," Carlyle recorded in his REMINISCENCES, "... our talk was long and earnest; topic ultimately the usual one, steady approach of democracy, with revolution
(probably EXPLOSIVE) and a FINIS incomputable to man." (26)

Statements of this kind implied that the Lower Orders were not merely "lower" and therefore looked down upon, in terms of the influence and power of those classes socially "above" them; and those lacking both attributes being "below," but also that they were essentially different in kind from the "middling" and "upper" orders. This is repeatedly borne out in legislation, speeches, and even in hymns — "You in your small corner and I in mine;" "The rich man in his castle, the poor man at his gate," etc. In the 1834 Report of the Parliamentary Committee on the State of Education, Mr W. Cotton (a member of the Committee of the National Society) stated that there was a great "obstacle to the education of the great mass of the poor in this country" in the size of parishes, but these "discouraging circumstances" were aggravated by "... the very low scale of intellectual power and of moral feeling in the lower orders (27)." No one deemed it necessary at the time to question why these apparent deficiencies existed or if they were true.

It was partly through the writings of men and women such as Dickens, the Brontes and Mrs Gaskell that these new problems were exposed. Indeed, many remained skeptical even when confronted by them in social novels or in journals; only by the spread in reading periodical literature did such information reach the newly emerging reading public. In this field, Dickens' contribution remains paramount, and as yet unequalled. Through organs
such as *HOUSEHOLD WORDS* and *ALL THE YEAR ROUND*, the findings published in official Blue Books could now be broadcast at large in forms more palatable to the general reader, without losing any effect or importance. This was Dickens' aim, as he wrote to the Reverend James White (5 February 1850): "... we hope to do some solid good, and we mean to be as cheery and pleasant as we can." This was amplified by Dickens' deputy, Wills, when he wrote: "It is universally acknowledged that subjects of an uninviting nature are treated -- as a rule -- in *HOUSEHOLD WORDS* in a more playful, ingenious and readable manner than has been hitherto presented in other periodicals."  

Through these journals Dickens intended to pass up-to-the-minute information to as wide a readership as possible; an ambition largely realized. He wanted to create a family readership which would take his magazine to its combined bosom; and this too he achieved. *ALL THE YEAR ROUND*, following on from *HOUSEHOLD WORDS*, was so successful in gaining, and, more importantly, maintaining a large family circulation, that it was not until a generation after Dickens' death that it ceased publication, twenty-five years in all. It ran from mid-1859 until 1875; by any standards, a signal achievement. As a final comment, we can add that the actual readership numbers can never be calculated with any exactness, in spite of circulation numbers which, in the case of *HOUSEHOLD WORDS*, averaged between 36,000 and 40,000 copies weekly, or 1.87m and 2.08m copies per year. With 40,000 copies per week, a conservative estimate of 160,000 readers would come into
contact with an issue allowing only 4 persons a family; and since neighbours often read the issues to assembled groups of any number, the actual readership could have reached 250,000 a week: another achievement unequalled in the nineteenth century, even by THE TIMES.

Before looking in detail at the evidence I shall present to illuminate Dickens' views and attitudes towards adult learning, it is important to examine first Dickens' own education, and, secondly, the influences at work upon him in his early life and later, as far as the development of his understanding of adult educational needs is concerned. After a review of Dickens' own personal educational development and achievement I shall proceed to a detailed examination of what he actually said, especially in public, through his speeches to a variety of organizations; how he "proved" his theories workable at Urania Cottage, and then what he wrote in his journals in furtherance of his ideas about educating adults in a family situation.

VII: School-days

John Dickens was once heard to declare, when questioned about his famous son's education: "Why, indeed, Sir -- ha! ha! -- he may be said to have educated himself!" (29) To this somewhat, apparently, cavalier remark, Forster retorts: "Of the two kinds of education which Gibbon says that men who rise above the common level receive; the first, that of his teachers, and
the second, more personal and more important. HIS OWN: he
had the advantage only of the last. It nevertheless
sufficed for him." (30)

Whilst his family were living in Chatham (from about
1816 or 1817 to 1820 or 1821) Charles received daily
instruction from his mother, especially in reading. He
recalled in adult life. that when he was a "very small and
not-over-particularly-taken-care-of boy" that "his first
desire for knowledge and his earliest passion for reading
were awakened by his mother, from whom he learnt the
rudiments not only of English, but also, a little later, of
Latin. She taught him regularly every day for a long time,
and taught him. he was convinced, thoroughly well." (31)
though, perhaps. Dickens’ experiences of poor and even bad
teaching may have coloured thiscosy view of home
education. Carping aside, he became most decidedly a
precocious reader.

Home-teaching lasted for something about four years,
until both Charles and his elder sister, Fanny, were sent
to a Dame School, in Rome (pronounced ROOM) Lane, Chatham.
This "preparatory day-school, a school for girls and boys."
Dickens was convinced in his memory. "had been over a
dyer's shop: that he went up steps to it: that he had
frequently grazed his knees in doing so: and that in
trying to scrape the mud off a very unsteady little shoe.
he generally got his leg over the scraper." (32) It is
significant, perhaps, that he records nothing of what he
learnt at this establishment.

In contrast, he remembered learning his letters from
his mother, as he remarked to Forster in words almost identical to those recorded in DAVID COPPERFIELD: "I faintly remember her teaching me the alphabet: and when I look upon the fat black letters in the primer, the puzzling novelty of their shapes, and the easy good nature of 0 and i always seem to present themselves before me as they used to." (33)

In accepting Forster's assurance of David's being Dickens' autobiographical portrait (Forster I.16-24), we must recognize the significance of these early lessons' being pleasant and agreeable to the small child-Dickens, as he "recalled no feeling of disgust or reluctance," and that he seemed "to have walked along a path of flowers." This certainly relates closely to his ambition to be "a learned and distinguished man." (34) and to be such required a good ability to read and comprehend: all of which Dickens clearly realized at an early age. That he enjoyed these formative lessons there is no doubt.

The alphabet Charles learned in thin books
"with deliciously smooth covers of bright red or green. What fat black letters to begin with! 'A was an archer, and shot at a frog!'

Of course he was. He was an apple-pie also, and there he is! He was a good many things in his time, was A, and so were most of his friends. except X, who had so little versatility that I never knew him to get beyond Xerxes or Xantippe... (35)

Dame-school-days lasted, maybe, one and a half years.
from about 1819 until Spring 1821, when Charles was nine years old. At that time, his father sent him to a school in Clover Lane, Chatham, kept by a young Baptist minister, William Giles, whose influence "such as it was" was nothing "other than favourable." "...Young Giles's school was made up of his own brothers and sisters and the children of officers and naval employees, and he established it in a largeish house on the corner of Rhode Street and Best Street adjoining Clover Lane. Giles, who had been at Oxford and was an 'accomplished scholar,' recognized Charles's unusual aptitudes and did his best to train the boy's mind and taste, pointing out in particular how pure and flowing was Goldsmith's English (36).

Dickens remembered Giles with pleasure and gratitude, as the latter "had pronounced him (Dickens) to be a boy of capacity (37)." Giles remembered his old pupil with two gifts: firstly, when Dickens left for London, "My good master came flitting in among the packing-cases to give me Goldsmith's BEE as a keepsake. Which I kept for his sake, and its own, a long time afterwards (38)." The second gift was a silver snuff-box inscribed to "the inimitable Boz." sent "about half-way through the publication of PICKWICK (39)." Giles had articulated and confirmed Dickens' own suspicions of his unusual qualities and abilities: and, it may be added, encouraged the later idea of a weekly magazine of high standards, which eventually became HOUSEHOLD WORDS and ALL THE YEAR ROUND, obviously based on the example of Goldsmith's BEE and other similar publications of the eighteenth century. "The gift," says
Johnson. "was the beginning for Dickens of an enduring affection for Goldsmith and lifelong fascination with the periodical miscellany (40)." Furthermore, we should always remember that Dickens himself was a product of Georgian-Hanoverian England, even though most of his life was lived out in the reign of Victoria.

When almost ten years old, Dickens was forced to leave Bles' Clover Lane academy by his father's posting to London. The family fortunes had fallen, and with them young Charles found himself "in the little back-garret in Batsham Street." Camden Town, bitterly regretting "all I had lost in losing Chatham." He was not put to school again for another two years, his father seemingly "... utterly to have lost at this time the idea of educating me at all, and to have utterly put from him the notion that I had any claims upon him ... So I degenerated into cleaning his boots of a morning, and my own: and making myself useful in the work of the little house: and looking after my younger brothers and sisters (we were now six in all): and going on such poor errands as arose out of our poor way of living (41)."

When the difficulties of the family's being in the Marshalsea Debtors' Prison were over, and Warren's Blacking Factory was behind him, Charles was at last allowed to return to school, for which he had been longing (42). Forster very aptly comments: that in not having been to school. "The self-education forced upon him was teaching, all unconsciously as yet, what, for the future that awaited him, it most behoved him to know (43)." But, at last.
returning to school, in about June 1824, he was sent as a
day-pupil to William Jones’ Wellington House Academy,
Hampstead Road. Jones, an ignorant, brutish man, who
relished caning the bottoms of chubby pupils whenever
chance offered itself, did at least have enough sense of
good business to appoint a small group of capable ushers
(assistant teachers) to do the actual teaching. Partly
because of this, and all the mice, birds and other assorted
collected objects of the school, and all the opportunities
for boyish pranks and mischief, Dickens became a healthier
child, staying at the school until some time around 1827,
 ie about two and a half years ; by which time he had had
his fifteenth birthday.

Dickens did well at school, where he was taught
English, dancing, Latin, mathematics, and above
all a profound respect for money. He won
several prizes and ended up as first boy. He
was by now a handsome, curly-headed,
high-spirited youth, amiable, irreverent, smart
and popular. With another boy he issued a
weekly newspaper, written on copybook scraps,
which was lent to anyone willing to pay in
marbles or pieces of slate pencil. The
principal currency in the school was slate
pencil, a hoard of which constituted wealth.
He wrote and produced plays, one of which dealt
in blank verse with the purely imaginary
atrocities committed by the father of a
pampered pupil, and got him into trouble. He
gave his attention to the training of white mice, a
favourite pastime among the boys, and became expert in the
use of an outlandish language totally incomprehensible to
grown-ups. In short, he enjoyed himself.
Such was one view of Dickens' last school-days.

Danson, another fellow-pupil, comments however, that
not much was learnt at the school by the boys, and as far
as Dickens was concerned. "Depend upon it, he [Dickens]
was quite a self-made man, and his wonderful knowledge and
command of the English language must have been acquired by
long and patient study after leaving his last school (44)."

In the formal sense, then. Wellington House was the
last educational establishment which Dickens attended
regularly as a pupil. From then onwards he was to educate
himself, as his father had jestingly remarked, and to this
aspect we now turn our attention.

VIII. Self-education and the Anti-intellectual Element

Until recently, it has been fashionable to regard
Dickens as an uneducated, or at least, poorly-read man: in
rather the same way as some older critics once regarded
Shakespeare as a "peasant." By the standards of most
nineteenth century middle-class persons, however. Dickens
had had a quite a substantial education, in the sense that
he had achieved a very high degree of literacy, oracy and.
to judge by his later life, numeracy; but he was never
interested in learning for learning's sake. In this he was
a true Victorian of the middle classes. "It was a period of enormous activity in which practical accomplishment, especially in business, became the major goal in life. Most men had little time and little inclination for intellectual pursuits. Furthermore, this anti-intellectualism is almost as much English as it is Victorian ..." but this was to receive its major counter-blast from Matthew Arnold in his CULTURE AND ANARCHY, "the classic protest against Victorian anti-intellectualism (45)."

Dickens was not entirely free from anti-intellectual elements in his thought and writings (elements which have brought against him the disdain of some critics, in that they have found him to be too "popular"). He had no reverential awe for Oxbridge, nor was he concerned with academic scholarship PER SE. Indeed. his imperfectly understood view of research (at least as a young man) was, if we are to judge by his attitude to the recently formed British Association (1831) and its research data, one of incredulous scorn and dismissal. For example, he reduces scientific inquiry almost literally to the level of "nit-picking" as can be seen in the ensuing passage from the MUDFOLK PAPERS, following his description of the assembly in the Great Room at the Pig and Tinderbox:

Time having been allowed for a slight confusion, occasioned by the falling down of the greater part of the platform, to subside, the president called on one of the secretaries to read a communication entitled. "Some remarks
on the Industrious Fleas, with considerations on the importance of establishing infant schools among that numerous class of society; of directing their industry to useful and practical ends; and of applying the surplus fruits thereof, towards providing for them a comfortable and respectable maintenance in their old age.

After a detailed description of a typical flea-circus with its "miniature gig, containing a particularly small effigy of His Grace the Duke of Wellington," some balletic members, and others, "mere sporting characters," in training or duelling, it is suggested measures should be immediately taken to employ the labour of these fleas as part and parcel of the productive power of the country, which might be easily done by the establishment among them of infant schools and houses of industry, in which a system of virtuous education, based upon sound principles, should be observed, and moral precepts strictly inculcated. He would further suggest that their labour should be placed under the control and regulation of the state, who would set apart from the profits a fund for the support of superannuated or disabled fleas, their widows and orphans. With this in view, he proposed that liberal premiums should be offered for the three best designs for a general almshouse; from which — as
Insect architecture was well known to be in a very advanced and perfect state — we might possibly derive many valuable hints for the improvement of our metropolitan universities, national galleries, and other public edifices.

All this, and more, was greeted as a "most ingenious and important treatise," and furthermore, "it was determined that the subject should be recommended to the immediate consideration of the council." (Full report of the First Meeting of the Mudfog Association for the Advancement of Everything, Sect. A, Zoology and Botany.)

The Second Report, published almost a year after the First, contains this passage, in the equivalent Zoology and Botany Section:

Professor Pumpinskull wished to take that opportunity of calling the attention of the secretary to a most important and serious point. The author of the treatise just read had alluded to the prevalent taste for bear's-grease as a means of promoting the growth of hair ... He wished to know whether it were possible that a constant application of bear's-grease by the young gentlemen about town had imperceptibly infused into those unhappy persons something of the nature of the bear. He shuddered as he threw out the remark; but if this theory, on inquiry, should prove to be well founded, it would at once explain a great deal of unpleasant eccentricity of behaviour,
which, without some such discovery, was wholly unacceptable.

It is a curious irony to note that the first of these passages, though written satirically, contains a foreshadowing of social welfare, through the concept of a national system of social security, pensions and health -- an idea which might well have appealed to Dickens as it (now) incorporates both protection for the indigent and a payment by those who work.

To see Dickens’ anti-intellectualism in a proper perspective requires us to see how science and technology were regarded in his time. THE MUDFOG PAPERS were published between January 1837 and September 1838, in BENTLEY’S MISCELLANY, when Dickens was 24 to 26 years old. He had already achieved SKETCHES BY BOZ, First Series. PICKWICK and OLIVER TWIST, as well as three comic operas, a farce and the essays, SUNDAY UNDER THREE HEADS, and had started on NICHOLAS NICKLEBY. This was a period of many-leved, feverish activity for Dickens, and for the nation at large in trying to repair the damage of the Napoleonic Wars, and to cope with the new knowledge which was becoming evident on many fronts (46).

Dickens’ view of scientific inquiry at the time was skeptical and mocking, but equally, we cannot blame Dickens if he, too, looked for “useful” and “practical” knowledge as the way to salvation for the masses. If we look again at the first extract from the MUDFOG PAPERS we can see the characteristic words are all there: “industry,” “useful,” “practical,” “providing,” “respectable.” HOUSEHOLD WORDS
and *ALL THE YEAR ROUND* are the embodiment of those attitudes.

To describe Dickens, therefore, as "ANTI-intellectual" would be an uninformed view; to describe him as "UN-scientific" is more precise, since he received no systematic education in this field at all, as far as any records show, and his scientific interests and knowledge were quasi-scientific at best. In any case, the state of science itself was not well developed at that time.

Dickens was, however, not slow to realize that his own school education had left much to be desired, when matched against his ambitions and chosen career; in part, because the knowledge he felt he now needed had not been available at school, and, in part, because the subject matter was in fact "adult" and of little or no consequence to children. As a result, he took steps to rectify this, by devising various training programmes for himself, which involved a good deal of reading in non-fiction works, such as manuals on shorthand and travel (two topics which figured largely in his life).

Although one could not call Dickens' approach to topics of interest and concern to himself "scholarly," there is no doubt that he did all he could to inform himself of the current knowledge and consensus; as he did, for instance, when he first went to America, by reading up differing views expressed by Captain Marryat and Miss Martineau. Throughout his life, he made sure to brief himself before beginning an undertaking, as when considering his speeches before Mechanics' Institutes and
similar associations. In other words, he felt both a duty to his audience in that he should apprise himself of the relevant facts, and a duty to himself as a creative artist to be so informed.

The crucial point, central to an understanding of Dickensian praxis, is that he was fundamentally a journalist and a writer of journals, a didact with a moral mission to pass information through his writings to the family en masse, and so reach the maximum audience; and, thus, it is to magazine journalism (popular "home education") that he returns again and again. His own journals, HOUSEHOLD WORDS, THE HOUSEHOLD NARRATIVE and ALL THE YEAR ROUND, as well as other people's papers and journals, such as BENTLEY'S MISCELLANY, form a major preoccupation of his life, as regards time, effort and commitment. It is as a journalist, who wrote stories, operettas and novels, that we must view Dickens, if our perspective is not to be distorted or blurred. In this sense, therefore, his fictional writings rather gain than lose by this view.

A further dimension of Dickens' self-education and training was his conscious development of his conspicuous powers of observation, both visual and aural, coupled with a memory of a most extraordinary facility of retention, acuity and accuracy; again, both visually and aurally. This must be accounted for in reviewing Dickens' background as it acted as the most formidable characteristic in his make-up, allowing him to move over many topics with ease. This may appear at first sight as a "butterfly" mind, but
researches, such as those of Butt and Tillotson, based on his notes, and remarks to Forster and others, have revealed how accurately, and with much detail, Dickens was able to retain in mental prospect the total scheme of a novel, yet to be written, in many parts, over nine months to a year or more, at the same time as he was actively engaged in editing a magazine, preparing a play for presentation, and making public speeches (which he never wrote out, except occasionally verbatim after he had delivered them). (47)

A single example of Dickens' observation and memory will suffice here: An early visit to the Marshalsea Debtors' Prison which Dickens paid to see his newly incarcerated parent is recorded through the medium of his fragmentary autobiography and DAVID COPPERFIELD:

"My father was waiting for me in the lodge, and we went up to his room ... and cried very much. And he told me, I remember, to take warning by the Marshalsea, and to observe that if a man had twenty pounds a year, and spent nineteen pounds nineteen shillings and six pence, he would be happy; but that a shilling spent the other way would make him wretched!" Charles staved for dinner, and was sent upstairs to borrow a knife and fork from another prisoner named Captain Porter. "I looked at nothing that I know of, but I saw everything," says David Copperfield, and though Charles was only a minute or so on the threshold of Captain Porter's room he left with a photographic
memory of everything in it, and a knowledge of
the exact relationship between the Captain and
his fellow-lodgers, a dirty woman and two war
girls. Even in his misery nothing escaped that
quick though abstracted eye of his (48).

To assist himself in his written works (fictional and
journalistic), he undertook quantities of reading, and went
on study tours, such as the one to Yorkshire to investigate
the notorious boarding schools there (NICHOLAS NICKLEBY).
to obtain first-hand information on subjects which
interested him and urged him to action (49).

His first concentrated effort at self-education was to
teach himself shorthand, a skill which helped him in a
number of occupations (and one he maintained all his life.
though curiously he always wrote his notes in long-hand).
He left school, Wellington House, in Spring 1827, aged
fifteen, to become office-boy to solicitor Charles Molloy.
& 6 Symonds Inn, where he may have met his life-long
friend Thomas Mitton (1812-1878). In May the same year, at
the instigation of a relative of his mother, he took a post
with Ellis and Blackmore, solicitors, at 1 Raymond
buildings, Gray’s Inn. Whilst there, he took the
opportunity to learn shorthand, probably with the
assistance of his father, who had, as a man in his 40’s.
already taught himself, and had obtained employment as a
reporter: and possibly also with the assistance of his
uncle, John Henry Barrow (1796-1858), a Barrister-at-Law in
Gray’s Inn, and founder-editor of the MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT,
a kind of HANSARD-like publication. (50)
During the same period as he was reporting for various publications, such as the *Morning Chronicle*, and *The Daily News*, Dickens also considered a career in the theatre as an actor, if only as a means of making money quickly. He had had something of a theatrical -- or perhaps more aptly, histrionic -- background in his childhood. His father had encouraged him, and his sister, Fanny, to perform comic songs and recitations: the latter, a tried method of "learning one's lessons"; often before friends at home, but also before assembled friends and acquaintances at the local inn. His favourite piece as a small boy was, as Mary Weller recalled, Dr Watts' *The Voice of the Sluggard*, which he rendered "...with great effect, and with such action and such attitudes." The Dickens home had also welcomed toy theatres, and magic lantern shows, as well as songs, dances and music by Fanny, and friends such as John Hullah (1812-1894), and John Pritt Harley (1786-1858). As a small child at Chatham, Dickens had been taken to the theatre to see *Macbeth* and *Richard III* among other plays and pantomimes. At one of the latter, about 1820, he had seen one of the last performances of the greatest of all clowns, Joe Grimaldi (1778-1837), whose *Memoirs* he was to edit in 1838. But these histrionic elements had been boosted by yet another influence on the young Dickens, in the form of his nurse (some eight years his senior), the young Mary Weller (1804-1888), whose surname he immortalized in *The Pickwick Papers*. This young woman terrified the small Dickens with tales of Gothic horror such as that of Captain Murderer, which we are able to read under
the title of THE NURSE’S TALES in THE UNCOMMERCIAL TRAVELLER.

Mary Weller took his imagination on even more horrifying journeys that afflicted him at night, telling him stories of bloody vengeance and supernatural hauntings... Little Charles would lie in bed rigid with terror at such horrors projecting themselves before him in the dark (51).

All these theatricalities and histrionics in his background and early life, combined with his natural bent towards the dramatic, and his love of showiness in dress (which surprised even the Americans on his first visit), and, supremely, his unquenchable, ever-urgent need to communicate with others, leave no surprise that he should contemplate an actor’s career. Therefore, with all his usual thoroughness, he set about learning many roles by heart — the stock method of actors in the nineteenth century, comparable to today’s operatic singers.

He had been going to the theatre almost every night for the preceding three years (1829-1831). He had been especially devoted to Charles Mathews, and had sat in the pit whenever that actor played. He now started practising industriously. “often four, five, six hours a day: shut up in my own room, or walking about in the fields. I prescribed to myself, too, a sort of Hamiltonian system for learning parts: and learnt a great number.”
Besides this self-training, he took a series of lessons from the well-known actor Robert Keeley (52).

Keeley and his wife became fast friends with Dickens, and when *Martin Chuzzlewit* was translated to the stage, Keeley created, most successfully, to everyone's satisfaction, including Dickens', the role of Sairey Gamp. It is curious to note also, that what Sir Walter Scott said of Mathews, might just as truly be said of Dickens, in that Scott claimed Mathews' "imitations were of the mind, and that, far more than mimic, he was an accurate and philosophic observer of human nature, blessed with the rare talent of identifying himself intuitively with the minds of others." (53)

Eyewitnesses' accounts of Dickens' readings corroborate these sentiments of Scott's and add other details. Charles Kent, in his book, *Charles Dickens as a Reader*, (London 1872), tells us that watching, hearkening to him, while he stood there unmistakably before his audience, on the platform, in the glare of the gas-burners shining down upon him from behind the pendent screen immediately above his head, his individuality -- the flower in his button-hole, the paper-knife in his hand, the book before him, that earnest, animated, mobile, delightful face -- altogether disappeared, and we were as conscious as though we saw them, of the bald head, the spectacles,
and the little gaiters of Mr Pickwick.

The supreme use of his theatrical talents and training was to be shown overwhelmingly in his readings, both in the United Kingdom and overseas. So important did these personal contacts with his audience become to him, that his excessive indulgence in the reading of Nancy's murder from *Oliver Twist* was a significant factor in hastening his early death. However, Dubrez Fawcett raises the fascinating opposite view when discussing the record of Dickens' pulse rates taken by Dr Carr Beard. Having noted the staggering rise to 124, he says,

One can only contemplate such figures and wonder why the labouring heart did not stop altogether. It was not, however, heart failure that brought the valiant life to a close, but the stroke of paralysis of which Dickens had many preliminary warnings. And who shall deny the possibility that he may have actually prolonged his existence by the violent resurgence of his vitality during the term of his readings (54)?

Forster notes that Dickens excelled himself in his own production of Ben Jonson's *Everyman in His Humour*. Dickens obviously felt an affinity with Jonson -- another self-made man -- since both men subscribed to the principle that the main function of the literary/dramatic arts was to correct the manners of the age and to ridicule its failings; in short, to teach moral rectitude by the expose of social evils. This affinity of Dickens with
Jonson points up the essentially didactic nature of all Dickens' endeavours in this matter.

IX: His Political and Religious Views

Dickens saw good and evil in terms of moral considerations; indeed, almost in terms of black and white. The words he repeatedly used indicate this. He refers to "cheerfulness," "healthful," "jollity," and the like, as manifestations of Good, thus giving reason to Cazamian's phrase about Dickens' "philosophie de noel."

So, simply, Dickens believed that evil (whether that be sin, or social injustice) can be defeated and removed only by moral concept and action. Reform means moral reform, manifested in practical outcomes of some kind. If this is accepted as Dickens' radical and fundamental principle, it becomes clear why he appears to point out in no uncertain manner what is wrong with England and the English, but offers no concrete suggestion as to how things could be changed for the good, since morality is essentially a matter for individual conscience, grounded upon faith and acceptance of Christ's teachings (55).

When the Dickensian critique is seen as based on moral reformation, and not on some amoral political reformation, then the need to seek other bases is removed. It must be, therefore, in terms of Dickens' concept of morality that we look at his views on education, especially of adults, since children, by their extreme youth and inexperience, are incapable of moral decisions of any major import, and were
considered by Dickens as innocents, contrary to the prevailing view of his day.

"Dickens helped to break the bonds of the doctrine of child depravity [i.e., being born in original sin; or with devils within]. This doctrine had a most depressing influence on educators ... The child [was] no longer a thing to be repressed, but a being to be developed (56)."

Nevertheless, it would be naive to say that Dickens had no concept of the political, or that he was unaware of anything approaching the idea of parties or particular policies. His knowledge and disregard of Parliament amply shows this, as well as his exposees in Oliver Twist, Great Expectations, and Hard Times, not to mention the numerous articles in the journals, his essays and public letters. Whatever the abuse or neglect he attacked, he viewed it from a moral standpoint, and not from one coloured by political, factional views or dogmas. One interpretation of Dickens' political leanings holds that he was very much the disciple of Carlyle, who undoubtedly had a great influence upon him, as a friend, if not as a political guru. Michael Goldberg (57) has presented a very able and persuasive thesis on their relationships, especially their intellectual relationship. "From the first," writes Goldberg, "the relationship was that of disciple and master (58)," and "Carlyle remained a hero to Dickens throughout his life (59)."

In his turn, "Dickens, in his nearly thirty years friendship with Carlyle, maintained, throughout, an attitude of respectful, enthusiastic, loving veneration as
a son might offer a father (60)." Because the two men had "startling areas of accord," Dickens' view of the world was much influenced by Carlyle's thought and work which resulted in Dickens' more clearly seeing how to organize his outrage about so many social evils.

The three main remedies to social ills, which Carlyle advocated, were those which Dickens also espoused: viz. universal education, emigration and work. The third of these, expressed in the Smilesian view of self-help, Dickens applied equally to education, whence sprang his active support and interest in Mechanics' Institutes.

As Mildred Christian points out, the three remedies noted here, are as "brief a statement as may be given of Carlyle's social theory. Dickens quite definitely rejected certain of its elements. And it is the exercise of this independence which sometimes makes it difficult to determine when identity of view between Carlyle and Dickens means influence of the former upon the latter, and when it means merely coincidence (61)."

In fact, it makes little consequence which of the two is truer: what matters is that indubitably Dickens' opinions were deeply affected by Carlyle's thought and that both men held a number of principles in common. Dickens sought in vain for a way to improve the condition of the poor, offering no practical solution but the very long-term one of self-amelioration with the hope (and belief) that sufficient numbers of improved individuals could eventually achieve the desired ends.

Like most of his contemporaries he was obsessed
by the need for change, but the mechanism of change presented him with an intractable problem. Disenchanted by middleclass political power represented by the Reformed Parliament, he was neither able to advocate a return to aristocratic rule nor willing to contemplate a revolutionary bid for power by the masses...

Yet it would be wrong to assume that Dickens' attitude to change remained either hopeless or static. It was continuously informed by his response to social evil and it altered in accordance with his own changing estimates of where to locate its source (62).

These changes are perhaps clearest in Dickens' novels as the underlying themes and concerns demonstrate. The early works of the thirties and early forties, "although more sentimental than scientific... share with Benthamism an assumption about the possibility of reform, and imply Dickens' belief that errant institutions and corrupt individuals will be changed by exposure to ridicule and the consequent pressure of public opinion."

It seems very evident that Dickens believed that exposing evils would be the first step towards their removal and replacement by something better. As a journalist, he was well aware of the efficacy of the printed word and the power which can accrue to an exposure of some magnitude and gravity, and of the likely consequence which might follow, always provided that the expose was presented persuasively, and accurately as to
its factual basis.

The fiction from the mid-forties to the late fifties (by which time HOUSEHOLD WORDS was well established), shows he had begun to view social evil as "at once more abstract and more complex," as being part of a middleclass system less susceptible to "benevolent alterations because it is less personal and harder to touch. Confronted with the world of system in which evil is diffused, Dickens conceives the process of change in terms of personal moral renovations like the burning of Krook, and the social palingenesis associated with Sidney Carton's sacrificial act in A TALE OF TWO CITIES (63)."

The final period of the sixties shows change "worked out in increasingly psychological terms." There is "a sense of social evil lying at a level even deeper than the obstinate wrong-doing of institutions and systems. Malefaction has become not only more respectable but an almost ineradicable human blight. His final vision contains the germinal idea of an evil within, a perception of something dark and criminal lurking beneath respectability (64)."

Because of his deep respect for Christ's teachings, Dickens rendered himself quite incapable of finding any solution to social evil other than by moral reform. "His 'sentimental radicalism,' as Bagehot called it, was rooted in the sentiment of human benevolence and expressed the hope that if society would only reform itself by invoking its impulse to benevolence the status quo could be overthrown without recourse to rebellion (65)." Thus
Dickens set about his systematic attacks on the besetting evils of the day. His protest took the form of novels and stories with an implicit moral and educational import; his letters to the press, his personal acts of charity and of support and his speeches, were his overt and most obvious efforts at educating his public to meet the priorities which he saw as manifestly the only way forward for the millions of poor and labouring people, to whom he extended his hand, his purse and his greatest of hearts.
In considering Dickens' public statements about adult education, I shall examine his speeches in specialized, selected groups; it is then possible to analyze more closely what he regarded as education OF adults, education FOR adults, and education of adults FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES. In addition, I shall consider what he regarded as quasi-education, in the sense of certain activities which of themselves are not overtly educational, but nonetheless contain some educative element. For instance, newspapers contain some educative elements, though their production is largely for commercial and financial reasons.

Secondly, it is important to note what kind of views or attitudes Dickens expressed publicly, compared with those he expressed privately. However, before proceeding, I shall consider the status and validity of the speeches as collected, and the groupings I have made for analytical purposes.

I: The Status of the Texts

Unquestionably, K.J.Fielding's collected edition of Dickens' speeches is the standard work; and there seems to be no likelihood of another work superseding it, even if any other speeches were brought to light (1). The volume is so edited as to leave little, if anything, undone.
Fielding summarizes the content of the speeches thus:

The record of what Dickens said will be left largely to speak for itself. His speeches show his opinions about political affairs, education, and public health; about his fellow authors, the duties and status of a professional writer, the need for self-help in an age of uncertainty, and his relations with his public both in England and the United States. They display his sense of the need for charity in public affairs, as well as his scorn for obstructionists; and they reveal something of what he aspired to treat in Household Words, "the enterprises, triumphs, joys and sorrows" of his times. They allow us, moreover, to see the importance of Dickens' career as a great public figure, and to judge him in relation to outside issues and to other men. His speeches, in fact, give us what he was always prepared to stand up and say in public, which was not always the same as what he expressed as his opinions to his correspondents, or what he published in the guise of fiction (2).

Unless written out by the author, speeches in the past have tended to be ephemeral, saved for posterity only by accurate reporting. It is important for the present purpose, therefore, to ascertain the status of Dickens' speeches for accuracy and reliability. This Fielding has done in the introductory remarks to his edition in...
Firstly, Dickens never wrote out his speeches before making them, and only rarely afterwards. When he did so, his memory was incredibly accurate; more so than those who reported him. This may well be due to the technique he used in devising and composing his speeches. George Dolby, Dickens' road-manager for his later reading tours, has left us an account of how Dickens composed his speeches. Having asked Dickens how he devised his speeches, he received the reply that

supposing the speech was to be delivered in the evening, his habit was to take a long walk in the morning, during which he would decide on the various heads to be dealt with. These being arranged in their proper order, he would in "his mind's eye," liken the whole subject to the tire of a cart wheel — he being the hub.

From the hub to the tire he would run as many spokes as there were subjects to be treated, and during the progress of the speech he would deal with each spoke separately, elaborating them as he went round the wheel; and when all the spokes dropped out one by one, and nothing but the tire and space remained, he would know that he had accomplished his task, and that his speech was at an end.

Dolby comments further on this, and on Dickens' habitual actions, recalling his shorthand days:

It was my good fortune on many occasions ...
to accompany Mr Dickens when he took the chair
at public dinners or meetings, and remembering
on all such occasions his plan of action, I
have been amused to observe him dismiss the
spoke from his mind by a quick action of the
finger as if he were knocking it away. Even
when listening to a speech he would (if
interested) follow the speaker’s words by an
almost imperceptible action, as if taking down
the speech in shorthand, that being, as he used
to say, a habit contracted in the earlier part
of his career; and many times when I have been
writing a letter at his dictation, I have
noticed him punctuate the sentences by the same
movement (J).

As to comparing texts from different sources, Fielding
declares that he checked as many as he was able to find,
both in number of sources (ie newspapers, journals and the
like), and as to the reputation of the source for
reliability and quality of its reporters. One problem
remains without solution; the habit of many Victorian
newspapermen of writing the whole report of a speech in the
third person. The difficulty here is that indirect speech
can force a writer to abbreviate and thereby possibly lose
some important word(s). However, cross-reference between a
number of acceptable, creditable reports can help to
minimize the problem.

Similarly, it was easier, according to Fielding, where
reports were widely differing, thereby showing the
reporters' varying degrees of accuracy and recall, to make acceptable editorial decisions as to which version was the correct one, or the one most likely to be correct, when set against the rest of the Dickensian canon.

A final point: some speeches had already appeared in small, highly selected publications of earlier dates, prior to Dickens' death. These few were therefore accredited as correct, otherwise Dickens would have corrected them, if, indeed, he had not already done so.

Fielding's editorial criteria are the best that can be used in circumstances as diffuse and complex as those surrounding a man's speech-making. My analysis of the speeches is based upon Fielding's collective enterprise, but it seeks to group thematically all Dickens' utterances on adult education as a means of developing my thesis. Fielding, of course, was concerned principally to establish and authenticate the canon of the speeches as such: my concern is to show the development of Dickens' ideas.

II. Groups of Speeches and Methods of Reference

I shall examine Dickens' speeches in three groups, although some touch on more than one aspect of the theme. These are classified according to the major aspect of the speech, for easier reference and compressing the argument as I proceed.

As to individual speeches, I shall simply refer at the end of the quotation(s), to the city where the speech was delivered, the country if other than Great Britain, and the
date. For example: if the full reference is to the
"'Social Supper' in His Honour: Richmond, USA: 18 March 1842," as given by Fielding, this would appear at the end of the quotation, thus: "Richmond, USA: 18MAR42." Since most speeches are quite short in length constant and highly detailed page references are unnecessary.

To analyze the different directions in which Dickens' concerns with adult education moved, I propose to use the following groupings of speeches:

**Group I**: those speeches to working people intended to encourage them to take up education, and the great use that can be made of such opportunities. This group, in the main, carries Dickens' "adult educational philosophy."

**Group II**: those speeches on behalf of various associations which had educative elements in their activities, but which aided environmental improvement for the masses, and encouraged self-help.

**Group III**: peripheral but important and very mixed group of two broad kinds:

- **Sub-group A**: those speeches to persons who assisted the educational process: printers, news-vendors, etc.; and,
- **Sub-group B**: those speeches to persons whose work was not educational in itself but which possessed some educative potential: actors, writers and the like.
I shall review the speeches group by group, mostly in chronological order, give an overview of all the groups, and conclude with a summary of both the directions of Dickens' thoughts and views in terms of a coherent philosophy. As a complete reference to the speeches appropriate to the present theme, I include an appendix with the speeches grouped, as I have indicated with references in full as given in Fielding's edition. (Appendix "C")

III: Group I

As I noted above, Dickens was anxious throughout his life to get as close as he could to his audience, as he felt it was his "avocation" to do. I have also discussed how important Dickens felt education to be if anyone wanted to make his way in the world. This particular group of speeches, in which Dickens is seen making a direct appeal to working people, is crucially important to any coherent statement of the Dickensian view of adult education.

Also "working people" needs some definition if it is to be clear what Dickens understood by such a term. The point is clarified by Hudson when he noted that "Mechanics" hardly appeared in institutions bearing that title, as he remarked in his HISTORY OF ADULT EDUCATION (1851):

The universal complaint that Mechanics'
Institutions are attended by persons of a higher rank than those for whom they were designed, applies with equal force to the
Athenaeums and Literary Institutions of the country. ... Athenaeums have ceased to be the societies of young men, not only the roll of members, but a glance round the news-room will show an assemblage of men of middle age, principals of firms, professional men, managing and confidential clerks, factors, brokers ... who form both the directory and the majority of the association. Hence it has been assumed, that the employer and the employed are to be seen side by side ... drawing knowledge from the same fount; but such is not the fact, the clerk ... will not subscribe to an Institution where "the governor" is present (4).

The first speech Dickens made to an Institute audience was at the foundation-laying celebration of the Southwark Literary and Scientific Institution, when he was 28 years old. His view of "improvement" opened the speech, when he said "... he felt assured that such societies tended not only to enlarge the mind and awaken the best energies of our natures, but to improve and ameliorate the hearts of mankind." He felt sure, too, that if a foundation stone had never been laid and no building ever arrived, "still they had laid a moral foundation calculated to promote the best uses amongst ... the 'many-headed,' but which by the aid of such institutions would soon be designated the 'many-thoughted, monster'." (LONDON, 2DEC40)

Here, Dickens enunciated themes that run constantly through his life and work. Education will "enlarge the
mind" and provide the information needed for personal success. Equally, it will "awaken the best energies of our natures," that is, it will stimulate the imaginative and creative elements within all of us. Moreover, it will "improve and ameliorate the hearts of mankind." We shall see, as we move through the speeches, that this signifies Dickens' real hope for mankind: moral reform and improvement, leading to a better world in which better people will inhabit it. There emerges a trio of single-word aims as Dickens sees education: INFORMATION, IMAGINATION and REFORMATION.

He also points out two other important elements in educational institutions. He felt most encouraged "when looking around him he perceived gentlemen who entertained the most opposite views upon political questions joining together to sustain and support a society constituted for such objects." Educational institutions were "neutral ground," and their presence indicated to him "the desire of those gentlemen rather to be elected by an enlightened constituency than to be representatives of ignorance and grovelling stupidity." This is Dickens' nearest declaration of the political importance of education, his opinion of Parliamentary politics being slight. Though he suggests the idea of an enlightened electorate here, he did not advocate it with any enthusiasm, realizing the consummation of such an objective was far too distant, the obstacles in the way of its achievement many and diverse.

A further recurrent theme is also enunciated in this speech: that of the influence of women upon social and
especially domestic life. He told his audience that it was
the ladies

who on all occasions bestowed a grace and charm
upon society ... They came there to advocate
claims of the highest and purest order --
they came there not only to promote the demands
of society for increased means for the
dissipation of knowledge and the advancement of
literature, but also by such means to cement
more closely the dearest bonds by which society
was united -- in bestowing an additional
charm upon the hearth and fireside of all, and
giving to their household gods an additional
claim to their worship and adoration. (LONDON,
2DEC40).

Though short, these comments of Dickens are worth
further scrutiny as they form the basis of his attitude
towards women's place in society and their claim to
education. Dickens was to develop this theme in a number
of ways, particularly in the practical achievements of
Urania Cottage. He expressed the same sentiments again,
four years later at the Soiree of the Mechanics'
Institution in Liverpool:

... ladies and gentlemen, I cannot say to you
what pleasure I derived from the perusal of an
apparently excellent report in your local
papers of a meeting held here some short time
since, in aid of the formation of a girls'
school in connexion with this institution.
(Cheers) This is a new and striking chapter in the history of these institutions; it does equal credit to the gallantry and policy of this, and disposes one to say of it with a slight parody of the words of Burns, that its 'prentice han' it tried on Man
And then it TAUGHT the lasses, O.
This, and what I see before me, naturally brings me to our fairest members ... they ought to be admitted to the widest possible extent, and on the lowest possible terms; and, ladies, let me venture to say to you that you never did a wiser thing in all your lives than when you turned your favourable regard on such an establishment as this (Cheers), for wherever the light of your knowledge is diffused, wherever there is the clearest perception of what is beautiful, and good, and most redeeming amid all the faults and vices of mankind, your better nature will be the best appreciated, and there the truest homage will be proudly paid to you. (Loud applause) You show best, trust me, in the clearest light; and every ray that falls upon you at your own firesides, from any book or thought communicated within these walls, will raise you nearer to the angels in the eyes you care for most. (Much cheering).
(LIVERPOOL, 26FEB44)
This last statement, one of Dickens' fullest on this
topic, demonstrates very clearly his views of what a "good" and "honest" woman should be, and what her moral and social standing should comprise. Carol Christ has reviewed the Victorian concept of ideal womanhood in her article "Victorian Masculinity and the Angel in the House.

Coventry Patmore's poem of the same name, she writes, tells us "the angel brings a more than mortal purity to the home that she at once creates and sanctifies, for which her mate consequently regards her with a sentimental, essentially religious reverence." She suggests that conflicting lines of thought and increasing doubts about religion and life as a whole presented serious threats to the stability of Victorian society and self-image.

Experiencing at once the breakdown of faith and the dehumanizing pressure of the marketplace, many Victorian writers relocated those traditional religious and moral values in the home and in the woman who was its center...

Furthermore, the horror that many Victorian writers felt at the crassness of the marketplace, the fear that Philistines, or worse, the populace, were coming to dominate the tone of society, led to a renewed emphasis on a notion of gentility which contained a courtly reverence for women. The need to maintain this reverence appeared even more urgent in the face of social forces that seemed to threaten it: the agitation for women's rights, the increase in prostitution, even the
debilitating influence of French literature (4).

Many studies have remarked on Dickens' creation of fictional "angelic" women, inspired by the all-too-brief life of his adored sister-in-law, Mary Hogarth. There is little doubt that this is so, and biographers have made great play with this idea. What they have not done so readily is to relate Dickens' "angels" to those being created in others' writings. Carol Christ has begun to redress the balance by her paper. The angelic qualities of women, as enumerated and lauded by men, she tells us, were a way of getting to grips with the greatest Victorian taboo: sexual drive and sexual relationships between men and women. She draws her analysis fundamentally from Patmore's poem, THE ANGEL IN THE HOUSE, especially Canto V, "The Comparison." "Patmore," she writes, "associates woman with a complex of traditionally feminine values — love, intuition, beauty, virtue. Each of these values, however, results from woman's lack of desire to act ... Man is truth, but woman is love which is not shaped by the directive agency of thought. Thus happy virtues, which finally transform her to both Eden and the tree of Life at the end of the poem, all result from an essential passivity, a lack of any desire to strive or to achieve."
The poem, she concludes, "combines an idealization of woman's passivity with an ambivalence toward masculine sexuality." She finds much the same in the poems of Tennyson, and asserts that both he and Patmore "... sought to resolve an ambivalence about manhood in the idealization
of the angel in the house."

Dickens, too, "finds a similar source of virtue in those heroines like Agnes Wickfield and Esther Summerson who resemble Patmore's angel in the house. Their capacity for selflessness and purity, for immersion in the cyclical round of daily activities, enables them to create a refuge from the selfishness and aggression of the male business world ...(5)" This idealization was a useful device to help create his many scenes of cosy domesticity; but in reality, he, too, found the angelic type (as his wife may well have seemed to him initially) too unearthly and consequently too impractical to get on with the business of making his home life as smooth running as his professional one. Such inefficiency caused him nothing but increasing irritation and progressive discontent. It apparently did not occur to him that his life-style might have been too rigorous for his wife, and that he owed her some consideration.

Ms Christ concludes:

It may seem difficult for us to see the angel in the house as a desirable identity, but many Victorian men obviously did, from the conflicts and difficulties of their own existence and from that "modesty of service" she provided them. The ideal was hardly a successful way of resolving those conflicts. In addition to the harm it did women, the ideal of the angel in the house left man who embraced it in an impossible dilemma, for to him woman was both a
perpetual reproach and a perpetual temptation.

He was indeed "disjointed," as Patmore and
Tennyson assert, because neither success nor
failure could bring him rest (6).

When one considers Dickens' personal life, especially
his involvement with Mary Hogarth ("early numbered among
God's angels"), Ellen Ternan (an actress from the wicked
world of the Theatre), and his creation of idealized,
angelic types in his fictional works, patently the concept
of the angel in the house is strongly at work. Clearly a
typically Victorian male hypocrisy is indicated in his
reactions to some women. Nevertheless, Dickens had some
living examples of emancipated women around him whom he
patently found more attractive than his "angelic" wife.
The curious paradox is that he was equally attracted to
intelligent, hard-working women, who took upon themselves
philanthropic aims (such as Angela Burdett-Coutts, Caroline
Chisholm, Elizabeth Herbert), as well as those who earned
their keep with their pens (such as Elizabeth Lynn Linton,
Harriet Martineau, Adelaide Anne Proctor).

The problem of female emancipation obviously disturbed
Dickens; not that he became an ardent feminist in the
mould of Mary Wollstonecraft. Without doubt Dickens felt
women had a vital part to play in society, in several ways:
firstly, as man's "better half," a complement to the
assertive, aggressive qualities of men, a purer
counterweight; secondly, and following from that
"niceness" (Kohlberg's word (7)), as the pivot of the
family and home; and thirdly, as man's equal intellectual
companion. In sum, it must be admitted that he did not see women (at least those without private means of some kind) taking a leading role in the world’s activities. Within limits he saw women having more self-sufficiency than perhaps they had at the time. This was expressed in terms of vocational training of some form, domestic in its major elements, such as he was to provide, through the good offices of Miss Coutts, for the girls at Urania Cottage. However, I shall discuss female education in more detail when looking at the whole effort of Urania Cottage and other institutions in Chapter 5.

The speech he made at the first Annual Soiree of the Manchester Athenæum, the previous year (1843), echoes similar sentiments. Dickens told his audience that he was no less interested in the gathering than they were in "that it is not of greater importance to all of us, than it is to every man who has learned to know that he has an interest in the moral and social elevation, the harmless relaxation, the peace, happiness, and improvement, of the community at large." He questioned whether "any honourable body of merchants, upright in deed and thought ... would rather have ignorant or unenlightened persons in their employment ..." Furthermore, he asked whether

... the advantages derivable by the people from institutions such as this [are] only of a negative character? If a little learning be an innocent thing, has it no distinct, wholesome, and immediate influence upon the mind? (Hear, hear) The old doggerel rhyme,
so often written in the beginning of books, says that

When house and lands are gone and spent,
Then learning is most excellent.
But I should be strongly disposed to reform that adage, and say that
Though house and lands be never got,
Learning can give what they can NOT.

He enlarged upon the intrinsic value of learning by saying that diligent men seeking to improve themselves acquired "that property of soul" which upheld them through the worst adversities. For "the more a man who improves his leisure in such a place learns, the better, gentler, kinder man he must become ... he will become more tolerant of other men's belief in all matters, and will incline more leniently to their sentiments when they chance to differ from his own ... relations between himself and his employers [he will understand] involve a mutual duty and responsibility [and therefore] he will discharge his part of the implied contract cheerfully, faithfully, and honourably..."

These were some of the benefits which Dickens saw for individual working men; but this statement also infers the deep-rooted feeling that such learning would create workmen, able to understand how capital and labour were mutually dependent. Better informed workers would produce a more committed work-force, which, by implication, would therefore produce better (more ?) work. Dickens' improvised rhyme unfortunately reveals perhaps more than he
intended. It could imply that a worker, though never
gaining wealth (house and land), would gain greater
understanding of his poverty and this would help him to
bear with it -- or (if Dickens' subversion is accepted)
help workers to take some real steps about their own
condition. In the first view, not the most comfortable of
doctrines for those who gained little from their drudgery,
and perhaps a hope a shade too pious away from the platform
and the excitement caused by a great and famous man's
presence.

Dickens concluded intellectually that the people's and
England's salvation lay in education: through
enlightenment would come understanding, and thence, with
the people's innate propensity for goodness, would come
amelioration and improvement through moral reformation.
Thus, a good workman would serve his employer better, for
which, in mutual exchange of duty, the employer would
better reward his employee. (The example was given by
Scrooge in A CHRISTMAS CAROL, after his conversion, ie his
literal awakening to greater comprehension; and frequently
referred to by Dickens as his "CAROL philosophy."

The one aspect which seems to have eluded Dickens was
that such a concept of mutual responsibility was by his
time moribund. By 1850, the Industrial Revolution had
gained such momentum that workers had moved from country to
town, sometimes large distances, as the 1841 and 1851
censuses show. Their masters, no longer the local
squirearchy and farmers, were the factory and mill-owning
capitalists, with power of a different order. The tyranny
of land and seasons had now been replaced by wage-slavery as Marx and Engels pointed out with some effect. The worker no longer had any power over his production or labour, since he now possessed only his bodily toil to exchange for money. For many masters, responsibility began and ended with the pittances of wages paid to workers. Dickens seems to have been unaware of this fact, and his views may therefore be described, in this respect, as naive.

However, he believed that athenaeums and their like were valuable and "of great importance deeming that the more intelligent and reflective society in the mass becomes, and the more readers there are, the more distinctly writers of all kinds will be able to throw themselves upon the truthful feeling of the people, and the more honoured and the more useful literature must be."

Here, again, Dickens implies mutual dependence, but, perhaps, with more reason to support his opinion. Education will, he says by implication, make society "more intelligent and reflective." This was a radical thought for most early nineteenth century minds. Yet here is Dickens in the early 1840's making this assumption, and linking it firmly with educational processes, which emphatically means that he did not equate "education" with "book learning," but with extension of capacity and ability to handle concept and structure in the abstract, as well as factual knowledge (9). Perhaps, his most extended statement of this concept is his satirical attack on fact-cramming in HARD TIMES by his description of
Gradgrind's school and philosophy, along with his own belief in the efficacy of "Fancy," by which he meant more than simply imagination, rather an enlargement of mind and abstract ideas (V. Appendix "B").

Literature (as I noted above), he believed, should entertain and teach. In this he reflected a typical Augustan view. There was, therefore, a responsibility laid on writers to provide readers with matter of both good and useful quality: i.e., literature which could be used as a model for achievement in some laudable exercise in such a way as to be practical in application for the benefit of the reader, and all who came into contact with him. The writer owed his duty to the reader, and the reader reciprocated by respecting literature for its value and acting upon its examples.

Early in 1844, Dickens presided at a Conversazione of the Polytechnic Institution of Birmingham, in the Town Hall. The BIRMINGHAM ADVERTISER reported: "Never have we seen our noble Hall to greater advantage ... The rich festoons of flowers ... gave it ... the appearance of some enchanted scene of romance ... and the 'Welcome Boz!' ... formed in flowers in front of the great gallery, gave something like an anticipatory notice of ... the loud, long, hearty and enthusiastic cheers, with which the Chairman was greeted."

A new note is sounded in this speech, one repeated many times: the connection between crime and ignorance. "I hold," he said, "that for any fabric of society to go on day after day, and year after year, from father to son, and
from grandfather to grandson, unceasingly punishing men for not engaging in the pursuit of virtue and for the practice of crime, without showing them the way to virtue, has no foundation in truth... " The fate of such a society could only lead to one conclusion, revolution. Taking his metaphor from the ARABIAN NIGHTS, he said: "Now, there is a spirit of great power, the Spirit of Ignorance, long shut up in a vessel of Obstinate Neglect, with a great deal of lead in its composition, and sealed with the seal of many, many Solomons ... Release it in time, and it will bless, restore, and reanimate society; but let it lie under the rolling waves of years, and its blind revenge at last will be destruction." Certainly, there was truth in this as far as mainland Europe was concerned, because four years later, 1848 became the Year of Revolutions.

Dickens felt that remedies were at hand if only people would act; the prime remedy was, of course, moral reformation through education. However, he also said that there was intrinsic good and strength in people which should be encouraged, especially in the working people. "That there are classes, which rightly treated, are our strength, and wrongly treated are our weakness, I hold it impossible to deny; and that for these industrious, intelligent, and honourably independent classes, in whom Birmingham is especially interested, there are no means of mutual instruction and improvement so peculiarly adapted to their circumstances as a Mechanics' Institute..."

Furthermore, the founding principles of Mechanics'
Institutes encouraged "... honest men of all degrees and of every creed ... etc. ... associate together on an independent footing and on neutral ground, and at small expense, for the better understanding and the greater consideration of each other, and for the better cultivation of the happiness of all." (BIRMINGHAM, 29 FEB 44)

Hughes has pointed out in his chapter on "Community" (9) that Dickens' views "may not seem very advanced ... [but] ... they were much ahead of his time, and they are beyond the practice of our time ... No one who has lived since the time of Dickens could write a more striking statement of the responsibility of every man for his brother, and of the terrible consequences of neglect of the duties of brotherhood both to him who is neglected and to him who neglects, than Dickens wrote in DOMBEY AND SON."

It is unnatural, says Dickens, for people, made in God's image, to be distorted by appalling social and economic conditions.

Hear the magistrate or judge admonish the unnatural outcast of society; unnatural in brutish habits, unnatural in want of decency, unnatural in ignorance, in vice, in recklessness, in contumacy, in mind, in looks, in everything ... Look around upon the world of odious sights -- millions of immortal creatures have no other world upon earth -- at the lightest mention of which humanity revolts ...

Breathe the polluted air, foul with every
impurity that is poisonous to health and life; and have every sense conferred upon our race for its delight and happiness, offended, sickened, and disgusted, and made a channel by which misery and death alone can enter ... And then, calling up some ghastly child, with stunted form and wicked face, hold forth on its unnatural sinfulness and lament its being so early far away from heaven... Bright and blessed the morning that should rise on such a night; for men, delayed no more by stumbling-blocks of their own making, which are but specks of dust upon the path between them and eternity, would then apply themselves, like creatures of one common origin, owing one duty to the father of one family, and tending to one common end to make the world a better place!

This quotation, much longer in its context, is a very plainspoken declaration of how Dickens perceived mankind, and while providing evidence for the sociologist remains a concept of morality. It is Dickens' forthright condemnation of society's utter neglect and repression of the lower orders.

I pause here, to consider the vocabulary Dickens uses in the speeches reviewed so far. He has referred to "mutual instruction," and "improvement," and has described the working people as "independent." These words are important as they are key words in his thought, and need some explanation.
Dickens' sustained view of Mechanics' Institutes, both organizationally and as educational influences is clear. I have already shown that he regarded them as essential provision for working people (ie anyone who works for another, whatever the job, including the middle classes), for two prime reasons: firstly, to provide enough "useful" education to improve the whole standard of living for the person and his family and dependents; and, secondly, to provide "harmless" pursuits which would also enhance the general life pattern in intellectual or simply pleasurable terms. As I shall demonstrate later, amusement for relaxation and (if we pronounce the word aright) "re-creation" for workers, so that they may return to their labours refreshed, reinvigorated, and in better mind than before, was also of central concern to Dickens.

He wrote extensively on the people's amusements, especially in HOUSEHOLD WORDS, but he also spoke about the proper provision of "harmless" and, preferably, "improving" pastimes for the masses; for instance, in his advocacy of Sunday opening of galleries, museums, exhibitions, etc.

This cause of Sunday opening of public displays he extended to other areas on behalf of the people, especially in his essays SUNDAY UNDER THREE HEADS, published in June 1836, when he was 24 years old. In a cleverly worded dedication to the Bishop of London, Dickens pointed out that he believed the Bishop had no idea of "the wants and necessities of the people," nor "of the extent of those wants" nor "the nature of those necessities." Since his
Lordship was "among the first ... to expatiate on the vicious addiction of the lower classes of society to Sunday excursions," he felt he might venture "to address this little Pamphlet" to his Lordship's consideration. However, Dickens (or rather "Timothy Sparks" as Dickens chose to sign the dedication) made it very clear that the feelings expressed had one merit "— their truth and freedom from exaggeration. I may have fallen short of the mark, but I have never overshot it: and while I have pointed out what appears to me, to be injustice on the part of others, I hope I have carefully abstained from committing it myself (10)."

The first section, on Sunday "As it is," describes Sunday excursions and Sunday strolls by "the humbler classes of society ... neat and clean on this their only holiday." Dickens describes "the central market of a large neighbourhood, inhabited by a vast number of mechanics and poor people" in which a few shops are open at an early hour of the morning; and a very poor man, with a thin and sickly woman by his side, may be seen with their little basket in hand, purchasing the scanty quantity of necessaries they can afford which the time at which the man received his wages, or his having a good deal of work to do or the woman's having been out charing till a late hour, prevented their procuring over-night. The poor, labouring classes were unable, as Dickens
clearly shows here, to survive without Sunday shopping, as their hours of work did not free them at appropriate times.

Shopping-time on Sunday was another aspect of the poor's existence which "reformers" wanted to prohibit through Sir Andrew Agnew's Bill, as well as amusements and eating houses. Sunday should be a day for working people to refresh and re-create themselves as well as do service to their Maker.

I would to God [exclaims Dickens], that the iron-hearted man who would deprive such people of their only pleasures, could feel the sinking of heart and soul, the wasting exhaustion of mind and body, the utter prostration of present strength and future hope, attendant upon that incessant toil which lasts from day to day, and from month to month; that toil that is too often protracted until the silence of midnight, and resumed from the first stir of morning. How marvellously would his ardent zeal for other men's souls, diminish after a short probation, and how enlightened and comprehensive would his views of the object and meaning of the institution of the Sabbath become!

The "reformers" wished, says Dickens "for a law which shall convert the day intended for rest and cheerfulness, into one of universal gloom, bigotry, and persecution."

Furthermore, all the prohibitions they strove to impose would have affected only the poor and the working-classes.
What was deemed "necessary" for the rich and powerful was exempted from the Bill, including the labour of servants. Dickens proceeded to refute all the arguments concerning "Sabbath breaking," exposing the inspiration of the Bill to contain "a considerable degree of cant, and a very great deal of wilful blindness." He firmly asserted that the great majority of the people who make holiday on Sunday now, are industrious, orderly, and well-behaved persons. It is not unreasonable to suppose that they would be no more inclined to an abuse of pleasures provided for them, than they are to an abuse of the pleasures they provide for themselves; and if any people, for want of something better to do, resort to criminal practices on the Sabbath as at present observed, no better remedy for the evil can be imagined, than giving them the opportunity of doing something which will amuse them, and hurt nobody.

Dickens' view of Sunday, "As it might be made," encompasses the opening of public displays and exhibitions, such as the British Museum, the National Gallery and the Gallery of Practical Science, so that "knowledge [may] be derived and information gained." To look after these institutions "... not fifty people would be required to preside over the whole; and it would take treble that number to enforce a Sabbath bill in any three populous parishes."
He advocated open spaces in every section of London for cricket or the like on Sundays. Religion should not be enforced, and he would "like to see the time when Sunday might be looked forward to, as a recognized day of relaxation and enjoyment, and when every man might feel, what few men do now, that religion is not incompatible with rational pleasure and needful recreation." Such a day would encourage "the more ignorant and humble class of men" to recognize the moral code which gave it to them. Finally, "Let those who have six days in the week for all the world's pleasures, appropriate the seventh to fasting and gloom, either for their own sins or those of other people, if they like to bewail them; but let those who employ their six days in a worthier manner, devote their seventh to a different purpose ... and let Sunday legislators take for their motto, the words which fell from the lips of that Master, whose precepts they misconstrue, and whose lessons they pervert -- 'The Sabbath was made for man, and not man to serve the Sabbath'."

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Having explained the purposes of education (as he saw them), Dickens also tells us what he does not consider education to be. Education is not "the mere imperfect application of old, ignorant preposterous spelling-book lessons to the meanest purposes." Those meanest purposes Dickens demonstrated in greatest detail in *Hard Times* through the Gradgrind philosophy that facts were
the only things to be tolerated. Fancy (or imagination as
we would call it) had no place in a properly regulated
world, as it had no connection with the real world of
commerce and industry; facts alone mattered. For Dickens,
fact-cramming and rote-learning, those "ignorant,
preposterous ... lessons," ran contrary to education as he
conceived it. When Dickens refers to towns "full of busy
men, all of them feeling necessarily, and some of them
heavily, the burdens and inequalities inseparable from
civilized society," he implies a resignation to
inequalities of various kinds; but when we look at the
full range of his work, both fictional and non-fictional,
it is plain that he acknowledges the "natural" inequalities
of all individuals as exhibited within circumstances in
which each individual functions. His work also shows how
the individual may achieve greater things by effort and
personal struggle, as he made clear in his speeches to
Institute audiences, discussed above.

It is not surprising, perhaps, that Dickens' most
explicit, personal and public statement about education, in
his fullest extant speech, should be that made at the First
Annual Soiree of the Glasgow Athenæum, just after
Christmas 1847. This speech was made very shortly after
the opening of Urania Cottage, the culmination of eighteen
months' meticulous preparations, involving many hours
spent in personal consultations, visitings and interviews,
letter-writing, purchasing and supervising, appointing
staff, and all the many other details of
purchasing the Cottage, keeping budgets and accounts; and,
besides all this, conceiving, planning and starting a new major novel, *Dombey and Son*, which occupied twenty-three months, starting almost simultaneously with the planning for Urania Cottage. All these occupations, including living in Switzerland, holidays in Broadstairs and Scotland (from all of which constant correspondence flowed back to London and Miss Coutts, among many others), nevertheless did not stop Dickens from thinking through his concepts of education. Many of these were to be tested at Urania Cottage itself. This speech, then, would seem very likely to be Dickens' first opportunity to state in public and in person, the major aspects of his (now) considered educational philosophy.

One further point is worth noting here. I have said that Dickens was in a veritable welter of multifarious activities during 1846 and 1847, chiefly concerning Urania Cottage. As regards his educational philosophy, these labours must have occasioned a persistent focusing of his thought on the meaning, function, purpose and content of "education," from a number of attitudes, which led to the points now under discussion. The reformatory project was also to pull together a number of major lines of thought in Dickens' mind: the connection between crime and ignorance, which led women into vice, crime and on to consequent imprisonment; the whole concept of punishment and reformation, through education; moral reformation through the discipline of learning and social adjustment one person to another, leading to a "new life"; and reformation ending in the hope and practical possibility of decent
family life in a new country (education and emigration).

A further example of Dickens' working out of his educational standpoint is evident in his fiction of that time also. *Dombey and Son*, which appeared from mid-1846 until April 1848, contains a great deal about the bringing up (i.e., education) of children, both male and female, and of young persons (perhaps a subconscious Dickensian insight into the then unrecognized developmental period of adolescence?). Indeed, as we shall see later, *Household Words* (already looming in Dickens' mind long before 1850 when it first appeared) had education, in its broadest and best Dickensian sense, as a topic (besides its aim) of constant concern and reference, especially in its early volumes. The topic was still discussed in *All the Year Round* which followed from 1850 onwards, but from different viewpoints and with less frequency of appearance. It would seem, therefore, that Dickens was, at least at this point, making no hard demarcation between education of children and young people and of adults; rather that education as a whole was his concern, not any partisan branch thereof.

**Returning to the speeches: the Glasgow Athenaeum, founded in 1847, replaced an earlier Educational Association which had expired, chiefly because of its disadvantage of holding its classes at six o'clock in the morning, and the ensuing lack of enrolled students!**
However, the new institution was to be very successful, as Hudson confirms (at least in 1851), in that, four years after Dickens' visit, the Athenaeum had 1,204 students, charged £/6 per quarter; 3,700 books in the library, and 20 classes running, besides its well-used reading-room.

Dickens began his address by referring to the "high purpose of this brilliant assembly," and "one of the most worthy and laudable of all human objects," ie the pursuance of education, which he regarded "no less as a recognition on the part of everybody here to the right indisputable and inalienable of all those who are actively engaged in the work and business of life to elevate and improve themselves so far as in them lies by all good means . . . ." (V. The preliminary note on Adult Education supra, for a comparison on these words with 1844 Act.)

Dickens' categorical claim to education as "a right indisputable and inalienable," must be seen in its true context of mid-nineteenth century England. This is quite a remarkable statement to be made at such a juncture, and places Dickens' views well in advance of his time. The only right most of the ruling classes would have admitted for all, would have been to go to Devil in one's own way. Rights to education (and thereby knowledge and power) were preserved for those already holding power -- the monied, landed classes. Awarding such rights to all would have weakened that power and reduced influence. Reading the Bible to learn one's duty and obligation to those set above as masters was acceptable; to write would have enabled subversion and sedition to spread across
the nation. Such things were too dangerous and not to be contemplated (11).

Whether Dickens advocated open access to education is not altogether clear. We can say, nevertheless, that he did not always have the personal, material benefits of education uppermost in his mind. He looked higher for both social (which implies firstly personal) improvement and general moral elevation. Nor, too, would those benefits remain to the individual alone.

He felt, also, that it was "at once the duty and interest of all good members of society to encourage and protect" Athenaeums and other institutions. How they were to be encouraged and protected, Dickens did not reveal, at least in this speech. He remarked that subscription lists and paid up members (as well as the carefully set aside sixpence a week fees) would be the main financial stay of the institution. There is no suggestion of local rating authorities taking responsibility for institutions. Such an event had not then happened, since all educational establishments at that time were, in effect, charitable or philanthropic foundations, or simply private business ventures. Local Vestry support had been sought earlier, without success. Assistance should come, therefore, from local persons with wealth and influence, but who were also truly involved with the interests of the institution (12).

Pursuing his argument about the influence of Athenaeums and similar establishments, Dickens said that the word "EDUCATION is used with not the least reference to its real meaning, and is wholly misunderstood. Mere
reading and writing are not education." Equating education with reading and writing, many such establishments were "objected to or decried." Dickens elaborated what he considered to be the objects of education in a passage which stands today, 130 years later, as a declaration of the true aims and objectives, of education, regardless of age:

It would be quite as unreasonable to call bricks and mortar architecture; oils and colours, art; reeds and cat-gut, music; or a child's spelling-book the works of Shakespeare, Milton or Bacon, as to call the lowest rudiments of education, "education"... To my thinking it is precisely because they are not education; because, generally speaking, the word has been misunderstood in that sense a great deal too long; because education for the business of life, and for the due cultivation of the domestic virtues, is at least as important from day to day to the grown person as to the child; because real education amidst the strife and contention for a livelihood, and the consequent necessity incumbent on a great number of young persons to go into the world when they are very young and having had no adequate opportunity for mental culture, is extremely difficult -- it is because of these
things that I look upon Mechanics’ Institutions and Athenaeums as vitally important to the well-being of society.

Dickens’ writings and speeches clearly show, then, that by the end of 1847 he had formulated the broad lines of his thought on education SENSU STRICTO; but that is not to say that he had completely formed his views on other areas of activity which support and complement the fundamental processes of education. He was to continue his thought about the education and educative influences of “the rudiments of education.” Today we would understand this to comprize “the basic educational skills” of reading, writing and numbering (literacy, oracy and numeracy).

In this speech, he listed, with obvious pleasure, some of the subject areas taught in the Athenaeum, and these may be presumed to be some “parts” of “education”: French, German, Spanish, Italian, logic, grammar, music and mathematics (all, inter-personal communicational skills). Wide reading was also an element as he implied from the “facts and fictions” contained in the institution’s library, small though it was at that point. These were not the only activities, as Dickens had already referred to “lectures in prospect and progress, in a great variety of sound, useful, and well-selected subjects,” but, unfortunately, he did not list what they were, except those named; and, perhaps, those are named mostly because they were of some personal relevance and interest to himself. However, it is clear that he considered these and other subjects to be merely some elements of information, the raw
Dickens was not to address another student audience until six years later, almost to the day. 30 December 1853, he made a very short speech in the Town Hall, Birmingham, on behalf of the Birmingham and Midland Institute, before he gave the second reading of *A Christmas Carol*. He read this work on 28 and 30 December, *The Cricket on the Hearth* on 29 December: all were to raise funds for the Institute. The first reading was attended by 1,700 people despite a very heavy snow storm. The night of the 30th had been set aside with half-price entry for working people, and the audience numbered 2,000. The *Birmingham Journal* declared that "the great compact body were working people, although you would scarcely have supposed it to look at them." On Dickens' appearance, "they all rose up and cheered most enthusiastically, and then became quiet again, and then went at it afresh ... He was stopped at the very first word he spoke with a perfect hurricane of applause, and he had to go back to the beginning again. At last he got in a few sentences."

These "few sentences" contained, nevertheless, some important, additional points in his thoughts on adult education.

His first point was one which he had adumbrated elsewhere and concerned what is now referred to as "student participation" in the governance of institutions to which they belong as students. It was his "earnest hope," which he had been most desirous of expressing "publicly in your [ie the working people's] presence, and in the presence of..."
the Committee ... that the Institute will, from the beginning, recognize one great principle ... that the working man shall, from the first unto the last, have a share in the management of the Institution which is designed for his benefit, and which calls itself by his name." This point underlined the fact that from the outset most Mechanics' Institutes had not been managed by working people.

Dickens' second, and related point, was that he greatly doubted "If there ever was a time when any one class could of itself do much for its own good, and for the welfare of society." He sought "the fusion of different classes, without confusion," since "in this world a great deal of the bitterness among us arises from an imperfect understanding of one another." He wanted "a great Educational Institution" to be "properly educational; educational of the feelings as well as of the reason; to which all orders of Birmingham men can contribute; in which all orders of Birmingham men can meet; wherein all orders of Birmingham men are faithfully represented ..."

Furthermore, he warned and advised the gentlemen present by all means to avoid the great shortcoming of similar institutions; and in asking the working man for his confidence, to set him the great example and give him theirs in return.

(Great cheering)

[He was sure that the working man would] stand by such an enterprise with the utmost of his patience, his perseverance, sense and support;
that... he will need no charitable aid or condescending patronage; but will readily and cheerfully pay for the advantages which it confers; that he will prepare himself in individual cases where he feels it necessary; in a word, that he will feel his responsibility like an honest man, and will most honestly and manfully discharge it. (BIRMINGHAM, 30DEC53)

Again, Dickens is expressing his unshakable belief in the decency and reliability of the working people. Students of the Institute should have a say in its management, and that would imply that they should equally have a say in the subjects they wanted to learn. Since the Institute was the result of "an Artisans' Committee" and its sensible and hearty support for the whole venture, it would seem that this was proof enough, at least for Dickens, that working folk could organize themselves and get things done in a purposeful and efficient manner.

An interesting gloss is provided for us in the article "The Blue-jacket Agitation," (HW, 54, 5APR51, 36-41). This describes a "mass meeting" of seamen, met to discuss what they could do about the Mercantile Marine Act (13 and 14 Victoria, cap. 93) which gave them great concern.

One of the most amusing characteristics of all classes of us in England [begins the article] is the natural ability we have for an agitation. You would think that we were born ready for it, and that it was one step from the cradle to "the chair." [It goes on to describe
an engine-driver as] a stern weather-beaten
man, with a red face and fierce eyes .. but go
and see this unearthly man conducting his
"agitation," and you will find him a decorous
chairman, sitting behind pens, ink, papers, and
tape, moving a resolution, and speaking, for
the first time in his life, more fluently than
most county members after long practice. He is
English, and he is agitating.

The article expresses surprize at sailors wishing to
agit ate and being able to do so with some efficiency,
before moving into a critique of the Act. The importance
of this article, predating the Glasgow speech by almost
three years, is that Dickens was obviously aware of the
organizing potential of working people, and that this
speech (as far as we can tell) was his first opportunity to
express his views at a public meeting, which he knew would
be reported by the press. Equally, it was the ideal
moment, with a working-class audience of 2,000 people, in
the presence of the Committee, and dignitaries to make his
sentiments tellingly public in such a way. The success of
his readings at Birmingham was such (he called it
"wonderful and prodigious"), that he was inundated with
requests from similar institutions for him to give public
readings. He responded with a short tour to Reading, 19
December 1854, for the Literary and Mechanics' Institute,
at his friend, Talfourd's request; at Sherborne Literary
Institution, for Macready, and on 28 December at Bradford
for the Educational Temperance Institute. His comment to
W.F. Cerjat was, "I am but newly come home from reading at Reading, and at Sherborne in Dorsetshire, and Bradford in Yorkshire. Wonderful audiences! and the number at the last place three thousand seven hundred. And yet but for the noise of their laughter and cheering, they went like one man." (3JAN55)

Precisely what Dickens meant by "the fusion of classes, without confusion" is not entirely clear; however, some inferences from other aspects of his life and doings help our understanding. Much of Victorian life was ambivalent, in that double standards existed in many areas of social existence. A man of his time, Dickens was no exception in his thinking. He believed society exhibited "natural" inequalities. He did not desire any radical changes in society’s structures, yet at the same time he accepted the idea that an individual could advance upwards in society. He had done just that himself. Nevertheless, this thinking presents us with some ambiguity, but perhaps in this wise, a man’s actions speak louder than his words.

Dickens held the modest, self-educated working man in some degree of respect and affection, as witnessed by the generous support and assistance he gave to the cabinet-maker, John Overs, and the latter’s literary aspirations. Dickens had been quite captured by the poor man’s attempts when Overs realized he was dying, to leave some provision for his wife and family by literary composition, but especially by "as manly and straightforward, but, withal, as modest a letter as ever I read in my life." Overs, dying of consumption, lived
long enough to see his single volume, *EVENINGS OF A WORKING MAN: BEING THE OCCUPATION OF HIS SCANTY LEISURE*, published by Newby in 1844, through the good offices of Dickens and with a short preface by him (13).

It was Dickens' hope that such worthy men as John Owers, and hard-working women, such as the women writers he encouraged: Elizabeth Lynn Linton, Harriet Martineau (who incidentally also had links with the Derby Mechanics' Institute) and the ill-starred "Naked Lady", Adah Isaacs Menken, which last dedicated a small volume of verse to Dickens (14), were the kinds of working people who could and would improve and elevate society into something better than it was. His hope, and actual efforts on behalf of the "deserving poor," might be called radical subversion in that the changes he sought to effect were the kind to make fundamental transformations in the social fabric so that society could never be the same again.

Dickens' next educational speech was not to one specific institution but to the Institutional Association of Lancashire and Cheshire, in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, at the annual prize-giving, just before Christmas 1858. The Association (15) then comprized a membership of 114 "local Mechanics' Institutions and Mutual Improvement Societies, at an expense of no more than five shillings to each society." The Association's objects were "suggesting to them [the constituent members] all how they can best communicate with and profit by the fountain-head and one another; keeping their best aims steadily before them; advising how those aims can be best attained;
giving a direct end and object to what might otherwise become waste forces ..."

Virtue lay in the decentralized nature of the Association as Dickens saw it: "No central association at a distance could possibly put them in that familiar and easy communication with one another ..." These sentiments show a true understanding of the need for personal and close relationships in study and learning, and a tacit acknowledgement of the lack of easy, cheap and nationally set up communications systems. However, the word central also echoes the strong, Victorian dislike of the threat of centralization of anything with which government might be concerned. Dickens showed this very clearly in his creation of the Circumlocution Office and the Tite-Barnacle clan in Little Dorrit. Centralization struck against traditional English local responsibility, and was fiercely resisted, as we can see from the endless wrangling between vestries over paving, water, Poor Rates and the like. Association in localities was another thing, however, since some real power could be gained and influence exerted. This appears to be Dickens' view here since he approved of the advantages bestowed by combination. "It is obvious that combination must materially diminish their cost, which is in itself a vital consideration; and it is equally obvious that experience, essential to the success of all combination, is especially so when its object is to diffuse the results of experience and reflection."

Again, these views accord completely with Dickens' concept of the betterment of the masses. He realized that
through such democratic organizations with their committee structures, a real grasp and understanding of governance would ensue, which, in turn, would encourage working people to undertake the long struggle for recognition and power of their own. That he was distributing prizes and certificates also confirms his attitude; and his pleasure at so many humble persons' academic success is obvious, nor he does miss the opportunity to drive home the message that

... it is always to be observed and seriously remembered that these examinations are undergone by people whose lives have been passed in a continual fight for bread, and whose whole existence has been a constant wrestle with "Those twin gaolers of the daring heart -- low birth, and iron fortune."

(Applause) I could not but consider, with extraordinary admiration, that these questions have been replied to, not by men like myself, the business of whose life is with writing and books, but by men, the business of whose life is with tools and machinery.

Looking at the subjects examined, one’s own admiration may well be extraordinary: "history, geography, grammar, arithmetic, bookkeeping, decimal coinage, mensuration, mathematics, social economy, the French language," which Dickens states "comprise all the keys that open all the locks of knowledge." His admiration is further exemplified by his list of workers and the hardships undergone to gain
their examinations; two brothers, miners, from Chorley who walked eight miles a night, three nights a week to achieve distinction in their classes; a moulder in an iron foundry, working twelve hours a day "before the furnace," rising at four in the morning to learn drawing; and ...a piecer at mule-frames, who could not read at eighteen, who is now a man of little more than thirty, who is the sole support of an aged mother, who is arithmetical teacher in the institution in which he himself was taught, who writes of himself that he made the resolution never to take up a subject without keeping to it, and who has kept to it with such an astonishing will, that he is now well versed in Euclid and Algebra, and is the best French scholar in Stockport.

To emphasize his view that knowledge and education gained against odds was really its own reward, needing no "impertinence of patronage," he remarked that the prizes given were sums of money,

simply because the institution does not presume to doubt that persons who have so well governed themselves, know best how to make a little money serviceable (hear), because it would be a shame to treat them like grown-up babies by laying it out for them, and because it knows that it is given, and knows it is taken, in perfect clearness of purpose, perfect trustfulness, and above all perfect
Dickens knew that many of the upper orders regarded working people, not simply as uneducated and ignorant, but also as incapable of learning and improvement, as if they were rather slow, ineducable children. The article, "The Great Baby," (HW, 280, 4AUG55, 1-4) was an answer to this kind of attitude. Of course, apart from the stupidity and self-induced blindness of such a view, it also served as a convenient "reason" for excluding working people from all sources of advancement, and, therefore, of power whereby they might change their circumstances.

Concluding, Dickens said that he did not presume to talk of the advantages and benefits that knowledge and education could bring, especially in a place "remarkable for self-taught men"; he wanted "only to sound two strings." First, he congratulated all the "real mutual improvement societies," and "the noble agency of individual employers and their families," and also the railway companies who "are bestirring themselves in this manner with a gallantry and generosity deserving of all praise."

Dickens' "second string" was the one sounded so clearly and unequivocally in HARD TIMES, when he warned: "do not let us, in the laudable pursuit of the facts that surround us, neglect the fancy and the imagination which equally surround us as part of the great scheme ... The hardest head may co-exist with the softest heart.

(Cheers)"

He referred to Christ's teachings and how He blended
"the understanding and the imagination," and concluded by saying: "Knowledge, as all followers of it must know, has a very limited Power indeed when it informs the head alone; but when it informs the head and the heart too, it has a power over life and death, the body and soul, and dominates the universe. (Great applause)" (MANCHESTER, 3DEC58)

The last two recorded speeches Dickens made to educational institutions were to the Birmingham and Midland Institute in his capacity as President, to which office he had been unanimously elected early in January 1869, for the following year. He expressed his pleasure in the "penny classes — a bold and ... triumphantly successful experiment, which enables the artisan to obtain sound evening instruction in subjects directly bearing on his daily usefulness or on his daily happiness: as arithmetic (elementary and advanced), chemistry, physical geography, and singing: on the payment of the astounding low fee of a single penny every time he attends a class."

Two points need comment here: firstly, Dickens’ reiteration of the purposes of learning, viz. the enhancement of knowledge concerned with the student’s paid employment; and, in addition, the pursuit of happiness in living as a whole. Secondly, the institution’s ability to offer such a low fee as one penny gains Dickens’ warm approbation. "I beg emphatically to say that I look on this [the penny classes] as one of the most remarkable schemes ever devised for the educational behoof of the artisan, and if your Institution has done nothing else in all its life, I would take my stand by it on its having
done this. (Loud applause)."

More importantly than this is Dickens' beginning statement where he allows us to see somewhat more clearly how he really conceived the true aim of enlightenment. Jocularly avowing his "alarm" at his speech being "termed an inaugural address on the entrance upon a new term of study," he further avowed "that I do look forward to that blessed time when every man shall inaugurate his own work for himself, and do it. I believe that we shall then have inaugurated a new era indeed, and one in which the Lord's Prayer will be a fulfilled prophecy upon this earth."

Familial and brotherly love are clearly, then, the whole aim of improvement as Dickens foresaw it. This might be expected since the argument stems from his fundamental religious views: love and faith towards God and Man (but rejecting the necessity of institutionalization of church and panoply), shored up by hopeful anticipation that Man will inevitably improve and progress to an ever-better state, enlightened, informed, and increasing in wisdom.

His next remark indicated his grasp of the essential underlying need of the best educational institutions and, indeed, of education itself: viz. flexibility and adaptability in its approaches to the individual differences of students and their needs, allied to a commitment to advance along new lines of thought and consideration. "I hope and believe that ... [the Institution] will always be expansive and elastic; for ever seeking to devise new means of enlarging the circle of its members, and of attracting to itself the confidence of
still greater and greater numbers, and never more evincing any more disposition to stand still than time does, or life does, or the seasons do."

Dickens concluded this section of his speech by returning to a favourite theme, his rejection of patronage as a means of survival:

... above all this, I hope, and feel confident from its antecedents, that... [the Institution] will never allow any consideration on the face of the earth to induce it to patronize or to be patronized (applause), for I verily believe that the bestowal and receipt of patronage in such wise has been a curse in England, and that it has done more to prevent really good object, and to lower really high character, than the utmost efforts of the narrowest antagonism could have effected in twice the time. (Applause)

Referring to remarks made near that time by the Dean of Carlisle, Dr Francis Close, concerning the materialism of the day, Dickens said: "I confess... that I do not understand this much-used and much-abused phrase, a 'material age'..." The Rev. Dr Close had preached a sermon, reported by the TIMES (22SEP69, p. 8), in which it stated his saying, "There is no question that there is in the present day an evil spirit of the 'bottomless Pit' rising up among us,... and he was bound to say he laid a large portion of it at the door of science. Did not philosophers at the present day dig out the bowels of the
earth evidences against God? How fearful and how humbling
a thing it was that there were those who would ... prefer
any dream, however foolish or vain, to the testimony of God
respecting the origin of our species!"

Dickens refuted this as wilfully blind, fundamentalist
superstition:

The true material age is the stupid Chinese age
(hear, hear), in which no new grand revelation
of nature is granted, because such revelations
are ignorantly and insolently repelled, instead
of being diligently and humbly sought ... And
consider: whether is it likely or unlikely,
natural or unnatural, reasonable or
unreasonable, that I, a being capable of
thought, and finding myself surrounded by such
diversified wonders on every hand, should
sometimes ask myself the solemn question ... 
Can these things be among those things which
might have been disclosed by Divine lips nigh
on two thousand years ago, but that the people
of that time could not bear them?

(BIRMINGHAM : 27SEP69)

Progressive and purposeful advancement of knowledge
and learning are, then. Dickens' key message to the
students; but these things must be accompanied by an
increased awareness of moral responsibility, stemming from
an acceptance of God's purpose, which may be implied from
the earlier sections of his speech. In other words,
contemporary revelations of the earth's antiquity (fossils
primarily) and hypotheses on the genesis of Man (Darwin's work and writings) do not conflict with God's purpose, but indeed enhance the "facts" about God, Man and the Universe, and are not simply to be welcomed but actively sought in contribution to the fulfilment of the Divine Will.

Dickens' final remarks in the speech were considered elsewhere. His statement concerning "the people governing" and "The People governed" becomes clearer when related to the body of this speech than when considered IN VACUO. He tells us that his "political creed" has "no references to any party or persons." It is in fact a general statement expressing a lack of faith in the race of politicians, as he tells us in a further speech made on 6 January 1870, again at Birmingham. He quotes from H.T.Buckle's HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION IN ENGLAND:

They ... may talk as they will about the reforms which government has introduced, and the improvements to be expected from legislation. But whoever will take a wider and more commanding view of affairs, will soon discover that such hopes are chimerical. They will learn that lawyers are nearly always the obstructors of society, instead of its helpers; and that in the extremely few cases in which their measures have turned out well, their success has been owing to the fact that, contrary to their usual custom, they have implicitly obeyed the spirit of their time, and have been, as they always should be, the mere
servants of the people, to whose wishes they are bound to give a public and legal sanction.

(Loud applause).

This, in conjunction with the speech of September 1869, furthers my claim that Dickens mistrusted governments and politicians in general, and not specifically the then Liberal administration under Gladstone. In a sense, those who perceived Dickens' statement as an attack on Gladstone and his government were following through the saying (as far as Dickens would have cared) of where the cap fitted, it should there be worn. Dickens nowhere attacked any individual politician (except Palmerston, in defence of his friend Laverd; see below), though he did attack the generic evil (as Dickens defined it) represented by an individual. This can be seen at work in *The Chimes* where "the poor man's friend," Sir Joseph Bowley, M.P. caricatures the Whig ex-Chancellor, Lord Brougham, whose support and concern for the people was exposed as merely expedient superficiality, without any knowledge or appreciation of their situation whatsoever, in a speech in the Lords on the 1844 Factory Bill. Supporters of the Bill argued that the children of women factory-workers suffered malnutrition because their mothers had no leisure to feed their offspring. Brougham observed that peeresses and MP's wives were also often prevented "by their various avocations" from suckling THEIR children, but he "had never heard that any mischief resulted from the practice." He was consequently attacked from several quarters for such crass insensitivity, notably in *Punch* (6APR44), by Dickens'
friend, Douglas Jerrold.

On 6 January 1870, Dickens returned, for the last time, to the Birmingham and Midland Institute for the annual prize-giving at which he was to distribute the prizes and "rewards." His first point was important and addressed directly at the adult students, for, as he said, he was there "to bestow the rewards which have been brilliantly won by the most successful competitors in the society's lists." He used the phrase "most successful" because "there is success in all honest endeavour, and that there is some victory gained in every gallant struggle that is made ... over sloth, inertness, and indifference: and competition for these prizes involves besides, in the vast majority of cases, competition with and mastery asserted over circumstances adverse to the effort made."

(BIRMINGHAM : 6JAN70) When one considers that male workers worked anything from 60 to 90 hours a week, the stark truth of this statement is immediately evident.

Finally, Dickens' promise and determination "to remain your steady and faithful friend," was not to be kept for long, because in six months he was dead, and the true People's friend was no more.

**SUMMARY**

As this group of speeches just considered exhibits major elements of Dickens' thoughts and beliefs about education and adults, I shall recapitulate points made regarding the development of his ideas. This enables a
clearer, more consecutive view to emerge as a whole, of how Dickens worked out his theories into practice, and attempted to turn hopes into realities. These ideas form a statement against which to weigh later arguments in this thesis: for example, the project at Urania Cottage and its relationship to Dickens' ideas about the education of women, which might more accurately be termed training.

These speeches avouch that Dickens did not seek any form of revolutionary activity to attain the ends he believed necessary if England and its people, passing painfully through industrialization, were to be saved from events such as Europe and the United States had seen. (He had made it patently evident how he viewed civil disorder and mob rule in BARNABY RUDGE.) Equally, he believed that legislation could not of itself produce a better world: only better people could do that. No single class could, within its own lights, bring about the kind or extent of change that Dickens held to be essential. The fusion of classes, without confusion of all ranks and status, based on natural inequalities, was the sole means to achieve that objective. The only way that the bulk of the people -- the poor, working masses -- could arrive at a decent, useful, happy life was by struggle and individual effort to disentangle all the problems and difficulties besetting them. That, in turn, implied comprehension and awareness of all the obstacles and pitfalls in the way of achieving those ends. This would be gained through information: but information in the form of "facts" alone was not enough. Facts must be understood first, but they must also be felt.
In other words, information should be interpreted by both the powers of comprehension, of culture and of unpressed imagination. Each problem must be investigated in more senses than simply its basic factual form.

The only means to accomplish a new order through the people, for the people, was by education: universal, comprehensive, adult liberal education. This process would bring enlightenment through knowledge and learning about the wonders of the world, to be modified and coloured by fancy (imagination) and underpinned by the acceptance and practice of Christ's teaching.

Education was a right, both indisputable and inalienable, of all who wished to benefit from it through "all good means" which implied having moral ends in view and moral methods of attaining them. Education could provide knowledge which would raise awareness in others, whoever and wherever they were. It would reveal clearly all social ties, duties and responsibilities. Thus, master and man would understand the social contract between them, which, adhered to, would reward and benefit both. All would learn the fundamental lesson of education: to bear and forbear. Amelioration and improvement in manners and beliefs would come about and a moral reformation would ensue, ushering in the onset of the anticipated new order.

Institutions such as Mechanics' Institutes, Athenaeums and similar agencies were ideal for the purpose of educating the people. They provided common, neutral ground for all classes who wished to use them. Political and religious differences were no bar to their serious usage.
The institution offered the chance for mutual review, respect and assistance (but also, it must be added, for a bland kind of social control). However, some students had been able to progress from the status of learner to that of respected and valued teacher in their own institutions.

The influence of such institutions, created for the people, and, sometimes, by them as well, did not rest within the students alone. On a personal level, that influence for good went out into people's homes and to those who resided or visited there. By existing in a community, the institution was both a reminder and an example to all of what might be achieved. That all classes, both sexes and all ages were welcomed made the institution exceptionally important to a community, even though they perpetuated the notion that controversy was not for discussion. Such establishments were to be encouraged in all ways, short of patronage, which had destroyed the creation and attainment of many similar good enterprises.

This, then, is Dickens' Utopian vision, as it emerges from this consideration of his speeches and, thus, so far, the main strands of his beliefs about education are clear, and, as we shall see, remained constant throughout his life. At the conclusion of this study, it will be apparent that Dickens, in many ways a man of his time, conversant with contemporary thought (although sometimes ambiguous in the expression of his own), remained above all, a man of vision and foresight, able to envisage a time when the people would come into their own.

Dickens was himself a man full of optimism and
"looking on the bright side" of life: counting one's blessings was a fundamental tenet. He believed that the emotionally moving, encouraging example was a major way to enthuse people to greater effort. Even in destruction and apparent, final extinction, some new good emerges. This he illustrated many times, but perhaps most unambiguously in passages such as this which follows hard upon Little Nell's death in THE OLD CURIOsITY SHOP:

When Death strikes down the innocent and young, for every fragile form from which he lets the panting spirit free, a hundred virtues rise, in shapes of mercy, charity, and love, to walk the world, and bless it. Of every tear that sorrowing mortals shed on such green graves, some good is born, some gentler nature comes. In the Destroyer's steps there spring up bright creations that defy his power, and his dark path becomes a way of light to Heaven. (Chp. LXXII)

Optimism, then, is a constant in Dickens' work and needs to be regarded as the primary resource in his "teaching." He would not have liked the word "enthusiasm" applied to his work or himself, for the reasons I have given (pages 8-9); nevertheless it is a version of enthusiasm which permeates his work. It is this optimism that fills the reader with a sense that Dickens' views can lead him onward to deeper comprehension of the human condition, and eventually into greater charity with one's fellow-man. This is, as I have attempted to demonstrate.
the essential "spirit" which pervades the Dickensian canon.

IV. Group II

This second, much smaller group of speeches (glossed by some letters) was addressed, in the main, to independent associations and organizations, chiefly in support of their main objects, and always to make use of Dickens' name as a "draw" to fill the appointed meeting places. All these speeches are concerned to help, through their individual commitments, changes in the environment, and free passage of information to the public at large. Dickens knew that whenever and wherever he made public speeches his words would be received, firstly, by the very large audiences which he was accustomed to address (and thereby passed on); and, secondly, broadcast to an ever wider audience through newspaper reports. Always a keen publicist, Dickens made these truly political speeches with his wonted aplomb, fully cognizant of the effects of his words and of his name in furthering each several cause; always hopeful that the general good of society would be advanced.

The range of different associations is a little bewildering, but it must be remembered that Dickens was always an excellent "catch" as guest speaker, and he felt that contact with the public was important to him personally, both as a writer and as a "public" man. He could be prevailed upon to attend and speak even when not entirely fit in health, as he did at the insistence of his friend, George Moore, on a second time of asking, to speak
as well as to chair the anniversary festival of the
Commercial Travellers' Schools Society at Christmas 1859.
He replied to Moore: "I believe nothing less than your
note would have induced me to undertake a Chairmanship;
but I have a great respect for you, and I know what a good
and well-ordered Society that is in whose behalf you exert
yourself. So I am at its and your disposal." (31OC159,
from Society's Minutes. 7NOV59.)

These speeches show clearly his active support for
practical institutions and organizations which could help
people overcome the social deprivations of Victorian
Britain. Dickens realized that he was but one man, that
others were both required and capable of carrying out the
reforming work which needed to be done. He realized, too,
that his rallying calls would also achieve practical
results, which could add to the changes he had set in
train. Perhaps, in the end, his most significant
contribution was the widening publicity which his
attendance bestowed upon all these strivings; in short,
his direct didactic approach to the business of informing
the uninformed would result in pragmatic solutions to
assist in changing society of his day.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

On 23 May 1843, the Charitable and Provident Society
for the Aged and Infirm Deaf and Dumb held its seventh
anniversary festival, to which Dickens had been asked to
contribute a speech. He wrote to Serjeant Talfourd
(20 May) that Dr Howe "... has come to London, just when I don't want him, for the express purpose of being carried to that dinner (in pursuance of a wild engagement made four thousand miles off) by me." Dickens had met Dr Howe in Boston, Mass., at the Perkins Institution for the Blind, on his visit to America the year before, 1842. Howe had achieved the near miracle of communicating with a deaf, blind, dumb girl, named Laura Bridgman, and teaching her to communicate through sign language. Howe's own account appears, in contracted form, in Chapter III, "Boston," of AMERICAN NOTES, published 18 October 1842. Precisely why he did not want Dr Howe present is obscure: but, always dutiful, Dickens attended.

"The public institutions and charities" in Massachusetts had impressed Dickens. He considered them "as nearly perfect, as the most considerate wisdom, benevolence, and humanity, can make them. I never in my life was more affected by the contemplation of happiness, under circumstances of privation and bereavement, than in my visits to these establishments."

This thought brought the British efforts into poor comparison to Dickens' mind:

It is a great and pleasant feature of all such institutions in America, that they are either supported by the State or assisted by the State: or (in the event of their not needing its helping hand) that they act in concert with it, and are emphatically the people's ... In our own country, where it has not, until within
these later days, been a very popular fashion with governments to display any extraordinary regard for the great mass of the people or to recognize their existence as improvable creatures, private charities, unexampled in the history of the earth, have arisen, to do an incalculable amount of good among the destitute and afflicted. But the government of the country, having neither act nor part in them, is not in the receipt of any portion of the gratitude they inspire; and, offering very little shelter or relief beyond that which is to be found in the workhouse and the jail, has come, not unnaturally, to be looked upon by the poor rather as a stern master, quick to correct and punish, than a kind protector, merciful and vigilant in their hour of need.

A number of points from the above extract are worth emphasizing. Firstly: Dickens would happily have accepted State intervention on behalf of the people's health or destitution if the State's attitudes, as a whole, had been shown to hold the people's best interests as its central concern. However, he says here (in 1842) that the State's attitude would be one of "a kind protector, merciful and vigilant in their hour of need," which implies a paternalistic attitude, not one deriving from fraternal feelings.

It is perhaps this kind of statement which led to detractors referring to Dickens' true philanthropic views
as evaporating along with the fumes of Christmas punch.
This was especially so in his own day, when the High Church
CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCR (vol. 4, Dec. 1842, p. 595) claimed
to find "mere pagan sentimentalism" in his writings; the
ECLECTIC REVIEW (n.s. vol. 1, Oct. 1861, p. 459) found his
descriptions of chapels and their ministers equally
"objectionable." Dickens' religious concept of duty
towards his neighbour was even denied the Sunday after he
died by "a Nonconformist minister hissing from the pulpit
... that he was a man who 'never ceased to sneer at and
vilify religion' (16)."

However, Dickens wrote to the Reverend D. Macrae
explaining his concept of duty towards his fellow-man as he
expressed it in his fiction:

With a deep sense of my great responsibility
always upon me when I exercise my art, one of
my most constant and most earnest endeavours
has been to exhibit in all my good people some
faint reflections of the teachings of our great
Master, and unostentatiously to lead the reader
up to those teachings as the great source of
all moral goodness. All my strongest
illustrations are derived from the New
Testament; all my social abuses are shown as
departures from its spirit; all my good people
are humble, charitable, faithful, and
forgiving. Over and over again, I claim them
in express words as disciples of the Founder of
our religion; but I must admit that to a man
(or woman) they all arise and wash their faces, and do not appear unto men to fast.

Dickens had gone to America, having armed himself with first-hand accounts of the "American experience," as undergone by others (17), anticipating something like God's Own People's Republic on Earth, where brother sought to care for brother, and all were equal in the eyes of all. He found the situation to be quite different, and his first reactions (both good and bad) are narrated in AMERICAN NOTES, and his fictionalized reactions -- mostly antipathetic -- in MARTIN CHUZZLEWIT (July 1844).

Neither book was welcomed in the United States; and, indeed, some reactions were violently abusive of what was considered to be Dickens' grossly ill-mannered attitude to American hospitality: some said he went merely to make money from the reputation of his name. In truth, he had crossed the Atlantic anticipating a genuine, humane, fraternal republic of "the people." He found it not to be so; but, nevertheless, he was able, in spite of his disappointment to recognize excellence where he saw it, and said so.

Following his priority of assistance to the masses, he supported, various associations concerned with public health, realizing that such matters cannot be left to the vagaries of small, local "enterprise," but must be the task of larger, more powerful bodies. One association was the Sanatorium, or "Home in Sickness," founded by Dickens' friend, Dr Thomas Southwood-Smith (18) in 1840. It had opened in 1842 at Devonshire House, York Gate, close to
Dickens' own residence at 1 Devonshire Terrace.

On 29 June 1843, in a very short speech, in reply to the Chairman, Lord Ashley (19), Dickens said that... in his desire to promote the success of such establishments he could assure them he was second to no man. He hoped they would not deem it presumptuous in him to say that he knew something of the classes for which this institution was intended. It was to provide for those classes refuge in sickness, and to restore them to peace of mind, health of body, and reinstatement in their positions in society. Its objects were so noble and so interesting, that to be successful it only required to be known in the highest and most active classes.

Ashley replied that it "... was most gratifying to him to aid in the advance of any effort to ameliorate the condition of society; and it was peculiarly gratifying to have it thus acknowledged by one who had done so much, and so successfully, to arouse the sympathies of all for the situation and wants of the different classes of life."

(SANATORIUM : 29JUN43)

The Sanatorium policy was spelt out by Dickens the following year, 1844, at the institution's anniversary festival, held at the London Tavern under Dickens' Chairmanship. His speech very largely exemplified his belief in self-help. He knew that they were met "to advance the prospects of a young and struggling..."
institution, but which I know concerns and deeply moves the welfare, comfort, mental ease, health, and life of a vast multitude of persons of both sexes, born and bred among the middle classes of society, who are dependent, under Providence, upon their own honourable exertions for subsistence in this great wilderness -- London."

The Sanatorium's system was forward-looking and progressive in its policies, particularly towards the psychological support which could be given by "any relative or devoted friends" simultaneously residing "in the house on the same cheap and easy terms." Equally, the establishment had just those "homely" qualities which Dickens (along with many other Victorians) sought: comfort, gentility, cheerfulness, (an absolute Dickensian requisite), quietness, good ventilation, and wholesomeness (a curious word to use, but presumably signifying "niceness" or "comme il faut").

However excellent the attention offered by the Home in Sickness, Dickens was also convinced that its self-help element was extremely important too. "Bear in mind, ladies and gentlemen," he exhorted his audience, "that all those benefits are extended to the recipients, not in charity, but as a just right which honest pride may claim without a blush. (Cheers) Bear in mind, that but for this Sick Home hundreds of persons, as sensitively and delicately nurtured as ourselves, would have no choice between a public hospital and the uncertain supplies of strangers." His implication here was that public hospitals were poorly equipped and wanting in all kinds of resources, as well as
providing indifferent nursing care. The implication gains significance when it is remembered that many hospitals were part of the workhouse system under the Poor Law and "staffed" by individuals such as Mrs Gamp and her tribe. We know that Dickens based Mrs Gamp on a person who nursed Miss Coutts' friend, Mrs Brown, or Miss Meredith as she then was, during the winter of 1842-43.

Dickens emphasized the Sanatorium's "high claims" upon his audience, yet although

Its principle is self-support, -- still, it appeals to you and the public for help: for to be self-supporting it must be thoroughly and well-established ... [However, the Sanatorium's directors] ... cannot offer you the luxury sometimes too freely offered, of the bestowing of charity in the common acceptance of the word, but they can offer you the gratification -- and you will judge for yourselves whether there can be a higher or better one -- of helping those who help themselves. (Cheers)

(SANATORIUM: 4JUN44)

Dickens believed that people had to be given the chance to improve themselves by learning from good examples, as we have seen a number of times. He had also come to realize that a person's life was largely formed or at least strongly influenced, by the kind of environment in which he had to live (20). The poor, in these wretched circumstances, had little or no chance to get themselves out of squalor and disease, since they lacked all means and
power to change their lot, even if they were able to grasp the full significance of their situation, which was not the case with most poor people.

In the Preface of the cheap edition of *MARTIN CHUZLEWIT*, November 1849, Dickens wrote that "In all my writings I hope I have taken every possible opportunity of showing the want of sanitary improvements in the neglected dwellings of the poor." His interest in the new public movement called the Metropolitan Sanitary Association (M.S.A.), was no doubt quickened by his brother-in-law, Henry Austin (21), who had married Dickens' sister, Letitia in 1837. As Secretary to the General Board of Health, Austin was able to keep Dickens well informed of the latest official developments, and to send him reports, as well as to advise on the contents of articles for *HOUSEHOLD WORDS* from April 1850 onwards, concerned with London's sanitary problems.

Dickens attended the M.S.A.'s first public meeting held at the Freemasons' Tavern, presided over by the Bishop of London, Dr Blomfield. After a number of resolutions demanding "prompt, energetic, and carefully devised means of relief," the Rev. Dr John Cumming moved a resolution deploring the number of deaths from preventable disease in London, and declared that "this great sacrifice of human life is accompanied by an amount of physical degradation and mental depravity, which act as effective barriers to the inculcation either of social obligations or of Christian virtues." Dickens rose to second the resolution.

He supported the Association because of the
sanitary condition of London at the present moment, he solemnly believed it would be impossible to speak too ill. He knew of many places in it unsurpassed in the accumulated horrors of their neglect by the dirtiest old spots in the dirtiest old towns, under the worst old governments in Europe. (Hear, hear, and laughter) Great contrasts of rank, great contrasts of wealth, and great contrasts of comfort must, as every man of sense was aware exist among all civilized communities; but he sincerely believed that no such contrasts as were afforded by our handsome streets, our railroads and our electric telegraphs, in the year of our Lord 1850, as compared with the great mass of the dwellings of the poor in many parts of this metropolis, had ever before been presented on this earth. (Hear, hear.)

He illustrated how "small owners of small tenements" worked themselves on to local boards of guardians and parish vestries; and, furthermore, how they disregarded anything outside their own immediate concern, "that what was done in the next parish was no business of theirs." However, disease knew no boundaries, and until it did the General Board had to exist for the general good.

Dickens vigorously denied that the poor "liked to be dirty and to lead degraded lives." When public baths had been provided, and washhouses opened, they had been quick to use them. Nevertheless, "we could not be surprised if
the poor were not sensible of the decencies of life when they had no opportunity of being made acquainted with them." He stressed that "the poor ... did so soon esteem what was really for their good when they had any fair experience of it. No one," he continued, "who had any experience of the poor could fail to be deeply affected by their patience, by their sympathy with one another, and by the beautiful alacrity with which they helped each other in toil, in the day of suffering, and at the hour of death. (Cheers)

A very interesting parallel to these last expressed sentiments can be found in the article, "Number Seven, Brown's-Lane", (AYR : XII, 289, 5NOV64, 304-308 ; 305) which describes "Miss Burdett Coutts' Sewing School," in Spitalfields. The patient suffering of the hugely exploited poor is epitomized in the following passage:

In the actual life of the very poor there is a closer contact with the weighty truths that have sunk through the light waters above and lie at the bottom of life's well. For these sufferers too lie at the bottom of the well. They have not generally the broken image of sympathy that shines up through the surface waters of the fashionable world; the wise and practical benevolence which forms the subject of this article excepted. The chief sympathy they get lies most amongst themselves. It lies close and touches them. Acts of free service and ungrudging, unobtrusive aid, visibly
interchanged one to another, represent in their common intercourse the only form that sympathy can take where the claim is obvious and incessant upon mutual help and forbearance ...

For them Pride does not ape humility; for them Anger disdains to keep within the fence of covert irony and satire, but rages coarse and cruel with a fury unrestrained; Hate, when he comes among them, beats, kicks, stabs, and throttles. It is sometimes said that the distressed poor, from want of refinement, do not feel as we fine folk should feel under like circumstances. Perhaps not. The first sensation of many of our highly refined selves, if reduced fairly to like close acquaintance with the undisguised forces and passions of life, would be as of the application of a stiff besom to the social cobwebs spun over our eyes.

The article is very likely by Dickens as it bears all his sympathies on this matter, and also is about Miss Coutts' activities (known in detail by Dickens as her close friend), and carries the kind of imagery and allusion (especially to Bunyan) so typical of Dickens. It would seem that he did not change this view of the poor at all, having expressed it in 1850, and again in this article in 1865.

It would be an easy thing to say that Dickens was romanticizing here in his praise of the poor; but, we must look back into his own life and see how he, as a small boy,
was helped by poor companions. Bob Fagin was the lad in Warren’s Blacking Factory, who was first to bring bottles of hot water to the suffering Charles when one of his attacks of spasms laid him low for a whole day. It was Bob Fagin who insisted on seeing him home; but it was Dickens who went up the steps of a smart house to pretend he lived there, so that he would not have to expose the reality of his poor lodgings elsewhere.

Dickens sincerely believed that all men have good in them, with the poor no exception. By giving them good examples of cleanliness, decency and fresh air it would be possible "to develop in these people the virtue which nothing could eradicate; to raise them in the social scale as they should be raised; to lift them from a condition into which they did not allow their beasts to sink, and to cleanse the foul air for the passage of Christianity and education throughout the land. . . . " (METROPOLITAN SANITARY ASSOCIATION: 6FEB50)

This last extract is, perhaps, one of the most direct statements of Dickens’ priority, leading towards the eventual enlightenment of the masses to their own predicament. We shall see later, when I discuss the links between crime and ignorance, just how clear a statement this is. That crime and ignorance were linked was not doubted by Dickens (whose early life had provided him with ample opportunities of first-hand experience of witnessing such a connection), nor by others of his way of thinking. We have already seen how he viewed the situation of the ignorant as regards their learning or understanding the
difference between right and wrong, and between what might constitute morality and immorality. Here, in this last speech, he is saying the same thing, but this time within the context of health and hygiene. In simple words, no one can expect the poor and destitute to have ideas and concepts of high standards (be they morally or hygienically concerned) if they have never had either the experience of decency or the opportunity for decency.

He next addressed the M.S.A. just over a year later, in May 1851, reiterating much the same kind of message regarding the priority of healthy environments, and that disease knew no boundaries. He elaborated on the possible encouragement given to physical and moral decline and mischief by squalid surroundings.

That no one can estimate the amount of mischief which is grown in dirt; that no one can say, here it stops, or there it stops, whether in its physical or its moral results, when both begin in the cradle and are not at rest in the obscene grave (hear, hear), is now as certain as it is that the air from Gin Lane will be carried, when the wind is Easterly, into May Fair, and that if you once have a vigorous pestilence raging furiously in Saint Giles's, no mortal list of Lady Patronesses can keep it out of Almack's (22). (Hear, hear.)

Dickens then moved on to the debate about who should control public health and the two chief objections raised in opposition to the concept: firstly, that of
centralization, and then of the deliberate delay on the part of authority in general.

I have the honour [he said] of which I am very sensible -- to be one of the constituent body of the amazing Vestry of Marylebone (23) (laughter): and if you chance to remember (as you very likely do) what the Board of Health DID, in Glasgow and other places, and what my vestry SAID, you will probably agree with me that between this so-called Centralization, and this Vestrylization, the former is by far the best thing to stand by in an emergency. My vestry even took the high ground of denying the existence of cholera in any unusual degree.

(Laughter) ... The circumstance may be suggestive to you in considering what Vestrylization is, when a few noisy little landlords interested in the maintenance of abuses, struggle to the foremost ranks: and what the so-called Centralization is when it is a combination of active business habits, sound medical knowledge, and a zealous sympathy with the suffering of the people.

Delay, he claimed was not the fault of the Board of Health. Its political masters had not given it the go-ahead in spite of its already being prepared to act. The Board had pointed out "with vigour and perspicuity" how many social evils could be removed and yet little had been done. He commended the Board, "both for the good they..."
have done, and for the good they may be fairly assumed to
have had the will to do, but not the power."

Turning from bodily health to that of the mind,
Dickens also supported the idea of public libraries. The
1850 Public Libraries Act enabled civic authorities to
create libraries, where they so desired, by the raising of
a rate of 1/2d in the £ provided they did not buy books.
In Manchester, Sir John Potter (1815-1858) had bought
the former Socialists' Hall at Camp Field and opened a
subscription list. The Free Library's opening coincided
with a visit to the city of Dickens' amateur theatrical
troupe, and Sir John, then Mayor, invited Dickens to
attend. This he readily acceded to, though unwilling to
speak, replying: "My engagements are very numerous, but
the occasion is too important, and the example too noble,
to admit of hesitation." (17JUL52) On the day, however,
he enthusiastically agreed to speak.

Loud applause greeted him as he rose to propose the
resolution: "That as in this institution special provision
has been made for the working classes, by the means of a
free lending library, this meeting cherishes the earnest
hope that the books thus made available, will prove a
source of pleasure and improvement in the cottages, the
garrets, and the cellars of the poorest of our people." He
delighted in "...this great free-school, most munificently
endowed by voluntary subscription in an incredibly short
space of time -- starting upon its glorious career with
twenty thousand volumes of books -- knowing no sect, no
party, no distinction -- nothing but the public want and
Dickens then referred to another meeting to be held the same evening for the working classes, which he could not attend as he was playing in the theatre. He would have liked to have heard the voice of the working man of Manchester ...
in the solid and nervous language in which I have often heard such men give utterance to the feelings of their breasts, how he knows that the books stored here for his behoof will cheer him through many struggles and toils of his life, will raise him in his self respect, will teach him that Capital and Labour are not opposed, but are mutually dependent and mutually supporting (hear, hear and applause!) -- will enable him to tread down blinding prejudice, corrupt misrepresentation, and everything but the truth, into the dust. (Applause)

Dickens then explained his own beliefs in the importance of knowledge both to the individual and to society, leading to the fulfilment of God's Will. "I have long been," he said, "in my sphere, a zealous advocate for the diffusion of knowledge among all classes and conditions of men (applause); because I do believe, with all the strength and might with which I am capable of believing anything that the more a man knows, the more humbly, and with a more faithful spirit he comes back to the fountain of all knowledge, and takes to his heart the great sacred
precept. 'On earth peace, good will toward men.' (Loud applause)" (MANCHESTER: 2SEP52)

The "voice of the working man." was heard little at the second meeting, the speeches being made mainly by the same people as at the previous meeting. However, Dickens felt that the occasion had all the potential of achieving the objectives he sought. He wrote to Miss Coutts: "I wish you could have seen the opening of the Free Library for the people at Manchester today. Such a noble effort, so wisely and modestly made; so wonderfully calculated to keep one part of that awful machine, a great working town, in harmony with the other."

We may approve Dickens’ aims for the beneficent effects of public libraries, but in the light of historical events since his day, we may be constrained to smile at his rather naive belief that a library could effect such social harmony as he anticipated.

Dickens’ most overtly political speech was addressed to the Administrative Reform Association (A.R.A.) in June 1855. The Crimean War had been in progress about a year and had run approximately half its course. The Army had been reduced to a miserable and wretched plight during the winter, yet despite witnesses’ evidence to the Sebastopol Committee, whose findings had been published, the country seemed astonishingly unmoved. Dickens was alarmed by both this humiliation abroad and the puzzling apathy at home. He feared that very little of a nature to cause revolution was needed before a disaster more frightful and awesome than the French Revolution would be set
in train, as he wrote to A.H. Layard (25), 10 April 1855. Radical and far-reaching administrative reform was needed for any British Government to restore good management to Britain. The A.R.A. was set up to rouse the country's awareness of the evils in her midst. The first meeting was held on 5 May, and the second, held at Drury Lane Theatre, on 13 June.

As an MP, Layard had had exchanges with Palmerston, then Prime Minister, and pressing for a debate, had asked the latter for a day on which to bring the motion. Palmerston's reply was flippantly dismissive: "Really. Sir, I cannot undertake to find a day for the Hon. gentleman, he must find one for himself."

On 18 June, Palmerston replied to Layard's charge of flippancy, made at the second meeting of the A.R.A. on 13 June. "Sir. I wonder," he said, "that when the Hon. gentleman made that statement, a blush did not suffuse his face at making charges which his conscience ought to have told him ... were the reverse of the truth. (Cheers) I shall say no more about the Drury Lane private theatricals. (renewed cheers and laughter)."

Dickens' speech attacked Palmerston and his insouciant supporters: "I will try to give the noble lord the reason of these private theatricals, and the reason why, however ardently he may desire to ring down the curtain upon them, there is not the faintest present hope of their coming to a conclusion." Continuing in theatrical metaphor, he accused the Government of miscasting leaders because of nepotism, and the mode of "public theatricals" as being "so cumbrous."
and the parts "so ill distributed."

That was his first political meeting, as politics were not his "trade and calling." Furthermore, he wished to explain his reasons.

I want at all times [he assured his listeners] in plain sincerity, to do my duty by my countrymen ... I can never too affectionately remember the confidence and friendship that they have long reposed in me. (Cheers) Within my sphere of action -- which I shall never change; I shall never overstep, further or for a longer period than I do tonight, the circle of my own pursuits, as one who lives by literature, who is content to do his public service through Literature, and who is conscious that he cannot serve two masters -- within my sphere of action I have, for some years, tried to understand the heavier social grievances and to help to set them right.

(Cheers).

He carefully explained that he was acting solely in a private capacity; presumably, not wanting his image as a public and literary figure to obscure this fact; nor to confuse his literary fame with an anti-government pressure group, yet he was keen to see working men join.

I speak as an individual, wholly unconnected with the management of this Association, and having had no consultation with any one upon the subject, when I particularly wish that
the directors might devise some means of enabling intelligent working men to join this body, on easier terms than subscribers who have larger resources. (Cheers). I could wish to see great numbers of them belong to it, because I sincerely believe that it would be good for the common weal . . . In this old country, with its seething hard-worked millions, its heavy taxes, its crowds of ignorant, its crowds of poor, its crowds of wicked, woe the day which the dangerous man shall find for himself, because the head of the Queen's Government failed in his duty of anticipating it by a brighter and better one! (Great cheering)

Name you the day, First Lord; make the day; work for a day beyond your little time. Lord Palmerston, and History in return may then -- not otherwise -- find a day for you; a day equally associated with the contentment of the loyal, patient, willing-hearted English people, and with the happiness of your Royal Mistress and her fair line of children. (Loud and protracted cheering). (ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM ASSOCIATION : 27JUN55)

Dickens' independent spirit was not to be linked to an organization for ever: and as the mood of the Association changed, and, under Roebuck's chairmanship from June 1856, moved to securing reform through Parliament itself, Dickens' interest faded and vanished. The Association, as
Fielding comments, "lacked power because it was supported by men of good will rather than men with a definite grievance." (p. 198)

The last speech to be considered in this group was delivered in June 1858, at its first anniversary festival, to the Playground and General Recreation Society, formed the previous year. It was held at the London Tavern with Dickens presiding.

He had, he said, been "... meditating very much upon the great need there is, in London and in all large towns, of places for the children to play in; and considering with what a determined self-assertion nature declares that play they must, and play they will, somewhere or other, under whatsoever circumstances of difficulty." He had described previously in his speech the various games and pastimes of a number of children he had encountered around his home in different streets. He had alluded also to the measures taken to prevent damage to property by "... prodigious and awful spikes being stuck into posts ... for the impalement of the youth of London." In a country renowned for all its wondrous engineering feats, it was necessary now "to consider where the children are to play." because play was an essential element of proper development from child to adult.

The surgeon and the recruiting sergeant will tell you with great emphasis, that the children's play is of immense importance to a community in the development of bodies: the
clergyman, the schoolmaster, and the moral philosopher, in all degrees, will tell you with no less emphasis, that the children's play is of great importance to a community in the development of minds. I venture to assert that there can be no physical health without play; and there can be no efficient and satisfactory work without play; that there can be no sound and wholesome thought without play.

Dicken himself played as hard as he worked, and certainly his achievements show ample evidence of his success, and the truth of his statement. Added to this, looking back into his childhood, we are forcibly reminded of how he himself had felt excluded and deprived in his early days because of his weakly condition. We are reminded, too, of the exhilaration he felt when his health had improved and he had been able to get around normally as other children, at Wellington House Academy.

He referred to two experimental playgrounds to be set up in London, and appealed for their financial support and ended his speech, before toasting the Society, by asking whether those experiments would be able to go forward. At the same time, he indicated his awareness of the greater publicity he would be able to achieve through all those present.

The question I have to put to you -- leaving you to supply all its need of attendant considerations, of humanity, kindness, compassion, justice, and policy, for the
present, and especially for the future — the question I have to put to you, and through you to the public, is, whether the case shall be proved or disproved, and whether this one experiment shall be tried or not tried?

(PLAYGROUND & GENERAL RECREATION SOCIETY: 1JUN58)

This last speech reveals Dickens as an enlightened mind, fully aware of the great benefit to be gained from play by both children and adults alike. He would "... begin with children. because the child is father of the man."

A slightly later passage, very jingoistic in its content, cannot be ignored, summarizing as it does.

Dickens' views on play:

A country full of dismal little old men and women who had never played would be in a mighty bad way indeed; and you may depend upon it that without play, and good play, too, those powerful English cheers which have driven the sand of Asia before them, and made the very ocean shake, would degenerate into a plying whimper, that would be the most consolatory sound that can possibly be conceived to all the tyrants on the face of the earth. (Cheers)

Summary

This group of speeches is further evidence that Dickens was, like many Victorians, a practical man of
sense, able to balance ideas against worldly priorities. Education and civilized living depended upon decency and morality, and could only be achieved if, on the one hand, the material, physical environment was greatly improved, and good example was the rule; on the other, that all authorities acknowledged their responsibilities towards the people by giving humane, fair and proper attention in all aspects of life to those who had not the means to help themselves. Those who could help themselves should also be encouraged so that society grew into a harmonious whole, even though composed of persons of different rank, status and means. Dickens was not seeking an egalitarian society of any kind; he foresaw a society which not only preached Christian virtues of justice, mercy and compassion, but also practised them in all human pursuits. It is of course true that Dickens was far from alone in voicing many of the views he advanced. What is also true is that unlike those of many other humanitarian reformers, Dickens’ interests, vision and pursuits were wider than most. For example, he was not simply interested in founding hospitals, or penal reform, or supporting clubs, but rather in what was fundamental to all responsible activities, namely education and its accompanying enlightenment. Without bodies like the M.S.A. and the A.R.A. pressure could not be brought upon authorities to improve the environment, any more than adults could be responsible and effective in their lives without re-creative, restorative play for both mind and body, which also allowed them to explore their own powers and weaknesses.
V: Group III

This group of speeches comprises two sub-groups: firstly, those addressed to associations of people whose occupations or activities assisted the general educational thrust; and, secondly, those whose function could be described as educative. Hence, the first sub-group contains printers, governesses, newsvendors, etc. The second sub-group is concerned with actors and literature. As these speeches are minor ones in comparison with those already discussed, adding really only important detail to the major statements, it will serve if the main contributing statements are clustered, and seen as a single body of evidence.

Sub-group A

Dickens delivered two speeches to the Printers’ Pension Society: first, in 1843, and second, in 1864. He expressed to them the same sentiment noted a number of times previously: that such societies exist to help those who take the initiative to help themselves. It will be seen that Dickens repeats this sentiment in most of this group’s speeches.

In his speech of 4 April 1843, given at the London Tavern, Dickens, presiding, started by saying that the printers’ task was such that it made them "peculiarly liable to premature decay ... and injury to their faculties ... " because of "the late and arduous hours during which they were obliged to tax powers that were often of the most
delicate nature." This fact gave printers "powerful claims" to "sympathy and support," claims much enhanced "when they recollected that by the printers' means they were enabled to scatter throughout the world the loftiest efforts of intellect ... to send to every part of the universe the great imaginings of the most accomplished minds, to instruct and regenerate mankind." So valuable was the printers' contribution that society should "...sustain an asylum for those who suffered in struggles, in the bloodless contests, of promoting knowledge, of civilizing or of improving mankind, and of advancing the peaceful superiority of human beings."

The press was "constantly present," an essential element of civilized existence. Some people hated the press because of its influence and its power to expose what was amiss; but, then, those that are disgruntled for some reason or another always took opportunities to disparage the press. However, for Dickens, he could but propose a toast to "the fountain of knowledge and the bulwark of Freedom, the founder of free states and their preserver — the Press." (LONDON : 4APR43)

When he again addressed the Society, it was 21 years later, and he referred to the same sentiments. Without the influence of the press, "... tyrants and humbugs in all countries would have everything their own way!" Turning to the debilities frequently suffered by the trade, he said, "Often labouring under an avalanche of work, carried through half the night -- often through the whole night -- working in an unnatural and unwholesome atmosphere
produced by artificial light, and exposed to sudden changes from heat to cold, the journeyman printer is rendered peculiarly liable to pulmonary complaints, blindness and other serious diseases." Such distress should be relieved by the public "... in whose interest and for whose instruction and amusement the work was executed ..."

Completing his speech, he returned to the press' watch-dog function and its supremely important role in maintaining freedom. The "many tyrants and humbugs ... in Europe ... would gladly pension off all the printers throughout the world ... but let the friends of education and progress unite in pensioning off the worn out and afflicted printers, and the remainder would ultimately press the tyrants and humbugs off the face of the earth. For if ever they were to be pressed out, the printer's is the press that will do it."

He concluded with an elaboration of the qualities of the printer's function: "The printer is the friend of intelligence, of thought; he is the friend of liberty, of freedom, of law; indeed, the printer is the friend of every man who is the friend of order; the friend of every man who can read. Of all inventions, of all the discoveries in science or art, of all the great results in the wonderful progress of mechanical energy and skill, the printer is the only product of civilization necessary to the existence of free man." (LONDON : 6APR64)

These two speeches are important to an understanding of Dickens' views about society and his hopes and aspirations for the people's amelioration. The printer's
function was that of a bastion in defence of the essential liberties of Englishmen against oppression -- no matter what its form: social prejudice, class exclusiveness, "Dandy insolence," industrial drudgery or whatever. Without liberty, no improvement was possible since the oppression of liberty could only condone or even encourage those with the means to impose oppression upon those who could not resist such powers. The press carried information of all kinds to all classes, thus preserving the essential basis of all freedom.

However, some degree of partisanship in sentiments such as these might well be expected from a successful man who had climbed to such an eminence as Dickens had achieved from the ranks of journalists and reporters. Again, it must be said, that these views reflect an element of naivety in their expression. Freedom to print can also mean freedom to promulgate information which some might believe to be dangerous, undermining society as then obtaining, even leading irrevocably to revolution and the dissolution of normal social existence. This is not to say that Dickens was unaware of this, but when making speeches on behalf of societies, especially those in aid of craftsmen whose work was essential to the furtherance of enlightenment, it was, as I noted earlier, a cardinal point in Dickens' view to be optimistic. Added to this, optimism is a prime mover to the creation of excitement and a proper enthusiasm, the essential effect Dickens was aiming to create to swell the Society's coffers.

Moving to the other end of the publishing process,
Dickens addressed the Newsvendors' Benevolent Institution five times, between 1849 and 1865, a fact in itself which emphasises his continued interest and support, in a life which saw so much activity on behalf of so many other people. The Institution had been founded in 1839, but its first anniversary dinner was not held until ten years later, 1849. It was held at the Albion Tavern, London, with Dickens in the Chair.

He supported their cause, and others should do likewise, as their claim

... as a body, upon one another, and upon the public ... to elevate themselves and those whom they employed, in the social scale, in intelligence and good conduct: seemed to him to be most undeniable ... because they were connected with that great power which had become the axis on which the moral world turned round. (Great cheering) -- Humbly connected no doubt, but most usefully and inseparably. They were, to that fountain of knowledge to all men which was popularly called "the Press," as conduits to a well of water ... (LONDON: 21NOV49)

The second anniversary dinner, again at the Albion Tavern, was not held until 1852, this time with John Forster presiding. Dickens, proposing the health of the Chairman, remarked that the Newsvendors should be congratulated on "... pursuing their avocations in the Capital of a country which gave its name to the house in
which they were assembled rather than in the capital of a neighbouring country which should be nameless." This referred to the freedom of the French press, which had been severely restricted following the coup d'état, almost two months previously, 2 December 1851, by Louis Napoleon. Dickens had learnt that the French news-vendors "... had rendered themselves obnoxious to the 'cause of order,' and that 'perfect liberty and freedom' (by which was to be understood, of course, perfect liberty to destroy liberty) could not possibly exist as long as the news-vendors continued to run about." (LONDON : 27JAN52)

It is interesting to note also that at this time the long-standing battle was still continuing in England over the "Taxes on Knowledge," ie stamp-duty on cheap newspapers. Collet remarks, in his HISTORY OF THE TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE : "those public-minded private men who were anxious to educate the people and to permit them to educate themselves were forbidden the only process by which their views could be carried out, the publication of cheap newspapers weekly (26)." Dickens had himself been involved in legal proceedings over his journal, HOUSEHOLD NARRATIVE, the companion to his HOUSEHOLD WORDS. However, the Court of Exchequer, though not unanimous in their decision, found in Dickens' favour that his journal was not a newspaper and he received judgment with costs. No doubt, this was also in his mind when he talked of the actions of the French censorship.

Dickens' third appearance before the Newsvendors was in May 1855, by which time he had been elected to the
Presidency of the Institution. His speech this time reiterated his belief in the importance of the Newsvendor’s function that "... no one can doubt that the pack he carries up and down is of vital importance to the public interest." Perhaps, in remembering the part the Press --- especially THE TIMES --- had played in exposing administrative incompetence, he referred to "some gentlemen ... who would hamstring every newsman in London, if they could do so with impunity. Why? Because the newsman, though he is humbly associated with that great engine which puts a girdle round the earth in every twenty-four hours, (Cheers), and because the newsman, going upon his daily way, lights up the whole country, as the bearer of a flaming cross used to call the Highland Clans together." (LONDON : 21MAY55)

His speech to the Institution’s anniversary festival on 20 May 1862 yet again reinforced his remarks on the function "of my industrious friend the newsman." Dickens amusingly outlined the common kinds of news to be found daily in the newspapers, and finished by congratulating the Institution for abolishing "the barbarous and preposterous custom which condemned the ladies to a distinct place while the other sex were eating and drinking --- which is the custom of all savage tribes. (Cheers and laughter)"
(LONDON : 20MAY62)

That Dickens held the printers’ readers in high esteem is vouchsafed by his speech to the Printers’ Readers’ Association, at the Salisbury Hotel, Salisbury Square, 17 September 1867. The meeting was political, even though the
assembly was at pains to stress that it "was not at all in the nature of a trade union." The issue on which they were met was that of insufficient pay and long hours: viz. an average weekly wage of £2.0.5 1/2, with an overtime rate of 9 1/2d per hour, for a 53-hour week. Dickens did not enter into the arguments, but simply expressed his great respect for the readers, based on his own experience of their worth.

... I most gratefully acknowledge that I have never gone through the sheets of any book that I have written without having had presented to me by the corrector of the press, some slight misunderstanding into which I have fallen, some little lapse I have made; in short, without having set down in black and white some unquestionable indication that I have been closely followed through my work by a patient and trained mind (hear, hear), and not merely by a skilful eye.

When the meeting came to an end, Dickens thanked everyone for "the hearty reception" accorded to him, and he concluded with his belief that the readers' "very calm and temperate proceedings" would result in "the establishment of relations perfectly amicable between employers and employed, and consequently to the general welfare."

In all these speeches to printers, newsvendors and their associates, Dickens patently held their respective tasks as all interdependent and contributory to the great task of maintaining the flow of information, and news items
to the public at large. This, in turn, was based on the
belief that knowledge is power, and that without knowledge
the People had no hope of advancing their cause of social
and political justice. It must be recognized also that
Dickens had a partial and partisan view of the press in
general, having been always concerned with writing and
publishing. This accounts for his whimsical reference to
his "slight practical experience" in the business, which,
in fact, by 1867, amounted to years well in excess of 30,
as newspaperman and writer of fiction!

Dickens supported another somewhat different group in
his speech to the Governesses' Benevolent Institution,
given on 29 April 1844. He wrote to the Reverend David
Laing, founder of the Institution: "I have found it
necessary ... to decline attending many projected dinners
in behalf of charitable institutions. But I will most
certainly make an exception in favor [sic] of the
Governesses. Their cause has my warmest sympathy; and I
should perform Lord Castlereagh's feat of turning my back
upon myself, if I hesitated for an instant." (1FEB44)

Dickens was no doubt delighted to be able to record in
his HOUSEHOLD NARRATIVE (May 1854) that "the Governesses'
Benevolent Institution has now been in existence eleven
years: on the 3rd inst. Lord Newark presided over a
dinner to celebrate the anniversary, and to present a
testimonial to the Rev. David Laing, for his services to
the Institution. Since the society was founded, aid has
been given to 3,300 governesses, at a cost of £9,000; and
sixty ladies have been allowed small but certain incomes. The provident fund is now £108,000 all invested in government securities."

Two further examples show Dickens' sympathies towards a class of women who had little to guard themselves against class prejudice and exploitation. The article "Two Pence an Hour," (HW, 335, 23 AUG 56, 138-140) describes how single women, trying to make a living, are totally at a disadvantage, even when they exhibit "those qualifications" such as prettiness, being of a gentle spirit and loving disposition, and possessed of attractive manners, "which are most pleasing in women generally, [but] are hindrances to teachers in particular." Miss Green, who partially narrates her experiences, a woman, "forty-seven now, methodical, quiet, and very grey ..." who had been "... of a lively, animated beauty, and cheerful temper," had known governesses "called impertinent for looking pretty; forward, presuming, forgetful of their stations ..." After descriptions of "Dandy insolence" on the parts of children as well as of their parents, of the harsh attitude towards "aching, hoping, weary women" seeking positions, the article goes on to discuss the rates of pay offered to governesses and the services demanded.

All kinds of conditions are laid down in advertisements: "One lady demanded a first-rate governess for thirty pounds; another, wished for a widow; a third, for a good-tempered person who did not wear spectacles; a fourth, offered a situation to any lady who, possessing large acquirements, would be satisfied with a small salary
and conscious that she was doing good; and a fifth —
concluding the list of accomplishments — desired in the
following remarkable manner: 'No one need apply who had
not confidence in her own good temper!'

The article concludes that a governess:
at twenty pounds a year gets thirteen pence a
day; reckoning her to work only six hours a
day — which is almost the lowest average —
she gets a fraction more than two pence an
hour. Two pence an hour at the piano,
two-pence an hour at chalk-drawing, two-pence
for an hour of English lessons, two-pence for
an hour of French, two-pence for an hour of
German, twopence for an hour of singing songs
and doing Italian lessons, and the odd penny
for the natural philosophy and physical
geography thrown in as make-weights.

A further article, entitled "Only a Governess," (HW,
476, 7MAY59, 546-549), carries much the same message. It
lists a similar catalogue of offers of much work for little
remuneration, to attend adults as well as children, and
ends with the direct appeal to the reader:

The circle of employment for women is too
narrow, and the number of competitors too
great; yet, although the market-place (the
proper term I believe, to be used on this
occasion) for such talents is so very low, why
cannot there be a better feeling exhibited
towards the governess? She is endowed with
feelings like the rest of humanity; why, then should those feelings be so carelessly outraged as they often are, and she made to feel that she is a being quite apart from the rest of the world — a kind of pariah? Why should she be so often spoken of contemptuously as "Only a Governess?"

As Francoise Basch has remarked:

Many protests on behalf of governesses were registered, demanding reasonable salaries, and ridiculing those who drew up long lists of the intellectual and moral perfections expected of them (in PUNCH, FRASER’S MAGAZINE and other periodicals). Anna Jameson wrote a small handbook of conduct for the use of the mother and the governess of the children. She tackled all aspects of the question, material and psychological, advising the mother to treat the governess as a human being, and the governess to display pliability and discretion. (27)

These examples demonstrate Dickens’ continuing interest and concern over more than twenty years. His attitude to governesses in his fiction on the whole shows a kindly, sympathetic understanding of the many aspects of their plight, not all of which could be rectified immediately or with any ease because of wide-spread entrenched views on the status of women in general, and of single women in particular (both of which I shall enlarge upon in Chapter 5); the law; the ill-preparedness of an
emerging profession, and its consolidation. Nevertheless, his efforts counted for something as the Benevolent Institution went on to greater success, as we have seen.

A final speech in this section, which serves to illustrate Dickens' wide belief in the re-creational value of pursuits undertaken by adults for their own development, was to the Metropolitan Rowing Clubs’ dinner, at the London Tavern in May 1866. Charles Dickens Jnr was also present as a member.

Charles Snr remarked "that aquatic sports never entailed a moment’s cruelty, or a moment’s pain upon any living creature. Rowing men pursued recreation under circumstances which braced their muscles, and cleared the cobwebs from their minds." (Mens sana in corpore sano !) "He assured them that he regarded such clubs as these as 'a national blessing'. (Cheers)."

Dickens deemed such re-creational activities as valuable to the people thus engaged: physical education, promoting bodily health through corporate exercise, could do nothing but good, hence the adjectives, "honest," "healthy," and "manly," recalling Victorian attitudes to what is usually called "Muscular Christianity"; a view with which Dickens’ attitudes accorded well. Practical, and above all, vigorously active Christianity gained his accolade. These and other activities of non-formal adult education met with both Dickens’ approval and encouragement, such as cricket and walking matches, organized and adjudged by him, and he frequently provided and awarded the prizes himself (often ten or five
I have shown, that Dickens' active encouragement moved across a wide spectrum of activities: from newspaper sellers, to governesses, to rowing clubs. He understood the essential interdependence of different functions in society as contributing to the greater whole, though remaining individual in their specific contributions. In this, he acknowledged that adults learn in a multiplicity of situations and for diverse reasons. It underlines his view that education is not just formal book-learning, but can occur in informal and non-formal situations alike.

Sub-group E

This last group of speeches is more a sample than a complete record, especially as far as the first cluster is concerned. In all, Dickens addressed the General Theatrical Fund more than a dozen times between 1846 and 1866. He was always at pains to remind his audiences that the benefits of the Fund were intended for superannuated or decayed members of the profession, and not simply for ex-members of particular companies as were the funds of Covent Garden and Drury Lane Theatres.

Dickens' own passion for the Theatre naturally drew him to the General Theatrical Fund, especially as it was open to the whole profession and not elitist or exclusive.
The two Patent Theatres' funds were almost inaccessible to anyone because they had become opera-houses without their own companies, thus no new beneficiaries were created. Dickens deplored the situation and repeatedly said so. In his first speech to the Fund, April 1846, he said: "As I honour the two old Funds for the great good which they have done, so I honour this for the much greater good it is resolved to do. It is not because I love them less, but because I love this more -- because it includes more in its operation."

He supported the Theatre and those who practised its Art through all the difficulties of life, since all the people of the Theatre, "who do not win the great prizes ... are nevertheless an essential part of the theatrical system, and by consequence bear a part in contributing to our pleasure. (Cheers)." No doubt recalling his own days of short commons, he went on: "Their lives are full of care and privation, and hard struggles with very stern realities. (hear, hear) It is from among the poor actors who drink wine from gobelets, in colour marvellously like toast and water, and who preside at Barmecide feasts with wonderful appetites for steaks ... that the most triumphant favourites have sprung. (Cheers)."

Then, linking his two great enthusiasms of Literature and Theatre, he said: "And surely, besides this, the greater the instruction and delight we derive from the rich English drama, the more we are bound to succour and protect the humblest of those votaries of the art, who add to our instruction and amusement." (LONDON : 6APR46)
I have already noted Dickens’ belief that the arts should teach us worthwhile objects and strengthen our moral standpoint. Similarly, he held that amusement, especially laughter, was a reinforcement of the lesson to be learnt. Dickens makes a number of references to this idea of instruction/learning through amusement and enjoyment. This will be seen both in *Hard Times* (v. Appendix "B"), and in the consideration of the journals, in articles such as "The Amusements of the People," to which reference has been made previously and about which three separate articles appeared.

His speech to the Fund’s anniversary dinner guests the following year had a different focus but a similar message. The focus was Dickens’ life-long friend, the actor Macready, who, as the *Morning Post* reported, following his illness, "despite considerable weakness, and we think much danger ... screwed his courage to the sticking place, and made the path of danger the road to honour." Dickens had the agreeable task of proposing Macready’s health, in acknowledgement of all the latter’s great service to the Theatre and Drama. This was, said Dickens, "the cause which brings us together; which is, and ever must be, inseparably associated with the honour, dignity, and glory of the English stage; with its revival in splendour and magnificence from ruin and rubbish, with its claims to be respected as an art and as a noble means of general instruction and improvement." (London : 29Mar47)

The actor, then, in his proper function, has an educational task to fulfil, through his skills both to
instruct his audiences and to improve them.

At the seventh anniversary festival in 1852, Dickens, who was gaining another reputation, as a leading amateur actor/director, besides that of his literary stature, said that he was glad that the Chairman, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, had referred to him "in his Stage-Managerial capacity; because he did particularly desire to express his conviction in such a company, of all others, that the dramatic profession were very ill served by some misjudging friends, when they supposed that it could possibly be injured by, or could possibly regard with anything like resentment or jealousy, Amateur Theatricals. (Cheers)" He cited the examples of Literature and Art, which took no exception to amateurs. So, too, it was with music; indeed, he believed it was generally acknowledged that some excellent lessons had been given to the public and the profession by the knowledge and patience of amateurs in chorus singing, and that the production of some of the most admired works of the old masters were due to the exertions of amateurs, without the least injury to the regular professors of the art. The liberal and generous feeling which thus distinguished other kindred arts, surely was to be claimed for the stage, as ITS just characteristic too; and could not be better claimed for it than at the anniversary celebration of its most comprehensive and its
least restricted institution. (Cheers).

(LONDON : 5APR52)

The final speech to be considered was made by Dickens in surroundings that were to become familiar to him, in Birmingham, January 1853. It is perhaps an appropriate speech to finish with, as it contains within it reference to many aspects discussed already. The occasion was one at which Dickens received from the citizens of Birmingham a silver-gilt salver and a diamond ring as a recognition of their pride in him "as a national writer," and for "the high moral purpose of his books." The secretary's address expressed the hope "that the day is not far distant when there shall be a national value set upon such services ... when, before even the bright chivalry of birth, there shall be a public recognition of ... the sovereignty of genius."

Dickens expressed his gratitude for their words and tokens, and went on:

I am truly sensible, gentlemen, that my friends who have united in this address are partial in their kindness, and regard what I have done with too great favour. But I may say, with reference to one class -- some members of which, I presume, are included there -- that I should in my own eyes be very unworthy both of the generous gift and the generous feeling which has been evinced, and this occasion, instead of pleasure, would give me nothing but pain, if I was unable to assure them, and those who are in front of this assembly, that what
the working people have found me towards them
in my books, I am throughout my life. (hear, hear)

This last thought was to germinate into practical assistance before he left Birmingham. He extended his reference to "the working people" by saying: "Gentlemen, whenever I have tried to hold up to admiration their fortitude, patience, gentleness, the reasonableness of their nature, so accessible to persuasion, and their extraordinary goodness one towards another, I have done so because I have first genuinely felt that admiration myself, and have been thoroughly imbued with the sentiment which I have sought to communicate to others. (hear, hear)."

That part of his speech ended the formal presentation at the Society of Arts in Temple Row. After this, "a most sumptuous dinner" was provided at the nearby Royal Hotel. A toast was given to "the Literature of England" coupled with "the name of a gentleman who was entitled to a high place among those who had not only deeply interested and beneficially instructed their own country, but the people of every country of Europe, and of other parts of the world ... Mr Charles Dickens."

Dickens rose to lengthy and enthusiastic cheering, to reply that Literature had happily turned from individual patrons, good, bad and indifferent, to "its highest purpose, its natural range of action, and its best reward ..." the people themselves. It was right also that if Literature should receive honour, it should also bestow honour.
He denied that Literature had changed for the worse "by being made cheaper." That was not his experience. 
"...let a good book in these 'bad times' be made accessible, -- even upon an abstruse and difficult subject -- and my life upon it, it shall be extensively bought, read, and well considered. (Cheers)."

Seventeen years to the day later, Dickens, as the Institute's President, was awarding the prizes for that year to the students, promising to remain their "steady and faithful friend." It was for the Birmingham and Midland Institute that Dickens began his new career as public reader of his own works. This he did by a reading of A CHRISTMAS CAROL, the following Christmas to raise money for the Institute. This was done, by raising in all £20,000, and the new buildings, begun in 1855, were completed in 1858.

This speech shows quite explicitly the breadth of Dickens' interest in education for the masses. It also shows clearly the aims that he hoped such provision might bring about. The fact that the people of Birmingham exhibited neither servility nor self-conceit but an independent freedom was just the beginning that he so earnestly and devotedly sought. Birmingham not only gave Dickens the chance of a new career, one which he passionately enjoyed, and to which he was resolutely dedicated as the best way to be in contact with his audience, but also the example which he considered the best to follow if other towns and cities elsewhere in the country were to raise up their people also. Birmingham was
to Dickens almost as the beginning of the fruition of his most dearly held ideals.

VI: Conclusion

We can see throughout all the evidence of this chapter the reflection of Dickens’ rejection of revolutionary action since revolutions, because of their sudden, violent and disruptive nature, very often destroy more than they create. Dickens promoted evolutionary means. His vision quite clearly could not be realized rapidly. Evolution must be an organic process and therefore end in a higher outcome. This explains why he appeared to have no solutions (in practical terms) to the problems of his day. It went without saying that the physical environment had first to be improved so that decency and self-respect could be established in all senses and the people made aware of what an ordinary, decent dwelling could be, so that healthy, clean and respectable conditions obtained everywhere. How could people learn what decent conduct was if their surroundings confined them to squalor, degradation and crime? The first priority, then, was to improve the living and working conditions of the people, aided by their own awareness of their situation. With that achieved, they could then turn their minds towards personal and cultural improvement, which would lead them on to take power to themselves through legal and peaceful means.

As far as the information they would require to begin
their intellectual development and growth was concerned, Dickens was at no pains to define, or, indeed, to confine in any way. Certainly, he regarded a good standard of literacy and numeracy as the fundamentals (the "rudiments") of education. They were, however, only the basic keys to unlock knowledge. The people should be aware of the world around them so that they might draw comparisons and contrasts thus exercising their imaginations and strengthening their powers of debate and decision.

This is unmistakably declared by Dickens in his Preliminary Word to the first issue of HOUSEHOLD WORDS:

"We seek to bring into innumerable homes, from the stirring world around us, the knowledge of many social wonders, good and evil, that are not calculated to render any of us less ardently persevering in ourselves, less tolerant of one another, less faithful in the progress of mankind, less thankful for the privilege of living in this summer-dawn of time."

He summarizes all the intentions of the new journal, making it quite clear how wide the search for material will be. It was to help workers to see that there was something else beyond "this whirling wheel of toil" not "excluded from the sympathies and graces of imagination." When one has noted the indices of HOUSEHOLD WORDS alone, it is evident that this promise was amply upheld. Moreover, it is very appropriate that the Preliminary Word be used as a summary of Dickens' views, since it comes at a point in his life (April 1850, in his thirty-ninth year) when his concern was at its highest and his own efforts at their
most prolific; and his optimistic anticipation of the future is encapsulated in his phrase, "the privilege of living in this summer-dawn of time."

Dickens saw the scene of the struggling, teeming and increasing masses as the greatest challenge to his time. How to eliminate the people's ignorance, at the same time retaining their innocence, to raise them up to the dignity which was theirs as of right, into full adulthood and the acceptance of all that implies, was the task he clearly outlines in so many ways. The overwhelming need was to make physical conditions (both environmental and personal) for the people's existence tolerable as soon as possible, and on as broad a front as possible before all else. Thus, we see Dickens giving his active support, by both word and, far more importantly, by his very presence to so many good efforts to begin the Augean task, ranging from Mechanics' Institutes to Homes of Sickness; from playgrounds and rowing clubs to benevolent societies. These were all frontal attacks on the immense problem. All were worthy of support in what they were doing; but one very important element common to them all must not be overlooked; viz. all have the in-built ability (and necessity) to grow in their efforts, gathering more supporters as their specific messages were made heard. Over and over, Dickens refers in his speeches to the "youth" of the association, and how its nurture towards maturity should be a care to be seriously and conscientiously taken to avoid mortality in childhood. (How smart a remembrance that image was to so many of his hearers and readers, and, indeed, to himself too when we
remember how he was stricken by the deaths of Mary Hogarth
and his little daughter, Dora Annie.) Organic, creative
growth was the true aim of these associations, so that
their members grew with them also, but in their own
individual ways.

Dickens' contribution, through his speeches, then, was
to speak up for the needs of the people as a whole, to be
instrumental in awakening the social and moral consciences
of the nation of his day. As a propagandist for social
reform and an advocate of education for children and adults
alike, his influence was probably the greatest in his time,
because no one else spoke directly and indirectly to so
many people. It is a literary historical fact that Dickens
was the most widely read writer of popular fiction in the
world until the first world war, through direct sales and
through other means, eg lending libraries, civic and
commercial. The numbers of influential and other people he
addressed at public meetings were very large (frequently 3
or 4,000), and these speeches were subsequently reported to
yet other reading audiences.

Basic readership equalling copies sold is a minimum
guide, and accurate numbers are less quantifiable,
nevertheless, the records where they exist show over-packed
houses throughout the land and abroad, and piracy of his
works as they were issued, as well as queues of people
awaiting the arrival of the weekly parts at book-sellers.
The public reaction at his death is the final and
conclusive indication of his national esteem. No other
English literary figure has received such popular acclaim.
In the area of influence, however, it is not possible to produce facts and figures as direct evidence other than at the level which I offer here and later in Chapters 7 and 8, more specifically in terms of estimated readerships of the journals. However, the speeches may be regarded as the pronunciation of Dickens' social and educational theories, which will be exemplified in practice through my examination of the work at Urania Cottage and the genesis and fulfilment of the journals in the ensuing chapters.
Chapter Five

DICKENS AND URANIA COTTAGE

I. The Education and Rehabilitation of Women

Nineteenth century English social history records many intractable problems, as I have made plain already. The position and status of Victorian women is yet another area, central to the understanding of this chapter, with particular reference to their education generally, but especially when related to "rescue" and rehabilitation. Fallen and Homeless Women, their rescue and rehabilitation were major matters to Dickens and Miss Coutts (encompassing different personal reasons for such importance, as I show below) their response to which was Urania Cottage.

Taken all in all, the position of women in the nineteenth century was in most cases that of a subject. The law decreed it (1), religion commanded it, and custom and etiquette saw that it was enforced and reinforced. It should not, therefore, be so surprising to find that the majority of women in nineteenth century Britain conformed to stereotype (2). What is surprising is to find just how much some women managed to achieve within such severe constraints.

In the main, Dickens had little difficulty in adjusting his own views of highly active women such as Miss Coutts or Caroline Chisholm; but perhaps Dickens was not so much the "Victorian" that he is so often labelled, in that he held, in some ways, more liberal attitudes towards women (and other groups), if only from his innate sense of
However, when his portraits of prostitutes and other fallen women are examined, they show Dickens avoiding overt expression of their activities. It was not so much what they did or had done which interested him, as the situation in which they found themselves which occupied his attention. His view was that these women were mostly more sinned against than sinning. His writings, therefore, were deliberately "moral" writings, and were to make him the most successful writer of his day. This is not to say that he tried to hide what went on in real life: he merely did not use such information in his fiction, being the presenter of wholesome fare for young and old. Nevertheless, he was extremely active in his practical efforts on behalf of such unfortunate creatures.

Dickens did not believe that women became prostitutes simply because they wanted to. He did not believe that women (the daughters of Eve) were evil by nature, any more than children or the lower orders were evil. Such views he despised, as the expression of bigotry and "mole-eyed philosophy." He believed, on the contrary, that there was good in everyone. Women took to the streets and bawdy houses from economic necessity. His penetrating inspection of the social scene showed this to be true; and his interviews with scores of possible inmates for Urania Cottage proved this beyond doubt. "It is dreadful to think how some of these doomed women have no chance or choice. It is impossible to disguise from one's self the horrible truth that it would have been a social marvel and miracle
if some of them had been anything else than what they are."

(3NUV47) Women were not naturally vicious: their social status and lack of opportunities rendered them incapable of supporting themselves with any ease, except through exploiting their very difference from men, their sex.

Women were incapable of self-help and made dependent both by law and social custom. When dependency ended by the loss of husband, father or brother, little other resort was available.

His sympathy towards prostitutes was positive in approach and he made it quite explicit to others. He wrote (26MAY46) to Miss Coutts at length, explaining his views about her idea of a Home and about the kinds of inmates that might be accepted. He tells her that his friends, Mr Chesterton and Lieutenant Tracey, both prison governors,

... are well acquainted with the good that is in the bottom of the hearts, of many of these poor creatures, and with the whole history of their past lives... It is necessary to observe that very many of these unfortunate women are constantly in and out of the Prisons, for no other fault or crime than their original one of having fallen from virtue... Very many of them are good, excellent, steady characters when under restraint -- even without the advantage of systematic training -- and are tender nurses to the sick, and are as kind and gentle as the best of women (3).

Dickens was fully aware of these factors and was
sympathetic to women's difficulties. The fact that his own wife was incompatible with him was unfortunate and a constant irritant to him, but this did not lessen his feelings towards women as a group, and an underprivileged group at that. I have shown in reviewing his speeches that his commiseration with women was clearly marked, and that he believed in the importance of their education.

A point to be emphasized here is that Dickens' view changed as time passed. In early speeches, he was content that women would benefit from their men's recounting what had gone on at the local institute, and thus share something of common interest if only at second-hand. Later, he moved to the position that he was glad to see women's classes had been formed and that their numbers were increasing. By February 1844, he had acknowledged their need of education, albeit in the domestic arts and literature. Education had "the improvement of the next generation" as its aim, and the only place that began was at home within the family; therefore "to breed up good husbands on the one hand, and good wives on the other, does appear as reasonable and straightforward a plan as could be well devised ..."

Where women were left alone to cope with their situation, education was obviously needed, as well as the means to existence. Dickens saw no division in the learning process or the content of matter to be learned, so he never rigidly differentiated between what might constitute training or education; nor between what might be vocational or non-vocational. Learning was for living,
and as long as it could be said to be "useful," and that included learning as re-creation, it did not matter too much -- provided that it was morally acceptable -- what comprised the content. In this way of thinking, Dickens set about his work with Angela Burdett-Coutts at Urania Cottage, in their joint enterprise to rescue young women who might be suitable to begin life again, after the horrors of the life of the streets and prison, and the almost inevitable recidivism.

II: Prostitution and Rescue Work

Whatever the view held as to the origin of women's descent into prostitution (4), there were many genuine attempts to help them out of it, varying from the revengeful, puritanical and harsh methods of some, to the gentle, persuasive methods of others. Rescuing fallen women was even an undergraduate occupation and mission at Oxbridge, and well-known figures such as Gladstone (5) went about the streets of London seeking out young prostitutes, and taking them home to be fed and cared for by unbelievably patient and co-operative wives, who, no doubt, accepted such actions as bounden Christian duty to sinners, but also as genuine charity to less fortunate, "fallen" sisters.

Sexual laxity -- whether occasioned or accompanied by drunkenness or not -- was often seen as a sure sign of revolutionary or dissident tendencies, as many believed had been exemplified by general behaviour in revolutionary
France. That poverty could be the root cause of both vices evaded most understandings, at least until late in the nineteenth century. It was George Bernard Shaw who thundered, quite unequivocably in 1894 (Preface to MRS WARREN’S PROFESSION) that "prostitution is caused, not by female depravity and male licentiousness, but simply by underpaying, undervaluing, and overworking women." His sentence accurately summarizes the three aspects of the nineteenth century woman’s lot which effectively rendered her helpless.

However, practical efforts to reduce (even eradicate) prostitution were being made, and both rescue and rehabilitation work had been evident for some time.

In the late 1840’s several high Churchmen began to interest themselves in prostitutes: although their penitentiaries expected prostitutes to atone personally for the sins of society, they did at least reject the impersonal treatment hitherto accorded to so many prostitutes. By the 1860’s, Josephine Butler was taking Liverpool prostitutes into her house and attacking those who treated them as a pariah class: "the image of God may be marred," she told the 1871 Royal Commission, "but it is never wholly blotted out." All these developments helped to stress the essentially human qualities of the prostitute, and by making closer contact with them gradually discredited the conventional myth that
all prostitutes met a richly-deserved unhappy ending (6).

Rescue was already a recognized and accepted activity when Dickens and Miss Coutts began the creation of a Home for Fallen Women which was to emerge as an intensely practical and relatively long-lived enterprise (7). Dickens' personal involvement clarified the aims and methods of the project and became his individual response to the ideas of the redundancy of women, and the need to stock the colonies with adequately equipped women, able to withstand the harshness of frontier life.

The basic approaches to women's education which Dickens and Miss Coutts were to make differed essentially in that his object was to have always practical results closely in view, whereas hers was more to look to the spiritual uplifting and support of the young women. In this way, the two benefactors' emphases were complementary, as well as realistic.

A great difficulty arises when we search for the reasons why both Dickens and Miss Coutts should have been drawn to such a project in the first place. Glib answers may be offered such as the fact that Dickens must have come into contact with many prostitutes, as a young aspiring actor in the Penny Gaffs, which may be inferred from his sketch on "Penny Theatres." The females there were all drawn "from one certain class" only. Again, his wanderings around London must have supplied him with scores of interviews, even of being accosted. In any case, "fallen women" came into his writings from the early days -- the
prostitute in his pawnshop sketch (1836), Nancy in OLIVER TWIST (1838); and it is sometimes overlooked that Oliver’s own mother had also “fallen,” which is the prime reason that Oliver ends up in the workhouse. For Miss Coutts, however, the Appeal (which I shall consider in detail below) tells us that she had persistently been made conscious of such women by having seen hundreds of them going past her window in Stratton Street and Piccadilly. Yet these answers, true though they are, lack sufficient driving force to sustain over fourteen years of difficult, complicated work, which might have survived considerably longer, but for Dickens’ own marital disharmony and eventual breakup.

In Miss Coutts’ case, and in spite of her upper-class upbringing, she had watched the nightly droves of women jostling and competing for custom. Perhaps her own virginal but affluent existence increased the horror she felt about the wretched condition of those women. She was not unaware of “fallen women” in her own life, however, since her own father, Sir Francis Burdett, had had an affair with one, Lady Oxford, who had a brood of children, each by a different father. Such behaviour (both the Lady’s and her father’s) earned Miss Coutts’ stern censure and disapproval; on the other hand, this behaviour of Lady Oxford (as a person of rank and influence who should have given good example to lesser folk) may well have shown up in extreme contrast to that of the poor women who could not easily help themselves in other ways. In any case, Lady Oxford was disapproved of, while the women of the street
gained Miss Coutts' active sympathy.

Dickens' reasons, I suggest, are more complicated, and given this, it behoves the scholar to look into these "levels of existence and consciousness" for clues. Why Dickens was so engrossed with Urania Cottage, its aims, regimen and inmates, has so far received little or no scrutiny, but I shall argue is explainable within the aims of this thesis.

Firstly, as I have already indicated, there is the simplistic (though nonetheless true) reason, that in the 1840's, 1850's and early 1860's, rescue and reformatory work was a "fashionable" concern in that many societies, associations, official bodies and individuals (many with laudable and some with dubious intent) were bent on clearing away the Great Social Evil. This, however, is hardly a feasible reason for Dickens to bestow so much effort for so long a period.

Secondly, it is very tempting to say that in rescuing and rehabilitating young women (some were only 14 or 15 years of age), he was restoring the image, always powerful in his mind, of the young Mary Hogarth — "the Angel called aloft at seventeen." Was he, perhaps, revitalizing her reflection through the Home's young women, and working out a form of expiation for the love he felt for Mary? I suggest that this obsession should be considered seriously.

Mary had been vivacious, pert and pretty: these adjectives recur in the letters to Miss Coutts, and occasionally jar as he recommends a girl as an inmate and then refers to her as pretty, etc. The words seem almost
irrelevant, but they appear nonetheless. There is little doubt, moreover, that there must have been a sense of titillation (albeit held in check, suppressed, or not even recognized) in dealing with young -- and attractive -- women, deeply learned in the sexual tastes of many passing clients. There is a kind of virtue in dealing with sin at second-hand, and being able to claim immunity from it simultaneously. How far that was true for Dickens cannot be ascertained; without doubt, such thoughts would have touched his mind and his sexual sensitivity.

Thirdly, Dickens perceived the duality of women as Angel-Temptresses, as many nineteenth century men did. His experience was very different from most men, however (at least of the middling classes), in that his familiarity with the wretched aspects of life among the poor was intimate. His writings show what Wilson calls "oleograph Magdalens" (8), but as I have remarked above, the realities of prostitution could not have been printed in his works, nor were they relevant to his tales. What has been overlooked, very curiously, are those female characters who, unwittingly or by intent, pimp for other women. Old Mrs Brown, the evil, pimping woman kidnaps Floy Dombey and removes her clothes (a symbolic defilement in itself). "Good Mrs Brown" is also the mother to Alice Marwood, a known prostitute. I would suggest also, that Miss Havisham's education of Estella ("the star," an ethereal if not angelic name), aimed as it is at breaking men's hearts, is equally a symbolic expression of the Angel-Temptress concept, and is an implied pimping, if not actual.
That Dickens had, previous to Urania Cottage, come into contact with prostitutes is certain. His nightly wanderings in London, visits to theatres and dinners on his own or with male companions, must have brought him face to face with such women. Whether he ever made use of their professional services will never be known; but one is set to wonder quite what he meant when he proposed a visit to Paris with Wilkie Collins (a notorious womanizer), in a letter to a French friend in 1855 (when his marriage was breaking up fast): "I want it to be pleasant and gay, and to throw myself EN GARCON into the festive diableries of Paris (9)."

Fourthly, Dickens’ married life was deteriorating during the Urania Cottage period, and, indeed, his breaking with Catherine ended his association with the Home, and effectively his stewardship of Miss Coutts' philanthropic affairs (10). Catherine, never an intellectual match for Dickens, appeared less and less agreeable to him, especially when he compared her amiable complaisance and growing obesity with the intellectual wit and youthful figures of French women he knew, such as Mme Scribe, Mme Regnier or Mme Viardot. He saw his wife "as sluggish, vague-minded, incompetent, stirring out of self-indulgent idleness only to fall into amorphous self-pity." Not long after the separation, Dickens wrote to an American newspaper correspondent what purported to be an intimate account of the situation, in mitigation of his own part in it all, and then fulminated with rage when the letter appeared in the NEW YORK TRIBUNE.
Had Georgina Hogarth been of the right age at the appropriate time, she might well have supplied all the qualities that Dickens sought. Indeed, she became mistress of his household in fact, if not in name. She supplied the housewifely and maternal care that Catherine did not or could not offer; that she stopped short at the physical and sexual aspects of marriage was not her doing, as I have noted above.

In brief, then, it would seem that Urania Cottage offered Dickens something of a double release. On the one side, it focussed and clarified his own sexual feelings and problems so that he was eventually able to solve the major one of his marital disharmony by separation from Catherine, and at the same time, some element of sublimation may have been achieved by his opportunity to put into practice (and successful practice, too) his views on the education of the depressed classes.

III: The Origins of Urania Cottage

Dickens has left us a record of his thoughts, ideas, fears and determination concerning their reformatory in his letters to Miss Coutts which Edgar Johnson has collected and edited (11). There is also his own article "Home for Homeless Women," published in HOUSEHOLD WORDS. I shall consider these documents and compare the substance of the letters (as private documents) with that of the article (as a public document). In this manner, it will become clear how much Dickens was prepared to reveal to the public at
large, and how this fitted with his views of personal charity and the essential privateness of such actions.

That Dickens had great sympathy with women fallen into prostitution can be seen throughout his work; from the girl in the pawnshop,
a young female, whose attire, miserably poor, but extremely gaudy, wretchedly cold but extravagantly fine, too plain bespeaks her station. The rich satin gown with its faded trimmings, the worn-out thin shoes, and pink silk stockings, the summer bonnet in winter, and the sunken face, where a daub of rouge only serves as an index to the ravages of squandered health never to be regained, and lost happiness never to be restored, and where the practised smile is a wretched mockery of the misery of heart, cannot be mistaken (12) ...

to Nancy whose "... life had been squandered in the streets, and among the most noisome of the stews and dens of London, but [had] something of the woman's original nature left in her still (13)." Dickens always believed that good prevailed in the end no matter what evil had attempted to destroy; nevertheless, he did not shy away from the concept of "falling" into evil or immoral ways.

In terms of the status of "fallen women," whether they were on the streets or not, their lot was more or less the same. They were outcasts as they appeared to be following the disobedient behaviour of their forebear, Eve. As she
was cast forth from Paradise, so these women were socially outcast. It is against this generally agreed background of thought, therefore, that the views of Angela Burdett-Coutts and Dickens, in their joint enterprise at Shepherd’s Bush, are to be seen.

Neither Dickens nor Miss Coutts adopted a "holier than thou" attitude towards these women. They were both genuinely distressed by the phenomenon of the Great Social Evil. This was made very clear indeed in the Appeal which Dickens wrote, quite explicitly stating the offer being made by the "great Lady" (ie Miss Coutts), and the conditions upon which it was offered.

Although the first recorded reference to "the asylum" in any of Dickens' correspondence is in a letter of 26 May 1846, the (now) famous Appeal to Fallen Women was included with a letter dated 28 October 1847 to Miss Coutts. There had certainly been discussion and much thought devoted to the whole subject long before even the first of these two dates. Dickens had originally met Miss Coutts somewhere about 1838, when he was a rising young author and she an heiress of two fortunes.

Between the 20-year-old author and the earnest 24-year-old heiress, from their very first meeting, there was a deep sympathy and understanding that made them lifelong friends.

To Kate and the growing Dickens family Angela Burdett Coutts became a kind and generous friend. But even more than these personal ties was the fact that Charles Dickens became the
guiding conscience of her philanthropic career
and she the power through which Dickens would
bring about many a social and educational
programme in which the world did not even
suspect his hidden hand (14).

The Appeal, which still retains much power to move its
reader, was already tried and tested when Dickens sent a
copy to Miss Coutts in October 1847, and he was confident
of her unqualified approval. No evidence exists at all to
show any dissent on Miss Coutts' part, so we can assume
that it met with her full agreement. Indeed, it would be
very hard to see anything in it with which anyone could
disagree, so clearly and so powerfully written is it. Let
us now consider it in detail as it contains the essence of
the whole enterprise (15).

IV : An Appeal to Fallen Women

The importance of this document lies in the fact that
it contains both the expressed philosophy and objectives of
the Home. That Dickens and Miss Coutts had given the whole
proposed project the most solemn and careful thought is
evident from the painstaking construction of the piece and
its very tellingly chosen vocabulary. Though Miss Coutts
had not seen the text before, Dickens was already very
assured of her acceptance of it as the tone of the
accompanying letter indicates. Dickens wrote to her: "I
am in a state of great anxiety to talk to you about your
'Home' (that is the name I propose to give it) with which I
have been very busy for some time, and which will be ready for the reception of its inmates, please God, on Saturday fortnight. I have a perfect confidence in your approving of the details, but it would be most interesting to me to talk them over with you." Towards the end of the letter, he writes: "We found it necessary that there should be some appeal for Mr Chesteron (16) to read to them, and then give them to read in their cells. I wrote the enclosed for the purpose, and he found it affects them very heartily indeed."

The Appeal begins by addressing itself "... not ... to you by name. But I address it to a woman -- a very young woman still -- who was born to be happy and has lived miserably ..." Then the "Friend," i.e. Dickens, makes it clear that it is not just prostitutes that are being invited to the Home. It is to any young woman "who has no prospect before her but sorrow" because of her fall from virtue, "... or behind her but a wasted youth; who, if she has ever been a mother, has felt shame instead of pride in her own unhappy child." That is to say she has had an illegitimate child, occasioned presumably by seduction. In other words, Dickens' concept of a "fallen woman" encompasses both the meanings which I have explained above.

The Appeal offers such a young woman "... a chance of rising out of your sad life, and having friends, a quiet home, means of being useful to yourself and others, peace of mind, self-respect, everything you have lost ..." There is not merely a chance "... but the CERTAINTY of all these blessings" only providing "... you will exert yourself to
deserve them." The future otherwise is not likely to improve, rather more likely to worsen. Dickens asks her to think well on the "wretched consequences" that will inevitably come. "Shunned by decent people, marked out from all other kinds of women as you walk along, avoided by the very children, hunted by the police, imprisoned, and only set free to be imprisoned, over and over again ..."

There follows then a powerful paragraph, written in good Dickensian style, calculated to stir anyone's emotions, but especially those of a young woman who is aware of her social standing as an outsider.

But to grow old in such a way of life, and among such company -- to escape an early death from terrible disease, or your own maddened hand, and arrive at old age in such a course -- will be an aggravation of every misery that you know now, which words cannot describe. Imagine for yourself the bed on which you, then an object terrible to look at, will lie down to die. Imagine all the long, long years of shame, want, crime, and ruin that will arise before you. And by that dreadful day, and by the judgment that will follow it, and by the recollections you are certain to have then, when it is too late, of the offer that is made to you now, when it is NOT too late, I implore you to think of it and weigh it well.

All the kinds of allusions calculated to move the
heart of a woman are there in this paragraph. Firstly, the terrible thought of ageing into unsightliness because of dissipation and disease; secondly, the bed, now used for sexual activity, then to be used as a bier; and, thirdly, guilty conscience and bitter regret of wasted life, all are closely woven together to urge the reader to think again and to think well.

Dickens introduces the benefactress, "who from the window of her house," at the corner of Stratton Street and Piccadilly, "has seen such as you going past at night, and has felt her heart bleed at the sight. She is what is called a great Lady, but she has looked after you with compassion as being of her own sex and nature, and the thought of such fallen women has troubled her in her bed."

This little paragraph is one of Dickens' trump-cards in his persuasion in that the offer is really coming from a lady -- a woman, of the same "sex and nature" as the person appealed to. Not losing his advantage begun here, he follows swiftly with a second trump. The Lady is to open "at her own expense a place of refuge near London for a small number of females" and, moreover, "to make a HOME for them." This is Dickens' own word as he tells us in his letter which accompanied the Appeal. For Dickens, the word held all the magical powers of comfort, love, protection and refuge from the racketing world. Those are just the kinds of meanings he hoped would be there too in the minds of aspirant inmates.

Next he moves on to the aims and objectives of the Home. These he makes clearly explicit. In the Home, he
says, "they will be taught all household work that would be useful to them in a home of their own and enable them to make it comfortable and happy." So, all the skills of housewifery will be in the curriculum of the institution in order that any home which a girl is able to establish will have those qualities which Dickens so prized himself (and the neglect of which he pilloried in the disastrous doings of Dora, David Copperfield's child-wife, and in the neglect of Mrs Jellyby's children in PLEAK HOUSE.)

The Home, he explains, "stands in a pleasant country lane ... where each may have her little flower-garden if she pleases." Moreover, the inmates "will be treated with the greatest kindness," and they "will learn many things it is profitable and good to know." Finally, in order that the old life is expunged, they will live "entirely removed from all who have any knowledge of their past career" and "will begin life afresh and be able to win a good name and character."

So that this fresh start may be a reality and that these young women may "after they have repented and learned to do their duty" to society and be restored there, be "a comfort to themselves and it ... every means" will be supplied after the lapse of some time. Moreover, "their conduct shall have fully proved their earnestness and reformation" to enable them to go to "a distant country" where they "may become the faithful wives of honest men, and live and die in peace." Thus equipped with their new knowledge of household skills, which many would never have known or been able to practise, having had to eke out an
existence by whatever means with no time or opportunity to
develop such skills, they could then emigrate, to assist
themselves in beginning a new life and the colonists to
establish families and spread the culture of Mother
England.

After this psychologically encouraging statement comes
the solemn warnings of the real conditions of entry to the
Home. To gain "all the means of happiness" which will be
"opened brightly" to them, they "must have all the strength
to leave behind ... all old habits." They are exhorted to
impose self-discipline upon themselves, "to be gentle,
patient, persevering, and good-tempered. Above all things,
to be truthful in every word ..." If they enter the Home
"without such constant resolutions," they will be taking
from other deserving cases all chance of rehabilitation,
and others' ruin will be upon the backsliders' heads as
well as their own, before God Himself.

Finally, a promise is made to provide any information
which may be sought by intending inmates; and, again,
Dickens appeals to the woman's soft feelings and old
affections. "If ever your heart is moved to feel truly,
what you might have been, and what you are, oh think of it
then, and consider what you may yet become." Dickens knew
intuitively that in writing these last few words the
ambiguity of what she might become would set up a degree of
confusion and doubt in the woman's mind, and would cause
her, therefore, to review her whole life and the possible
future outcomes. To this end his words were well and
circumspectly chosen, and he knew already from Chesterton
that his Appeal had affected its readers in the way he sought "very heartily indeed."

Dickens had manifestly two prime aims in prospect when he composed the Appeal. Firstly, he wanted to move the hearts of possible inmates so that they would see the value of the offer being made, so genuinely and in so kindly a manner to them, with the strong expectation that all would be well in the end. Secondly, he wished to make it unambiguously clear to all its readers that what was being offered was a bargain, and that implied mutual exchange.

Such, then, was Dickens' word on behalf of Miss Coutts' Home for Fallen Women: such, too, was his deed when he came to interview intending inmates. His interviews (which he reported to Miss Coutts in his letters) were a properly balanced mixture of kindness and compassion, born of his feelings for the wretchedness of the young women's plight; and of firmness and authority, which left no one in doubt of his resolve to carry out what he said he intended to do. Some of the more recalcitrant of the inmates were to find this to be true to their own cost, but his firmness was always with the interest of the other inmates at heart, as I shall shortly show.

V : Selection of Inmates and Means to Rehabilitation

In a number of lengthy, detailed letters to Miss Coutts, written at irregular intervals and from a variety of addresses -- both in England and abroad -- Dickens
sought to clarify the objectives of the Home, its procedures and conditions of selection and acceptance, as well as the general regimen which would (hopefully) lead to the inmates' eventual rehabilitation to society, as reformed, useful (and enlightened ?) members. The first of these explanatory letters was written 26 May 1846. In this, Dickens adumbrated the whole concept (much of which was already agreed between himself and Miss Coutts as other letters indicate), the system to be adopted and the institution's general regimen. Some of these ideas were to be employed as stated, others underwent change because of new knowledge, gained from reading and experience.

Dickens begins by stating that the number of accepted inmates would necessarily be limited, but that he would "... make the reception of them as easy as possible to themselves." Furthermore, the sources of inmates would be two in general: those recommended by "Any Governor of a London Prison ... (by her own choice of course) ... straight from prison, when her term expired"; and, secondly, he would "... put it in the power of any penitent creature to knock at the door, and say For God's sake, take me in." So, from the beginning Dickens had no intention of restricting recruitment to ex-prisoners alone; those who chose the Home's discipline and training to equip themselves were welcome. This principle was adhered to, in that girls were recommended through the good offices of friends and acquaintances such as Mrs. Gaskell.

The Home would comprise "two portions." The first would receive "all newcomers without exception, as a place
of probation, whence they should pass, by their own good-conduct and self-denial alone, into what I may call the Society of the house." The system governing the Home's methodology would be derived from Captain Alexander Maconochie (1787-1860) as laid out in his book, *CRIME AND PUNISHMENTS*, announced in the *PUBLISHERS' CIRCULAR*, 15 July 1846. Dickens must have possessed an advance copy, since his letter antedates publication date by more than two months (17). He was also largely convinced of the efficacy of the Captain's ideas, called "Captain Maconochie's Marks System" (18). "I do not know," writes Dickens, "of any plan, so well conceived, or so firmly grounded in a knowledge of human nature, or so judiciously addressed to it, for observance in this place ..."

From the start, it is to be made plain to a girl that she comes of her own choice, and that she has come "for USEFUL repentance and reform, and because her past way of life has been dreadful in its nature and consequences, and full of affliction, misery, and despair TO HERSELF." At this point in a girl's life, Dickens insists society is irrelevant. "Society has used her ill and turned away from her, and she cannot be expected to take much heed of its rights or wrongs. It is destructive to HERSELF, and there is no hope in it, or in her, as long as she pursues it." The system, then, will recognize the girl's individual personality and her own responsibility for herself as an adult.

It must be explained to each girl that though she is
"degraded and fallen" she is "not lost" since the Home now shelters her, and "that the means of return to Happiness are now about to be put into her own hands, and trusted to her own keeping." Her progress through probation before entering the "Society of the house" will be in her hands one, two or three months and not "any specified TIME whatever." She will control the length of time by her good conduct through the accumulation of "... a certain number of MARKS (they are mere scratches in a book) ..." Good conduct will add marks to her score; ill conduct will deduct marks; and a daily score will be tallied between the girl and the Superintendent.

Dickens' firmness, depicted many times in his accounts to Miss Coutts, comes through unequivocally in his mode of deciding good and bad conduct, and their appropriate marking. "For so much work, she has so many marks; for a day's good conduct, so many more. For every instance of ill-temper, disrespect, bad language, any outbreak of any sort or kind, so many -- a very large number in proportion to her receipts -- are deducted." He emphasizes again that "the state of that account ... is in her own power and nobody else's, to adjust to her advantage." Before she is qualified to return to society even to the Society of the asylum -- she must give proof of her power of self restraint and her sincerity, and her determination to try to shew that she deserves the confidence it is proposed to place in her. Her pride, her emulation, her sense of shame, her heart, her
reason, and her interest, are all appealed to at once, and if she pass through this trial, she MUST (I believe it to be in the eternal nature of things) rise somewhat in her own self-respect, and give the managers a power of appeal to her, in future, which nothing else could invest them with.

Dickens' approach to the re-education and rehabilitation of the Home's inmates clearly recognized two prime factors, now axiomatic in the education of adults: the one, the recognition of the women's adulthood, be they sixteen or twenty-six years old, which implies an autonomy over oneself; and the other, recognition of that personal autonomy in making each woman responsible for her own behaviour, and the impossibility of her breaking the Home's rules with impunity. All had been explained distinctly and simply to her before entry. Indeed, the Home's regimen rested squarely and firmly on the principle that each woman's success (or lack thereof) depended on her own efforts. Nevertheless, each backsliding received careful consideration, with the chance of making up for transgressions still in the background.

As far as Maconochie's System was to be applied, Dickens felt that although fundamentally sound, some modification of the system should permeate the whole establishment: "for it is its great philosophy and its chief excellence that it is not a mere form or course of training adapted to the life within the house, but is a preparation -- which is a much higher consideration --
for the right performance of duty outside, and for the formation of habits of firmness and self-restraint." The girls had to understand all this before they could "dream of returning to society, or of becoming Virtuous Wives ..."

To this end, moreover, "it is a part of this system, even to put at last, some temptation within their reach, as enabling them to go out; putting them in possession of some money, and the like: for it is clear that unless they are used to some temptation and used to resist it, within the walls, their capacity of resisting it, without, cannot be considered as fairly tested."

Miss Coutts had some reservations about this concept of "temptation" in the girls' training. The word, for many Victorians, connoted wickedness and evil (derived from beliefs and attitudes involving sexuality and its expression). The positive side of temptation (that is, towards good things) seems to have been a difficult idea. When discussing the appointment of the right kind of chaplain for the Home, Dickens wrote (3 November 1847):

"One great point that I try to bear in mind continually, and which I hope the clergyman will steadily remember, is, that these unfortunate creatures are to be TEMPTED to virtue. They cannot be dragged, driven or frightened. You [Miss Coutts] originate this great work for the salvation of the women who come into that Home; and I hold it to be a sacred duty of every one who assists you in it. FIRST TO CONSIDER HOW BEST TO GET THEM THERE, AND HOW BEST TO KEEP THEM THERE. Every other consideration should fade before these two ..."
He had already mooted this question of temptation some months before this letter, writing from Lausanne (25 July 1847). Miss Coutts had raised two objections to his "sketch of a plan." The first concerned the idea that marriage should be "the immediate end and object to be gained," which I shall consider later. The second, with regard to temptation:

I would simply ask you to consider whether we do not, all of us, in our stations, tempt our fellow creatures at every turn. Whether there is a merchant in London who does not hourly expose his servants to strong temptation. Whether a night or morning ever comes, when you do not tempt your butler with a hundred times the worth of his year's wages ... And whether it is not a Christian act to say to such unfortunate creatures as you propose, by God's blessing, to reclaim "Test for yourselves the reality of your repentance and your power of resisting temptation, while you are HERE, and before you are in the world outside, to fall before it!"

Dickens' precept was plain and positive. As adults, future inmates would have to learn to resist temptation towards wrong-doing and to use their resistance as moral strengthening in their development and rehabilitation. Not only did Dickens accept adulthood as a developmental period of ever-increasing self-determination and enhanced autonomy, he reinforced this opinion by his own repeatedly
expressed belief in the innate good sense and general 
propensity for good, which his own personal experience had 
provided many times, that there was to be found in all 
people, not the least in the poor and oppressed. Upon 
these fundamental truths his whole concept and perception 
of the enterprise was grounded, as well as his own personal 
sense of Christian duty to help unfortunates. His sympathy 
towards such people indubitably led him, through his own 
experience, both as a child and as an adult, to an 
understanding of the appalling degradation which many young 
prostitutes found themselves in, and of the reasons why 
they had taken to prostitution. He was aware, too, that 
once into the business, it was often impossible for a girl 
to get out (19). "It is necessary," he wrote (26 May 
1846), "to observe that very many of these unfortunate 
women are constantly in and out of Prisons, for no other 
fault or crime than their original one of having fallen 
from virtue. Policemen can take them up, almost when they 
choose, for being of that class, and being in the streets; 
and the magistrates commit them to jail for short terms.
When they come out, they can but return to their old 
occupation, and so come in again."

Very much later, he was at pains to remind Miss Coutts 
of the importance of colour to cheerfulness and 
hopefulness, when he sent back a sample of "Derry," a 
strong cotton fabric, from which Miss Coutts was proposing 
to make work aprons. "I return Derry," he wrote. "I have 
no doubt it's a capital article, but it's a mortal dull 
color. Color these people always want, and color (as
allied to fancy), I would always give them. In these cast-iron and mechanical days," he counselled, "I think even such a garnish to the dish of their monotonous and hard lives, of unspeakable importance." He underlined how drab the women's lives had already been. "One color, and that of the earth earthy, is too much with them early and late. Derry might just as well break out into a stripe, or put forth a bud, or even burst into a full bloom flower. Who is Derry that he is to make quakers of us all, whether we will or no!" (15 November 1856)

No matter how much cheerfulness and hopefulness were created, there was still the seriousness of the business in hand: the girls' education and socialization, for which the establishment would itself be an integral part of the training system. "Order, punctuality, cleanliness, the whole routine of household duties -- as washing, mending, cooking -- the establishment itself would supply the means of teaching practically to everyone." That would not be the end in itself. "I would have it understood by all -- that they were not going through a monotonous round of occupation and self-denial which began and ended there, but which began, or was resumed, under that roof, and would end, by God's blessing, in happy homes of their own." The practicality of both this goal and the means cannot be faulted; by involving the inmates in caring for themselves and their fellows, a self-perpetuating interest would be created, only to be enhanced by the goal of their own homes. The psychology of the system is sound, and was justified by Dickens' estimate, which was realized, of
approximately 50% total success with the inmates.

Finally, with his usual pragmatism, Dickens suggested that Miss Coutts should seek further information and advice from the written up experiences of others. He advocated that "at all events it would be necessary for you to have, in the first instance, on paper, all the results of previous experience in this way, as regards scheme, plan, management, and expense. These I think I could procure, and render plain, as quietly and satisfactorily as anyone."

His letter, 25 July 1846, answering Miss Coutts' reply to the letter just reviewed, shows Dickens tactfully responding to her objections, doubts or personal feelings. The Pentonville Society, an organization with aims similar to those Miss Coutts proposed for Urania Cottage, Dickens felt "... might form, IN PART, a model for your Institution, but," he advised, "I think it would be inexpedient for you to found yours, until you have a general knowledge of the management of many similar institutions. Very little has yet been done in this respect; and if you could do no better than has been done already I really doubt the expediency of founding an entirely new establishment in preference to assisting in the endowment of an existing one. I fear you would be disappointed in the result, and that you would spend your money to little purpose." We must assume a deal of reading up was done, for the result was Urania Cottage, a rented establishment which ran over fourteen years, having seen over 150 young women through its portals (20).

These, then, were the basic principles on which the
Home would run and the inmates’ regimen would be grounded. Each young adult was on probation before gaining entry to the “Society of the house.” From then on she had to exercise all kinds of controls over her own emotions, behaviour and work, making decisions for herself by herself. To achieve this goal, tact, endless patience and kindliness, administered with great and genuine concern for the individual’s permanent reclamation, were needed, with scrupulous fairness and impartiality as cardinal rules. The Home’s integrity and the general welfare of the majority were of paramount interest and precedent beyond the backsliding of one individual. Unsuitable trainees were, therefore, taken out of the system before they could cause severe and damaging problems for the community.

I shall deal with some of the more detailed and intimate events at Urania Cottage towards the end of this chapter when it has become clear how the whole project was conceived, and eventually realized. Such details of the various inmates (both staff and “young women”) are then in understandable context. It will also lead us into the concluding section which attempts both a summary and an assessment of the total effort, so as to place the project in the stream of Dickens’ intellectual and corporal life.

Since this section has dealt largely with how the Home was to be disciplined, I shall now review briefly Dickens’ use and understanding of Capt. Maconochie’s System, which, although designed for convicts, was to have considerable influence on Dickens’ thinking about the Home. Indeed, it
was to form the basis of its discipline, and to be extrapolated into his wider concepts and principles of adult education, insomuch as his belief in encouragement of self-help was provenly reinforced.

VI: Capt. Maconochie's System

Dickens' first reference to Capt. Maconochie's Marks System comes in the letter of 26 May 1846, in which he praises the plan very highly. However, he was not very familiar with it then as he was to be later, or he had not tested out its principles against the kinds of problems he would meet in the Home. By 5 October 1846, and writing from Switzerland, he had obviously considered hard and long upon the system, because he wrote: "SOME MODIFICATION ... I am so strongly inclined to recommend for adoption." A year later (28 October 1847), he informed Miss Coutts: "I think it well to say to you that I have avoided Macconochie's ideas, as they hardly seemed (or I fancied so) to meet with your full approval, and as they were perhaps unsuited to so small an establishment." He reiterated the underpinning principles of the Home: "The design is simply, as you and I agreed, to appeal to them by means of affectionate kindness and trustfulness -- but firmly too. To improve them by education and example -- establish habits of the most rigid order, punctuality, and neatness -- but to make as great a variety as their daily lives will admit of --- and to render them an innocently cheerful Family while they live together there. On
cheerfulness and kindness all our hopes rest."

Again, it seems there had been a review of Capt. Maconochie's plan because by 3 November 1847 the question of temptation had come under discussion as Maconochie involved elements of temptation in his work with prison convicts. Dickens refers to Maconochie's allowing prisoners to work outside the walls on various projects, such as building "a Harbor at Weymouth." Miss Coutts had suggested allowing a girl to go out by herself but with the possibility of her absconding. This is "the temptation that has occurred to you," he writes to Miss Coutts, "in pursuance of Maconochie's idea ..." It is one, however, "to which, in all probability, they will never be exposed abroad ..." Where will she go, he asks. "Everyone she knows now is, to a greater or lesser extent, an infamous associate; and suffering her to go out by herself would be to expose her to the arts and temptations and recognitions of fifty such." He proposes that "in the country, about the house, they shall constantly go out in twos or threes with Mrs Holdsworth," this lady being the first Matron in Charge or Superintendent, of the Home. He further suggests, in order to increase the young women's "temptations" and their immunity thereto, "as they advanced in their training and shewed decided improvement, trust them with keys, and with many little offices withindoors that would test their self-denial." The streets of London he viewed "with very great apprehension."

At long last, on 29 August 1848, writing from Broadstairs, his longstanding favourite holiday resort, he
enclosed his "Explanation of the Mark Table." He had limited it to "as few heads as possible, in order that it may be rendered the plainer to the comprehension of the young women themselves." He did not, however, include what all the "heads" were in this document, but we know what they were from the article which appeared as the lead in issue No. 161, 23 April 1853 of *Household Words*, some five years later.

These "heads" were nine in number:

1. TRUTHFULNESS
2. INDUSTRY
3. TEMPER
4. PROPRIETY OF CONDUCT AND CONVERSATION
5. TEMPERANCE
6. ORDER
7. PUNCTUALITY
8. ECONOMY
9. CLEANLINESS

"Temperance" he says "is not used in the modern slang acceptance, but in its enlarged meaning as defined by Johnson, from the English of Spenser: 'Moderation, patience, calmness, sedateness, moderation of passion' ."

There is a further head since he states that 40 marks "would give a day's total," making up the tenth and that was "Voluntary self denial" which acted as a kind of bonus system, since all the other nine heads were marked each day as part of routine.

Still musing over "good marks" and "bad marks," Dickens gives us a case history, one of the many that
enliven his letters to Miss Coutts. Emma Lea, of whom Dickens (3 November 1847) was "disposed to be hopeful," had "called another girl by opprobrious names, and threatened her, and was otherwise violent and defiant." Under this proposed table, such "an extreme case" would warrant a bad mark each for "temper," "propriety of deportment," "propriety of language," and one for "improvement" — "every one of which, I would certainly have entered." That would mean, presumably, the total loss of at least four days' marks, a stern punishment to bring upon herself. Apparently she did not lose marks, because the system was not operational at that time.

Finally in his explanation, Dickens mentions Mr Kay-Shuttleworth's "desire to introduce some greater MORAL stimulant into this system." This Dickens could not see at the time, but it shows that Dickens had had some converse with the former about the Home. All he could hope was to provide "incentives to good conduct" by addressing people's reason and prudence so that "imperceptibly" they might awaken real moral sentiment by exposing the wisdom and beauty of virtue and the folly and deformity of vice. "In this, my hope of the system as a moral influence, mainly lies."

From these considerations, then, came eventually the system which governed the inmates' training and education at Urania Cottage. To show how successful it was, we must turn to letters which give us the intimate details of specific case histories. One case epitomizes the degree of respect that was created for both the Home and its
staff, Mrs Morson (a further Superintendent) in particular, whom Dickens thought "VERY PROMISING" (29 March 1849), and "exactly the person we have always wanted" (16 May 1849). The instance of Rhena Pollard, "that girl from Petworth jail," exemplifies Dickens' personal kindness and firmness towards the inmates. She got into trouble, but as successive references to her show, she was able to gain from the Home, and eventually (as the last reference would seem to indicate, 1 June 1851) actually "made good" abroad. The quotation is lengthy, but shows clearly how Dickens applied the system, with successful conclusions.

In a letter, 4 January 1854, Miss Coutts was told of the events concerning Rhena Pollard. Mrs Morson had told Dickens "early this morning" (2 January 1854) of "the disappearance of one of the girls over the garden wall, immediately after church yesterday. She had just come home from service, and bodily vanished in her cloak and bonnet and best gown." Rhena Pollard, a supposed companion to this runaway,

had, in a most inveterately audacious manner, threatened Mrs Morson that she would leave -- had pretended indeed, that she waited for the Committee day, as a kind of obliging favor on her part. Accordingly I summoned Mrs Morson when the girl appeared in her turn, and said "Mrs Morson this is the girl who wants to go, I believe." -- "Yes." -- "Take her at her word. It is getting dark now, but, immediately after breakfast tomorrow morning, shut the gate
upon her forever." I think the girl was more taken by surprise, and more seized with consternation, than anybody I have ever seen in that place. She begged and prayed -- was obliged to be taken out of the room -- and went into the long room, and, BEFORE ALL THE REST, entreated and besought Mrs Morson to intercede for her -- and broke into the most forlorn and dismal lamentations. I told Mrs Morson to give her no hope or relief all night -- to have the rough dress (21) down and air it in the long room -- and this morning, if the girl again besought her in the same way BEFORE ALL THE OTHERS, to pause and send to me.

Mrs Morson (carefully briefed and directed by Dickens) carried out her instructions with precision. The dress was duly aired before everyone in the long room, the inmates' communal sitting-room, hence where all the girls would be seated in the evening. It would seem that all the girls were assembled again in the long room the following morning, to witness the finale of this drama. Mrs Morson sent to Dickens, who wrote back, as he had already arranged with Mrs Morson the previous day, a letter to be read to all.

I put the case in the strongest and plainest manner possible [he reported], and said that you supported that Home, to save young women who desired to be saved and who knew the misery and degradation out of which they were taken
That it was NOT the place for those who audaciously slighted the shelter of the only roof interposed between them and the great black world of Crime and Shame -- and that I WOULD NOT, nor would any of the gentlemen who assisted you in its management allow its blessings to be thus grossly trifled with.

There follows a characteristically Dickensian touch:

"As it was the great forgiving Christmas time, she was to give this girl one more trial; but only on the condition that if she ever repeated her threat in any way, she was to be instantly discharged. Also that all the rest were to understand that your consent had been obtained to this principle being in all cases severely and firmly carried out."

What the girls did not know was Dickens' gentleness and sympathy which he expressed in the last paragraph of his letter, which needs no commentary:

Both in words yesterday and in the letter today, I was as emphatic as I could possibly be. I think you will approve of the wretched young creature's having one more chance in this bitter weather -- but in a just remembrance of what is due to the Home and its Supporter, I could not have given it to her, if she had been other than a stranger in London and an utterly friendless speck in the world. Snow two feet deep in the streets today!

That this lesson was learned and learned well, is
shown by a letter of 23 May 1854: "Rhena Pollard had been troublesome, but was recommended to mercy." On 9 February 1855, Dickens reported: "Yesterday I was at Shepherd's Bush, where Mr Chesterton also made his way somehow, through the snow. All was going on well, and Rhena Pollard was the subject of a specially good report." The last reference to Rhena is in a letter of 1 June 1856 (curiously again in bitter weather and described by Dickens as "Mid-Winter"): "The letters of the young La Touches (which have naturally interested me very much), and the letter of Rhena Pollard (ditto) I have returned under cover to you at Stratton Street." I imagine Rhena had gone abroad and had settled her life at last, after some two years' residence at Urania Cottage. So it would seem that for one "audacious" and, one suspects, adolescent young woman at least, the Home for Homeless Women and its system had succeeded.

Rhena Pollard was not the only success by a long way. Others were able to emigrate and eventually become happy and faithful wives in Australia and New Zealand and indeed contributed to the peopling of those former colonies. Much of this was achieved through the good offices of fellow spirits such as Caroline Chisholm and her emigration society, and Sidney Herbert whose membership of Parliament helped to move obstacles. In fact, we know from Dickens' own record in Household Words that fifty per cent of the inmates eventually achieved complete rehabilitation to good positions as servants and the like, and many married. The others who were not successful tended in the main to leave
the system before completing anything like a systematic training. Quite a number left on their own accord, others were discharged; but it would be fair to say that such a regimen as that of Urania Cottage would seem hard and unyielding to some, who were accustomed to a wild and uncertain existence, in spite of the truly caring concern that staff and management showed to each and every one. Dickens saw each girl every time he went to "the Bush," on Committee Days, enquiring how they were faring, in a most methodical manner. It was Dickens, it seems, who executed disciplinary interviews and gave the Superintendents orders to discharge indocile girls.

How grateful successful alumnae were is shown very clearly and touchingly by Dickens' letter (23 May 1854) to Miss Coutts to report his Committee Day news of that day. He was obviously pleased with Louisa, as may be seen from the tenor of his words: "Louisa Cooper when her turn came for appearing, expressed herself very properly and discreetly about the Home and the benefits she had received in it (under the impression that she would have sailed before our next meeting), praised Mrs Marchmont's kind conduct highly, and said that, being new, she had more to bear than she ought to bear, or than Mrs Morson would have borne, from 'some of 'em'."

Louisa ultimately sailed on 19 November 1854, but wrote to Miss Coutts, 29 October, from Tillington the following letter (as written here).

As I am about to leave England I am most anxious that one of my last acts should be to
thank my kind Benefactress for all your
goodness to me I cannot find words to express
my gratitude but with the help of that kind
Providence who will never leave me nor forsake
me if I pray to him I will by my future life
try to prove it I often think of your kind and
gentle words and the thoughts of them has many
times been a comfort to me and will be when I
am in a far distant land we do not sail till
the 10th of November ... may every blessing be
yours Dear and Honnoured Lady and may all the
young people at the Home prove deserving of
your bounty ... I often think of Urania Cottage
and the many happy hours I have spent there ...
with your permission I will take the liberty of
writing on my arrival at the Cape may every
blessing be your’s Honnoured Madam is the
prayer of your Humble Servant

Dickens’ comment on the letter was written on 26 October
1854: “Cooper’s very good letter I return. Poor little
thing, I hope she will flourish out there.” She most
patently did, for Louisa returned later to England and saw
Dickens at Urania Cottage (15 November 1856): “It was
pleasant to see Louisa Cooper, nicely dressed and looking
very well to do, sitting with Mrs Macartney in the long
room. She brought me for a present, the most hideous
Ostrich’s Egg ever laid — wrought all over with
frightful devices, the most tasteful of which represents
Queen Victoria (with her crown on) standing on the top of a church receiving professions of affection from a British Seaman. "The gift was doubtless kindly meant, and I am sure was kindly (if not gallantly!) received.

From Louisa Cooper's letter we can see Dickens was right in his belief that good existed in everyone; and certainly so did gratitude as Louisa's expressions show. He was also right in basing the Home's discipline on kindness and firmness: Louisa's story illustrates this.

Another wrote "home" after leaving as Dickens' letter of 13 May 1856 informs us, though both the letter and the writer's name are lost to us. "I have indeed read this letter with great emotion. If you had done nothing else in maintaining the Home -- instead of having done so much that we know of, to which is added all the chance and by-way good that has sprung out of it in the lives of these women: which I believe to be enormous -- what a great reward this case alone would be!" How tantalizing it is not to know who the "case" was, but even if we did, it would add only detail to the important fact that those women, who successfully underwent training at Urania Cottage, realized the value of that training and were generous enough to tell their former mentors how much they had benefitted. As far as Dickens is concerned, his careful thought about and overwatching of the Home were vindicated by success stories such as those rehearsed here.

The bargain struck (as laid down in the Appeal) was honoured by both sides to the satisfaction of both parties. With that Dickens could not quarrel.
The article, "Home for Homeless Women," (HW, 161, 23APR53, 169-175), is the clearest and simplest exposition of the career of Urania Cottage, being, as it is, a summary of the Home's history up to almost one third through its total span. Dickens had complained to Miss Coutts (3 November 1847) around the time the Home was opened, that he "was vexed to see a stupid account of the Home in the newspapers some time ago. If they blunder upon anything else, the design can be easily explained, as you wish, either by my writing a letter on the subject, or an account of the Institution: selecting any channel of publication that is within reach, and that you may think most desirable. It is possible that there may be nothing more written about it; but if there be, it is easily set right!" It seems at that time Dickens did not respond to the newspaper report; if any response appeared at all, it must be the article which eventually was published some five years and a half later. One can but assume that Miss Coutts had not thought it desirable to publish anything before that time. However, it is curious that any account (no matter how stupid) of the project had become public at all. How the information had reached any journalist is now untraceable, but some unguarded moment must have betrayed the proposal to interested ears, which makes the situation even more curious since both Miss Coutts and Dickens -- both usually very discreet persons in their charitable and
philanthropic endeavours — wanted the project kept out of public scrutiny, for the sake of the future inmates.

Dickens must have drafted the article well before the middle of March 1853, because Miss Coutts had read it and had proffered various suggestions which he was anxious to incorporate. He emphasized to her, 1 April 1853, his own desire to preserve discretion: "I concur in all your suggestions as to the Home article, and will devote this evening to it. Everything shall be stated as you wish and I will take care to relieve it of all the little points in doubt. I clearly see the way to smoothing them down. Though it will not be published for a fortnight, it must be got to press now. But it shall not leave my hands until it is perfectly discreet."

As no draft MS is to hand, it is impossible to know what were "the little points in doubt," or how indiscreet they were, at least in Miss Coutts' opinion. Perhaps one of these referred to the founders of the Home, who, in reality, were Miss Coutts and Dickens, but the article refers to "certain ladies" who were "grieved to think that numbers of their own sex were wandering about the streets in degradation ..." One assumes that this was a device to conceal Dickens' own involvement, especially as the article appeared in *HOUSEHOLD WORDS* as the lead in the issue and would be assumed by all to be by "Mr Conductor." Perhaps it referred to Miss Coutts and her friend and companion, Mrs Brown, who would have discussed the matter with her in any case. Apart from the ladies involved, the wording echoes that which refers to "the great lady" used by
Dickens in the Appeal to Fallen Women, which no doubt remained a document confidential to those prisons with which Dickens was concerned as a source of possible inmates for the Home. If a copy of this document ever came out of these prisons — perhaps in the possession of one of the former inmates — it would certainly have made more than a good basis for an account of the project. Maybe Dickens thought the account "stupid," not because it was badly written, but because it was ill-timed and could have completely ruined the whole assignment.

Secondly, the home was created primarily, though not exclusively, for prostitutes and other fallen women, but that would have made too unacceptable a statement to have called the article "Home for Fallen Women" in a family magazine. Moreover, the title it received was in the end more accurate, because by that time (1853) women who had not "gone wrong," but were simply destitute and wretched, were also being taken in. So Dickens' title was accurate, and he was careful to tell his readers that "As the experience of this small institution, even under the many disadvantages of a beginning, may be useful and interesting, this paper will contain an exact account of its progress and results (22)."

The object was clear, for it was "resolved to try the experiment on a limited scale of a Home for the reclamation and emigration of women." Moreover, the founders "determined to receive into their Home, only those who distinctly accepted this condition: that they came there to be ultimately sent abroad, (whither, was at the
discretion of the ladies); and that they also came there, to remain for such length of time as might ... be considered necessary as a term of probation, and for instruction in the means of obtaining an honest livelihood."

The Home held thirteen inmates "besides two Superintendents." Fifty-six had passed through the Home, not counting "the ten young women now in the house," since November 1847, and that would give an estimated total in excess of 150 by the end of the project, since the article appeared one third through its existence.

Dickens says that inmates were rarely more than 25 or 26 years of age, and that the average age of the 56 was about 20. (Some inmates did not know their ages, or gave false ones; in any case, there had been no provision for the compulsory registration of births, deaths and marriages in Britain until August 1836, and many of the inmates were born well before the Act was introduced, and might, indeed, not know their ages.) He then adds the following curious passage: "In some instances there have been great personal attractions; in others, the girls have been very homely and plain. The reception has been wholly irrespective of such sources of interest." One wonders whether Miss Coutts saw this contortedly coy piece before it was published, and whether she approved of it, since she was herself long-faced and dour in countenance.

However, the final sentence in the paragraph puts the matter back into perspective. Dickens states quite baldly,
that irrespective of their individual backgrounds — "Nearly all have been extremely ignorant." This was the true and quintessential theme for him: Ignorance bred ills and crimes.

In choosing staff, Dickens was not always successful as he had been with Mrs Morson (23), in that he had selected and appointed a Miss Cunliffe, whose "references turned out quite satisfactory," (Letter, 22 May 1848). He interviewed her the same day and wrote on the morrow: "Miss Cunliffe was here yesterday. I like her very much. There is something in her face, exceedingly agreeable and promising, and she improves greatly on being talked to. She seems to have a little conscientious timidity in reference to the task before her, for which I like her none the worse. Whether she has any susceptible gentility, I don't quite know, but I think she promises very well indeed, and I feel an interest in her." Obviously, Miss Cunliffe was attractive, with sex-appeal which pleased and disarmed him as he appointed her accordingly to some undefined post at Urania Cottage, probably as second Superintendent. His intuition was to be proved right later when he questioned Miss Cunliffe's "susceptible gentility," by which he meant whether she was in any way offended by having to deal with young women whose life experience had been so very different and of such low moral content. It was not so much her gentility which proved susceptible, but her curiosity (or concealed prurience!).

By 8 September 1848, Dickens was writing to Miss Coutts: "Miss Cunliffe misses one of my intentions, and an
important one. I will write to her from Broadstairs and explain." What this was remains unknown, but Dickens was not pleased. His letter of 15 November 1848 shows that Miss Cunliffe had settled down in the Home and seemed to understand the marks system "very well indeed," and he hoped it would be "productive of excellent results." Miss Cunliffe was thinking of reading selections from Wordsworth and Crabbe to the inmates, and, supporting her, Dickens also added that "the library might be extended."

Imaginative literature was particularly important to people such as the girls in the home, since "All people who have led hazardous and forbidden lives are, in a certain sense, imaginative; and if their imaginations are not filled with good things, they will choke them, for themselves, with bad ones."

By January 1849, Miss Cunliffe was again making suggestions which did not, this time, meet with Dickens' approval. She had suggested that the possibility of marriage as a long-term goal should be removed from "the little address" (ie the Appeal). He wrote, 11 January 1849, "I have thought, much and often, of that point in the little address, which encourages them with the POSSIBILITY of marriage. I am quite sure that it is a powerful, and a justly powerful, incentive to patience and good conduct; and I can not, of my own deed, take it out of the paper." It was Miss Cunliffe's duty "to set them right" if the inmates mistook what the address said; but Dickens was manifestly put out by Miss Cunliffe's view: "You will not think me claiming much, if I claim to know
much better than she does, or by any possibility can, what
the force of that suggestion secretly is."

27 January 1849 saw him writing in much stronger vein.
"All possible deductions and allowances made, it is quite
clear to me that Miss Cunliffe is a woman of an atrocious
temper, and that she violently mistakes her office and its
functions." On 5 February 1849, he wrote that, "I was at
the Home on Saturday, when I found Miss Cunliffe looking
like a stage maniac in a domestic drama, or an illustration
of 'The Bottle' on a very bad paper (24)."

By 10 February 1849, Miss Cunliffe was to leave as she
had been questioning one of the inmates, Isabella Gordon,
about her past life. That was strictly forbidden by
Dickens, as part of the process of building up a new and
different life style for the girls. His letter, 3 March
1849, shows the Home "orderly and comfortable; not the
less so, by reason of Miss Cunliffe's taking herself off,
very solemnly, in a fly while I was there." Dickens was
not to make the same mistake twice. The rest of his
appointments turned out to be excellent women who were
sympathetic and skilled in dealing with young and
adolescent tantrums as many upsets were to prove.

There is no doubt that this regimen was comfortable
and efficient for the majority of the girls at Urania
Cottage, bestowing much valued knowledge and
self-confidence upon the alumnae, which they were to find
both needful and useful in their new lives and surroundings
abroad. Emigration was always the ultimate goal and, in
many ways, the only solution for many who wished to escape
from the degradation and crushing poverty of their previous existences. They developed great attachments to both Urania Cottage and to their surrogate mother, the Superintendent. Dickens tells us that "their grief at parting from the Superintendent is always strong, and frequently of a heart-rending kind." As for Urania Cottage, he says, "they are also exceedingly affected by their separation from the Home; usually going round and round the garden first, as if they clung to every tree and shrub in it." This would be a very natural emotion since many of these girls had never before known what a real, decent home was.

Perhaps a final comment on the efficacy of the Home's influence on the girls is to be found in the following remarks. "One of the most remarkable effects of the Home," we are told, not without justifiable pride, "even in many of the cases where it does not ultimately succeed, is the extraordinary change it produces in the appearance of its inmates." Ignoring their cleanliness and obvious well-nourished look ("which may be regarded as a physical consequence of their treatment") "a refining and humanising alteration is wrought in the expression of the features, and in the whole air of the person, which can scarcely be imagined." To underline this "extraordinary change," which might be described as the transformation effected by the dawning of enlightenment, and the justification of his trust in his belief, Dickens relates a telling example of this change through the eyes of another: "A very sagacious and observant police magistrate, visiting a girl before her
emigration who had been taken from his bar, could detect no likeness in her to the girl he remembered." It would seem that a new identity was unquestionably possible for the girls, so that their re-entry into society had every chance of success, for they were indeed "new people" since the old life had been abandoned, and their new knowledge gave them the confidence to succeed.

If so much could be attained in transforming the young women in terms of their physical reformation, what of their moral reformation? This, again, "is illustrated in a no less remarkable manner." Even where success in all things eluded the Home, "It has never had any violence done to a chair or a stool. It has never been asked to render any aid to the one lady and her assistant, who are shut up with the thirteen the year round. Bad language is so uncommon, that its utterance is an event." When the backgrounds of many of the girls are examined, that is quite an astonishing thing to be able to claim. As for the managers, "The Committee have never heard the least approach to it, or seen anything but submission; though it has often been their task to reprove and dismiss women who have been violently agitated, and unquestionably (for the time) incensed against them." Of those who seriously offended against the Home, "four of the fugitives have robbed the Institution of some clothes. The rest had no reason on earth for running away in preference to asking to be dismissed, but shame in not remaining."

To emphasize his narration and give it the "human interest," as newspapers call it, Dickens ends his paper
with eight or ten case studies, and concludes with a letter, "a pretty passage," from one young woman, then married, and happily so, to a husband who "is very kind to me," so that both "live very happy and comfortable together." The writer says she has "again taken the liberty of writing to you — Honnoured Ladies — to let you know how I am getting on since I last wrote Home for I can never forget that name that still comes fresh to my mind ... Honnoured Ladies I can never feel grateful enough for your kindness to me and the kind indulgences which I received at my happy Home, I often wish that I could come Home and see that happy place again once more and all my kind friends which I hope I may one day please God." As Dickens himself says: "No comments or arguments shall be added to swell the length this account has already attained."

VIII : Conclusion

Urania Cottage was Dickens' great experiment to test the strength and validity of his educational theory. This theory had been wrought out of the experiences of his childhood and youth, first tried against the observations of his early adulthood, tempered by further thought and cogitation, finally to be put to the test in a dozen years of practical application. We have seen from this last and other letters that his faith in his ideas was amply vindicated, and he was not the man to waste others' ideas and thoughts. He never refused to consider the experience
of other people, as we saw by his usage of Capt. Maconochie's system; but he would never have been content just to adopt a system, devised by another, without exercising his own mind upon it to adapt it to the circumstances he knew to differ from the original ones. Apart from the inappropriateness of such a move, Dickens was possessed of a mind too creative to miss the usefulness of making adaptations appropriate to his own peculiar circumstances. Much of Dickens' educational theory stemmed from his own personal experience and observation. That provided only the skeleton of his attitude; this was fleshed out by his intuitive logic, applied to observations, reading, interviews and discussions, which, almost without exception, led him unerringly to the success that Urania Cottage undoubtedly achieved. When all the other commitments which he had during the period of the Home -- his novel-writing encompassed DOMBEY AND SONS, DAVID COPPERFIELD, BLEAK HOUSE, HARD TIMES, and LITTLE DORRIT; he wrote various stories, including THE HAUNTED MAN, and THE BATTLE OF LIFE; he directed and acted in major performances of plays; he began and ended HOUSEHOLD WORDS and started ALL THE YEAR ROUND, both demanding massive input of time in editing -- and his increasing marital problems are added to his meticulous and painstaking efforts on behalf of Urania Cottage, its staff and inmates, it can be seen that Dickens undertook responsibilities, contracts and goals which few other human beings could or would even contemplate (v. Appendix "E"). The fact that all these undertakings were successful
(leaving aside his marriage and its collapse) is a record of astonishing achievement. The emphasis has always been placed on Dickens' creative writing as his major accomplishment, and his claim to fame. His efforts and success with Urania Cottage also justify his claim to fame as an adult educator of proven ability in both philosophy and practice, who made his own distinctive contribution to both and still has his example, concepts and precepts to offer today.

Dickens believed in the enlightenment of the masses through education which made demands on the student both in intellectual and practical ways, backed up and supported by kindness and fellow-sympathy without patronage or condescension so that the student's innate capacities were encouraged to develop through the acceptance of the student's individualized and personal adulthood. This demanded that, because of being an adult, the responsibility for learning and developing lay entirely with the student. Thus, by being responsible for one's own growth, the dignity and respect due to the individual as an adult person was recognized, and by the same token, that recognition enhanced the individual. This was both Dickens' theory and belief: Urania Cottage and its inmates' success -- final and conclusive proof (25).
When Dickens finally began publishing his own journals, a fashion for such publications already existed. Dickens' project was not new; already scores of magazines were on the market exhibiting a wide variety of material and standards. Many used both fiction and non-fiction as their stock in trade, as Dickens was to do. There is, however, one important difference: Dickens was determined to ensure that any magazine for which he was responsible would publish only the best quality writing he could obtain, and that there would be a consistency in that quality and the style of writing. Consistency (a variant of Dickens' essential orderliness and tidiness (1)) would create what today is called a "house style" or "house image." When *HOUSEHOLD WORDS* and its successors came about, the "house style" was distinctive and consistent, constructed and sustained by its creator and conductor, Dickens himself (2).

In the 1840's and 1850's, there were many publications to choose from, ranging in content and style from quasi-religious, "improving" materials, suitable for Sunday reading, to downright pulp pornography, with sensational "penny dreadfuls" somewhere in between. Louis James has amply illustrated this increasing plethora of printed matter which poured from the presses (3). He points out
also that enthusiasm for the 1832 Reform Act instigated processions of printers, drawing heavy presses on carts through the streets of Manchester, "London, Derby, Bungay, Hertford and Nottingham." The Press was "so eminently distinguished as a means of expanding knowledge and the most essential to the best interest of society, and wonderfully effective in giving utterance to the irresistible power of the public voice (4)."

Other agencies were anxious also to promote the spread of knowledge and improvement. Education was extolled by informal movements such as the Sunday School Union (1785), the National Society (1811) and the British Foreign School Society (1813), and the mushroom growth of local and national groups such as the Statistical Societies with their passionate zeal to record "facts" (5). One eminent body, formed as a challenge to the long-established Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.), was the Utilitarians' Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (S.D.U.K.): incidentally, a major advocate of Mechanics' Institutes which had spread rapidly from their inception in Glasgow in 1823 (6). The S.D.U.K. produced a wide range of cheap "useful knowledge" literature, among which was the famous PENNY MAGAZINE, which Dickens challenged with HOUSEHOLD WORDS.

At the same time, tales of sensation, love, romance and derring-do flowed from the presses, consumed by people seeking escape and relief from their own drab, harsh lives. Along with such stirring pieces as ADA THE BETRAYED (1845) by J.M.Rymer, or ADELINE: OR THE GRAVE OF THE FORESAKEN
(anonymous, 1842), in which dire deeds were mixed with triumphant virtue, came "novel, small and licentious publications" as THE DODGER. This publication promised that each number would contain "Tales of the most Absorbing Interest, and which absolutely rivet the attention of the reader with a species of galvanic force. These tales are replete with MYSTERY, HORROR, LOVE & SEDUCTION! (7)"

Much of this production was issued in penny, three-half-penny or twopenny weekly instalments, whether a novel or a magazine. Between 1830 and 1850 some scores of publishers issued penny fiction (8), besides those who issued the more restricted magazine variety of publication with a more overtly educational or informational intent.

It is against this background of cheap, weekly issues of sensational materials of popular appeal that Dickens' journals must be seen. He was not original in launching them, nor in the format of their contents; his mixing fiction with non-fiction was not new, nor the price of 2d weekly. So, what, then, was the difference between Dickens' offering and those others?

II. Rival Journals and Magazines

Though Dickens accepted Forster's ban on using his own name for a magazine, it would not have been alone in the field if he had not; there were others which "depended on the cult of literary personality -- ELIZA COOK'S JOURNAL, DOUGLAS JERROLD'S SHILLING MAGAZINE, ..." and others "... run by and named after William Howitt, Harrison Ainsworth,
Thomas Cooper and several lesser figures (9)." No doubt a magazine called "Charles Dickens' Own" would have sold, since by the time of his first issue, in March 1850, he had already achieved international fame as a writer, and his concern for social reform was known and recognized.

Whereas many journals aimed at "the reader" without defining who or what the reader was, their concentration being on the matter they published, relying on sensationalism or earnestness for its appeal, Dickens, in common with a different class of publication, had chosen his readership with care. His magazines were for family consumption by all classes, and the contents reflected this, providing something for everyone, in a style both attractive and readable, but above all decent and respectable in tone and language.

Dickens' aim of enlightenment was further advanced through the objectives which he set for his journals. Principally these were:

1. to provide family reading matter, suitable for all ages;
2. to include the widest possible range of interest in both fiction and non-fiction;
3. to keep the cost as low as possible so as to reach the maximum readership;
4. to outdo and replace other publications -- "villainous literature" -- so that decency prevailed.

In meeting these objectives, HOUSEHOLD WORDS etc. were in the same grouping as the FAMILY HERALD ("A Domestic
Magazine of Useful Information and Amusement, "with a central badge of Britannia; priced at one penny); or FAMILY FRIEND, HOME CIRCLE, HOME COMPANION or SUNDAY AT HUME. Much of this kind of production was, however, imbued with heavy didacticism and sectarian Bible-pushing, exemplified in the frequent use of Biblical tags, mottoes and the like. All these characteristics Dickens eschewed as inappropriate to his kind of journal. The only tags or mottoes which appeared were the two half-quotes: "Familiar in their mouths as HOUSEHOLD WORDS," and "The Story of our lives from Year to Year," both attributed to Shakespeare. He was determined that his journals would be different and that they would succeed, not only as magazines but also as "a good property." His aims may have been reform, education and the spread of enlightenment, but his business-like mind also saw no reason why they should not provide him with the income his demanding family required. They were to achieve both.

Dickens had spent many years cogitating over the kind of journal he wanted to publish, and, indeed, he had already had three years' or more experience as editor of various publications. From November 1836 to January 1839 he edited BENTLEY'S MISCELLANY, and then MASTER HUMPHREY'S CLOCK from March 1840 to December 1841. He even edited a newspaper, the DAILY NEWS, as its first editor from December 1845 till February 1846, when he abruptly resigned. Nevertheless, HOUSEHOLD WORDS was to be the first real journal which he controlled, and there lay the major concern in Dickens' opinion. He had been "editor,"
or paid employee WITHOUT CONTROL over the publication, both with Bentley and with Chapman and Hall (though for MASTER HUMPHREY'S CLOCK Dickens did have shares in the publication).

BENTLEY'S had been a job of editing, something in the line of newspapers, though with materials of more literary content, consisting of contributions from various writers. Two grave errors brought about the demise of MASTER HUMPHREY: firstly, Dickens badly miscalculated his readership in that quaint sketches and chatty frivolities of topical note were no longer what his readers sought. The initial sales of some 70,000 dropped to less than half of that. BARNABY RUDGE and THE OLD CURiosity SHOP saved Dickens' reputation, and Master Humphrey was wisely dispensed with. Secondly, THE CLOCK was the sole work of Dickens, and he was incapable of sustaining the weekly output. Besides, the public wanted full-length novels in parts from him, since that was what they had come to expect by that time.

In the summer of 1845, after his return from Italy where the family had been living, Dickens again broached to Forster his idea for a magazine. "I really think," he wrote, "I have an idea, and not a bad one, for the periodical. I have turned it over, the last two days very much in my mind: and think it positively good." He outlined the details of the journal: "I incline still to weekly: price three halfpence, if possible; partly original, partly select; notices of books, notices of theatres, notices of all good things, notices of all bad
things; CAROL philosophy, cheerful views, sharp anatomization of humbug, jolly good temper; papers always in season, pat to the time of year; and a vein of glowing, hearty, generous, mirthful, beaming reference in everything to Home and Fireside. I would call it, sir — THE CRICKET...." No periodical of this name materialized, but the cricket idea was transformed into THE CRICKET ON THE HEARTH appearing in December 1845 as the year's CHRISTMAS BOOK.

The intentions behind this idea were to persist, and be refashioned at last into HOUSEHOLD WORDS.

I would come out, sir [he told Forster], with a prospectus ... that should put everybody in a good temper, and make such a dash at people's fenders and arm-chairs as hasn't been made for many a long day ... I would at once sit down upon their very hobs; and take a personal and confidential position with them which would separate me, instantly, from all other periodicals periodically published, and supply a distinct and sufficient reason for my coming into existence.

Later, he made his final telling point: "You know I am not bigoted to the first suggestion of my own fancy; but you know also exactly how I should use such a lever, and how much power I should find in it (10)." Though he changed his mind about the contents of the periodical, as far as theatre reviews and their like were to be included, these "fireside" intentions remained, ever more strengthened by
his widening fame, and also ultimately by his total control over HOUSEHOLD WORDS and later ALL THE YEAR ROUND. Hence his choice of the title "Conductor," for himself: not just an editor, nor even an owner, but both, as leader-director.

III : The Evolution of HOUSEHOLD WORDS

On 24 September 1849, Dickens wrote to Forster: "The old notion of the Periodical, which has been agitating itself in my mind for so long, I really think is at last gradually growing into form." This was followed by a further letter, 7 October 1849, from Broadstairs, which laid out again, in more sober tone this time, something on the lines of the earlier enthusiasm. A few oddities are added: "A history of Knight-errantry ... A history of Savages ... A history of remarkable characters, good and bad, IN history ... All these things, and fifty others that I have already thought of ... (11)"

This time, he recollected Goldsmith's Man in Black, as he wanted to include "... a certain SHADOW, which may go into any place, by sunlight, moonlight, starlight, firelight, candlelight, and be in all homes, and all nooks and corners, and be supposed to be cognisant of everything, and go everywhere, without the least difficulty (12)." In the end, this Robin Goodfellow-like presence was discarded altogether; perhaps, too reminiscent of old Master Humphrey; and, finally, all the structural details and kinds of contents were settled by Christmas 1849.

There remained that supremely important task for
Dickens, choosing a name for the publication. This, says Forster, "... took some time and occupied many letters."
Various names were proposed: "THE ROBIN. With this motto from Goldsmith. 'The red-breast, celebrated for its affection to mankind, continues with us, the year round'."
This foreshadowed the later journal, which came in 1859. Others followed: "MANKIND. This I think very good."

IV: HOUSEHOLD WORDS and its Satellites

Handbills were printed and circulated before the end of 1849, and in early 1850, by Bradbury and Evans, the house with whom Dickens had been publishing since December 1845, when THE CRICKET ON THE HEARTH appeared. It would seem from these bills that the publishers were not entirely sure of the emphasis of the forthcoming periodical, since on one issue, dated 27 December 1849, it reads: "MESSRS BRADBURY and EVANS beg to announce that in MARCH NEXT will be published, PRICE TWOPENCE, the First Number of A NEW WEEKLY MISCELLANY of General Literature Conducted by Mr CHARLES DICKENS; Designed for the Entertainment and Instruction of all classes of readers, and to help in the discussion of the most important social questions of the time." Another, dated 30 March 1850, reads: "HOUSEHOLD
WORDS. A Weekly Journal, designed for the Instruction and Entertainment of all Classes of Readers." One of larger format has the same wording as this last (14).

The ordering of the words "entertainment" and "instruction" may not be significant, and, like the use of capitalization in various ways in these advertisements, may be simply the results of leaving the compositors to get on with the work. These advertisements may not have had anything to do with Dickens himself, though it is hard to believe that he would not have had some say in the matter. The important thing to note is that both entertainment and instruction would form the principal aims of the journal and that these remained throughout both HOUSEHOLD WORDS (1850-1859) and ALL THE YEAR ROUND (1859-1895); the HOUSEHOLD NARRATIVE (1850-1855) being much more a "factual primer" for those who needed such information.

Earlier in this thesis, I discussed the contents of the Preliminary Word" which headed the first issue of HOUSEHOLD WORDS and here I will simply rehearse the main points made there. It is important at his juncture to state the principles underlying HOUSEHOLD WORDS similarly underlay ALL THE YEAR ROUND, since the second was really only a renamed version of the first, with one or two important changes in policy, but not in principle. The most important policy change for ALL THE YEAR ROUND was that it carried more full-length novels in parts than HOUSEHOLD WORDS had done, and that in itself was Dickens' decision when he began HARD TIMES in HOUSEHOLD WORDS (1854) after a slump in sales. There are other changes of
emphasis which I shall deal with later.

I would also take this opportunity, before proceeding, to make a few remarks about *The Household Narrative* (1850-1855) which appeared simultaneously with the first twelve half-yearly volumes of *Household Words*, though I shall not consider it further in the same sense as its matrix journal. The opening article of issue No. 3 of *Household Words*, 13 April 1850, announced that "a design, closely associated with our *Household Words*, ... now matured ..." would appear "at the end of each month as a supplementary number ..." It would be "a comprehensive Abstract or History of all the occurrences of that month, native and foreign, under the title of *The Household Narrative of Current Events*." It would also cost 2d, and be the same size. There would be an Annual Volume, in which "a copious index will appear ..." and "will then be called *The Household Narrative of such a year*." It was intended that it should "form a complete Chronicle of all that year's events, carefully compiled, thoroughly digested, and systematically arranged for easy reference; presenting a vast mass of information that must be interesting to all, at a price that will render it accessible to the humblest purchasers of books, and at which only our existing machinery in connexion with this Work would enable us to produce it."

In conclusion, the article declared it was necessary to expatiate on our leading reasons for adding this new undertaking to our present enterprise.

The intimate connexion between the facts and
realities of the time, and the means by which we aim, in HOUSEHOLD WORDS, to soften what is hard in them, to exalt what is held in little consideration, and to show the latent hope there is in what may seem unpromising, needs not to be pointed out. All that we sought to express in our Preliminary Word, in reference to this work, applies, we think, to its proposed companion.

This last sentence refers to the aim in HOUSEHOLD WORDS and in his letter to Forster to show all good things and all bad things, so that people knew what was happening in the world. At the same time, it sums up very well Dickens' view that his journals were his effort towards a better society, but it also clearly shows that he expected the readers to use the knowledge they gained. It was, he wrote, "As another humble means of enabling those who accept us for their friend, to bear the world's roughcast events to the anvil of courageous duty, and there beat them into shape, we enter on the project, and confide in its success."

It success was that it ran for six full years, most of its first two years being the work of Dickens' father, until he died in 1851. At the end of issue No. 300 of HOUSEHOLD WORDS, 22 December 1855, came the short, brusque notice: "The Publication of the HOUSEHOLD NARRATIVE OF CURRENT EVENTS will be Discontinued at the end of the Present Year with the Completion of the Volume." There appears no explanation why the supplement was discontinued,
but the work must have been too much for Dickens to continue, since in that time he had also been engaged on *DAVID COPPERFIELD*, *A CHILD'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND*, *BLEAK HOUSE*, and *HARD TIMES*. He had begun *LITTLE DORRIT*, as well as living abroad, producing and playing in *EVERYMAN IN HIS HUMOUR*, *NOT SO BAD AS WE SEEM* and other plays, and his public readings started in December 1853 at Birmingham. A complete chronicle of all events, "carefully compiled, thoroughly digested and systematically arranged" from such "a vast mass of information" must have been a labour prodigious enough without all the other activities.

The only other publication connected with *HOUSEHOLD WORDS* which appeared was *THE HOUSEHOLD WORDS ALMANAC*. This was advertised at the end (the normal position for advertisements, apart from the opening page, usually reserved for "announcements") of issue No. 295 of *HOUSEHOLD WORDS*, 17 November 1855. This reads: "On Thursday, the 22nd of November (Almanack Day), will be published, in Twenty-eight pages, stitched, PRICE FOUR PENCE, *THE HOUSEHOLD WORDS ALMANAC FOR THE YEAR 1856.*"

The lead article for the following issue, No. 296, 24 November 1855, states: "It has been our endeavour, in preparation of the *HOUSEHOLD WORDS ALMANAC*, to compress within a small space the greatest possible amount of interest and information, applicable to the varying seasons of the year and of mortal life." The various subject groupings are then carefully laid out as they were to appear in the *ALMANAC*: "The laws that maintain this wonderful structure, the Earth, in its appointed place
among the stars, and regulate the winds and waters ..." In due order, after the creative forces that maintain the earth and the universe comes man: "the principle on which the preservation of our health and cheerfulness mainly depends ..." (Dickens' constant juxtaposition of health and cheerfulness ...) Next, some of nature's contributions: "... the times of the development of the several kinds of trees and flowers, and when the melody of the various sorts of birds is first awakened; we have tried to set forth in a clear and attractive manner."

So that the reader could put his life into an historical context "We have attached to the Calendar of every month, a Chronicle of Progress ... to compare the times in which he lives, with the times of a hundred years ago." Superstition is put in its place by "... a number of remarkable Predictions, all falsified by the result, inculcating the wisdom of not too venturously binding down the Future." Family care is not forgotten: "The rearing of children, the nursing of the sick, and the readiest means of doing good in cases of sudden accident or other emergency, we have not neglected." All in all, "it has been our aim to make our Almanac a serviceable friend every day in the year, and, while it is full of human interest, to associate it with every pleasant sight and sound in Nature."

The final paragraph states in brief Dickens' constant aims for improvement and advancement, in terms of his "CAROL philosophy":

Finally, in the contemplation of the beautiful
harmonies by which Man is surrounded, and of the adorable beneficence by which all things are made to tend to his advantage, and conduce to his happiness, we hope we may have necessarily infused into our work, a humble spirit of veneration for the great Creator of the wonderful Universe, and of peace and good will among mankind.

The Great Cycle of Faith is evident once more: Man's understanding and wise use of the surrounding world will increase his knowledge and love of God, whose Will is brought nearer to fruition by Man's harmony with his fellows, which, in turn, is part of the harmonies of the universe.

Comparing the Preliminary Word and the announcement articles for the NARRATIVE and the ALMANAC reveals both their great similarities of aim and the small differences of content and emphasis. One wonders, then, quite why Dickens put himself to so much labour to produce these separate publications which appear to be variations on a theme. The answer, if one exists, beyond the fashionable popularity of the form, may well lie in the target readership which Dickens was aiming at, since he was fully aware of the social diversification of his readers. The ALMANAC may well have been aimed at the lower orders where superstition and folk-lore still held sway, since so much was transmitted by oral traditions and consistent wide reading was not a regular or customary habit. The ALMANAC, though satisfying the less intellectual kind of reading
habits typified today by tabloid newspapers, would, 
nonetheless, have an appeal of curiosity among other 
classes. The NARRATIVE had a more obviously middleclass 
appeal, its contents providing information useful and 
valuable to those engaged in business, commerce, banking 
and trade in general. The matrix journal, HOUSEHOLD WORDS, 
was still to be more generally appealing to all classes, 
and, consequently, survived both its satellites.

In the end, only two consecutive ALMANACS were issued, 
again, presumably because of over-commitment; the first 
for 1856, published 22 November 1855, and the second, 
promised for 29 November for three months, finally 
described as "Now ready" (suggesting a greater workload 
than the system could easily assimilate) was advertised in 
the issue for 20 December 1856. After that, no further 
reference was made to the ALMANAC by Dickens or Forster.

The text of the ALMANACS is largely unknown to the 
general readership of Dickens' works, and copies of the 
originals are, as Stone says, "extremely rare." The front 
cover of the 1856 issue is reproduced in Stone's book, as 
are two (double-spread) pages for the month of August for 
the same year (15).

The contents of the double-spread pages indicate 
clearly that the contents follow closely those projected. 
Four major sections are headed: "Remarkable Predictions," 
"Chronicle of Progress," "Serviceable Information," and "A 
Hundred Years Ago." The quaintest part of this 
presentation is the calendar section which is printed 
across the centre of the two pages, the two halves set in
elaborate box borders, consisting of flowers, fruit and birds. Reading through the entries for each day, all with a rural flavour, one wonders what the poorer readers in London would have made of: "17/S/13th after Trinity; 18/M/Devil's-bit Scabious flowers; 19/Tu/Bracts of the Lime fall; 20/W/Tansy flowers; 21/Th/Redbreast's song resumed; 22/F/Moon's last Quarter 9h. 7m. aft." etc.

There is another factor beyond that of over-commitment for the ALMANAC's disappearance. There were already many almanacs on the market, not the least among which was the famous, and still continuing OLD MOORE'S ALMANAC which Francis Moore began in 1697 (and still sells a million copies or so) as VOX STELLARUM, OR A LOYAL ALMANACK. The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, a lay body, led the attack on the old almanacs and popular superstition with the launch of their own, THE BRITISH ALMANACK in 1828, "patiently explaining how the movements of the stars indicated nothing but the laws of science." It was supported with a COMPANION TO THE BRITISH ALMANACK, and by 1830 was selling 40,000 copies.

Other bodies had their own almanacs, such as the Religious Tract Society (from 1836), "as did the Corn Law Movement, and the various Radical bodies. THE PEOPLE'S ALMANACK FOR 1850, for instance, included monthly articles on the conditions and prospects of the working classes (16)." It would seem that in the dearth of any evidence to the contrary, THE HOUSEHOLD WORDS ALMANAC really was too much work for such sturdy competition, and, at any rate, again smacked too much of Dickens' old failure, MASTER
HUMPHREY'S CLOCK, at least in contents, if no more, but perhaps also in its deliberately elaborate quaintness.

To summarize briefly: it can be said that the original formula set up for HOUSEHOLD WORDS worked extremely well. Since THE HOUSEHOLD NARRATIVE was rather more restricted in its appeal, as was also the ALMANAC, both requiring enormous quantities of labour to assemble and correlate, it is not surprising they were discontinued fairly soon after their inception. HOUSEHOLD WORDS, with its innate charm and broad appeal, its peculiar and attractive house style of writing, went from strength to strength. The name was eventually subsumed into ALL THE YEAR ROUND when Dickens bought out the original sharers and became the major stockholder and total controller in 1859.

The new magazine upheld the principles of its predecessor, as Dickens himself wrote in the Address, reprinted as the lead for the last issue of HOUSEHOLD WORDS: "that fusion of the graces of the imagination with the realities of life, which is vital to the welfare of any community, and for which I have striven from week to week as honestly as I could during the last nine years, will continue to be striven for 'all the year round'."

The last issue of HOUSEHOLD WORDS coincided with the fifth of ALL THE YEAR ROUND, both published 28 May 1859. Both carried a notice about the discontinuance of the former and its merger with the latter. The new title banner read: "'The Story of our lives from year to year.' - Shakespeare. ALL THE YEAR ROUND a weekly journal. Conducted by Charles Dickens. With which is incorporated
Household Words." To show how the new magazine had already made its mark with the faithful public, Dickens, with quiet manly pride, added to his HOUSEHOLD WORDS' last lead, following on from the Address: "Since this was issued, the Journal itself has come into existence, and has spoken for itself five weeks. Its fifth Number is published today, and its circulation, moderately stated, trebles that now relinquished in HOUSEHOLD WORDS (17)." That is no surprise when it is realized that the first issue had the opening of A TALE OF TWO CITIES as its lead. Dickens knew his job as a novelist and as a newspaperman: he also knew his public now, better than any other writer since Chaucer or Shakespeare. Full length tales were to be a distinct characteristic of the new dispensation, but the tried and trusted composition of HOUSEHOLD WORDS would remain.

Since the new publication needed to indicate the fresh start, Dickens had to find a different title, particularly since it was already known that he had separated from his wife, and that the image of the familial conductor was now inappropriate, some other aspect of the underlying principles had to be emphasized. Dickens' memory being what it was, makes it very likely that his earlier remark to Forster about the motto for the suggested name, THE ROBIN, was recalled; since also the motto was Goldsmith's, the likelihood is increased. In any case, it maintained the journal's commitment to the events of the world, but it also allowed the Conductor a slight but important distancing which he now needed.

Dickens changed the ownership status and the name of
his journal, but his policies remained essentially the same. To show this continuity I have attempted to synthesize the broad lines and directions of thought about adult educational interests which Dickens exhibited by grouping articles into clusters of related topics. Thus it is possible for the first time to see how inclusive Dickens’ concept was of adult educational activity, thereby enabling us to understand his fundamental philosophical and ethical beliefs in the light of this eclecticism.

V. General Policies of the Journals

Firstly, I shall consider the range of the journals’ contents to give an overview of the whole concept and its objectives in assisting the spread of education and enlightenment. I shall make little comment on individual authors of articles, except where their identification is instrumental in extending a point. For practical purposes, I am treating all articles as being (in part at least) by Dickens. Details of contributors, payment, and many other aspects are to be found in Anne Lohrli’s comprehensive review of HOUSEHOLD WORDS (18), which, along with Stone’s UNCOLLECTED WRITINGS, are a major source of information on HOUSEHOLD WORDS especially, but include insights into the other journals as a whole.

Dickens was convinced that most information, no matter how dull or dreary at first sight, could be made more palatable and interesting, if skilled writing, in style and vocabulary, in support of an imaginative approach, were
adopted. Such methods would place the material in a setting which would reveal new ways of looking at otherwise commonplace information. This was part of his intention to give due consideration to matters which might simply be overlooked or by-passed as seemingly not relevant or just uninteresting or dull. This was a prime reason why he insisted on vetting every paper that came to him, whether sought by him or unsolicited through the post. The language of the articles had to be cheery and attractive, and avoid that leaden quality which so many people, then as now, associate with Victorian prose, especially when combined with abstract consideration of religion or morals.

The second reason for his dictatorial oversight of everything was that he did not wish, or allow any opinions which either were in opposition to his own, or might be construed as being in opposition, to be published in HOUSEHOLD WORDS or ALL THE YEAR ROUND. He believed that contrasting views expressed in a journal which, as policy, did not name its authors, would be destructive of its house image; it would confuse readers and reduce the magazine to mere sensationalist journalism. He had learned from his previous experiences in miscellany construction that great diversity of opinion produced disharmony at best, and loss of the public's support at worst. That such a thing could happen would have been intolerable. This would be the case especially in a journal which published everything anonymously. The only name that appeared was Dickens', so that readers might well be forgiven for assuming that he was the author of everything published. Dissenting views
would, therefore, have been inappropriate and discordant. Disharmony might occur among the "staff," but none of that was ever allowed outside the office door, for that would have courted a loss of public faith and approval. Since Dickens' work was his personal campaign on behalf of the People, such a thought was unthinkable. Hence, his determination to be the single controlling mind behind everything in his journals.

Some contributors were writers of repute already, others novices or once-only authors. Some were senior to Dickens in age. None of this seemed to matter. Dickens was "the chief," as he was affectionately known. Edmund Yates, one of Dickens' "young men," wrote:

He was imperious in the sense that his life was conducted on the SIC VOLO SIC IUBEO principle, and everything gave way before him. The society in which he mixed, the hours which he kept, the opinions which he held, his likes and dislikes, his ideas of what should or should not be, were all settled by himself, not merely for himself, but for all those brought into connection with him, and it was never imagined they would be called in question. Yet he was never regarded as a tyrant: he had immense power of will, absolute mesmeric force ... and that he should lead and govern seemed perfectly natural to us (19).

Three guiding principles were unswervingly demanded by Dickens for all articles: firstly, that the factual
content of a piece was both accurate and true; secondly, that it had to be original and not plagiarized. In this last case, that did not mean that someone else’s material could not be "ghosted" or written up. Faraday’s lectures on a candle were ghosted for HOUSEHOLD WORDS, from Faraday’s own notes and with his co-operation. That was good, standard and honourable journalistic practice; besides Faraday was identified in the article as the source of the material. Thus, following through this dictum, hardly anything appeared as a reprint from other sources; and no plagiarism escaped the Conductor’s scrutiny or escaped his all-embracing memory (20).

Dickens wrote to his devoted friend, close collaborator and sub-editor, W.H. Wills, 21 November 1853: "Keep HOUSEHOLD WORDS Imaginative! is the solemn and continual Conductorial Injunction." Earlier that year, he had written to Wills about the copy which was to be used in issue 181, 10 September 1853, of the journal, "... the No. is an awfully and solemnly heavy one -- and ... must really be lightened. I read it last night, and had a Nightmare ... 'The Stereoscope' is dreadfully literal. Some fancy must be got into the No. ... P.S. Brighten it, brighten it, brighten it!" (5 August 1853) One might comment that the nine and a half columns of "The Stereoscope" article still make solid reading, even though it has a brisk pace to its style and gets the reader into it with a little word-play. Eg "Everyone has been told that the old priests of Egypt and Greece were better skilled in optics than in necromancy; that many an awful
ghost riding upon a cloud, was the result of hocussing and focussing."

Lorri aptly summarizes the results of this "Conductorial Injunction," and third principle, when she writes: "As one means to this end, writers resorted to such devices as personification, fantasy, vision, fables, fairy tales, imaginary travels, contrived conversations, and the use of fictitious characters to serve as mouthpieces of information and opinion." To this, she adds a further means as "exaggerations and distortion," and, quoting Percy Fitzgerald: "A mere natural, unaffected account of any transaction, it was felt, was out of place."

Finally, "other distinctive characteristics of HOUSEHOLD WORDS: treatment of non-fiction prose were the provocative introductory paragraphs and the 'tricky,' 'smart' titles (often puns), intended to lure a reader into what might be an article of serious import. HOUSEHOLD WORDS readers were to be 'instructively amused,' or -- indirectly, unwittingly -- instructed (21)."

Neither of the main journals made much concession to its readers. A high degree of literacy was a basic expectation. Even in articles overtly addressed to the working-classes, no attempt was made to restrict or simplify vocabulary. Dickens brooked no condescension or any whiff of patronage to enter into his magazines. As Collins has pointed out, in reference to HOUSEHOLD WORDS, but applying similarly to ALL THE YEAR ROUND: "... HOUSEHOLD WORDS made ... fewer concessions to human laziness and desire to be easily amused than later popular
journals have done: the lay-out was sober, there were no illustrations, and the style was literate. Dickens, unlike some later editors, expected his readers to make the effort to cope with sentences of more than a dozen words, paragraphs of more than two sentences, and stories and articles longer than a few hundred, or a thousand words."

In terms of his own over-all contribution, Dickens, says Collins, "Above all ... conducted his journals with a sense of responsibility which has not always been conspicuous in his successors. His campaigns on social issues were not all wholly wise -- though he was right much more often than not -- but at least they were genuine: Dickens did not think up 'stunts'." His sincerity was clear in that he did not
cynically offer to the public a standard of writing which he privately despised ... he obtained ... a list of contributors of which his more pretentious contemporaries could have been proud. He certainly wanted his journals to have a popular appeal, but he always recognized his responsibility to inform and instruct his public -- rightly adding 'something to the popular and picturesque means of understanding' various important issues -- and to improve their taste (22).

In a letter, composed only a few months before his death, Dickens wrote, again confirming his recognition of the People's dignity: "It is unnecessary for me to express my cordial concurrence in the principle of raising the
character of the people and raising the character of their amusements: always supposing that no endeavour towards that end either patronizes them, or otherwise treats them as children." (21 January 1870)

Perhaps, the real, innermost secret, beyond the obvious literary methodologies and devices, beyond the polishing and arranging of the contributions to the journals, lies in Dickens' heart, that his journals should have succeeded as they did. Lord Northcliffe recognized that secret, in his acknowledgement of Dickens as the greatest magazine editor of his own or any other age. Again, Collins remarks, in the light of that Lord's opinion, that "... Dickens had a wonderful understanding of the mass-mind, and a genuine sympathy for it: for although he was not, and did not consider himself, socially 'of the People,' culturally and intellectually he was at one with them (23)."

VI : An Overview of the Journals' Contents

To give some idea of the composition of HOUSEHOLD WORDS, and of ALL THE YEAR ROUND, I have taken a sample of the total issues and analyzed their contents in groups of items. These I have given composite names; e.g. "General Journalism" comprises pieces such as "Chips" (which I have treated as a single item, though often containing two or more short notices), announcements and articles which deal overtly with campaigning matters. "Fantasy/Story" is self-explanatory as are "Verse" and "Letters." "General
Articles" contains all other articles whether scientific, social or geographical, etc. "Memoirs" contains autobiographical and biographical materials.

I have chosen twenty issues from the start of HOUSEHOLD WORDS, Nos 1-20, twenty from the middle of its run, Nos 210-229, and the final twenty, Nos 460-479 (1850, 1854 and 1859 respectively). These selections, therefore, give some indication of the movement within the journal over its total existence as separate from ALL THE YEAR ROUND. I follow this with a similar sampling from the latter journal.

Table 6.1 shows the composition of these issues analyzed by item content.

Perhaps the most significant change to note here is the steady decline in the numbers of items in the three bands. This means that items were reduced numerically but increased in individual length, since all issues had twenty-four pages. This is further clarified in Table 6.2, where average page and column lengths have been calculated (each page had two columns). This table also clearly shows that individual items had increased on the average by 1.8 columns length between 1850 and 1859, and that the average number of items had shrunk from 8 or 9 to 6 or 7. Table 6.3 shows the actual range of numbers of items in each twenty issues sampled. It shows also that the average calculated in Table 6.2 is very close to the actual numbers.

To give some comparison over time, but to show also where emphases changed when HOUSEHOLD WORDS had been merged
into ALL THE YEAR ROUND. I have analyzed 60 issues from the latter journal at approximately the same kinds of intervals. Tables 6.4 to 6.6 give information analyzed in the same way as those (6.1 to 6.3) for HOUSEHOLD WORDS.

The emphases here in these sample issues show that between 1859 when ALL THE YEAR ROUND began and 1870, when Dickens died, the amount of stories included had almost doubled that in HOUSEHOLD WORDS. Similarly, the quantity of general articles was down to 83% of the former journal. Verse had declined by about the same percentage. When we look at the number and length of items, a definite shift to fewer items in each issue is evident, presumably with fewer authors involved, and thereby less "organizing" required. A comparison of the average items/issue in 6.5 with the actual range (Table 6.6) again shows these to be very close.

Certainly, these figures indicate that the variety of material which Dickens had insisted on from the start of HOUSEHOLD WORDS and promised to maintain in ALL THE YEAR ROUND had in fact lessened, as the number of individual items had gone from 8 to 5 or 6. This marks, too, a lessening from HOUSEHOLD WORDS where the average had dropped from 8 or 9 to 6 or 7. The fewest articles in any one issue was in fact 4, and these were almost entirely fiction. Nevertheless, the journal was to outlive its creator by a quarter of a century.

These shifts, I suggest, indicate two major changes in Dickens' attitudes to the journals, and his life in general.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ISSUE</th>
<th>GENERAL</th>
<th>FANTASY/</th>
<th>GENERAL</th>
<th>VERSE</th>
<th>LETTERS</th>
<th>MEMOIRS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOS</td>
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<td>STORY</td>
<td>ARTICLES</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>34</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210/229</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>460/479</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>442</td>
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Table 5.1: Composition of issues - HOUSEHOLD WORDS

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<tr>
<th>ISSUE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>TOTAL pp</th>
<th>AVERAGE</th>
<th>AVERAGE</th>
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<td>pp/ITEM</td>
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<td>ITEMS/ISSUE</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>LENGTH</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(PPx2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/20</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>2.79</td>
<td>5.58</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210/229</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>6.98</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>460/479</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>n80</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>7.38</td>
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Table 5.2: Comparative number and length of items - HOUSEHOLD WORDS
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<th>ISSUE</th>
<th>LOWEST</th>
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<th>AVERAGE</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1/20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210/229</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>430/479</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.5</td>
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Table 2.3: Actual Range of Items/Issue - HOUSEHOLD WORDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ISSUE</th>
<th>GENERAL</th>
<th>FANTASY/</th>
<th>GENERAL</th>
<th>VERSE</th>
<th>LETTERS</th>
<th>MEMOIRS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
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<td>NOS</td>
<td>JOURN.</td>
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<td>ARTICLES</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>277/256</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>62</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>112</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>126</td>
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<td>13/ALS</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>392</td>
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Table 2.4: Composition of issues - ALL THE YEAR ROUND
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<tr>
<th>ISSUE</th>
<th>NOs</th>
<th>ITEMS (20x24)</th>
<th>pp/ITEM</th>
<th>COLUMN LENGTH</th>
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<td>480</td>
<td>3.11</td>
<td>6.22</td>
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<tr>
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<td>480</td>
<td>3.80</td>
<td>7.60</td>
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Table 6.5 : Comparative Number and Length of items - ALL THE YEAR ROUND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ISSUE</th>
<th>LOWEST</th>
<th>HIGHEST</th>
<th>AVERAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOs</td>
<td>NO/ITEM</td>
<td>NO/ITEMS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 1/20  | 6      | 10      | 8       |
| 277/296 | 4      | 7       | 5.5     |
| N.S.53/72 | 4      | 7       | 5.5     |

Table 6.6 : Actual Range of items/issue - ALL THE YEAR ROUND
That more fiction appeared after 1859 and fewer articles of less specific informational content were published, suggests a lessening of Dickens’ commitment to his readers’ general knowledge, but with a parallel increase in his belief in the value of imaginative writing in support of their cause, especially in terms of characters and situations which were presented as models for upright behaviour and development of moral sense. In that way, he was developing a new slant in his approach to the people’s education.

The period also shows Dickens himself seeking greater actual contact with his public through his reading tours, his second visit to the United States, and so on. Perhaps that is an explanation of his change of policy. Nevertheless, his life had skewed dramatically since his separation from Catherine, and, besides, he was in love with Ellen Ternan, but still without peace or tranquility. Indeed, his restlessness was growing, and could end only with his death. The writings published during this final period of his life (apart from the journals) were *A TALE OF TWO CITIES* (which opened *ALL THE YEAR ROUND*), the papers called *THE UNCOMMERCIAL TRAVELLER*, *GREAT EXPECTATIONS*, *OUR MUTUAL FRIEND* and the half-completed *MYSTERY OF EDWIN DROOD*. In addition, he wrote *MUGBY JUNCTION*, *NO THOROUGHFARE* (with Wilkie Collins), *GEORGE SILVERMAN’S EXPLANATION*, and *A HOLIDAY ROMANCE* (originally written in the United States, but reprinted in *ALL THE YEAR ROUND*).

Some of these last writings’ themes show very clearly Dickens’ disillusionment with Britain and life in general.
The three last novels have a central mystery and greed is evident in all four mentioned. A sense of exclusion permeates these tales, as though Dickens' own feelings and beliefs had begun to distance him from his fellows. The sacrifice of self in A TALE OF TWO CITIES signifies little. The expectations in the next tale raise their receiver up only to dash him down again, and come to nothing. Riches lie only in the dust, and selfishness has to be suppressed. The final mystery of all this was never to be revealed.

Dickens' last decade was an era of increasing sadness for him, as old friends died, along also with some of his own sons. Troubles seemed never to leave him and work, or at least violent activity, gave only very momentary solace. All this comes through in his work, and is reflected in his "good property," his journals.

VII: The Journals and the Family

It might be argued that family education is not the education of adults. My reply is that adults were the buyers of the journals and the arbiters of whether reading matter was suitable or not for younger minds and sensibilities. That, in itself, was an educational, learning process for the adults. Let us remind ourselves also that "adult" and "child," as terms, have both changed in their semantic nuances since Dickens' day. Childhood was not regarded as an identifiably individualized period of development and change. How could it be, when children from the age of 3 or 4 years were considered old enough to
work in factories, mines and other work places, or had been considered so until the advent of the Factory Acts and their successors? Dickens himself had been considered "adult" enough at twelve.

More important than this, however, is the idea of the "safety" of the family and its ability to create and control a moral climate in which to instil concepts of morality in the growing mind of the young person. Thus, although the articles may have been written with an adult reader in view, it was also envisaged that the information would be disseminated by the widespread habit of reading aloud around the fireside, and, therefore, become common property of all the family members old enough to understand and grasp the arguments posited. Dickens always envisaged the sharing of information and, therefore, also of enjoyment and pleasure in that sharing. He had indicated this idea in his early speeches to the Mechanics' Institutes (V.Chp 3 above). Since the family formed the nub of Dickens' concept of the social structure, communal reading aloud was the essential way in which gradual enlightenment would come about within the "safe" environment of the family situation.

The family was always a major concern for Dickens: he believed it was the natural emotional associations of kith and kin which gave an individual his raison d'être, his background and, in many respects, his personality. This belief he exhibited both in positive and negative ways in his writings and speeches. Speaking to Mechanics' Institutes, he frequently referred to the benefits which
homes and families would receive from the knowledge and
education gained from the men's studies. He extolled the
virtues of "the ladies" who attended dinners and classes,
and honoured their civilizing and refining presences and
activities. He looked forward to the enlightenment of the
whole nation as men and women learned more and comprehended
more. Families would be enlightened by these things and by
each other also as they discussed the various matters
within the family group. Indeed, the business of creating
and raising a family in itself was (and is) an educational
process and product.

The negative aspect of family life Dickens exposed in
his pictures of disjointed or disintegrating families, such
as Arthur Clennam's relationship with his mother, or Pip's
with his sister and his brother-in-law, Joe Gargery, as
well as the "horrors" of Dora's and Mrs Jellyby's
housekeeping and neglect of family. To balance against
these, one remembers the jolly, close-knit family feelings
of the Toodles, the Garlands, and, of course, of the
Cratchits. One remembers, too, the loving way in which
Betsy Trotwood took young David Copperfield to her as his
surrogate mother. Even the precarious existence of the
Micawbers (in some ways fairly closely resembling Dickens' own family) exhibits this closeness of blood-ties and
loving care; and Mrs Micawber's constant cry that come
what may, she would never desert Mr Micawber is the symbol
of that family constancy and love.

There is a further but different point to be borne in
mind also, and this concerns Dickens' own relationship with
his public. Dickens had always wanted to create his own journal so that he could be constantly in touch with his public. Likewise, he wanted to inform them of all the world’s doings so that they would come to recognize their own place in the world outside, and in British society especially. One cannot here divorce Dickens’ views as social reformer from that of the didact. He felt he had to awaken the People’s senses, dulled and deadened by overhasty industrialization, to their predicament. He was giving them the "facts" suitably dressed up in his fiction, but not destroying the truth or accuracy of his statements. The time was ripe also to give them real, "hard" information through articles in HOUSEHOLD WORDS or ALL THE YEAR ROUND so that their interest, made active through his stories and tales, could be furthered and deepened by more obviously informative writing, but informative writing which would still enthuse them to more activity through the medium of fancy, carefully employed to make possibly unpalatable information more acceptable. He realized that the kind of information the People needed was, of course, "serious" and detailed if they were to make any advancement of any kind away from their degradation and ignorance. Unfortunately, "serious" information, if presented to persons of no educational background in the formal sense, is either boring or simply unintelligible. Hence, the need to "brighten it!" In this way, the slow haul of enlightenment could be set in motion.

This could be done at a distance, and done most effectively: the answer was a family magazine (24).
Dickens had arrived at the same answer as many other individuals and organizations, but the path of his reasoning was quite different, and his motives surpassed the utilitarian view of simply "useful" knowledge. His idea of "useful knowledge" subsumed both the immediate practicality of such information, and the long-term goal of the People's enlightenment and their ultimate taking of their rightful place in society as human beings with all the dignity that the term may imply.

The key sentence of the Preliminary Word, in so far as the journal's contents were projected (and later fulfilled), is this: "We seek to bring into innumerable homes, from the stirring world around us, the knowledge of many social wonders, good and evil, that are not calculated to render any of us less ardently persevering in ourselves, less tolerant of one another, less faithful in the progress of mankind, less thankful for the privilege of living in this summer-dawn of time." Perhaps, too, its corollary is in this sentence: "To show to all ..." whom Dickens had already defined as "... people, of both sexes, and of all ages and conditions ... that in all familiar things, even in those which are repellant on the surface, there is Romance enough, if we will find it out ..." One feels that these statements echo the Roman, Terence, who claimed that nothing which concerned human beings was foreign to him. The only stricture which Dickens held for himself, and, thereby, for his collaborators also, was that all writing, both in style and content should not exceed the bounds of decency, as he defined it.
Dickens' target readership comprised both the middling classes and the upper levels of the artisan classes. The first group he aimed to inform about the conditions of the lower orders, and to enlist their assistance to raise those below. The artisan classes received general information about the conditions of the poor, destitute and so on also, so that they fully understood the situation. The actual poor and destitute were not addressed as a group, though their lives were discussed. In short: the aim was two-fold: firstly, to inform all of the conditions of the lower orders; and, secondly, to gain understanding of and assistance in furthering the People's advancement (25).

Let us look more closely at the results of these guiding thoughts to see what extent they were hopeful projections and successful completions in so far as the journals are concerned.

To analyze all the thousands of items in 49 volumes (the sum of all three journals) would be a task of mammoth and chronic proportion. I have, therefore, regarded all the articles as belonging to one of two major categories, viz.:

a) those items of general interest and, broadly concerned with cultural spread. These comprize verse items, many on religious or moral topics, others of "Romantic" tales; articles on foreign travel and social anthropology; history, both personalized in biographical form, and as reports; topical items on Russia during the Crimean War;
scientific and quasi-scientific articles; discussions on customs, ancient and modern; archaeology and palaeontology; discussions on artists and writers; and many others. And

b) those items which more overtly deal with the plight of the people and the educational means at their disposal to contend with it. These tend more towards quasi-political as well as educational articles, and cover materials such as workers' exhibitions; the right to strike; events in the educational world; managing one's home; refuges, homes, reformatories; emigration and the colonies; worker and management relationships; pleas for education to be provided by the State; social control, the police and the law; naval and military conditions; etc.

Since the theme of this thesis is concerned with the second group, I have used the first merely as a means to show how general items of information were the spring-board for the creation of the house-style which I consider in the next section. The bulk of the ensuing chapter is devoted to the elucidation of the main theme.
Chapter Seven

THE JOURNALS (II)

I. Some Matters of Style and Approach

This short section intends to demonstrate in brief the style and approach to writing which came to characterize the journals. For this purpose, I have chosen three items which show very clearly now the house style was constructed and effected, since my chief interest is with the content of the articles rather than their literary merit or otherwise, and I leave the reader to elaborate further details by a perusal of the journals at large, as far as items of general information and entertainment are concerned.

HOUSEHOLD WORDS' first general article, (HW, 30MAR50, 6-12), illustrates well the kind of cheerful, "quaint" characteristics, soon so familiar to the journals' readers, and had as its topic the rather ordinary subject of how the Post Office categorized and sorted its mail in 1850.

Entitled, "Valentine's Day at the Post Office," the article introduces the system, continues to statistics about quantities of mail handled, the cost involved, then how the public addressed its mail -- and how it should do it -- and finally to the honesty of Post Office workers.

The article's style is calculated to turn all this mundane information into a great adventure: a "lark." The scene is set thus:

Late in the afternoon of the 14th of February last past, an individual who bore not the smallest resemblance to a despairing lover, or,
indeed, to a lover in any state of mind, was seen to drop into the box of a Fleet Street receiving-house two letters folded in flaming covers. He did not look round to see if he were observed, but walked boldly into the shop with a third epistle, and deposited thereon one penny. Considering the suspicious envelope was green — he retired from the counter with extraordinary NONCHALANCE, and coolly walked on towards Ludgate Hill.

Soon after, this individual meets another "under the clock of the General Post Office," and the following mysterious dialogue ensues: "'Have you done it?' The answer was, 'I have!' 'Very well. Let us watch the result!'"

Gradually all the scenes are revealed as in a toy theatre, showing the gentlemen had posted the brightly covered letters and gone to the G.P.O. to see how sorting was carried out. That it was Valentine's Day was no coincidence, because that auspicious day should have had some effect upon the normal quantities of mail. The two gentlemen watch the sorters identify their special letters and note the methods used. The men generally lolling about waiting for the mail to arrive, were suddenly animated by "getting up, on an immense scale, the first scene in the 'Miller and his Men.' Each had a sack on his back; each bent under its weight; and the bare sight of these sacks, as if by magic, changed all the readers, all the talkers, all the wanderers, all the liers-down, all the
coffee-drinkers, into a colony of human ants."

Then follow various statistics, all turned into
dialogue or comparisons and one small table showing the
breakdown of "the number of district letters that passed
through this office on St Valentine's Day." This is
"written up" in very elaborate language, designed to raise
a smile:

The grand total for the day, therefore, rose to
nearly 300,000. Thus the sacrifices to the
fane of St Valentine -- consisting of hearts,
darts, Cupid peeping out of paper roses, Hymen
embowered in hot-pressed embossing, swains in
very blue coats and nymphs in very opaque
muslin, coarse caricatures and tendernesses --
caused an augmentation to the revenue on this
anniversary equal to about 70,000 missives;
123,000 being the usual daily average for
district and 'byes' during the month of
February ... The entire correspondence of the
three Kingdoms is augmented on each St
Valentine's Day to the extent of about 400,000
letters.

The list of "curious things" found in the dead-letter
office, though factual, is delivered in the like manner:

Its list showed amongst other articles, --
tooth-picks, tooth-files, fishing-flies, an
eye-glass, brad-awls, portraits, miniatures, a
whistle, corkscrews, a silver watch, a pair of
spurs, a bridle, a soldier's discharge and
sailors' register tickets, samples of hops and corn, a Greek manuscript, silver spoons, gold thread, dinner, theatre and pawn tickets, boxes of pills, shirts, night-caps, razors, all sorts of knitting and lace, 'dolls' things,' and a variety of other articles, that would puzzle ingenuity to conjecture.

The very incongruity of juxtaposition makes this an amusing list. One is forced to wonder why anyone should send such curious objects; but reflection shows each object to be a completely commonplace thing to be posted, individually.

What might be called "personalized addresses," in that each is a creation entirely of the writer, then follow, to punch home that correct addressing matters. I quote a few (as printed):

To George Miller. boy on board H M S Amphitrite Vallop a Razzor or Ellesware (ie "Valparaiso or elsewhere")
Mr Weston Osburn Cottage Ilawait ... a neighbour of her Majesty, and lived at Osborne Cottage, Isle of Wight.
Mr Laurence New Land Ivicum (High Wycombe)
W. Stratton Commonly Ceald Teapot (We presume as a total abstinence man) Weelin. (Welwyn)
The ingenious orthographies RATLIFHAIVAI and RATLEF FIEWAY went straight to the proper parties in Ratcliffe Highway...
Perhaps the most charming are those at the end of the
examples given. "Innocent simplicity baulks us as much as ignorance," remarked the head of the hieroglyphic department." One or two specimens follow:

To Mr Michl Darcy In the town of England.
From a schoolboy in Salisbury: To my Uncle Jon in London.
And finally, Another addresses to the highest personage in the realm -- no doubt on particular business -- as Miss Queene Victoria of England.

I have quoted from this article at length for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is the very first article of general interest in the whole of the journals, and it exhibits so many of the devices to be used later in so many others to raise the reader's interest, to maintain it and inform him. Secondly, the total amount, almost eleven complete columns, is full of information, cajolings of the public as well as direct instructions on packaging, correct addressing and the like, and yet it entertains completely.

Thirdly, it is an excellent example of Dickens' use of popularly known material upon which he could rely for comparison. Hence, the reference to "The Miller and his Men," a popular melodrama both in the theatre and its toy counterpart; to "Cinderella" and her rapid disappearance after the ball.

In an article, called "Chemical Contradictions," which treats of chemical reactions demonstrated in a way to suggest magic or "tricks," the opening sentences strike a similar note, by referring to ancient ideas of magic.
Science, whose aim and end is to prove the harmony and 'eternal fitness of things,' also proves that we live in a world of paradoxes; and that existence itself, is a whirl of contradictions. Light and darkness, truth and falsehood, virtue and vice, the negative and positive poles of galvanic or magnetic mysteries, are evidences of all-pervading antitheses, which acting like the good and evil genii of Persian mythology, neutralise each other's powers when they come into collision. It is the office of science to solve these mysteries. The appropriate symbol of the lecture-room is a Sphinx; for a scientific lecturer is but a better sort of unraveller of riddles.

A kind of half-understood confusion is created here, to be dispelled as the article demonstrates a number of mysteries, and then gives the scientific explanation of how and why they occur. Reference is also made to "Your analytical chemist ... [who] ... sadly annihilates, with his scientific machinations, all poetry. He bottles up at pleasure the Nine Muses, and proves them -- as the fisherman in the Arabian Nights did the Afrite -- to be all smoke. Even Will o' the Wisp cannot flit across its own morass without being pursued, overtaken, and burnt out by this scientific detective policeman." In this way, the article lists experiment after experiment and introduces various scientific phenomena such as the effect of heat on
certain chemicals, or of friction, thus building up, piecemeal, a modicum of scientific vocabulary for the reader. (HW, 14SEP50, 591-594) (1).

Shorter, pithier pieces are written in tones of more direct language, such as a "Chip," from the same issue last quoted, shows. It evinces a clear concern for the article's material, cruelty to animals, and the public's lack of knowledge and sympathy, through its choice of words, and occasional, deliberate bad taste. First stating a report of the plucking of only half-dead ducks, the article expresses the view that "The only means of accounting for such irrational cruelty, is the supposition that the offending poulterers imagine ducks to be endowed by nature with no more feeling than feather beds." A reader today might question the taste of that remark; but it is done to emphasize the true horror of the situation by means of the mental shock of such tasteless juxtaposition. After relating a further case of cruelty to animals in slaughter-houses, the concluding paragraph refers to earlier items on this theme, and says,

We have in former articles shown that this sort of brutality is of everyday occurrence, and perpetrated in the regular way of business. Use begets insensibility. We have no doubt that the poulterer and butchers concerned in the atrocities we have detailed, are worthy men enough in their families. They would not tear the hair out of the head of a child, or goad a wife with a broom-stick, for the world ... what
can exceed, or what censure can be too sharp for, their cruelty? Exposure is the only cure; and this we will always do our part in administering.

This kind of writing is always to the point and pulls no punches where a cause is to be fought for. Moreover, the positioning of items also has a reason behind it, since it was of little consequence exactly where in a column each item began or ended (always provided it gave sufficient space for an appropriate heading for the next). The order of items has significance. This Chip was positioned between a story and a piece of verse. If the issue were read from first to last item, the order (in kinds of contents) runs: Three Detective Anecdotes; a story; Chips; verse; geographical article; scientific article; anthropological article; verse; and an article on superstitions. This, by any measure, is a well balanced issue, and the question of balance was always one of enormous importance to Dickens. So much so, that even when living abroad and attempting to carry on the minutest supervision of his journals, he would give Wills instructions to break up whole issues to get the balance right.

For instance, on 25 September 1854, when there was renewed unrest among working people, Dickens wrote to Wills: "I am really quite shocked and ashamed on looking at the new No. to find nothing in it appropriate to the memorable times." He suggested his own article, "To Working Men," should be included. The radical instructions
that followed completely reshaped the Number. "But I am so painfully impressed with a sense of our being frivolous that IF YOU HAVE NOT ALREADY GOT TO PRESS WITH NO. 237, I ENTREAT YOU TO UNMAKE IT AND PUT THIS ARTICLE ["To Working Men"] FIRST. Forster will correct it, if you give him the copy, quite accurately I am sure; therefore it would only involve a delay of a few hours. Even if but a few of 237's were printed, it would be better to cancel them -- stop -- and get this paper in (2)." This makes it very clear how important to Dickens the balance of each number was, and how conscious he was, too, of the need to weigh the positioning of articles within the general contents of each issue, so that each item would have the interest of a mild surprize at least as the reader came upon it.

Anne Lohrli's summary gives a very good impression of the breadth of subject interest which Dickens was able to inject into his journals, through the fact that he never refused any good idea, even if not used. (It is very likely that others more serviceable to his needs were thrown up.) Dickens sent to Miss Coutts, "Many thanks for the Hieroglyphic suggestions. It is an excellent subject, but the difficulty in treating it for so large an audience is to find anyone well acquainted with it, who has the power of sufficiently popularizing it. I hope, however, that I can discover the man." (22 August 1851)

Anne Lohrli writes of HOUSEHOLD WORDS, but its generality applies equally to ALL THE YEAR ROUND, when she says the journal contained articles on food, drink, and
cookery; on public houses and sporting matters; on superstitions and mythological monsters, and on subjects of mildly antiquarian interest. There were occasional accounts of murders and murder trials, historical and contemporary. There was an account of Swedenborgianism and one on Mormonism. There were articles on philology and language. Occasional articles dealt with the arts — with music and musicians; with the theatre, drama and dramatists; with art, art collections and artists. Articles on literature and writers were more numerous. ... Character books, conduct books, and a fifteenth century herbal were the subjects of other articles. Tom D'Urfey, Robert Dodsley, and Elijah Fenton were resurrected as forgotten curiosia; Ebenezer Elliott, Wordsworth, and Margaret Fuller, as recently deceased, were each made the subject of an article (3).

With this thumb-nail sketch of the journals' over-all contents let us move on to a more detailed and specific review of writings concerned directly with the people's advancement generally, and the education of adults in particular.

To make the evidence coherent and clear, I have
assembled information from various articles under seven headings, ordered thus:

1. The People.
2. Self-help among the People.
3. Provision of Informal Education.
4. Education and the State.
5. Crime, Education and Reformation.
6. Women's Education.
7. Special and Advanced Education.

It is not easy to extract evidence of the kind expressed in the journals, as it is scattered throughout, and sometimes comprises only a short paragraph in an item on some other matter, or appears as a "Chip." However, there is sufficient evidence in the selected articles (which are major representatives of the categories which they fell into, quite naturally) to show a consistent, thought-through opinion, based largely on factual, first-hand information, expressed throughout Dickens' twenty years' labour on the journals (4), reflecting the same themes and ideas expressed in his speeches and elsewhere.

So that the detailed consideration of the articles concerned more overtly with the education of adults should have a frame of reference, I feel it is important to examine some of the journals' evidence connected with the general attitude to the People; so, I begin with this. To show how much more detail may be gleaned, I have appended, in chronological order, all the selected articles for the reader to follow up at leisure. (V. Appendix "F")
It is now a truism that Dickens was intimate with the condition of the poor and lowly, and personally kept in touch by wandering around London into strange corners where many would tremble to venture. Nor was he entirely ignorant of rural poverty, as he habitually went into the country as a retreat to recover from his work, or, indeed, at other times to continue it. Enough evidence has been offered from his speeches and his general writings to instance this. The journals reinforce the same evidence. The articles selected cover the period from October 1854 to December 1869, fifteen years out of his twenty as Conductor of the great Journals, but include some jottings from 1850 and 1851 in the HOUSEHOLD NARRATIVE.

By 1850, Dickens was already known as a champion of the People's cause. This had been unmistakable from his earliest SKETCHES, and emphasized by such works as OLIVER TWIST, THE CHIMES and THE CRICKET ON THE HEARTH among many others. His view of the essential dignity and good sense of ordinary, humble English people was not to change, and that view was re-iterated throughout his life and works.

The poor's appalling housing and general living conditions he exposed repeatedly, hence the journals' constant articles on such uninviting but essential topics as the removal of vast heaps of human and other detritus (called tactfully in OUR MUTUAL FRIEND, "dust heaps"), clean air, the cessation of intramural (ie within the city) interment, good drains, pure water, and
wholesome, healthy dwellings. Of these very numerous articles, three give good example of their kind here (5).

"To Working Men" (HW, 7OCT54, 169-170) is a direct address "to warn his readers, whatsoever be their ranks and conditions to improve the towns in which they live, and to amend the dwellings of the poor," otherwise, "they are guilty before GOD, of wholesale murder." They must avoid the "fatal old mistake -- to beware of being led astray from their dearest interests by high political authorities on the one hand, no less than by sharking mountebanks on the other." The "hounourable circle" of lords and gentlemen (and "honourable" has the force of Shakespeare's Mark Anthony's use) have "distracted the working man's attention from his first necessities ..." Let the working man put aside voting and all the Parliamentary clap-trap for the moment and hold "steadily to one truth." A most telling condemnation follows of the working man's wrongs, brought about by the abuse of privilege, insouciance and sheer neglect. To sharpen the case farther, a working man delivers the "speech" to the reader.

"Waking and sleeping, I and mine are slowly poisoned. Imperfect development and premature decay are the lot of those who are dear to me as my life. I bring children into the world to suffer unnaturally, and to die when my Merciful Father would have them live. The beauty of infancy is blotted out from my sight, and in its stead sickness and pain look at me from the wan mother's knee. Shameful deprivation of
the commonest appliances, distinguishing the
lives of human beings from the lives of beasts,
is my inheritance. My family is one of tens of
thousands of families who are set aside as food
for pestilence." And let him then, being made
in the form of man, resolve, "I will not bear
it, and it shall not be!"

Let the working people join with "the whole powerful
middle-class ... newly smitten with a sense of
self-reproach ..." and "The utmost power of the press is
eager to assist ..." But (and this is the important
caveat)

... the movement, to be irresistible, must
originate with themselves, the suffering many.
... Let the working people ... but turn their
intelligence, their energy, their numbers,
their power of union, their patience, their
perseverance, in this straight direction in
earnest -- and by Christmas, they shall find
a government in Downing-street and a House of
Commons within hail of it, possessing not the
faintest family resemblance to the Indifferents
and Incapables last heard of in that slumbrous
neighbourhood.

By alliance "the dark list of calamities resulting
from sinful and cruel neglect" could be mitigated. This
could establish better understanding "between the two great
divisions of society, a habit of kinder and nearer
approach, an increased respect and truthfulness on both
sides, a gently corrected method in each of considering the views of the other ..." since all had lost dear ones in the late cholera epidemic.

The article concludes "in the plunest sincerity, in affectionate sympathy, in the ardent desire of our heart to do them some service ..." Working men should beware:

The time is ripe for every one of them to raise himself and those who are dear to him, at no man's cost, and with no violence or injustice, with cheerful help and support, with lasting benefit to the whole community. Even the many among them at whose firesides there will be vacant seats this winter, we address with hope. However hard the trial and heavy the bereavement, there is a far higher consolation in striving for the life that is left, than in brooding with sullen eyes beside the grave.

The article embodies two great aims of Dickens' crusade on behalf of the oppressed: his desire to see the classes of English society working and conversing together at ease, in their common humanity; and to see the working people standing up for themselves as of right, without suppression or indifference from authority. In this, the most overtly political of Dickens' writings, it should be noted how careful he is at the end of his stirring address to ask for no violence (ie no revolution or rebellion), but staunch manliness of sticking to the point and making the argument irrebuttable, so that progressive action is taken to make the working man's lot and that of his family
tolerable. One might say that although Dickens appears not to have supported Chartism when that movement was in its most active phase, this article takes its place as Dickens' own charter for the working classes.

However, the poor of London were not to escape from their burdensome troubles so easily. There was a terrible frost in February 1855 and the article, "Frost-bitten Homes" (HW, 31MAR55, 193-196), describes "the general distress endured by a large class of the inhabitants of London who commit no crimes and utter no complaints by which to call attention to their sorrow ... (6)" Dickens reports he visited these poor people in the summer and saw "the shadow of the war upon their households. Looms were idle, high prices and dread of a prevailing pestilence almost destroyed the traffic of the hawkers ..." to such an extent that the people "... almost without exception destitute of this world's goods, remained as miserable as they had been in the preceding winter. ... The cold weather dealt with the unoffending poor as it might deal with exotics in a hot-house. Nothing that had life among them seemed to have escaped the blight of it." Besides, "... many of them had little more in this world than their lives to lose. Inured to suffering, they bore without rebellion the heaviest privations."

Descriptions of individual homes follow, exposing their starving, destitute and sickly inhabitants. "In no district of England was the misery occasioned by the late frost so complete as in some parts of London; in no place was the distress borne with such complete tranquility ...
In one whole district visited by us there was no breach in the distress, the difference between one house and that next to it was only in the degree of destitution borne by those within." A fitting closing comment might be that, "in spite of all this evil, there is a true spirit of good in this community of people who in good times struggle, and in bad times starve."

That the poor's greatest ally was themselves is clearly shown in "Our Eye-witness at a Friendly Lead" (AYR, 10MAR60, 472-476). Written half-humorously, with Cockney dialogue, the article reveals that "a friendly lead" was a form of subscription for a neighbour, "... being in a poor position." This particular "friendly lead" was for a Mr C. Norton "whose Daughter destroyed herself last Friday ..." When questioned what a lead was, the treasurer replied, "well, sir, this poor man, not being this one particular, but as it might be you or me, being a factory man, or clockmaker, or what not, say he falls into distress, gets behind, 'as a doctor's bill to pay, 'as to bury a child, leastways 'as some hextra payment to come down with which he did not look for -- what is he, being a poor man to do ?"

Friends take tickets and spread them around all neighbours and acquaintances "at a penny, tuppence, or whatnot ... Well, sir, the hbject of all this 'ere, is to hease him -- being a poor man ... to hease him a little."

The particular case here was that the man's sixteen year-old daughter had committed suicide "in a paroxysm
of jealousy" over her young man's conversation with another girl. To raise money for the grieving father, a "lead" was called. The event consisted of singing by different individuals of whom there was "a great choice and variety." Their peculiarities are humorously described in different ways, such as "the gentleman who looked at the wall just over the public head: a proceeding which caused him to wear a very dreadful and sinister aspect indeed, and which threw a chill upon all the company."

The singing becoming more general as the evening advanced, "and the philanthropic desire of these gentlemen to contribute to the evening's entertainment became so irrepressible, that the difficulty became at last to discover who was NOT singing." Near midnight ("the house had to be cleared by midnight"), the treasurer rose to bring the evening to its successful close. "'Ladies and gentlemen,' said the treasurer -- and his speech is a model on which it would be well if some diffuse orators would build their style -- 'beg to say -- very much obliged -- support -- sum collected amounts to THREE POUNDS TWO SHILLINGS -- thank you all round'.”

The article comments that "to look around and note the frantic mirth of the company assembled to do honour to this Friendly Lead, and their apparent oblivion of its origin, was surely to compare and bring together two ghastly phases of human existence." The final paragraph is worth quoting at length, reinforcing once again Dickens' views of the poor.

And yet, however occasionally grotesque and
terrible in the manner of its carrying out, a "lead" of this kind is, in the main, good in its intention and useful in its results ... The Writer ... felt something akin to shame, as he watched the rapid filling of the plate, and he noted the obvious poverty of those who dropped a portion of their small and hardly earned wages into it, and as the staunchness with which these poor people stick by each other forced itself more and more strongly on his attention ... throughout the evening more contributions would come in from the workmen and workwomen assembled in the room, and one among them -- invariably a woman -- would be sent by the others to put sixpence or a shilling in the plate. The woman would at such times be asked whom the money came from, and would answer "she didn’t know, it had been given to her to bring -- some of them had made it up among themselves, she supposed."

An article among the "New Uncommercial Samples," acknowledged as by Dickens (AYR (NS), 19DEC68, 61-66), and entitled "A Small Star in the East," relates a series of visits he made to "the borders of Ratcliffe and Stepney, Eastward of London ... upon a drizzling November day." The article sums up many of his opinions of the poor and destitute in most graphic terms, and leaves the reader in no doubt of Dickens' feelings on these matters. The area is described and the people’s existence sketched from the
A squalid maze of streets, courts, and alleys of miserable houses let out in single rooms. A wilderness of dirt, rags, and hunger. A mud-desert chiefly inhabited by a tribe from whom employment has departed, or to whom it comes but fitfully and rarely. They are not skilled mechanics in any wise. ... Dock labourers, water-side labourers, coal porters, ballast heavers, such like hewers of wood and drawers of water. But they have come into existence, and they propagate their wretched race.

Election bills, posted for elections that had no relevance to these starvelings, caused Dickens to ponder in his mind

... the far-seeing schemes ... for staying the degeneracy, physical and moral, of many thousands (who shall say how many ?) of the English race ; for devising employment useful to the community, for those who want to work and live ; for equalising rates, cultivating waste lands, facilitating emigration, and above all things, saving and utilising the oncoming generations, and thereby changing ever-growing national weakness into strength ...

The first visit in this "mud-desert" was to an Irish woman's home. A meagre fire was scraped together from
waste drift-wood "thrust into the otherwise empty grate, to
make two iron pots boil. ... The flare of the burning wood
enabled me to see a table and a broken chair or so, and
some old cheap crockery ornaments about the chimney piece."
In a corner, he eventually made out "a horrible brown heap
... which, but for previous experience in this dismal wise,
I might not have suspected to be 'the bed.' There was
something thrown upon it ..." and he asked what it was. He
was told that it was "the poor craythur that stays here,
Sur, and 'tis very bad she is, and 'tis very bad she's been
this long time, and 'tis better she'll never be, and 'tis
slape she doos all day, and 'tis wake she doos all night,
and 'tis the lead. Sur."

The sick woman was suffering from lead-poisoning,
contracted from the lead-mills where she had worked.
"... and her brain is coming out at her ear, and it hurts
her dreadful ..."

That's what cooms from her, Sur, being
lead-poisoned, and it comes from her night and
day the poor sick craythur, and the pain of it
is dreadful, and God he knows that my husband
has walked the streets these four days being a
labourer and is walking them now and is ready
to work and no work for him and no fire and no
food but the bit in the pot, and no more than
ten shillings in a fortnight, God be good to
us, and it is poor we are and dark it is and
could it be indeed!
Dickens then tells us that he "could compensate himself] thereafter for [his] self-denial, if [he] saw fit," but he had resolved not to give them any money "to try the people." His findings are delivered immediately:

I may state at once that my closest observation could not detect any indication whatever of an expectation that I would give money; they were grateful to be talked to, about their miserable affairs, and sympathy was plainly a comfort to them; but they neither asked for money in any case, nor showed the least trace of surprise or disappointment or resentment at my giving none.

The woman's daughter then returned, having come from the same lead-mills hoping to be "took on" but without success. She had four children and an unemployed labouring husband, who also sought work. "She was English, and by nature of a buxom figure and cheerful. Both in her poor dress, and in her mother's, there was an effort to keep up some appearance of neatness." She was fully aware of the terrible dangers and sufferings caused by lead, "yet she was going back again to get 'took on.' What could she do? Better be ulcerated and paralysed for eighteen pence a day, while it lasted, than see the children starve."

Dickens' final comment on this visit is succinct:

"'God bless you, sir, and thank you!' were the parting words from these people -- gratefully spoken too -- with which I left this place." How telling is the simple word "people" here: emphasizing their essential humanity which they possessed in common with the reader, and the
A second visit reveals "a man, his wife, and four children, sitting at a washing stool by way of a table, at their dinner of bread and infused tea-leaves." The man, "a slow simple fellow of about thirty" was "rather deaf." and so his wife spoke as interlocutor to him and Dickens. He, too, was an unemployed labourer. When asked how they lived: "A faint gleam of admiration lighted up the face of the would-be boiler-maker, as he stretched out the short sleeve of his threadbare canvas jacket, and replied, pointing her out: 'on the work of the wife'." This work was "slop work": she made "pea-jackets" at tenpence half-penny each, because of middlemen’s expenses.

Having explained all this with great intelligence, even with some little pride, and without a whine or murmur, she folded her work again, sat down by her husband’s side at the washing stool, and resumed her dinner of dry bread. Mean as the meal was, on the bare board, with its old gallipots for cups, and whatnot other sordid makeshifts; shabby as the woman was in dress, and toning down towards the Bosjesman colour, with want of nutriment and washing; there was positively a dignity in her, as the family anchor just holding the poor shipwrecked boiler-maker’s bark. When I left the room, the boiler-maker’s eyes were slowly turned towards her, as if his last hope of ever again seeing that vanished boiler lay in her
direction.

A third visit provokes similar descriptions of abject
poverty and dire chronic want. The woman Dickens
encountered again draws forth an appreciative description
from him as she awakened memories. "This woman, like the
last, was woefully shabby, and was degenerating to the
Bosjesman complexion. But her figure, and the ghost of a
certain vivacity about her, and the spectre of a dimple in
her cheek, carried my memory strangely back to the old days
of the Adelphi Theatre, London, when Mrs Fitzwilliam was
the friend of Victorine."

A fourth visit was all that Dickens could bear:
I could enter no other house for that one
while, for I could not bear the contemplation
of the children. Such heart as I had summoned
to sustain me against the miseries of the
adults, failed me when I looked at the
children. I saw how young they were, how
hungry, how serious and still. I thought of
them, sick and dying in those lairs. I could
think of them dead, without anguish; but to
think of them, so suffering and so dying, quite
unmanned me.

However, turning up a side street, he confronted an
inscription: "East London Children's Hospital." This
could have hardly been "better suited to my frame of mind,
and I went across and went straight in." The establishment
was "in an old sail-loft or store-house, of the roughest
nature, and on the simplest means," and "... inconvenient
bulks and beams and awkward staircases perplexed my passage through the wards. But I found it airy, sweet, and clean."
The 37 beds contained "little beauty, for starvation in the second or third generation takes a pinched look ..."

"One baby mite, there was, as pretty as any of Raphael’s angels," with its head bandaged because of "water on the brain," and also suffering from bronchitis. "The smooth curve of the cheeks and of the chin was faultless in its condensation of infantine beauty, and the large bright eyes were most lovely." Dickens paused to look at this child, and the child's eyes rested upon mine, with that wistful expression of wondering thoughtfulness which we all know sometimes in very little children. When the utterance of that plaintive sound shook the little form, the gaze still remained unchanged.

I felt as though the child implored me to tell the story of the little hospital in which it was sheltered, to any gentle heart I could address. Laying my world-worn hand upon the little unmarked clasped hand at the chin. I gave it a silent promise that I would do so.

The hospital was run by "a gentleman and a lady, a young husband and wife," with the aid of young nurses, 19 to 24 years of age, who "came originally from a kindred neighbourhood, almost as poor ..." These young women felt bound to the little hospital, as one said, "she could never be so useful, or so happy, elsewhere, anymore; she must stay among the children." Watching another washing a.
baby-boy, "a common, bullet-headed, frowning charge enough. laying hold of his own nose with a slippery grasp, and staring very solemnly out of a blanket." the tender care of the nurse and "the melting of the pleasant [nurse’s] face into delighted smiles as this young gentleman gave an unexpected kick and laughed at me, was almost worth my previous pain."

The neighbourhood poor, at first, thought the hospital was paid for by "somebody" and demanded services as of right, when it was opened in 1868, and complained if all was not as they expected. However, they had come to understand its funding better, "and have much increased in gratitude." Visiting hours were used "very freely," but, says Dickens, "there is an unreasonable (but still, I think, touching and intelligible), tendency in the parents to take a child away to its wretched home, if on the point of death." One case is cited of a boy "carried off on a rainy night, when in a violent state of inflammation" who was eventually brought back, and "recovered with exceeding difficulty," but was now "a jolly boy, with a specially strong interest in his dinner" when Dickens saw him.

This article, I think, shows Dickens repeating yet again his beliefs in the incredible endurance, patience and docility of the abject poor, as well as his great love for children, those "oncoming generations." It emphasizes at the same time his deep-rooted worry about the lack of real advance made on behalf of these hopeless beings.

What is perhaps more important is that Dickens chose -- against his own rule -- to put his own name at the
top of this article, as if to say to his readers: "You see, gentle readers, I'm here again to remind you, as I have always done, that this is no fiction, but an unvarnished report of my visit to these forelorn and desperate people."

He kept his style to the simplest, without becoming simolistic, and unornamented, yet without boredom. Unquestionably, the article, with its personal touches ("... I could take in all these things without appearing to notice them ..." "... quite unmanned me ..." "... laying my world-weary hand ..."), reveals Dickens reporting — as in the old days — what he had witnessed, and what he had felt, with all the emotion roused in him. His humour (always ready to bubble over) is held to its mildest degree and used most appositely to describe the "comical mongrel dog, called Poodles ... found characteristically starving at the door of the children's hospital, and was taken in and fed;" especially through the legend on his collar: "Judge not Poodles by external appearances." Nor should we judge these poor folk who led "a dog's life" by their externals. In respect of Dickens' creative life, this article is very important, coming when it does, 19 December 1868, in terms of the consistency of view which he exhibited throughout his working life, and his unflagging efforts to maintain his pressure on the authorities who still appeared to have done little and cared even less.

Similar sentiments concerning the stirling qualities of the poor are made in "Mr Gomm on the Poor" (AYR, 18 DEC69, 56-60). Mr Gomm, master of a workhouse, and much
respected "by the magistracy, the ratepayers, and the poor-law inspector of his district" was "a strong sturdy man, bordering upon sixty-five, with stubby grey hair, a clean shaven chin, broad open brow, clear grey eyes, and a firmness of expression not alone about his mouth and chin and all over his face, but in his whole build and deportment. He looked like a double consonant ..." His views on those who fraudently misused the system were harsh, "... not forgetting the cat-o’-nine-tails for the grown up incorrigibles."

When asked what he would say about the "honest poor -- who work until their strength fails them," he replied "Nothing but what is kindly and charitable. They are the victims of our overcrowdedness, and are not to blame for what they cannot help. When a man has toiled and striven during a long life, society would be worse than a wild beast if it allowed him to perish in his old age, when his right hand had lost its cunning."

However, Mr Gomm moved on to the young person in his thoughts, and what was lacking in him.

It is a sad thing to me, when I see a lusty, willing, young fellow driving the plough, or industriously hedging or ditching, or doing other farm work, to think how many chances there are that he will come upon the workhouse when his hair grows grey, and how few chances there are that he will be able to keep out of it. And yet, with all my pity for the labourer, whose day’s wage pays for no more
than a day's want, and hardly that, I cannot say that a little more education, not only in the common school branches, but in the real knowledge of his duty to himself and his offspring, would not greatly improve his condition.

His complaint really stems from two sources, one that these people were paid too badly to be able to safeguard themselves against not working and not earning. The second is that no insurance system existed, and, therefore, they should do something about their having children.

The writer proposes two solutions to Mr Gomm: Education and Emigration. "We move faster than our forefathers, and I think the day will come when the only paupers in England will be the aged and the infirm, and when every strong man will be able, whether to live respectably in England by his intelligent and educated labour, or to get comfortably out of it to some other land, where the chances are more favourable." Mr Gomm feels he will not live to see it, but cannot deny that it will be so.

It is an interesting article in that it touches on two of the most important subjects for the labouring poor: that of a decent wage for a family man, and that of family size. At the time of the article's writing (1869), it would not have been appropriate to raise the topic of contraception or family planning, as such information, insofar as the mass of the population was aware, was unknown or unknowable, but certainly obscure. In any case,
Dickens would not have allowed such a discussion to enter his journal of family reading (8).

In ALL THE YEAR ROUND (BJUN67, 565-570), there appeared a very important article, late on in the journal's existence and nearing the end of Dickens' life, entitled simply, "The Working Man." It is in fact a review of a book called SOME HABITS AND CUSTOMS OF THE WORKING CLASSES, written by "a Journeyman Engineer: lately published," which "speaks with clear utterance, neither exaggerating nor extenuating." This deals firstly with the kind of education, if any, received by working-class boys, who, it is stressed,

go too early to work, and after too hasty and tight a system of cramming. They are held to be scholars in all respects if they can read and write, work the great horse-shoe and nails sum, repeat whole chapters of the Bible off book, give the history of English Sovereigns from the time of the Conquest to the accession of Queen Victoria, mention the names and dates of the biggest of our national battles, the names of the highest mountain and the longest river, tell the distance of the sun from the earth, and perhaps even have a little smattering of Latin and French.

Unfortunately, they forget "all these dry bones of knowledge and seldom substitute anything more useful." The system has too often been "thrust upon them with such a heavy hand, that they become disgusted with books, even
with works of fiction, sensational or otherwise." Had they had more fanciful stories, they might now be keen to read.

There is a gentle mingling of higher intelligence and education, and social classes by the professions working alongside the labourers, "and, with the modern theory of the dignity of labour, will come in time the practice resulting in the improvement of the labourer and the general elevation of the working class, when it shows itself strong enough for the rise." Meanwhile, the working man remains "on the whole, a national hope and a national pride, and the future of a very fine and noble power ..."

He will have to come to "a knowledge of his own deficiencies, the determination to give himself a better and sounder education ..." Above all he must cast aside "the silly conceit which sometimes makes him ... indisposed to hear the truth ..." and "to profit by it if heard."

Once again, here is a picture of the working man ("by one of themselves") which agrees very largely and accurately with characters such as Stephen Blackpool in HARD TIMES, who believes the world is "Aw a muddle" as he sees it. There is a natural nobility in the hardworking poor, but also a streak of obstinacy born of ignorance, suspicion and a wrong sense of being flattered (ie duped). Education is the one major weapon against these three insidious and dangerous qualities; qualities which will do nothing but restrain and hamper the ordinary working man and woman.

A timely warning against too much education or arrogance brought about by conceit of one's educational
attainment is presented in "Hints for the Self-educated" (HW, 28JUN56, 575-576). Dire admonitions are given about not neglecting the ordinary, family things, such as sharing and companionship.

Intellectuality is a growth. A man is awakened to a consciousness of his ignorance, and the desire of knowledge. This is the first step: and many members of his family, perhaps all, may take it with him. But in the attainment of knowledge and its results, progress in individuals varies according to their capacity and opportunities. One frequently outstrips the other, and a sense of inequality obtains, which soon becomes increasingly painful, unless some superior interference is permitted to regulate the balance.

The story of the "great artist," Amintor, illustrates this truth. He married young, and his wife helped him to get in. Growing more famous, he found it ever more necessary to socialize. Having supported his early efforts, his wife, "the careful minister of his in-door economy, to which no small portion of his out-door prosperity was owing," became "his suffering and much neglected spouse."

So much so, that he began to compare her most unfavourably with those witty, bright women he met at gatherings. There was growing between his own and his wife's mental condition ... an intellectual and social chasm." This could have been avoided, in that "he might.
from time to time, have communicated to her what he had himself acquired, and thus, by enabling her to advance with him, preserved more closely the original relation."

Other advice is proffered in the journals concerning the working people at large. "The Great Baby," which we have encountered elsewhere, relates how dangerous it will be for the nation if the People are treated as children, not responsible for their actions (HW.4AUG55,1-4). "The Toady Tree" (HW.26MAY55, 385-387) deals with the English vice of undue deference to titles and honours, most, undeserved and unearned. Honesty of address is what is needed. "On the Civil War now raging in England," (AYR, 17AUG61, 489-492) treats of the increasing vice of self-interest and greed, and the lack of neighbourliness, exemplified in "The Friendly Lead." Moderation in the legislation especially where it openly attacks the working people, because of their assumed vices, is demanded strongly in "Temperate Temperance" (AYR, 18APR63, 188-191), and "The Drunkery Discovery" (AYR (N.S.) 31JUL69,204-209).

These few articles show very clearly that Dickens' pictures of working-class life and persons are hardly exaggerated or distorted. Although he did not write all these pieces, his editing and meticulous scrutinizing of each article allowed no exaggeration (unless it be of metaphor) to persist. Factual evidence was treated with the due solemnity and respect it commanded. Dickens was too exceptional a journalist to sink to mere sensationalism just to sell copy. Indeed, the respect gained by his journals was largely based on the honesty and fairness
which they exhibited so freely and frankly.

IV. Self-help Among the People

The previous section may suggest that working people languished without any education at all, or with very little, mostly of the wrong kind — the Gradgrind kind — and made no attempt to do anything about it. That is an erroneous conclusion, or at least, a one-sided one, and we need to remind ourselves of what "education" really means. In Chapter One, I discussed the difficulties which surround such a term, and gave some examples of differing views of its meaning and application. It will help, once again, to recapitulate the meaning and application which I am using throughout this thesis, and so carry the argument forward to later sections.

Education should not be thought of as confined to the formal transmission of knowledge and information to the taught. That is certainly one aspect, but a very narrow, limited one. Education is both process and product of increased growth of understanding and comprehension of the world around us, through perceived and assimilated knowledge. This may be achieved both formally (as within institutions created for the purpose), and informally, such as when pursuing a hobby or interest, or "on the job" (usually termed "experience"), or from the business of living itself. This section depicts in more detail various modes of experiential learning and education.

"Budding Chathams" (HW.27SEP51, 22-24) describes the
Formation of a debating society by five or six young men, who felt their opinions should reach a wider "auditory." Thus, they assembled a club "for the discussion of questions 'affecting the social, moral, and political condition of the human race'." All subjects were acceptable and "the laws were framed to catch the eloquence of every member: or rather to allow any number of hobbies to be ridden by an number of members who were disposed to ride."

Such organizations, "instituted to afford practice in public speaking to a number of young men ... "are commended. Their proceedings' seriousness merely reflected, albeit dimly, the aspirations of these young men, who had "vague longings for Downing-street power." The meetings are "a foretaste of the importance and the powers they are to win." Here is a floor upon which "intellect will be pitted against intellect, and the strongest without servility, or any base consideration, will carry the majority with him."

Another opportunity for working people to learn non-formally (ie in generally unorganized fashion) is reviewed in "Accommodation for Quidnuncs" (HW, 24SEP53, 88-91), which describes Penny News Rooms. These arose behind news vendors' shops, barbers' and even "apparently under the auspices of a photographer, whose frame is hung out at the door." "Growing in health and strength," these establishments made a whole variety of reading matter available, from foreign newspapers, including "Irish and Scotch papers." to an array of English ones.
"A Smock-frock Parliament" (HW, 28MAY59. 608-609) demonstrates a mixture of gardening club, debating society and structured education in lecture form. "There are," says this Ohio, "associations forming national, municipal, parochial and social parliaments: and, although dukes and earls meet in parliaments, so also do ploughmen and carters. Very orderly assemblies are the business meetings of men in smock-frocks." This activity is classless and the members differ very little. "I believe we may find an uneducated class at each end of the social scale, and a blockhead in cambric is not a bit less than a blockhead in brown hollande."

The theme is the Chorleywood Association, set up through the good offices of the parish vicar, Rev. A. Scrivenor, and Mr William Longman. "its most active friend." Its members were labourers, and its intention was to provide allotments, on an annual membership fee of 3s. Od.

"Whatever their position in life ... rich and poor subscribed and met together as associates when prizes were given for the famous gooseberries, and for the best kept gardens."

A very different picture is conjured up in an article dealing with Lancashire cotton mills. "Master and Man" (AYR. 26MAY60, 159-163), considers industrial relations and the suspicion created in the minds of employer and employed. "Both interests are powerful," states the article. "Each is suspicious of the other. Last year, a certain master of my acquaintance gave all his hands —
some eleven or twelve hundred — a treat ... The treat had a bad effect upon the operatives: they met to discuss the reason for the master's liberality. Had he devised some cunning scheme by which he might get an advantage at their expense? This suspicion was his sole reward. The treat was not repeated in the following year. The omission became a grievance, and the master remains unpopular in his mills."

Initially, this seems to contradict the admiring picture of the modest, decent and industrious working man. Second consideration reveals that the majority of articles dealt with up to now have referred to London and the Home Counties. This last is closer to the picture delineated in *Hard Times*, which treats of Preston and the cotton mills. Here are the "hands" (as opposed to "people") that we meet in that novel. Lancashire saw some of the harshest labour conditions in the country; it is not surprising, therefore, that "hands" should react in the way these appear to have done.

The "Bees of Carlisle." workingmen who had set up their own reading-rooms (AYR.c18JAN62. 403-404). made it a "fundamental rule that nobody should be on the committee except mechanics dependent upon the receipt of weekly wages." Even by 1848, mechanics had lost control of Mechanics' Institutes to the lower echelons of the middleclass. "White collar" workers (9). The Carlisle men, however, did not allow this to happen with their reading-rooms, and had advanced "so famously" that they had opened a Temperance Hall, where wholesome breakfasts and
teas could be purchased. "at no more than the home cost for materials and cooking." Since the improvements. "the number of subscribers to the reading-room had increased by seventy-two per cent."

At a time when art and craft exhibitions abound, as they do today, it is interesting to see how these were regarded at other times. "Industrial Exhibitions" (AYR, 14JAN65, 535-538) gives one kind of impression; but moreover, it demonstrates a conservative (not to say Philistine) attitude towards creative expression as perhaps not being for the likes of working men. Various exhibitions are noted such as that held in 1864 by the 12th Regiment of Foot, in Dublin, and an earlier "South London Working Classes' Industrial Exhibition" which "was held in a very comical place -- a swimming bath." Equally, the previous November witnessed an exhibition at the Agricultural Hall, "got up chiefly by the residents in Clerkenwell, Islington, St Pancras, and the neighbouring parishes."

Half a dozen "friendly suggestions" for future exhibitions are made. Firstly, that the workmen should exhibit items of their trades which they understand best. The writer felt, surveying the latest exhibition, that there was "a certain amount of oddity in them. Men produced articles precisely of a kind which we should have expected them NOT to produce." A long list of items follows with their creators' trades, which might well be drawn up from any present-day exhibition or fair.

Though the article seemingly gives its blessing to
workingmen's exhibitions, it does so grudgingly. There is a confusion between the display of artifacts made for pleasure, which is surely what the men wished to demonstrate, and a full-scale exposition of crafts as livings. Both are important, but the article's writer seems to feel that Industry is what matters.

A final note in this section is required touching the number of articles referring to the growing interest in Friendly Societies. "Friendly or Unfriendly?" (AYR. 9APR64, 202-204) outlines Gladstone's proposed Government Annuities Bill, aimed at regularizing the growth of Industrial Assurance. It had been learned that, though numbering many thousands, "they are founded for the most part on such erroneous data, and are constituted so unsoundly (besides being managed by persons deficient in practical experience, and often of equivocal respectability), that they have generally been found productive of more disappointment than advantage to their unfortunate subscribers." The Bill had been objected to by "demagogues in want of a topic, ... and impecunious directors of shaky societies." but that was "simply stark nonsense." The Government would take away from the friendly societies, "not that part of their business which is necessarily the most profitable, but that part of their business which enables them to conceal their insolvency for the longest period, and which for the longest period facilitates a lavish and wasteful expenditure."

"The Poor Man and his own Master" (AYR. 16JUL64, 535-540) widens the discussion on friendly societies and
their "non-certified" imitators, known as "sharing-out clubs," which were often "under the sole sway of publicans." Descriptions of various clubs and societies are given and show how ill-founded many of them were. However, the County of Kent Friendly Society is singled out for approbation in contrast to those dubious beer-house clubs. The Kentish labourers, unfortunately, did not subscribe to this excellent society, preferring rather the "Brummagem clubs." Obviously, some better means of informing them about benefits was needed and better cover by legislation to prevent societies' questionable activities.

"Poor Men's Annuities" (AYR. 1APR65, 225-229) relates other moves to assist the working man to his own independence. Though the article clearly approves of the measures to be implemented, it raises one difficulty for working people, and that is the necessary business of formal questioning to arrive at the appropriate assessment of premium. "Persons of higher education and social position" are aware of the variety and detail of questions posed at assessment interviews. "But a working man has not been subjected to such minute inquiries in his clubs and friendly societies; and it will be some time before he will become reconciled to the writing down of answers to such detailed interrogation ..."

Clubs and Societies Generally

Clubs and societies of many varieties arose during the nineteenth century as working people gained more experience
and a modicum of education which afforded them sufficient confidence to set up groups with specific purposes. The principal difficulties for all working-class groups in forming clubs of any sort were frequently two-fold: the need of a venue large enough to hold members; and the initial finance to launch the project. Working people had little opportunity to entertain or receive friends in their homes because they were almost invariably too small, and would not have been suitable in any case. Thus, a "hall" or something similar was needed, with appropriate finance to allow membership to increase to a working number sufficient to sustain the organization.

"Working Men's Clubs" (AYR, 26MAR64, 149-154) discusses whether the working man is "degraded" by attending a club set up, charitably, by an individual donor.

Unless these clubs are made self-supporting, they can never be in a position of independence from external influences -- from the caprices of well-intentioned tyranny, or the blight of patronage. Institutions for the benefit of working men should originate among, and be managed by, themselves. None but working men know thoroughly what working men want; besides, the habit of self-government is in itself no mean help towards a higher personal life and a greater fitness for the duties of citizenship.

The argument concludes in truly Victorian concern with
worries over the sale of alcohol, but refers readers to Friar Bacon's club (related in "The Poor Man and his Beer."
AYR, 30APR59, 13-16) as evidence of no harm coming from establishments where the men take their own responsibility.

A timely reminder ensues. "It should also be borne in mind that social rest and social recreation for the artisan and his family are the great objects to be attained in these institutions. Too much ambition in the matter of education is very likely to do them an injury rather than good." (Are we, one wonders, to remember the warnings in "Hints to the Self-educated," about the break-up of family life?) In any case, comes the final question: "Why is the working man, of all men in the world, to be perpetually ashamed of wishing to be amused and pleased?" Both Dickens and his journals clearly and resolutely answer, that both amusement and pleasure are requisite elements of a normal and useful mode of life, for all work and no play makes Jack -- and Jill -- very dull, as Chapter Four pointed out.

"Working Men's Clubs" of 1864 plainly shows the variety and possibility of organizing and consolidating clubs through the aid of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union (C.I.U.). Earlier, "The Best House of Correction" (AYR, 1MAR62, 537-540), underlines the specific problems where the working men are soldiers. There is a lengthy, detailed description of a very dingy and truculent-looking public-house. ... It is new without being
clean, it is rickety without the excuse of antiquity ... The window is long horizontally. but of little height, and appears to be much squeezed from above by the superincumbent weight of the house. In fact, the goings on in the lower regions of this establishment seem to have played the deuce with its constitution, and the upper parts are propped with timbers that extend to the gutter.

The interior and its denizens are set forth in amusing detail, such as "the hangers-on about the pedestrian and pugilistic circles." These are delineated as wearing "its trousers inordinately tight, its chest disproportionately heavy for its legs, the back of its neck very large and ponderous, its nose considerably indented in the middle, and altogether presents a combination of strength with pallor which has something unnatural and unhallowed in its look."

The picture continues with details of "a couple of Jews ... trying to sell a concertina" to a sailor, and the beginnings of "a special storm" which "is gathering force to such an extent that its uproar soon drowns all competition." This turns out to be an all-in brawl, and "what with new belligerents, and what with fuddled pacificators -- the whole company is somehow or other mixed up in the fight." When the police arrive, they have "infinite difficulties" in capturing the prime offenders, and after "more fighting and swearing, after screaming and clawing of women, and every other pandemonial circumstance
that can add to the horror of the scene. A couple of soldiers are borne off to the station to be locked up, and the potboy is carried to a neighbouring chemist, to have his broken head doctored."

In terms of what today is called "Social Education," three pieces illustrate this kind of learning process in action. "Cogers" (AYR, 15FEB68, 232-234) refers to a debating society, and the reader is very quickly informed as to the correct pronunciation of the title. "To my darkened understanding," says the writer, "'Coger' had been 'Codger,' and I had taken a grave and complimentary title for a stroke of facetious and corrupt slang. 'What? Origin of the name Codger, Old Codger, Sir!' said the landlord, aghast, during our preliminary visit of inquiry. 'Call it "COger" (making his mouth like a cart-wheel) -- 'call it "COger."' if YOU please, for it comes from cogitate, and signifies "Thoughtful Men." The Cogers, sir, have always been calm and deliberative politicians'."

Another society, described in the article which bears their name. "Ancient College Youths (AYR (N.S.), 27FEB69, 303-308) is a society of bell-ringers, founded by Lord Brereton and Sir Cliff Clifton in 1637, "for the purpose of promoting the art of change ringing. It is said the name is derived from the fact that the young gentlemen of the City were in the habit of chiming rounds on the bells of the College of St Spirit and Mary, near College-hill. Thames-street, a foundation of Sir Richard Whittington's, and afterwards destroyed in the great fire."

A ringing is related, including all the hazards of the
trapped floors and the possibility of their being open in the dark. The Society's records and properties are rehearsed embracing "a curious old silver bell, fixed on a silver mounted staff, which in the old days were carried before the members of the society when they went on the 5th of November, as was their annual custom, to St Mary-le-Bow to attend divine service . . ."

A third society, the theme of "The Rochdale Twenty-eight" (AYR, 29FEB68, 274-276), might be justly depicted as "proletarian" since it was the original group of twenty-eight working men of Rochdale who founded the Co-operative Movement, still much in evidence today. The article extols the virtues of combination and co-operation for working people, but shows that even these "pioneers" who "... cut down the jungle of monopoly, broke up the boulders of high profits, and cleared the road for [themselves] and [their] children of not a little roguery ..." still had to face their own fellows' prejudices.

Well might the narrator, one of the twenty-eight, claim "some reason to feel proud in being equitable pioneers," since their beginnings in December 1844 in a small backstreet shop, selling their "two ounces of tea and half pounds of sugar cheerfully ... three days each week at breakfast and dinner hour ..." So major an achievement in Rochdale (9) was just such an example to gain Dickens' approbation. For all his concern, Dickens never overtly approved of such combination as trade unions (indeed, HARD TIMES shows unions in an unfavourable light (10)). Nevertheless, he saw much to be gained in working people's
"sticking together" for their own preservation and advantage since they would know what their common necessities and needs were (11).

**Adult Classes and Informal Groups**

Meetings and public lectures, a favourite Victorian entertainment, offered people an excuse to congregate socially without any formal reason in an age of elaborate etiquette. These occasional happenings were accompanied also by more regular classes in all kinds of subjects. Scientific topics were popular because of the ubiquitous desire for "advancement" or "progress" in technical matters (12).

Science and technology were not, however, the only source of interest. Music was popular among many, and a figure of supreme importance in the popularization of music, especially vocal music, was Dickens' friend and collaborator, John Hullah (13), whose work in adult classes (including those at Urania Cottage), schools and training establishments had reached an international audience, through his manual. This work was reported in a number of articles (eg "Music in Humble Life", HW, 11MAY50, 161-164).

Dickens' memory did not fail him about his friend's phenomenal success, even when years had passed. In any case, he habitually read backnumbers to see where the links could be made, and to remark on omissions of subject matter. A fuller description of Hullah's background and experience appeared in *ALL THE YEAR ROUND* (5JAN61, 306-308), in an article named simply, "Mr Hullah's
Classes." By 1861, Hullah had become nationally recognized, and had been appointed Professor of Vocal Music at King's College, London.

The whole nation had benefitted from Hullah's system: "Witness the enormous multiplication of concerts in which the choral performers are amateurs; witness the vast increase in the demand for musical publications and in the sale of musical instruments, especially of pianofortes and harmoniums; witness the great improvement in church music, and the admission even of chants into dissenting chapels."

The article concludes unfortunately, by implying that Hullah himself had gained very little from all the success of his system. "Is the last issue of his labour to be bankruptcy? Or, shall we help our helper, that he may again be helpful to us as of old." Nothing further is included in the journals on Hullah's efforts.

A third item on musical education and its civilizing influences is "Musical Prize Fight" (AYR, 12NOV59, 65-68), recounting the "Lofthouse Grand Village Band Contest," of Friday, 30 September 1859. There is a lengthy account of Lofthouse's remoteness "in Cleveland, about halfway between Redcar and Whitby," and of the country folk who stared at the writer, unable "to make him out." After describing the Golden Lion Inn, the assembly point, and various villagers, the contest's programme and rules are enumerated.

The whole affair is summed up in true Victorian phraseology:

I do not pretend to say ... fighting is
altogether a stranger to Yorkshire fists, but I think that the man who conducts the melodies of Bellini, although in a crimson waistcoat and corduroys, is not likely to bite off his neighbour's ear, or to gouge out his neighbour's eye, and is very likely to have a humanizing influence on some of his less cultivated brethren, besides."

It would seem indeed that music hath charms to soothe the savage breast.

The most overt expression of this belief in music's civilizing influence (which simultaneously, as the Victorian mind would seek, would also add a degree of enforced social control on the masses) is the article, "Music in Poor Neighbourhoods" (HW, 8SEP55, 137-141). This is concerned with how poor people might come into contact with good (ie decent as well as excellent) music and drama, with the licensing laws in "sad confusion." The history of the law concerning public music is sketched in and the blame laid squarely upon Henry Fielding, whose essay, "intended really to point out the degraded state of morals among the people," had led "to the enactment of the statute of seventeen hundred and fifty-two, whereby such houses and rooms [ie public houses and rooms] were placed under magisterial control." The article stresses that "the old statute, however well intended a hundred years ago, is not fitted for our day."

How, asks the piece, has this affected the working classes? "The extension of shilling concerts, and the
excellent music performed at them, are at once causes and consequences of the improved tone of public intelligence; but working men do NOT attend them, except in small sprinklings." They look to the "harmonic meeting at the Pig and Whistle" for their music, because "there is a jollification about it which they like -- an alteration of music and chat and smoke; they do not pay for the music, but regard it as a kind of bonus -- a something given in by the capital landlord."

There had opened a series of panoramas "of some merit, elucidated by a lecture, and accompanied by music, and yet the price of admission is but a single penny." This entertainment was permissible without licence because it was designated as "a lecture." The writer comments: "It is only in a densely populous neighbourhood that such a speculation could be successful; but it is precisely in such a neighbourhood that the humanising tendency of pictures and music and good drama is needed." Music, however, "grows up even among the most lowly ... The penny concert, the penny panoramas, the harmonic meetings, the banjo-player in a tap-room, the sentimental singer upstairs, the theatricals in a saloon -- all indicate a want, a tendency, a natural yearning, which may lead to good, if properly managed."

Hullah's efforts to spread interest and pleasure in group singing was one major piece of good management. Other articles claimed an educational value in good theatre, whether musical, dance or drama. In "The Amusements of the People" (HW, 13APR50, 57-60), two related
points are made. Firstly, that theatres (and other similar public resorts) appealing directly to the working masses will find a response. "In whatever way the common people are addressed, whether in churches, chapels, schools, lecture-rooms, or theatres, to be successfully addressed they must be directly appealed to. No matter how good the feast, they will not come to it on mere sufferance." The argument is furthered by the point that "these people have a right to be amused ... we believe a love of dramatic representations to be an inherent principle in human nature ... We would assuredly not bear harder on the fourpenny theatre, than on the four shilling theatre, or the four guinea theatre; but we would decidedly interpose to turn to some wholesome account the means of instruction which it has at command ..." The Dramatic Licenser must improve this "lower drama," for the people "WILL BE amused somewhere ... It would not be exacting much, or exacting anything very difficult, to require that the pieces represented in these theatres should have, at least, a good, plain, healthy purpose in them." So with the drama, and so with music. Licensing had to be overhauled and brought up to date so that the people could benefit rightfully from these performing arts.

Moving to adult classes in other activities, perhaps one of the most interesting articles dealing with philosophy as well as supply of adult learning opportunities, is "Minerva by Gaslight" (HW, 18DEC58, 58-62). This outlines early efforts to establish part-time evening study, for the working population, at King's
College, London, begun October 1855. "That was the first month of college by gaslight in the Strand."

Other institutions -- Y.M.C.A., Crosby Hall, etc. -- had offered evening lectures, "but these do not attempt systematic instruction, or the formation of classes in which there can be established any close personal relations between those who teach and those whom they are teaching."

Maurice's Working Men's College (founded 1854) (14), as the article maintains, "led the way to broader views of the nature of an university, widened the field of labour for the highest class of teachers and demonstrated how possible it is to do good work outside the pale of old collegiate prejudices."

"A Christian Brotherhood" (HW, 17AUG50, 489-492) relates how a French Christian lay brotherhood of some 5,000 trained teachers are posted out to places where "the municipal authorities, or any number of benevolent individuals who may choose to subscribe, must have provided a house and school-room, with all proper accommodation, and must certify that a certain number of pupils are willing to enrol themselves." These brothers received the equivalent of £24.0.0 per annum in the provinces, and £30.0.0 per annum in Paris for their labours.

Their classes were limited to sixty for writing, and to one hundred pupils for "other branches of education." "This limitation is necessary," says the article, "because the monitory system is not followed, and the whole weight of the duties falls on the masters." Their skill and achievement in teaching were not to be doubted, as their
students were very numerous and the latters' attention unwavering. Apart from Christian doctrine, the basis of their teaching, these brothers taught "reading, writing, arithmetic, a little history, drawing (linear and perspective), and vocal music." In all their classes "many adults who had been at work all day were to be seen mixed with young men and boys, patiently learning to read, or to write and cypher."

The article postulates how good a thing it were if England did the same; it "would be of the utmost use in this country. ...We can hardly wait until the present adult generation of ignorance shall die out to be succeeded by another which we are, after all, only half educating. Why not offer inducements, and form plans, for the instruction of grown-up persons, many of whom, having come to a sense of their deficiencies, pine for culture and enlightenment, which they cannot obtain?"

English working men's manners and habits are then compared with those of their French counterparts, and found wanting. The English "were earning about one third more wages than the French labourers; but, they spent all they earned in eating and drinking; were frequently drunk; and in their manners were coarse, quarrelsome, disrespectful, and insubordinate." Scotland, already in 1850, possessing a "universal system of primary instruction" also showed a higher level of literacy, indeed of literary taste as well, than England. The Scots were more thoughtful and had wider ranging interests in their own history and people; their manners were better and their home life more refined
through their thrift. At least, according to a "Wesleyan local preacher."

The article concludes, somewhat jingoistically: "With a little modification, this description of the pitman applies, in its more favourable characteristics, to the English operative generally." It cannot be read without a conviction that there is sound and hopeful material, in the generous English character to work upon. The natural ability, the deep feeling, the quickness of perception, the susceptibility to religious and moral impressions, the sound common sense where the rudest cultivation has been attained, and the heart-felt patriotism of the humble orders of this country, are unequalled in the world.

*HOUSEHOLD WORDS* illustrated the increasingly difficult task of extending popular understanding of scientific and technical knowledge, and the formation in the non-specialist mind of scientific concepts. Firstly, "A Shilling's Worth of Science" (HW, 24AU650, 507-510) deals with shilling lectures on scientific topics held at the Royal Polytechnic Institution in Regent Street, London." Knowledge can be gained through play techniques, and the article instances the fact that "An earlier genius cut out the whole alphabet into the figures of uncouth animals, and enclosed them in a toy-box representing Noah's Ark ..." and that maps were made into jigsaws, etc. Sir Isaac Newton's "games" with soap bubbles were his way of "studying the
refraction of light upon thin plates ..." These examples were not lost upon the Polytechnic, since "even the simplest models and objects they exhibit ... expound ... some important principle of Science or Art."

There follows a narration (with dialogue aside) of an experiment of submarine survival with a diving bell, into which visitors were invited to be submerged in "nearly ten thousand gallons of water." The ensuing demonstration of the use of a diving helmet is linked in to the practical example of its use in repairing Blackfriars Bridge, "and in the construction of breakwater works, such as those which are at present being raised at Dover Harbour."

The next, rather lengthy section tells of experiments with Gymnotus Electricus, or the electric eel, a specimen of which was on display. Its history and its peculiarities are delineated, and from this creature's curious characteristics the "moral" is drawn:

Every new discovery in Science, and all improvements in Industrial Art, the principles of which are capable of being rendered in the least degree interesting, are in the Exhibition forthwith popularised, and become, as it were, public property. Every individual of the great public can at the very small cost of one shilling, claim his or her share in the property thus attractively collected, and a small amount of previous knowledge or natural intelligence will put the visitor in actual possession of treasures which previously "he
wot not of," in so amusing a manner that they will be beguiled rather than be bored into his mind.

A second article, "The Chemistry of a Pint of Beer" (HW, 15FEB51, 498-502), is seemingly a verbatim report of a lecture given at "a very useful little Metropolitan Mechanics' Institution." Its great interest lies in the fact that the lecturer was "Mr James Saunders, practical plumber and glazier, amateur chemist and natural philosopher." In today's words, Mr Saunders was one of the thousands of part-time tutors in the education of adults, whose expertise is not that by which they earn their living, but an expertise developed carefully, and lovingly, in their own leisure time, because of a personally committed passion for some branch of knowledge.

As a reported "lesson," the article has great historical and methodological interest, and it is possible to reconstruct Saunders' lesson plan and notes. He opens with a "joke" to warm up his listeners. "In the first place, what is a pint of beer? 'Twopence,' says some of you, 'and a deal too much!'. That's not the question. There's a great many beers ..." and so on. The lecturer proceeds to give the ingredients for the brew, followed by an analytical description of those ingredients. Saunders declines to teach how the actual brewing is done, before "the wives and daughters of England, which latter will of course, become the former in good time ...." He would no more do that than "think of lecturing on the darning of stockings or sewing on of
buttons; to say nothing of the CROCHET which is so favourite a fancy just at present." That, "in the words of my learned friend the Doctor," he says would be "instructing my parent’s maternal parent in the art of applying the power of suction, in order to extract the contents of gallinaceous ova'."

This "trying quotation" is succeeded by a description in great detail of fermentation and the rest, to be completed by the "DRUGGISTRY" of beer, by which is meant, a consideration of additives which are or may be used to add flavour and to act as preservatives. The lecture terminates with a warning about decidedly harmful additives, and Mr Saunders’ views that "though in this age of enlightenment and civilization, we must be naturally averse to capital punishment ..."

The lecture over, having been "listened to with marked attention by a crowded auditory ..." a teetotaller inquired "the lecturer’s opinion on the relation of beer to health and morality." Moderation is his answer, in all things.

This is a delightful piece, illustrating a teaching method far from unknown today. Jokes are placed, hopefully strategically, but we are not told whether they were acknowledged as funny. However, the "marked attention" would imply that they might have been.

From the point of view of popular classes, with open access, aimed at spreading basic knowledge, these articles show very clearly the kinds of things that were on offer. Dickens is "advertising" them through his journals, as "tasters," simultaneously teaching those unable or
unwilling to attend the classes themselves, thus making a non-formal provision of what was originally a formal situation. His task is a double popularization; and, for us, he has recorded these glimpses of early adult education in action.

That Dickens was aware of his journals' value as historical records, especially the *HOUSEHOLD NARRATIVE*, is manifestly shown by his remarks for January 1852:

Years after the present generation shall have passed away too, it is possible that these pages of ours may be sought by some antiquary, curious to learn in what state of the world it was that the last rump of veritable old Whiggery disappeared from the public scene, never again, in all human probability, to revisit it in that unadulterated form. He will then learn that the whole world appeared to be agitated just at that moment as with the throes of far more wonderful births than those of a new British Colonial Minister in a respectable chairman of Quarter Sessions [Sir John Pakington], and a new British Chancellor of the Exchequer in a clever writer of romance [Ben. Disraeli].

Dickens asked similarly to be remembered in posterity by the works that he had created, and not by any tomb-stone or memorial. That he was right is evident to us by the increasing respect which all his work seems to be attracting as research grows ever deeper and richer.
Another view of popular adult education of the period was the emphasis on "Common Things," and a number of pieces stretching over most of the journals' existence (up to Dickens' death) amply demonstrate this particular aspect. What, precisely, constituted "common things," is difficult to ascertain. Apparently, as far as girls and women were concerned, these comprised subjects basic to ordinary life -- of the working and lower middle classes, of course -- that is to say, domestic subjects, now generically called "Home Economics." What were common things for males is far more difficult to define. To attempt some clarification of this, perhaps we can turn (at least) the title of an article upside-down. "Not Very Common Things" (HW, 26JUL56, 39-41) reports on Miss Coutts' awarding prizes "for a right knowledge of good housekeeping among the poor, under the name of Prizes for Common Things." The article essays a definition: "What is called common knowledge is in reality common ignorance; for subjects, about which it is most essential to the well-being and comfort of society for everyone to be well informed, are least well known." The nation is not gifted with this knowledge, nor with any real degree of intellect. "We are content to be as caddis worms, and to count him the best informed, who yields most of the glue of memory with which to fix the particles that form his intellectual surroundings."

The real, serious lack resides in not developing "the habit of independent thinking; of putting one's own mind into one's work." Why is cooking so bad? Cooks work by
tradition, or at best, from cookery-books. "It is stark nonsense to suppose that cooking can be done by rule ..."
Fires do not burn in the same way, water varies, and ingredients differ.

The Chip, "A School for Cooks" (HW, 15AUG57,162-163), earmarks "innutritious, wasteful, and unsavoury cooking" as "our national characteristic (15)." "The school of adversity teaches the poor to hunger patiently when the cupboard is empty, but to reward themselves, by hasty cooking and large meals, when they have the chance of filling it." Ignorance wastes food; poorer parts are discarded which could, "properly husbanded and prepared, satisfy the cravings of hunger when money is scarce." French cooks "know how to extract the best qualities of the meat, how to make it nutritive, more than tempting -- even delicious -- and how to utilise what, here, is utterly thrown away." However, one small attempt had been made to counteract this tendency by the opening of a "School of Cookery and Restaurant" in Albany Street, Regent's Park (16). Various classes for girls "desirous of service" and others were opened at low fees; but the first task was "to open a kitchen for the poor, where they may buy their food at little more than cost price, and go themselves or send their children for instruction in the elements of cookery."

The scheme is praised yet again as a model for the English, in "For the Benefit of the Cooks" (HW, 24FEB54, 42-44), where M. Victor, "usually a very modest official, dressed in a suit of questionable white; whose officious
thumbs are his tasters all day" demonstrates his "far-famed delicacies of the Bon Voyageur Restaurant ..." What begins as an open-air festival of cookery, ends as a moral for the English lack of culinary skill. As for M. Victor, "the materials which, in England would produce only the most unpalatable food, become, in his dextrous hands, the foundations of little dishes of the most various descriptions." The English should learn from M. Victor and his like especially the English working man whose wife, "on a moderate calculation, throws away one-third of her family's food ... and thus the teaching of common things which has been lately talked of, should include, as a most important branch of popular education, the economy of the kitchen." After all "... fair fingers may be seen to better advantage than when partially buried in a light crust -- but the light crust has something to do with the light heart, and the kitchen strongly influences the happiness of the parlour."

Again, these articles show different individuals striving to assist the poor and humble classes (and, in this case, the middle classes, also) to a better understanding of nutrition and good husbandry of the home's resources. They underline Dickens' persistent anxiety about that increasing weakness which he saw around him. There obviously was an enormous task to be done in educating the "lower orders" even with a modicum of knowledge and comprehension of domestic economy. The vicious, grinding circle of chronic want and poverty, combined with gross ignorance was a monstrous evil to be
How could good cookery prevail when people had no homes to go to, or were confined to workhouses where financial constraint ruled the dietary? How could the family's clothes be managed when everyone was possessed only of what was being worn? These articles, moreover, show Dickens' recognition that if someone had not started somewhere, the position might have been even worse. It is a subversive approach to attempt the spread of information and new attitudes through his journals. If he did not, who else would have done, at least in the way which the attraction of his journals could work upon his readers?

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This section on Informal Education has demonstrated clearly that many agencies and many single philanthropic and charitable individuals were at work, struggling to improve matters for the underprivileged, depressed masses, on a host of different topics. Some had political colourings in that democratic processes were insisted on to help working people to learn self-government, in the belief that adults were (or should be) capable of making decisions on their own, provided they had the right kind of knowledge and intellectual skills to assist them. Hence the emphasis, from time to time, on advice and counselling, rather than some form of instruction or being ordered; and an emphasis on the exclusion of all patronage and condescension. There is always, however, a streak of moral
uplift or religious stance (albeit Christian as opposed to sectarian) present in the efforts made. In an age which was rewriting the history of the world and Man’s place in it, perhaps we can expect no other. Nevertheless, what comes through unambiguously in all these strivings, successful or not, is Dickens’ belief that the poor and lowly are human beings with a dignity of their own, and souls of their own, who must, eventually and inevitably, come to take their rightful place in the scheme of things, free and respected, untrammelled by patronage and doubtful charity, as they begin to enter "the free liberty of the mind." and so fulfil Christ’s dictum that the poor shall inherit the earth.

Notwithstanding, these efforts, no matter how laudable or indeed successful, could not bring about the emancipation and enlightenment of the People. The only way this could be achieved on a national scale and equal basis, was through central government legislation. The State would have to provide education for its own needs as well as for the individual’s, regardless of rank, station, or religious persuasion. To this aspect, I now turn.

V: Education and the State

Dickens’ three journals provide evidence of his case for State intervention in the People’s education. He realized that to raise people up required nothing less than a national effort. As I review each article in chronological order of appearance, it will be possible to
see how the arguments developed, and tactics changed as time went on. The argument runs through from 1850 to 1865, five years before W.E. Forster's Education Act of 1870, which arrived just at the time of Dickens' death.

The arguments in the journals do not, on the whole, propose any particular form of schooling or educational system. On the contrary, the many articles describing and assessing Ragged Schools, reformatories, etc. do that. The articles on the general concepts of education argue about whether a State funded system should be instituted, and examples of foreign schemes are reviewed, all in line with the Preliminary Word, to assist in the discussion of topical issues. The articles I have selected perform this task, but have a strong bias towards the necessity of State funding.

One of the earliest remarks arguing for State support comes at the end of a curious, but well-intentioned obituary of William Wordsworth (HW, 25MAY50, 210-213). Having said that "his views [of the world] were rusted over with the conservative prejudice of the past ..." and that the new railways "invaded the selfish solitude of the one man ..." the piece ends with a quotation from "his weighty words in the Excursion." regarding National Education:

Oh! for the coming of that glorious time
When prizing Knowledge as her noblest wealth
And best protection, this Imperial Realm.

While she exacts allegiance, shall admit
An obligation, on her part, to TEACH

Them who are born to serve her and obey:
Binding herself by statute to secure
To all her children whom her soil maintains,
The rudiments of Letters, and to inform
The mind with moral and religious truth,
Both understood and practised — so that none,
However destitute, be left to droop
By timely culture unsustained: or run
Into a wild disorder: or be faced
To drudge through weary life without the aid
Of intellectual implements and tools:
A savage horde among the civilized.
A servile band among the lordly free!

It is a most "useful" quotation to the journal (though
it hangs very oddly at the obituary's end) in that it
supports the argument we have met a number of times: that
if the State wishes to avoid "wild disorder" i.e.
revolution, it can do so by "securing" education "for the
people."

Later in 1850, an article appeared which used Music
Hall or Punch and Judy techniques of denying what was being
proposed — the "Oh no it isn't!" "Oh, yes it is!"
method. This was "Mr Bendigo Buster on our National
Defences against Education" (HW, 28DEC50, 313-319).
Bendigo Buster is a pugilistic, cantankerous
anti-intellectual blusterer, who thinks England and the
English are fine if people are not taught or educated.

"England is acting, in regard to schools, as becomes her
practical good sense. Her boys are in the gutters, growing
up to manly independence; they swear well, fight like
bricks, and have game in 'em. By her boys, I mean the
multitude, the children of the people." The children of
the upper classes are demoralized by education, and
sometimes the poor's children meet this "evil influence.
... But England, as a nation, don't trouble herself much
about the education of the masses: something like
forty-five out of a hundred of 'em can't read and write.
That's what I call being practical."

Buster draws comparison with German schools and the
Prussian educational system, showing the requirement, by
law, for education, for trained teachers, and for those
teachers to use encouragement and praise, avoiding corporal
punishment where possible. Higher education is examined
and shown to admit young men even from the peasant class.
Scandinavia, Switzerland, France, the German States and
Holland, all had State systems, mostly compulsorily
requiring education for children, and providing for young
adults as well in Normal Schools and Colleges. There were
even schools where rich and poor, Protestant and Catholic
"sit side by side, and receive religious teaching in those
precepts, which are the pith of Christianity, and which all
followers of Jesus recognize."

Finally, Buster sums up his, ie the reactionary,
"practical." view of the situation. The democratic
tendencies of foreigners dismay him. "Who can wonder that
we see the Institutions of our ancestors neglected,
time-honoured customs crumbling underneath our feet, the
fiend of change abroad? The lover of the past, and Rule
Britannia — I am one — must check the morbid tendency to educate, or we shall all be swallowed up in contemplation of the future. The country, certainly, is not in any immediate danger of education, thank Heaven, but forewarned is forearmed ..." In true pugilistic vein he concludes: "Show me the man who broaches any of this revolutionary gammon about education, and I'll show you the man who'll knock him down."

The whole article (twelve and a half columns) is a detailed and rumbustious summary of Joseph Kay's book, THE SOCIAL CONDITION AND EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE IN ENGLAND AND EUROPE, which appeared that year. It is an excellent example of how Dickens was able to recast information into a comic article without losing any point: indeed, on the contrary, to make a different impact with the same information.

In contrast to this article, later in the Spring of 1851, a piece appeared written from the opposite viewpoint. Not directly supporting State funding, but urging England to be proud of her wonderful achievements and to put effort into expanding training, backed up with ample resources, presumably from the State (though this is only half suggested). "A Time for All Things" (HW, 22MAR51, 615-617) first reviews England's great past achievements — exploration, travel, discovery, expertise in war — then moves to "rages" recently occurring: poetry, novels, political economy; then to the arts and sciences. Engineering is signalled as a great present triumph, though there is little provision for the study of engineering,
chemistry, or even communication between researchers and manufacturing — "...our manufacturers in various branches of the useful arts have been beaten, and are beaten, to this day, in many of the most important of these branches, by the French, German, and Belgian manufacturers." Plus ça change ...

Nevertheless, great, individual items have been achieved: a tunnel under the Thames, a vast tubular bridge, "an enormous Exhibition Palace for the Industry of all Nations ..." but the Thames is polluted, grave-yards are "generating a poisonous atmosphere in the thick of the living and loathing people!" Cattle-yards and slaughterhouses, sewers and other "public" works are neglected through central and local inactivity. A national effort is needed. So education, training and public works are demanded.

The condition of Parliamentary schism and faction is reviewed in "A Haunted House" (HW, 23JUL53, 481-483), a lampooning article, written as a report on hauntings and attempts to exorcise evil spirits. The evils of "treating" voters in the town are revealed as stemming from Mr Bull's house, through "an Attorney and a Parliamentary Agent" who "committed ravages truly diabolical," upon the people of "Burningshame." Things are bad: "too many of the Members of Mr Bull's family ... are beginning to conceive that what is truth and honor (sic) out of Mr Bull's house, is not truth and honor in it. That within those haunted precincts a gentleman may deem words all sufficient ... That the whole world is comprised within the haunted house of..."
Mr Bull. and that there is nothing outside to find him out, or call him to account." Mr Bull thinks that there is "quite enough to pull his house about his family’s ears, as soon as it ceases to be respected."

Such is the state of the haunted house. What is to be done? "His younger children stand in great need of education, and must be sent to school somewhere; but how can he clear his mind to balance the different prospectuses of rival establishments in this perturbed condition?"

Bull closes the article by posing the problem again. "I must not allow the Members of my family to bring disease upon the country on which they should bring health; to load it with disgrace instead of honour; with their dirty hands to soil the national character on the most serious occasions when they come into contact with it; and with their big talk to set up one standard of morality for themselves and another for the multitude. Nor must I be put off in this matter, for it presses. Then what am I to do, sir, with this house of mine?"

The suggestion here seems to be that education is necessary, the "children [ie the people] must be sent to school." but this aim, like enfranchisement, was unacceptable. Mr Bull had suggested to his family a means of relieving his house of the "dreadful presence" an "implement" called "a ballot box," to be greeted by howls of "Un-English!" The whole article, Dickens' own writing, shows the threat, as he sees it, of the overthrow of the house. Honour, truth, and decency are the requisite cures. At the time, the State, in the form of Parliament, appeared
to have none of these attributes.

If we consider the question of State aid in education, from a strictly critical point of view, we must turn to the HOUSEHOLD NARRATIVE, to find direct, unequivocal statements. The issue for January 1850 makes the journal’s standpoint quite clear:

We have heard too much lately of those disastrous cases which are so bitter a reproach to our civilization, where neglect and actual starvation are left to murder the wretched, while officers, appointed by law to arrest such instruments of murder, stare indifferently on. A miserable single woman, with her unborn child, dies of hunger and cold at Southampton; a married woman, poor and industrious, but most unhappy, dies of absolute want and neglect in Manchester: while the parish authorities, in both populous civilised cities, are no less than actual parties, it may be said, to these horrible calamities.

London, says Dickens, has even more cases. However, "It would nevertheless appear to be a doubtful mercy to clear our streets and garrets of distressed women by means of partial emigration, with no attendant precaution against an immediate supply of still larger numbers to run the same course of wretchedness." London lures girls whose "laxity of morals is more or less the result of country breeding" with the possibility of work and better chances. These girls have "no pleasing memory connected with the squalid
homes they have left to aid in keeping them within the ways of virtue ... What has been the growth of the neglect of centuries cannot be removed by the activity of a few earnest months or years. The people must be educated, and their homes improved."

There is more. It is not just those cases which reveal "depths of bodily destitution:" they are bad enough. Worse still are "the more startling depths of mental ignorance and neglect concealed beneath our hollow shows of civilization." This is exemplified by the case of "a crossing-sweeper lad of fourteen," called as witness in an assault charge. He is, in fact, the origin of Jo in BLEAK HOUSE. "The boy looked so amazed on taking 'the Book,' that the worthy Alderman was moved to question him on his moral condition ..." From this it transpired that he "did not know what an oath was, that he did not know what a New Testament was, that he could not read, that he had never said his prayers, that he did not know what prayers were, that he did not know what God was, that though he had heard of the Devil, he did not know him, and that in fact all he knew was how to sweep the crossing: while manifestly prominent among the things he did not know, was how to speak other than the truth."

The magistrate, assuming otherwise, rejected the boy’s evidence "peremptorily as that of a creature who knew nothing whatever of the obligation to tell the truth."

Even allowing for the "brutal and lamentable ignorance which knew nothing out of the world or in the world except to sweep the crossing, it is also clear that the ignorance
extended equally to the arts of subterfuge, dissimulation, and false pretence ..." The magistrate refused the evidence because the boy "did not know how to feign that he did not know." Dickens' comment was: "Against himself, or rather against society to which the shame belongs, he had borne testimony ..."

October the same year, Dickens was still making the same demands, but in a different context. Religious controversy was raging in both Houses of Parliament, involving education. This time, it was related to the threat of Roman Catholicism, as Dicken saw it, on the re-establishment of that church's hierarchy in Britain only the month before. Newman had been received into the Roman Church exactly five years before, having explained his reasons in ESSAY ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE. Dickens reassured his readers (or at least those of similar persuasion to himself) that "the final sentence against Old England still waits to be pronounced. We have not yet become the serfs of an Italian priest, not yet are we obliged to beg our daily bread from the barbarous Russian." Crime may be marked, but it had never been seen "in such startling contrast to the amendment and better progress of all things else -- never tracked with so much vigour, never laid bare with such terrible distinctness." Yet the police themselves are not without fault, but they aware of this. It may be "no extravagant charge" to link "the more rapid means of accumulating wealth" with "increased temptations and facilities for crime." However, upon intellectual cultivation depends the worth
of material prosperity; and this before every other is the consideration which should occupy the thoughts of all men at present. Religion must be made a practical and intellectual truth; the poor must be taught as well as fed; and to a sound system of Universal Education we must look for our only effective antidote to crime and bigotry. We require no other weapon against the Pope and his Cardinal Archbishop, but most assuredly this weapon will be needed. Charles James Fox had pointed out the repeated truth that education is the only social safeguard against crime ... He contrasted the gains of education and skilled labour in England with the degradation and loss attendant upon the ignorance in which our unskilled labourers are kept. But the old arguments of principle were urged ... to any system of education with which religion was not compulsorily joined. The insincerity as well as fallacy of this objection lies in its imputing to the advocate of secular education what is called an indifference to religion ... What is the education for which alone all the better-provided classes are indebted to their several schools, if it be not secular? ... The capacity of most fully comprehending and acting on the truths of religion will surely be always
best delivered from that kind of education
which gives a practical force and direction to
those truths in relation to the duties of
society.

The House of Commons "summarily rejected" the
proposal, to which Dickens retorts:

The result of the arguments now employed (and
by none with greater zeal than the new
Solicitor-General) is substantially to declare
ignorance a thing preferable to knowledge; for
to set up a special religious basis practically
consigns the people to ignorance, rather than
that knowledge should be diffused on any other
system than their own. And great will be the
rejoicing in the halls of ignorance, so long as
the advocates of secular and religious
instruction are thus kept hopelessly apart from
meeting on a common ground, or combining for a
common object.

Dickens hit the nub in this passage: the bitter
arguments that raged for so many years before 1870 were
centred on the differences between pro-secular and
pro-religious educationists. Little attempt had been made
to discuss the common ground, and the most important
element of all -- the people -- were ignored
altogether. It is difficult not to see these wrangles as
anything other than a struggle to control the people's
minds; and as for the Church, it was fighting also against
the new heresies of Darwinism, evolution theory and the new
mechanistic, reductionist world view. Mediaevalism was essaying its last stand.

These brief extracts from the HOUSEHOLD NARRATIVE indicate very plainly Dickens' views both of the necessity for State provision of education, and of his impatience over the lack of attempt to agree. His own simple approach to religion, unhampered by particular dogma or doctrine, permitted him to see how partisan the various sectarian factions were, blinding themselves with their own bigotry; and what a waste, on a national scale, all this quarrelling was. Indeed, it was nearly another twenty years before any national scheme was introduced.

Historical hindsight proves that Dickens' feelings were not misplaced. That the State should provide education for the people was, without contradiction, a glaring, urgent, national need, as he and other enlightened persons saw unrestrictedly. That Britain was coming into ever-fiercer competition with European states: Belgium, France, and above all, Germany, was also obvious. The 1850's were to make this shamingly clear. Dickens' recognition of the increasing weakness of the nation was accurate: where he erred was that the challenge was not from the people's civil disturbances, beyond the occasional riot: it came from mainland Europe.

"A Piece of Work" (HW, 12DEC57, 565-568) is a thorough-going review of the state of knowledge among all classes of human physiology. It reviews a Dr Roth's advocacy of a "Movement Cure," based on the Swedish Doctor Ling's system. Dr Roth surveys the Poor Law Board and its
disregard of "constitutionally weak children" and "curable adult disabled paupers." There could be financial savings made, as well as effecting cures or amelioration to those incapacitated at present.

Another timely reminder of central inactivity is recalled: "Such an idea was urged, ten years ago, upon the medical profession ... by another writer, who supported his cause by the issue of two tracts upon health for cottage circulation -- one upon Health, one upon Interrupted Health and Sick-room Duties." This second writer's prospectus, which had appeared in the Medical Gazette of May 1848, is listed, to receive the blunt comment: "Here, then, was a projector casting on the waters bread, which we find after many days, without any trace of so much as a nibble thereupon."

The article's final section again turns to teachers and parents

eastly begging you to help those who shall come after us to make a wholesome piece of work for the promotion of the public health in about the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty ...

... The men and women of a future generation, if they are to know how, under artificial circumstances, they are to live natural lives, need some distinct knowledge of the structure of their bodies, and of those physical wants of their system which they absolutely must supply.

The article acknowledges that the Committee of Council for Education in England, and Ireland, have made some
recognition of this "pressing want of civilization," and that the Board of Trade had produced "nine beautifully executed diagrams, illustrative of such a course of study."

In the USA, however, "it had been emphatically recognized by the legislature of Massachusetts."

In all, the article does not overtly demand State action. How could it, seeing that the Committee of Council was already involved? What it does, is to act as a goad to further effort by showing Dr Roth's Association and institutions for the promotion of health were by now actively engaged. The hope lay, one assumes, in some future government funding the creation of institutions. The real importance of the article is its linking personal efforts and parental and educational responsibility to central government authority. Hence, it is an unequivocal demand for national efforts in promoting health.

Two articles go somewhat deeper into the financing of State funding for education. "Work for More Volunteers" (AYR, 25MAY61, 208-211) discusses the whole matter of whether State aid should be provided at all.

We may admit that education is as necessary to a child as food, and that if the parent cannot feed the mind of a child, the State must in some way protect it against absolute starvation; must supply it with the first necessaries of rational life. Upon that admission the whole theory of aid, by the State, to national education must depend.
... Education, we need hardly say, consists not only in the transfer of certain facts out of one mind into another, but implies, together with that communication of knowledge, the communication of a habit of self-teaching, and of applying all that is learnt to the sustainment of the mind, and to the fitting of it for healthy work in the performance of the real duties of life.

Arguments are advanced by how much easier it might be to teach in large schools where pupils can be setted; but even that is questioned: "is there not more to be lost than is gained by the too accurate use of any such system of mental drill?"

The article is important to this survey because it demonstrates how the main lines of the contending arguments ran at the time. It shows, too, how those arguments have largely survived, with some modification, through to today. Though the report discussed dealt with schools and children in the main, there was no reason why those schools did not also provide for adults. After all, the Commission was remitted to look at the "state of Popular Education" and by implication adults are at least part of the People if not in reality the bulk of the People. The Report's and this article's importance lie in the debate over State intervention where the social condition of the People had reached both a critical degree of urgency in eradicating ignorance (and crime, etc.) and such proportions which no personal or organizational philanthropy could begin to
tackle, except where that organization was the State. The
case is made; State intervention must come; the vexation
about that fact was: how was it to come? What form would
it take? Articles in both the main journals had presented
arguments and pointed ways to sound elementary education
within Christian principles, but without sectarian
doctrine, and had shown the results of not making education
available.

VI: Crime, Education and Reformation

I shall not extend this section beyond a short
consideration of the topic, since Professor Collins has
already covered it more than thoroughly in *DICKENS AND
CRIME*. My intention here, then, is simply to indicate
through a selection of articles some of the detail which
the journals placed before the public. Dickens' own belief
in education's reformatory powers, assisted by firm but
charitable feelings towards the offender, have been amply
demonstrated previously in Chapter Five. It is clear also,
that Dickens held social conditions largely to blame for
much crime, taken up merely as a means of survival in an
unsympathetic world. Starvation, unemployment, disease,
neglect and degradation are hard foes to combat, especially
when society is seen and known to have wealth and power
beyond any necessity. Dickens, therefore, found society
wanting in its legislation and provision of assistance to
the poor.

The articles here show the journals' concern about
crime and criminals, in the light of a Christian society. We must remember, however, how differently the nineteenth century regarded "crime," compared with late twentieth century views. There was a greater absolutism in Victorian attitudes to crime, in that beliefs were more literal in following Old Testament dicta, such as "An eye for an eye ..." Mitigating circumstances did not always enter into hearings, though some sympathy comes through at times in the journals' accounts.

The HOUSEHOLD NARRATIVE provides scores of cases in "straight" report form, including verbatim dialogue from time to time. These reside in two sections of the journal: "Social, Sanitary and Municipal Progress," and "Law and Crime." The former section concentrates on philanthropic and other agencies concerned with reformation or institutional conditions; the latter on criminal cases, trials and hearings.

"The Great Penal Experiments" (HW, 8JUN50, 250-253) reports on the dual code then imposed in HM Prisons, drawing evidence from Carlyle, a Mr Dixon ("in his work on London prisons"), and a government report. Pentonville prison conditions are described by Carlyle in "a recent pamphlet" as "a Prison of the exemplary or model kind."

Smithfield, on the other hand, was something different. Conditions of overcrowding confined prisoners to "sleep in small cells, little more than half the size of the model cell at Pentonville, which is calculated ... to be just large enough for ONE inmate. I have seen," reports Mr Dixon:
FIVE persons locked up, at four o' clock in the day, to be there confined, in darkness, in idleness, to pass all those hours, to do all the offices of nature, not merely in each other's presence, but crushed by the narrowness of their den into a state of filthy contact which brute beasts would have resisted to the last gasp of life! ... Can we wonder if these men come out of prison, after three or four months of such treatment, prepared to commit the most revolting crimes?

Newgate, perhaps the most famous and infamous of London prisons, is then reviewed. The common occurrence of a young person awaiting trial is cited.

A servant girl, of about sixteen, a fresh-looking healthy creature, recently up from the country, was charged by her mistress for stealing a brooch. She was in the same room -- lived all day, slept all night -- with the most abandoned of her sex. ... The whole day was spent, as is usual in such prisons, in telling stories -- the gross and guilty stories of their own lives. There is no form of wickedness, no aspect of vice, with which the poor creature's mind would not be compelled to grow familiar in the few weeks she passed in Newgate awaiting trial. When the day came, the evidence against her was found to be the lamest in the world, and she was at once
acquitted. That she entered Newgate innocent I have no doubt; but who shall answer for the state in which she left it?

More disgusting disclosures of conditions of filth and infestation are reported from the "hospital ship 'Unite'." Presumably this was one of the notorious "hulks" of the kind Dickens was to describe in GREAT EXPECTATIONS. Worse was to follow in the report on Millbank Penitentiary from Mr Dixon. There, below-ground, prisoners existed in "small, dark, ill-ventilated, and doubly-barred" cells where "no glimpse of Day" ever came, "for three days, and fed on bread and water only." The sole furniture was a single board to sleep on and a water closet. One man had been confined there so long that he had finally gone mad from fear and loneliness, and "was sent to Bedlam."

The article argues that both Pentonville and Millbank are "under the same eye, under the same legislative supervision. The two "great experiments" of iron and feather-bed prison reform are worked out by the same power." Even despotic regimes are at least consistent. They do not put together "extreme severity" and "supreme 'coddling'."

The article intends to draw public attention to these facts. These experiments have been "great" only in expense and failure. Reform had failed because it had ignored "the good old adage, 'prevention is better than cure'." Daily observance disclosed "that ignorance -- moral more than intellectual ... had been the forerunner of all juvenile crime," but "we have never tried any great experiment upon
"THAT." Hundreds of thousands of pounds have been spent
to effect the manifest impossibility of
re-forming what has never been formed ... 
Ingenuity has been on the rack to invent every
sort of reformatory, from the iron rule of
Millbank, to the affectionate fattening of
Pentonville -- except one, and that happens
to be the right one. Punishment has occupied
all our thoughts, -- training, none. We
condemn young criminals for not knowing certain
moralities which we have not taught them, and
-- by herding them with accomplished
professors of dishonesty in transit jails --
punish them for immoralities which have been
there taught them.

The case of two little children, "whose heads hardly
reached the top of the dock" is cited. These were charged
with stealing a half quartern loaf, and confessed to its
stealing because they were starving. Mr Jardine, the
Magistrate "sentenced them both to be once whipped in the
House of Correction." The article's comment is: "They
were whipped then for their ignorance and want, for both of
which they are not responsible."

One further "great experiment" is recommended, and
"has never yet been tried. It has the advantage of being a
preventive as well as a cure -- it is -- compared with
all the penal systems now in practice -- immeasurably
safer, more humane, and incalculably cheaper. The 'great
experiment' we propose, is NATIONAL EDUCATION."
"The Power of Small Beginnings" (HW, 20JUL50, 407-408) and "Small Beginnings" (HW, 5APR51, 41-42) both stress prevention of crime through education and training for poor people. Individual effort to combat "the monster evils of society" is not wasted or ineffectual without a national effort. "Well-disposed Affluence surveys the encroaching waves of destitution and crime as they roll onwards, spreading their dark waters over the face of society, and folds its hands in powerless despair, -- a despair created by a false notion of the inefficacy of individual or limited action. ... It is to be remembered that all great facts, for evil or for good, are an aggregate of small details, and must be grappled with in detail."

The "small beginnings" refer to experiments in training destitute young people for a new way of life, away from temptation or example of crime. Lord Ashley selected one lad from a Ragged School, lodged him and fed him. "The boy had been a thief and vagrant for several years, was driven from his home through ill usage of a step-grandfather: the only clothing he possessed was an old tattered coat, and part of a pair of trousers, and these one complete mass of filth." After five months' training, he emigrated to Australia, where "he has since been heard of as being in a respectable situation, conducting himself with the strictest propriety."

Other individual efforts are cited, especially a home, much resembling Urania Cottage in its outward characteristics at least, the Westminster Ragged Dormitory, reviewed in an earlier article, "The Devil's Acre"
This latter relates a series of individual stories of reclamation and successful rehabilitation. "Instances of this kind might be multiplied, if necessary, of what is thus being done daily and unostentatiously for the reclamation of the persistent offender, not only after conviction, but also before he undergoes the terrible ordeal of correction and a jail."

"The Power of Small Beginnings" ends in similar vein, almost word for word in parts, with the previous article:

One Mr Walker ... with one boy in each metropolitan district, and in each town throughout Great Britain, would do more to reduce poor’s rates, county rates, police rates -- to supercede 'great penal experiments,' and to diminish enormous judicial and penal expenditure, than all the political economists and 'great system' doctors in the world. But the main thing is to begin at the cradle. It is many millions of times more helpful to prevent, than to cure.

So far, the journal's view is that crime is linked inevitably with chronic destitution. Removing destitution and providing "training" or education of some kind, certainly gave hope of reclamation and a good life ensuing. It underlines also the Dickensian belief that there is potential for good in (almost) everyone if only the right kinds of opportunities are offered.

Yet again the message is repeated in "Boys to Mend" (HW, 11SEP52, 597-602) which describes the work of
reclamation and retraining of young teenagers at the "Philanthropic Farm School" at Redhill in Surrey. Its success is very high; "Four boys out of five are rescued."

The system is enlightened. "Though moral discipline and kindness — a true spirit of religion — are relied upon for the main work of reformation, corporal punishment is not entirely taken from the code. It is administered only as a last resource; sometimes not once during six months, and only by the chaplain himself a week after the commission of the offence." Some trifling amount is paid each week for work done and fines are levied for offences. Punishments also include bread instead of pudding.

Nevertheless, in spite of the excellent work done in such establishments it is not good enough. Prevention must be the real task. "The system must be devised, the administrators must be reared, the preventable young criminals must be prevented, the State must put its Industrial and Farm Schools first, and its prisons last — and to this complexion you must come."

"In the Presence of the Sword" (HW, 23JUL53, 492-498) reports on a day-long visit to the Old Bailey, where the writer attended various cases. The case for prevention is again rehearsed.

Between our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and such wretched prisoners, there is a justice that can be done out of the Old Bailey. There was a time when they or those who bred them into vice were honest people. How any of them were debased by ignorance before they were debased
by vice? It is better worth while [sic] to educate and guide the poor, so as to prevent honest men from falling by scores into crime, than to erect apparatus by which now and then a criminal may be hauled up again into the road of honesty.

Dickens was convinced without any doubt that crime frequently resulted directly from destitution and injustice. He was convinced, too, that degrading and inhuman treatment merely brutalized the warders and worsened their charges. As for young adults, example, care, education and training were ways to prevent crime. Reformatories, such as Redhill, Westminster Dormitory, Urania Cottage, could work on a small scale, to reclaim those already fallen. Education, as one of a host of centrally provided services and facilities, had to rank high in priority; but education and morality could not penetrate where destitution, starvation and death ruled supreme. Thus, criminals might be restored if kindness with firmness could set to work in surroundings which, if not comfortable, were at least humane, recognizing human individuality and dignity.

VII: Women's Education

Urania Cottage was Dickens' principal practical effort in the education of women, but "of a certain class." Since many were ex-prostitutes, most ex-prisoners, his effort, especially in the Home's regimen, was effected in the light
of these peculiarities. This section attempts to round out women's education generally, though mostly of working class women.

In the articles I shall examine here, an element of incipient feminism is present. It is rarely completely explicit; nevertheless, it is clearly recognizable. It is interesting also how the articles strive, in different ways, to clarify women's problems and difficulties, as their slow emergence into more public aspects of social existence, such as going to work, began to gather speed. There is no doubt at all that woman's responsibilities, as provider of food, care, clothing and nursing and the like, are still assumed, even though she may also be a full-time factory worker. Again, too, the articles show both personal initiative and some minimal official involvement in women's education.

"The Female School of Design" (HW, 15MARS1, 577-581) tells of two visits to investigate the quality of work done by young women students training in "industrial design." The article argues that English manufacturers were reactionary and bigoted about product design, very few of them exploiting the creative talents of the country's young designers. The same manufacturers also felt that designs of which they approved personally were those equally approved by their customers. This vicious circle led to the constant supply of the same items. Some felt design had to be "vulgarised," even when new. One manufacturer "showed us a beautiful design for a carpet which he had obtained ... in which the colours were finely harmonised."
'It will sell very well,' said he, 'after I have altered it a little to my own taste.' 'Why, what will you do to it?' I inquired. 'I must VULGARISE it ... where they have put grey, I shall put scarlet; where you see purple here, I shall put green and yellow, or such like.'

Working conditions, resembling tailoring's "sweated system", were so cramped that students with large designs daily knocked themselves against or were knocked by others' easels or frames; canvases were frequently torn and ripped. In spite of the bad lighting conditions, the young women's work indicated, as far as colours were involved, "the best had been selected, and the best harmonies employed." As to the variety of work, there were "designs for table-covers, chintz, ladies' muslin, or other figured dresses, groups of flowers, fruit, carpets, paper-hangings, models in clay and wax; etc." These designs were "handsome, beautiful, chaste, and original, and would do any English manufacturer's heart good to see them, if he only had the good sense to set a just value on the advantage of finding such things close to hand in his own country."

The School had existed about eight years (ie since c. 1844), holding seventy students, who apparently had no skill at drawing on entry, "and had to be instructed in the first rudiments ..." Notwithstanding, "the progress displayed by so many confers the greatest credit upon their instructor."

Because the first visit was on a murky day, "a bright sunny morning ... a day or two after ..." occasioned a
second. The discussion turns to the removal from Somerset House to less suitable, cramped quarters and pleads for greater Government assistance in accommodating the School in more appropriate buildings, with proper light and air. The penultimate paragraph is worth a substantial quotation for its directness and plain-speaking:

... as for the present rooms, I need not state... that if a paternal Government has studied to select one of the worst possible places for such a school, they could not have more completely succeeded. ... as to the suitability of its locality for respectable young females, I may also venture to state -- with no power to use any exaggeration that can surpass the fact -- that it is in the close vicinity of several gin-shops, pawn-shops, old rag and rascality shops, in some of the worst courts and alleys of London, and in a direct line with two narrow streets, which, as disgraces, cannot be surpassed by the worst quarter of any metropolis in the world.

There had already been a stinging remark that some more suitable accommodation could be found "in all this vast metropolis, where so many splendid public and private edifices and buildings exist ... If Mr Labouchere would but intercede in a high quarter, so that this most praiseworthy School of Design might be located in one of the light, airy, and beautiful stables now building for the Prince of Wales that would be just the thing, both in itself, and in
the quiet refinement of its locality." One meets with such
direct frankness but rarely, even today in such a journal.

Women were entering commerce and manufacture, if only
in very modest ways. Nevertheless, their traditional,
womanly roles were not excused them, as we see in "The New
School for Wives" (HW, 10APR52, 84-89). This recounts the
history of the Evening School for Women, in Birmingham,
founded "Four and a half years since . . ."

"It is, undeniably, a sad sight to see women, young
and middle-aged, come pouring out of workrooms into the
street, at meal-times — some dirty, some fine, some in
an anxious hurry to get home to their children, some
disposed rather to romp and talk and to laugh loud in the
hearing of the citizens." Moreover, to set the theme of
the article, "it is a dreary thought — how few can make
bread or boil a potato properly; how few can make a shirt,
or mend a gown; how few can carry an intelligent and
informed mind to their own firesides, and amuse their
children with knowledge, and satisfy their husbands with
sympathy."

To assist these women the Evening School was created.
"It was planned and opened and had been conducted by
ladies, who did not lose time arguing whether it was a good
or bad thing that women should be employed in manufactures,
but offered means of improvement in mind and in ways to
such as were so employed." Subjects to be included were
"reading, writing and arithmetic: sewing — including
the cutting out and mending of clothes . . ." and
"instruction in the contents of the Bible," and "of the
other great book — the world we live in — as far as means would allow." Cookery, first of the domestic arts, would come as soon as possible.

The ladies were warned of the difficulties they would meet from these factory women who "had grown up in ignorance; they had not lived among home influences, but in the rough independence of factory life. Their prejudices were in proportion to their ignorance; and their pride was in proportion to their ignorance, prejudices, age, habits, and class jealousy, all together."

Some said the women would not attend; others, that they could not be controlled, except by a policeman! Yet others, that they could not be taught, and would be absent more than present. However, the "ladies" determined on their course of action.

They would ask no questions about character, nor look to see who had wedding-rings, and who had none. What they offered was knowledge; and every woman who came for knowledge should be welcome to it; so long as she pursued her object decently and quietly. They would admit no policeman -- no man whatever, happen what might. They would stand or fall by their object of making this a woman's affair altogether.

As if this were not enlightenment enough for mid-1847, even more so was their psychological insight: "They would be careful, above everything to treat every person within
the walls with the respect due to womanhood, under any provocation whatever."

The article ends somewhat indeterminately in that the writer, Miss Martineau, cannot completely commit herself to feminism. She admits a demand for women’s labour exists, and, taking into account their wages had increased by twenty per cent, "we are not disposed to try to counteract the natural tendencies of things by declamation." However, the sight of "young girls trooping through the streets to the factories, and wives locking their doors -- every morning turning their backs upon their homes" makes her recoil. She would not be averse to seeing women "led back to their own homes, and the good old-fashioned seat by their own firesides." The educationist in Miss Martineau wins through, however: "Those who think well of what has been done, should, and will, go and do the same thing. There should, and will, be more evening schools for women employed in manufactures."

This is an interesting and revealing article, showing the very real dilemma in which single women, especially, of all classes might well find themselves. Traditional attitudes and MORES decreed woman’s place as in the home; yet manufacturing clearly called for women workers. Working class women had worked for money as well as in the home in earlier times. They had always contributed to the family budget. Industrialization had dispossessed so many at first. The fact remained, as the article underlines, that women still had homes to run. The evening school, therefore, was of great value to them regardless of whether
they were factory workers or not; they were gaining knowledge and understanding, as people.

"The Point of the Needle" (AYR, SEP63, 36-41) detailed the squalor and sweated slavery of the girls who laboured to make "the most wretched fripperies of fashion," that "pale army of girls." Such was their existence, that "fewer, perhaps, die by the bayonet than by the needle." Detail upon detail of the effects upon health are retailed, such as the onset of tuberculosis, curvature of the spine, and similar diseases.

The article seeks the cause of the paucity of wages in such work. The answer is that the trade is seasonal and therefore never attracts any capital to sustain itself throughout the year. Indeed, this is true of all the fashion trades, "bugling, or beadwork, embroidery, feather-trimming, chenille and hair or silk net-making, blonde-joining, cap-making, dress-making, it is all dreary and almost hopeless struggle." This could be rectified if the work were spread more evenly throughout the year, and if Englishwomen had a revolt "against French domination, and ... set up and pay worthy homage to, a Court of Fashion of their own. It is no question about trifles of fashion; it is a question of life and happiness to thousands whether we shall submit to all the sudden freaks of very bad French taste, or whether we shall some time set up an honest and reasonable standard of our own."

Moving to a different topic, that of women's higher education, we find in "Lectures for Ladies" (AYR, (N.S.) 13NOV69, 566-569) an exposition of the state of women's
achievement to date. After banter about whether women are or are not able to take senior positions in the world, the article compares boys' and girls' schools and colleges, particularly those for females in Harley-street and Bedford-square. It is revealed that all the "real" teachers, ie university educated teachers, are men.

One object of these two colleges "was to supply the want of some standard of knowledge to which ladies, by obtaining their certificates, could show they had attained." However, "a like help has been since extended to others by the Working Women's College in Queen-square." Nevertheless, those wishing to prove their qualified status as teachers "often finished their education in France, for the sake of the certificate of fitness to teach obtainable under the French system." There then follows, for its day, a very bold statement:

The true woman is only more a woman for the quickening of her whole nature that culture brings with it. Instead of confounding the difference of mind between women and men, true education gives intensity to the real characters of each, points all the more strongly their differences, quickens their natural action and reaction on each other, doubles at once the delight and usefulness of their companionship ... the woman so prepared is all the more mother to her children, keen to appreciate their efforts, prompt and wise in sympathy, and by the subtle powers of her love
and knowledge arms their souls for conquest in
the strife to come.
As for themselves:
Women, with active intelligence ... if
anything, even more restless than the wit of
men, must suffer in their minds if they are
debared from intellectual employments ...
experience has now shown clearly that in
average ability and in capacity for steady
work, there is no natural difference between
boys and girls, and that if there be any
between men and women, it is simply due to the
fact that men hitherto have received better
training in their youth.
A survey of women's efforts in forming associations
within which they could call upon the services of
university teachers to deliver courses of lectures ends the
article. Practical science classes were not ignored where
possible, such as at University College, London; even
though the women had their own special entrance! The
women's age-range is noteworthy: "The ladies who attend
these classes, which admit none under seventeen, are
chiefly ... between seventeen and four-and-thirty. There
are also older ladies who come in the faith that a right
human desire for knowledge ends only with life -- never,
if death be not the end of life -- or who come that they
may take an active helpful interest in the studies of their
daughters."
The movement had its origins "chiefly among ladies
whose associations in life are with the more intellectual half of the upper middle class ..." However, there was a positive move to keep fees low, and to encourage all classes to attend. "Our English ladies -- honour to them for it! -- have, in fact, without effort, brought into the lecture rooms of their establishing, with other requisites, that fine catholic spirit which should be inseparable from a place of study."

The feminist movement seemingly had its adherents in most levels of society, even if feminism per se was not the overt cause of such activity. What it really shows, I suggest, is that by 1869, the movement, to culminate in Mrs Pankhurst and the Suffragettes, was already consolidating its bases in gaining better and higher levels of education. The conventional insipidity and "dumbness" of Victorian women was disappearing, and female minds of ability, intellectual range and calibre were training for the next generation's real putsch against the apparently impregnable stronghold of male political absolutism.

Reaction to overt feministic action is shown in "M.D." (AYR, 8DEC66, 514-516) and "A Woman's Rights Convention" (AYR, (N.S.) 30OCT69, 517-521). The first relates a curious event of a lady doctor's attempt to lecture publicly "on a certain evening in November," 1866, at St James's Hall, "dressed in a short black silk tunic, reaching a little below the knees, the skirts falling close to the figure like those of a man's frock-coat, wearing, moreover, a pair of black cloth trousers, and having flowers in her hair ..." So dressed, she, Dr Mary E.
Walker, "the American lady physician," attempted to address "an exceedingly large, and for the most part ... an exceedingly ill-behaved audience."

Her lecture, as newspapers reported beforehand, was "an account of the experiences which this lady had passed through; first, when a student at the Medical Lyceum; secondly, when engaged in private practice as an ordinary physician; thirdly, during her attendance on sick and wounded soldiers engaged in the late American war."

Unfortunately, "a large section came ... not to listen, not to judge, but to condemn, and that in a very rude and shocking manner."

The doctor's flowery language and exaggerated metaphors are criticised, but equally it was "impossible to withhold ... admiration from the courage, the perseverance, and the self-denial, which had enabled this lady to go through so much that was tiresome and revolting to a woman's nature ..." The audience were not pleased when she discoursed on long skirts, and how short skirts "were reconcilable with the principles of physiology and hygiene."

She had once favoured "white pantalettes for female medical wear," but had abandoned them finally "on account of the mud." Her present dress was so convenient that she was often summoned because "she could get ready so much quicker" than male doctors.

"A Woman's Rights Convention" reports on "a Convention to consider the Political and Social Rights of Woman, and to adopt measures to secure for the Downtrodden Sex the Right of Suffrage" held at Pilgrim Hall, Highpoint, New
England on 20 October 1869. The article seems undecided whether to be funny or just to report factually. Certainly, much of the "discussion" is trivialized by quotes of feeble double entendre, such as the President's final remarks: "'we are asked ... if having the suffrage, we will fight. I answer, we are ready for that; but we hope to introduce, with our ballots, the reign of universal peace. Brothers and sisters, it is our mission, for the present, to keep the world in hot water!"

The article shows two things: one, that women could organize if they so desired; and, two, that they had much to learn in controlling conferences and delegates.

What this whole section shows quite clearly is that women's education was beginning to develop very seriously and on a number of fronts, from young women's hostels with a few free classes, to night classes for poor labouring women, to lecture programmes at university level. Women still had far to go but the foundations of movements such as that of the Suffragettes, and institutions such as Cambridge and London universities, had their firm beginnings in these articles. Dickens' journals furthered these causes and others through his "advertizing."

VIII: Special and Advanced Education

This final section considers a range of educational activities in four broad bands. Firstly, I shall consider educational activity on behalf of the armed forces. This looks at several aspects of both army and navy personnel involvement. Secondly, I shall examine education in crafts
and technical matters. The third band looks at medical education, to be followed finally by "special education" for disabled people. These considerations conclude my survey of the educational thrust of Dickens' journals.

Military and Naval Education

The English lack of ability in foreign languages (16) is highlighted in "Army Interpreters" (HW, 16DEC54, 431-432), especially as affecting military events. Though the article has some humour, it nonetheless indicates two important failings in the British Army of that time. (The Crimean War was continuing.) There is reference to "the matter of several painfully-spelled despatches" and a xenophobic quip from "Cornet Lord Nartingale" about the wrongly imprisoned Turks -- who were supposedly allies -- mistaken for Russians, to the effect that "We always shut up turkeys towards Christmas ... it makes them fatter for killing." Equally, these Muslim "prisoners" had been fed on Salt Pork, which they left, having "supported themselves merely on the bread ..." and were quite haggard when released. No one understood Muslim practice.

Other bumblings are related, and it is indicated that the army relied on interpreters of dubious backgrounds. They had none of their own, trained, skilled men who both spoke foreign languages and understood military matters. The article ends with the sarcastic remark that "If I wished to offer an example more striking than another, I would point out the emphatic warning afforded by the fate of those silly fellows who have applied themselves for
years to the study of oriental languages at Her Majesty’s embassy at Constantinople. They appear to have entertained the ridiculous idea that such course of application would further their advancement in life!" This forms just one indictment of military preparedness which that most calamitous war was to expose (17).

Moving chronologically to 1856, in "French and English Staff-Officers" (HW, 9FEB56, 84-88), the criticism grows even more precise, pin-pointed here at the officer class and its "training." We are regaled first with the extensive education and training which a French Staff-Officer receives: Louis de Bonfils has the rank of Captain in "the staff corps of France." He "does not know or care anything about racing, is proud of, and wears, his uniform at all times and on all occasions ... Moreover, since he commenced his career in the army, the captain has thought of, and worked for, nothing but his profession ..."

When questioned about staff-officer training and background he assured the writer "that the career of one officer in the corps d’état-major may be taken as an exact sample of all, and that the same qualifications are required from every one who aspires to the honour of holding a commission in that regiment." This body comprizes entirely officers: "thirty colonels, thirty lieutenant-colonels, one hundred chefs d’escadron (who would be termed majors in the English service), three hundred captains, and one hundred lieutenants." All studied at the Ecole Imperiale d’Application following a curriculum of "all the higher branches of mathematics,
topography, geography, and fortification, together with
statistics, military history, the English, German, and
Italian languages, drawing, and the theory of military
manoeuvres — artillery, cavalry, and infantry — on a
grand scale, and separate as well as combined."

English military "schoolmasters" were trained very
rigorously at "the Royal Military Asylum Normal School,
Chelsea," and their examination papers were "of the
stiffest." The curriculum was broad if orthodox, not to
say traditional (certainly by today's standards).

But putting aside pedantries and exaggerations,
such as would seem to be inevitable in all new
schemes and uncertain workings, this
recognition that the soldier has a soul to be
saved and a mind to be trained in other ways
beside accurate firing at a mark, and marching
in time to music, is a concession to the
general spirit of progress, and the more
enlightened views of humanity current in our
day, for which we cannot be sufficiently
grateful.

As for Naval education a contrast again is made in
a much later article, "Aboard the Training Ship" (AYR,
8OCT1859, 557-562). More down-to-earth than those on army
training, this clearly reflects the feelings of the time
that science and technology had moved ahead rapidly
(especially with the advent of steam ships, or at least
steam-assisted ships), and that other nations, eg France
and Russia, had already taken a lead. It is no longer
acceptable to be "Benbow men."

The solid and splendid qualities of these veterans did so much for England, that it is not without tenderness that one bids their ideas good-by. But times and the peace spared nobody ... then came steam, opening to us newer and grander views of the laws of winds and ocean-currents, and the great mysteries of the deep.

Moreover, "book-knowledge of all kinds kept spreading itself through English life, and modifying it in every muscle and fibre." This seems to imply that not only was the Navy changing within itself, but that others outside the Navy felt it should change.

Finally, it is suggested that some training in diplomacy and negotiation could be added to advantage to officer training since many have diplomatic and political tasks to perform abroad. Nothing but the stupidest misinterpretation of traditions can make out such a career to be anything but essentially intellectual and worthy of all the culture and the grace which can be brought to it by the widest literary resources. If we are -- as it is excusable in us to believe -- naturally superior to our naval rivals, let our superiority now take this form. The time is come for it to do so, and foreigners are intensely anxious to see how we mean to meet the new era.
It would seem that Britannia was achieving some good in the right direction.

The articles on military and naval training and life responded to two major movements of the period. Firstly, of course, the Crimean War occupied many minds; but, secondly, the growing commercial, industrial and even military threats from Europe were becoming clearer.

Dickens' warnings to the nation came through these articles and their like. He strove to awaken British minds to the fact that foreigners had to be reckoned with. Education was, again, the way forward before it was too late.

**General Craft and Technical Education**

We have already seen that craft skills were "acquired" by men and women working on the job; apprenticeships existed for the ancient trades, but little appears from the articles to have been offered for "new" trades, i.e. those tasks emerging from the application of new technology. The articles, here, give a thumb-nail sketch of the situation.

In "The Board of Trade" (HW, 3MAR55, 101-105), the main purport is a history of the department and its faring under various monarchs, its extension with the arrival of the railways and the like. Its importance to the education of adults lies in the fact that the Board was "charged with the promotion of science and art in their relation with industrial pursuits." For this reason, there were "central training schools for teachers and local schools of design" maintained "by inspection, by a cheap
supply of good models, etc., by training teachers, encouraging students with exhibitions, and by limited pecuniary help."

"Court, Ball, Powder, and Evening" (AYR, 10FEB66, 109-112) recounts the "Grand Soiree" of the "British Hairdressers' Academy." The article amusingly presents a grand competition of forty hairdressers creating a style for a lady's hair in half an hour before the assembled crowd. These competition coiffures presented "a great variety of styles of hair-dressing ... not two heads ... dressed alike." The real function of the evening was to publicize the work of the hairdressers, the Academicians, so that "an academy be established by British Hairdressers, and when established, that it should be open to the hairdressers of all nations." Furthermore, they intended a weekly practice-night, a club, or general meeting-place "where all novelties of the trade, whether in hairdressing, new ornaments, or inventions connected with false hair, perfumery, brushes, combs, etc., may be exhibited, and their merits discussed." It was proposed also to engage ladies for these practice-nights, since they believed "practising on blocks to be worse than useless." Regular demonstrations were to be held, and a fund created to "establish a Hairdressers' Clubhouse of all nations."

"English Eyes on French Work" (AYR, 23MAY66, 560-565) reports on a craftsmen-delegation to France in 1867, sponsored by the Society of Arts, and awarded five hundred pounds by the Committee in Council on Education, "provided an equal sum was raised by voluntary subscription." In
fact, £1,039 19s 6d was raised, and eighty craftsmen went to Paris to inspect the work displayed at the Exposition. They also met fellow craftsmen from different trades. This must have been one of the earliest examples of inservice training and development. What seemed to have impressed the men was "the care taken of the workman's education" as well as "the liberal opening of the museums, etc., to the working classes." Equally impressive were "the self-respect, the order, the equality, of the workshops; to find the men and foremen alike in the blouse, with no difference of costume to mark the minute differences in grade to which we attach so much importance, but all content to appear of the 'wages class'."

Each trade report was the work of one of the men attending the exposition. The comments are worth a full quotation. Mr Hooper, a cabinet maker, was the first reporter, "and his paper is certainly the most graphic and pictorial. It is a charming sketch, and would do honour to a practised hand." This trip was in fact Hooper's "first fortnight's holiday he had ever had," and he "had known little else than toil from his boyhood, working at a bench not less than ten hours per day in a dismal, dirty, unhealthy workshop" — not exactly the kind of life for acquiring a good method either of observation or narration." Other reporting craftsmen showed thoughtfulness, even "a more refined tone of criticism;" one quoted Chaucer and Rabelais, and knew "all about the famous Damascus blades." The article's writer was "struck by the comparatively extensive reading and the justness of
observation, of men toiling painfully at their life’s
labour for daily wages."

The final article here relates some of the history of
farming education, concentrating particularly on the Royal
Agricultural College at Cirencester. The article is "Farm
and College" (AYR, 100CT68, 414-421), the opening sentences
of which set the whole article’s theme. "That part of the
holding of a farmer or landowner which pays best for
cultivation is the small estate within the ring fence of
his skull. Let him begin with the right tillage of his
brains, and it shall be well with his grains, roots,
herbage and forage, sheep and cattle; they shall thrive
and he shall thrive."

A historical survey of men and books who have added to
agricultural knowledge follows. Sir Humphrey Davy, for
instance, "took a real hold upon the agricultural mind ...
when he ... showed that agricultural chemistry had for its
study all changes in the arrangements of matter connected
with the growth and nourishment of plants; the
constituents of soils; the manner in which lands are
nourished by manure, or rendered fertile by the different
processes of cultivation." Sir Humphrey’s work was
followed by that of Liebig. "Everybody ... was bitten by
Liebig, and talked potash and nitrogenous manure."

It is significant that farming, a very conservative
pursuit, should have responded in this way in England. It
is clear that the overall aim of farming was (and is) to
make money by feeding the nation. The century had seen
many changes and much legislation concerning foodstuffs,
the Corn Laws being the most notorious, perhaps. But, what
must also be remembered was that the Agrarian revolution
was in some respects in advance of the Industrial. Hence,
there had been, since the mid-eighteenth century, a drive
towards greater production and higher efficiency. The
Royal Agricultural College was its culmination, and a
landmark in vocational education.

Medical Education

The whole, protracted agony of establishing proper
public health consciousness and action is the substance of
"Health by Act of Parliament" (HW, 10AUG50, 460-463). This
appeared in issue No. 20 of the journal, but was to be
extended in piecemeal fashion by many articles concerning
rookeries, cholera, intramural interment and the like. The
article points out also that other national disease of
official inactivity. Only a disaster made John Bull act.

His heart is only reached through his pocket,
except when put in a state of alarm. Cry
'Cholera!' or any other frightful conjuration,
and he bestirs himself. To cholera we owe the
few sanitary measures now in force; but which
were passed by the House — as a coward may
seem courageous — in its agonies of fright.
The moment, however, Cholera bulletins ceased
to be issued, John buttoned up his pockets
tighter than ever, and Parliament was dumb
regarding public health, except to undo one or
two good things it had done.

The poor suffered more than others from ill-health,

"Inasmuch ... as health is the capital of the working man,
whatever be the necessities of the state, NOTHING can
justify a tax affecting the health of the people, and
especially the health of the labouring community, whose
bodily strength constitutes their wealth, and oftentimes
their only possession." Thus the window-tax should be
abolished, since it deprived the poor of both light and
clean air.

This article, and its many successors, lays bare the
national need for good health, both privately and publicly.

It is perhaps unfortunate that no systematic development
of this theme emerged, and Dickens is to blame in this, by
not taking a particular stance. Articles on health and the
lack of both private and public hygiene appear in the
journals in haphazard, kaleidoscopic manner, with Catoesque
repetition of demand for rectification. Dickens appears to
have been supporting the idea of "public works," but any
clearly stated means of achieving these ends is entirely
lacking. Maybe it was the accumulative effect which he
strived to achieve in making the public aware of what was
needed.

"A Great Day for the Doctors" (HW, 2NOV50,137-139) is
concerned in the main to enumerate the great teaching
hospitals' revenues and benefactors, but it concludes with
an important little section, of both historical and topical
note. It elucidates the present enlightenment concerning
dissection, and how medical students were able to carry out
their studies. Formerly, dissection was "denied by law, and abhorrent to popular feeling." To gain that knowledge, "resurrection men" were employed, who "stole the bodies of the dead, to sell them to anatomical schools for dissection." Because "medical efficiency in the treatment of disease cannot be gained unless the young doctor bases all his subsequent studies upon a thorough knowledge of the structure of the human body," dissection remains a crucial element.

By contrast, in "The Modern Practice of Physic" (HW, 220CT53, 169-173), the reader is treated to the confessions of a professional man regarding his and others' medical training. The reader is told that the writer knows "very little indeed" about his profession. "As a student, at the opening of three successive sessions, I was warmed a little by my teachers into good designs of study; but I was so fond of pleasure that I could accomplish little indeed."

The tale then unfolds of how the writer managed to evade any real testing in his examinations, but succeeded in qualifying. Nonetheless, he claims to be harmless: "I do not prescribe savagely. I live in fear of my own ignorance and do no active harm."

Again, as in public health matters, these contrasting articles make no comment, leaving the reader to decide about these matters. The lack of any editorial input is significant. Dickens' concentration is on putting over the information -- he (apparently) deliberately avoids partisanship, presenting both the good and the bad, without comment on how improvement should (and could) be effected.
The symbiotic relationship of the medical profession and the poor is the theme of "Medical Practice among the Poor" (HW, 21OCT54, 217-221). In a time before Health Services or even doctors' panels, "The whole mass of the poor in this country [was] thrown upon the almost unassisted charity of the medical profession; a charity to the support of which the public [contributed] scarcely a tithe." The public, we are informed "knows little of the real position in which the sick poor stand with regard to their medical attendants: because medical men as a body bear their burden manfully, and accept the charge of the poor as an incident of their calling. ... They know that the time has not come when ratepayers will take a fair share of the charitable work, and contribute more than odd pence on the needy in their time of greatest need."

"The Nurse in Leading Strings" (HW, 12JUN58, 602-606) carries us on to consider nursing. The import of the article, which remains rather blurred as to detail, is to indicate the state of nurse-training both in this country and in Germany. It is based on Florence Nightingale's work in "the effort to supplant Mrs Gamp, with a trained nurse who understands and likes her work, and who has the best motive for being faithful in it ..." The first part tells of Pastor Flieder's work in Kaiserwerth upon Rhine, in his institution which "contains above a hundred beds, and is divided into four departments -- for men, for women, for boys, and for children.... A spirit of delicacy and refinement governs every arrangement. Nothing is done for worldly gain...."
London had its "training school for nurses in St John's House at Westminster. Founded ... in a religious spirit ..." with the declared purpose ... "to improve the qualifications and to raise the character of nurses for the sick, by providing for them professional training together with moral and religious discipline, under the care of a clergyman, aided by the influence and example of a lady superintendent, and other resident sisters."

What emerges from these articles is far from clear as to precisely what both physicians and nurses learnt in their training. It is clear that medical students still spent much time living the life of a gentleman, whereas trainee nurses, because of their sex, were under strict religious control and discipline. However, a strong conviction to serve the poor is evident, and to learn the skills (such as they were) of the craft. The religious basis of nurse-training consolidated the sense of true charity towards all and dedication to the alleviation of sickness and pain.

The detail, so obvious in so many other articles of adult educational interest, is lacking in these and may well be accounted for by the exclusivity of medical teaching, and the narrowness of concept in nursing. Without doubt, the religious origins of nursing constricted its view of life and straitened its disciplines. As far as nursing and doctoring both were concerned, certainly a professional conscience was evident, even if what today would be called a professional training was lacking in many respects.
IX : Education for Disabled People

In this section, it is important to understand nineteenth century attitudes towards disability. Part of the journals' thrust was to expose the idea of disability as dysfunction rather than as a curse of a divine will, or some such superstition. Secondly, it was intended to show what was known about various defects and disabilities, and what was being done to alleviate the accompanying problems.

Lunatics

"Lunatic" was used generically to cover what today would be defined as anything from dementia to mental retardation. For convenience, I have used the Victorian words "lunatic" and "idiot" as they are the terms most commonly employed in the articles. At the same time I shall endeavour to indicate today's term to reduce confusion.

Two linked articles afford insight into Victorian ideas of mental disorder. "Idiots" (HW, 4JUN53, 313-317) and "Idiots Again" (HW, 15APR54, 197-200) describe these ideas and provide some account of training. The first article clearly distinguishes between Idiocy and Insanity:

"...in the Insane certain faculties which once existed have become obliterated or impaired ... in Idiots, they either never existed or exist imperfectly."

The article relates how mental deficiency was once
deemed incapable of improvement. Some doctors in Europe and England had been working to achieve some kind of improvement with such patients. Experiments had shown that defectives were capable of learning to use their hands in creating objects. One deaf patient, "incapable of articulating although not dumb, and [appearing] to have no sense of change of place or change of circumstances surrounding him..." was discovered to have "a latent power of construction." In time, through encouragement, he was able to make "a neat model of a ship, with nothing to copy it from, but the figure of a vessel on a cotton pocket-handkerchief." He became eventually "the glazier and carpenter of the establishment and does his work admirably."

Dr Guggenbuhl, in Switzerland, had discovered "that no special aptitude is so frequently developed among idiots as one for mental arithmetic. It is remarkable that among these disordered intellects, order and numbers should often be, of all other accomplishments, the most readily acquired." The abstraction of written calculation, however, evaded them.

Some (too many in the article's view) would consider such work "excessively painful, ... so desperately careful to receive no uncomfortable emotions from sad realities or pictures of sad realities. ... become the incarnation of the demon selfishness ..." When "considered with a rational reference to the alleviations and improvements of which it is plainly susceptible under such treatment, it ought ... to do the visitor good." There is a common
responsibility for all to assist this work. "There cannot be a doubt that these Institutions are deserving of all encouragement and support. They are truly humane, and they also afford opportunities for a most interesting study which may prove exceedingly beneficial to mankind."

"The Star of Bethlehem" (HW, 15AUG57, 145-150) traces the history of Bedlam, and indicates some of the means of treatment and training being employed there. Good buildings come first, followed by good diet. "If there be two ideas that never before came into association in our minds, they are gooseberry pie and Bedlam." Pastimes such as billiards, bowling and skittles as well as reading matter were provided, and animals to feed.

Bethlehem Hospital, the ancient Bedlam, showplace once of lunatics displayed for others' amusement, was contributing to the rehabilitation of mentally ill patients. "The Cure of Sick Minds" (HW, 2AR59, 415-419) treats of similar material, describing the common "causes" of mental breakdown, but adds drunkenness, allied to poor nutrition, as a major cause, and drug-addiction ("the habit of eating opium remains") in the Fen-lands. This last habit sends "many a patient melancholy mad ..." The last believers in diabolic possession are noted as "ignorant."

The article closes with the advice:

let the whole public distinctly understand two things: that insanity in its first stage -- and only then -- is in very many cases curable: that a visit of a few weeks to a perfectly well-regulated asylum, when the first
symptoms appear, may be made pleasanter and
without involving any reception of charity less
costly than a change to seaside lodgings, and
will often suffice to establish a cure.
Perhaps, the fullest account of the education or
training of lunatics is presented in "Happy Idiots" (AYR,
23JUL64, 564-569) which tells of the work of the Idiot
Asylum at Earlswood in Surrey. The article’s writer cannot
resist the Dickensian statement of the paradoxical
condition of England:

It would almost seem that, in this country, to
be unfortunate is to be fortunate, to be poor
is to be rich: that, for the advantage of
physical comfort, it is better to be mad than
sane: better to be an idiot than to have the
full use of one’s faculties: better to be a
youthful criminal than to be an honest,
hard-working, well-behaved boy. And, indeed,
it is not too much to say that these lunatics,
idots, and young criminals, are the only
persons in the whole community who are enabled
fully to enjoy the comfort, the cleanliness,
the wholesome diet, and the regularity of
habits which make up the great and sovereign
recipe, according to all wisdom and experience,
for ensuing health and the capability for
happiness.

The four articles show a remarkable modernity of
approach in the training and education of mental disorder.
Certainly, many of these examples are exceptional, and their histories are related in the journals because of that. Nonetheless, a remarkably twentieth-century attitude is expressed behind the Victorian language modes, indicating greater attention to the problem than may have been realized by many latterday readers. Psychology, then a nascent discipline, was obviously foremost in many caring minds, although unknown by that name; and, indeed, an astonishing degree of sensitivity in an age renowned for cruel and unfeeling barbarities towards children and underdogs. Our view is perhaps overly distorted and skewed by personal reminiscences passed on to us by survivors of that period, whose experiences were not of the best, and whose knowledge was biased also.

Deaf and Dumb

Three articles describe attempts to educate deaf and dumb people. The first two, "Deaf Mutes" (HW, 25MAR54, 134-138), and "Three Graces of Christian Science" (HW, 20MAY54, 317-320) deal essentially with individual cases of education of deaf and dumb persons. The first discusses problems of mothers with deaf-mute babies and children, and some predilections of their charges, such as enjoyment of music through vibration. Psychological problems emerge, such as, how does one instil a sense of morality in a mind which has difficulties in distinguishing right from wrong?

The use of sign language is debated and encouraged, as are the inculcation of good habits and control of temper.
The second article shows a number of successful examples. For instance, the power of association was employed to teach reading. In another, since the pupil was deaf and blind, he might have been expected to remain dumb. His teacher thought otherwise. "By feeling the teacher’s breath, chest, his throat, his lips, and by having his own mouth put into proper form for the vowels, by prisms, and rings of different size, the art of articulation was learned."

The case of Laura Bridgman, which Dickens had reported very fully in AMERICAN NOTES is also discussed in great detail, indicating the possibilities of teaching achieved with endless patience and skill.

The third. "Reading Made Easy" (AYR, 1SEP66, 276-179) discusses teaching reading to deaf pupils. M. Grosselin, in France, devised a system of teaching reading through a "Phonomimic" alphabet. "All that can be done is to convey an idea of the thirty-three gestures which make up the phonomimic alphabet." This was in fact a form of sign language, and was used in conjunction with spoken (or at least mouthed) speech.

It seems both from the paucity of articles and meagreness of content that deaf-mutes received little of the attention mentally defectives received. Present-day evidence indicates that deafness persists as a low priority in the medical world, and since its presence is often unknown to casual observers, it remains outside the immediate line of sympathy. Perhaps, because most deafness comes from ageing, sickness or accident, these factors also
affect its priority.

Blind

My final remarks of the last section are echoed by those opening the article, "Blindness" (HW, 17JUN54, 421-425): "It is a curious speculation why so much more compassion and sympathy are shown to the blind than to any other class of sufferers from personal imperfection or infirmity. ... But their disadvantages are not to be compared with those of the deaf, while their personal suffering is much less than that of the deformed or maimed." Comparison is made with deaf-mutes, and the latter found wanting, never having achieved excellence "in any matter in which intellectual power, a vigorous and sound mind, was required." Deafness is often thought comic, indeed, frequently a stock situation or character on stage, but never blindness.

Dr Saurderson's life-story is of singular interest, especially his considerable powers of measurement. Saurderson had lost his sight at one year old, through small pox. He could estimate a room's size very accurately "by the sound of the voices and the footsteps in it." He was also deeply learned in the Classics, which he had studied by having them read to him. His most astonishing gift was his knowledge of astronomy and cosmology. This he carried to such a pitch that he was able to write a commentary of Newton's *Principia*, and to hold a chair in mathematics at Cambridge. Having known these things about
Dr Saunderson, why, asks the writer, should we have waited a century and more to employ this knowledge in the education of other blind people?

The article then raises the whole problem of how we use our senses of touch and vision in the recognition of form, acknowledging the fact that touch and sight do not easily relate. The case of a boy, born blind, is cited. His sight being restored, he was asked to choose a pear from an apple and a pear, without touching them. He could not, until he closed his eyes and felt them.

The discussion turns then to the general training of blind persons. Over-protection is condemned since it prevents blind people from learning about their true environment. The same applies to "false sensibility" about what blind people can never know. If the blind have never seen, they ought to know as much as they can of what interests other people. "Really, one might as well caution young people against dancing in the presence of the old." Blind people could now read, and Chapman and Hall, Dickens' publishers, had produced a monthly magazine. Education was possible for all through those new books. "Give them what you have ready for them now, and see about improvements afterwards," was the advice, instead of constantly debating different systems' merits.

An earlier article, "Books for the Blind" (HW, 2JUN53, 421-425) had dealt very fully with the problems of reading matter, its production and the kind of "writing" to be employed. There was patently much activity in this field: perhaps too much. "It occasionally happens that the
exertions of those who are showing kindness towards their fellow-creatures are rendered inefficient by a want of co-operation and harmony." There had been wasteful use of resources by the proliferation of invention of alphabets. The article then recounts some of this great variety of ingenuity, and points out the obvious difficulty that not everyone can read the different systems.

A "Convention of Teachers of the Blind" is called for to discuss exhaustively the merits of all the systems available, and to decide "which has most advantages and fewest defects," so that "the contributions of the benevolent be better laid out."

"At Work in the Dark" (HW, 5MAR59, 321-324) looks at practical efforts in providing work for blind people, and describes "an obscure little brush, mat, and basket shop, in the Euston Road ... the repository of an institution. ... Blind men and women, shiftless and poor, are taught the most profitable trades they can follow in the little work-rooms behind and above the shop."

Many of the trades taught in institutions were those not necessarily requiring sight, such as "Basket-making, cocoa-mat making, fancy mat-weaving, mattress-weaving, twine, line, and cord-spinning, hassock-making, knitting and crochet ..." Unfortunately, some crafts earned nothing, for women especially, such as knitting and crochet, because they were commonly carried on in most homes. Added to this, blind people perforce work slowly. "Slow and sure is a law imposed on the blind."

Miss Gilbert, herself blind, established the
Association for Promoting the General Welfare of the Blind. To develop outlets for the handwork of blind workers. The shop in Euston Road was the first retail outlet for the Association, but others were being set up elsewhere.

One of the Association's intentions was to set up a museum of devices contrived for the education of blind persons. Exhibits such as stuffed birds and animals, preserved insects, and vegetable productions, shells, specimens of various grains, minerals, and manufactured articles -- nothing would be inappropriate that can be delicately handled without injury." Musical education was also to be part of the programme as funds allowed.

The final article, "Blind Leaders of the Blind" (AYR (N.S.), 7MAY70, 550-552), written by a blind man, deals with the whole problem of blind education, and the standardization of reading and writing systems. "... comparatively little sound and reasonable aid is afforded towards the mental cultivation and training of the blind, with reference to what might be done, and is to a great extent already done on the continent." The lack of uniformity and of agreement on uniformity was the chief stumbling-block.

Apart from the multiplicity of alphabets and their lack of standardization, no common system of writing existed. "In the methods, too, of imparting a knowledge of arithmetic, geography, and geometry, the same want of harmony exists, while it is scarcely going too far to say that music, the one pursuit above all others to which the intelligent sightless might turn as a congenial means of
remunerative employment, is almost wholly neglected." In Paris, boys were trained in music so that some sixty per cent earned their livings as musicians, while more than thirty per cent became first-rate tuners and organists. In England there was "an unwarrantable prejudice shown by piano-forte makers against employing the blind as tuners."

There was, therefore, apart from "the chaotic state of things" in blind education, "a want of thorough and comprehensive organization, a centre capable of dictating in detail to every blind school and institution, the plan upon which it should proceed; universality in all branches being the chief desideratum." Hitherto such legislation had been carried out by sighted persons, narrow advocates of their own particular systems.

This was about to change. "... the sightless should take this matter into their own hands, being not only the best judges of what the blind really require, but, if in an independent position, being above all people the most fitted to assist their fellow-sufferers." For this a new society was being formed, which would actively support "one universal embossed alphabet," and establish a "court of appeal" for these matters of reading systems. All the executive members of its council would have to be unable to read with their eyes and so, unbiassed, the blind would lead the blind.

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It is fitting that this article is the last I shall
consider, as it embodies the more important of the educational values which Dickens upheld. These people were beginning to stand by their own efforts, using their own expertise, experience and personal knowledge of their problems to create a system of education suited to blind people who would be able to enjoy life in as wide a range of interests as possible, and to provide training in some form of occupation by which to earn a satisfactory living. The aim of the association was to assist individuals overcome the drawbacks of their disability in such a way that blind people could become autonomous, independent adults, capable of enjoying and living as full a social life as their disability would permit. These aims in no way differ from those that Dickens wanted all adults to achieve, so that all could be partakers in a full life as well-informed, thoughtful and upright citizens.

All these articles, covering a multitude of activities on behalf of millions of people, provide us with quantities of contemporary detail, showing that much which needed remedy in the nineteenth century, and was hampered by short-sighted, sectarian or partial attitudes, has gone, but also that much still remains today, though detail may vary. Dickens' journals gave the "facts" in ways calculated to be irresistibly appealing so that the articles would be read and the information absorbed. The lack of any cohesive and integrated policy, proffered throughout the journals, must be accounted as Dickens' failure. On the other hand, Dickens did not see his task as one of social policy maker: he saw it as one of raising
social awareness and conscience. In that he was supremely successful. His effort remains of value today as a warning of what happens when any establishment ignores the People it governs.
Chapter Eight

CONCLUSION

This thesis is an investigation into the ideas of one man, whose short life was lived out among a bewildering and ever-increasing torrent of "new" ideas and startling discoveries. His amazing energy and multifarious activities are no less a phenomenon in our day than they were in his own. What is clearer to us now, is his involvement and commitment to the English People, especially for their advancement towards a condition where they could truly take upon themselves their full adulthood to make decisions for themselves in all aspects of their lives. His concern for those who had no means of beginning this advancement -- the poor, the old, the indigent and destitute -- was sharpened by his own early experiences of poverty and the uncertainties of hand to mouth existence: lessons hard learned and never forgotten. These lessons, however, formulated his fundamental approach to his fellow-man as "neighbour," to be strengthened and reinforced by his personal view of Christianity as a whole, but more especially of the teachings of Christ Himself. From these two elements, his early experiences and his acceptance of Christ's dicta, strengthened by the knowledge of his own personal powers, stemmed his conviction that he had the task of enlightening the English nation to its plight, to its genius and to its future. This was to be achieved through one means: education, and the enlightenment that education brings. Hence, it was no accident that Dickens was drawn into journalism, the field
of communications.

Dickens had an abiding worry about the state of the nation: the dire and chronic effects of rapid, haphazard industrialization, controlled only by individual whim and ambition. He saw, too, the demise of what he believed to be the spirit of the old England which he tried to revive in *Pickwick Papers* and all other glances back to those more acceptable, more convivial times. The part of English life he held to be easily understood and most easily used as the year's focal point was Christmas, which Dickens took as the source of his philosophy of living, since that time marked the birth of the Saviour. Dickens' "prime" text, emphasizing the fact of Christ's birth, underlining the Angels' message and exemplifying Christ's essential doctrine -- all in one -- is, of course, *A Christmas Carol*, the archetypal narration of a formidable change of heart, a moral re-formation. Thus "Carol Philosophy" is the central tenet of all Dickens' efforts for the nation, as, indeed, it is the heart core of the Christian religion.

Dickens realized that the quintessential morality of loving God and one's neighbour had seriously declined in all aspects of national life. Industrialization had encouraged thoughtless self-interest and self-aggrandisement in the mad scramble to exploit new knowledge and new technology, to the annihilating detriment of those who had already lost (or never had) any means of helping themselves, when dispossessed from the land, or simply born into worsening and inescapable, incapacitating poverty, owing loyalty only to their own meagre survival.
He recognized change as a phenomenon to be reckoned with, which, in many ways, he accepted, even welcomed, believing "progress" to be the natural destiny of man, and the new knowledge capable of improving the lot of everyone if applied with humanity and a sense of responsibility towards one's fellows. Thus, he perceived change as a means to rectify the situation and resolve besetting problems. Moreover, change had to be of the right kind; progress, to be progress, had to be from bad to good, and from good to better. In this, he shows his modernity, his foresight, his vision -- above all, the relevance of what he advocated in his life and in his writings.

Dickens saw the eventual outcome of change, real permanent change, and not mere fluctuation, in the same terms as Sir Thomas More had seen it in UTOPIA: that men and women, to be wholly free, must first get to that "free liberty of the mind" to assume their complete adulthood and gain the ability to discuss and debate, with knowledge and comprehension in order to decide efficiently about their own lives by themselves, without others' condescension or patronage. Personal effort and struggle were helpmeets along this long and difficult path.

I do not mean to infer that Dickens' view was "Utopian" in the popular sense of an impossibly attainable idea, or that it was millenial in any way. His view was nothing if not essentially practical, and he knew the final outcome would not be realized in his own lifetime; the task was far too great; too complicated; too extreme. Because his views were based squarely upon his belief in
Christ's Gospel, he was convinced that they were the only ones that could hold the way through the nation's plight. He was convinced, too, that his views would outlive his own lifetime, because they were right, entailing them to his survivors in his wish to be remembered by his writings, and not by any memorial or monument (2).

Dickens had come to understand that the real enduring problem for "modern" people was that of coping with change. Revolution, evolution, reformation were all possible means to the end; some choice had to be made if the situation was not to deteriorate into that general conflagration which he envisaged and feared — not so much as danger to the person and to property (feared so much by many others such as Macaulay), but to the whole national fabric of English societal existence. Revolution, with all its chaotic and anarchic disturbance, was not the way. Evolution was more appropriate, implying organic growth -- steady but ever-strengthening; and this was possible through revision of attitudes and beliefs: in short, a change of heart, a moral re-formation.

His speeches to various institutions show very clearly the value he set on education as the means to greater comprehension of life in general, and the individual's personal circumstances in particular. His attitude to "universal comprehensive education" included those values to be found in seeking education through the ordinary things of daily life as well as in academic subjects and vocational knowledge. All knowledge tended towards that complete comprehension of existence called "enlightenment,"
the ultimate goal, even when knowledge implied confronting evil, since choices can be made only when there is knowledge of what is bad and what is good. Ability to choose implies knowledge, understanding, comprehension. The resulting choice is itself another small advance towards enlightenment.

Through educational pursuits in Mechanics’ Institutes, Athenaeums, Literary and Scientific Institutes and other formally presented establishments, men of different circumstances would meet on an equal footing, unhampered by status, political and religious stances or any other difference which, in daily life, set individuals apart in their separate stations. The neutral ground of educational pursuit and a love of learning underscored the common humanity of all. As women became more involved, they, too, would be able to make greater contributions to the general raising of the standard of educational attainment, with its direct influences on families and family life, as well as to the spread of enlightenment among the entire nation. Thus, he saw education as no prerogative of any particular section of the community, neither males nor females, neither young nor old. Education and enlightenment are not finite qualities: there are only degrees of more or less. This, too, Dickens implicitly acknowledged, so it is not idle to claim that what he was advocating was life-long education (3): for life itself and for continuing learning as a necessary accompaniment to cope with change.

Those other speeches made to various societies, professional and philanthropic, aimed to diffuse the same
message among other levels and sections of the community. Their contribution he acknowledged as valuable and necessary to the great work. Thus Dickens was pleased and eager to lend his name and "draw" to their good cause so that their endeavours might prosper, furthering his abiding aim. This, in itself, was a practical demonstration of the mutual dependence which a "good" society should exhibit between individuals and informal agencies.

The purposes of education for adults (as for anyone) were clear:

- to inform learners of the latest knowledge, in such a way that they understood and comprehended that knowledge;
- to develop in those individuals, as individuals, a greater, growing comprehension of the conditions of Society and State, and their personal situations therein, in order that they might take to themselves a true identity and the power to control their own lives;
- to develop a greater sense and practice of morality to enhance understanding of Man's place in the Creation, and of his responsibility towards both God and his neighbours.

All these points I have demonstrated throughout this thesis.

The true test of Dickens' views came in the creation and operation of Urania Cottage. This (in some ways)
typically Victorian exercise gave him the opportunity to apply his hypotheses, with, as Chapter 5 showed, worthy success. Reclaiming young women, I have no doubt, was a kind of sacrificial offering to Mary Hogarth's angelic shade, in that some who had fallen -- as she never did -- were restored through kindness, discipline and training to a level of decency and proficiency which rendered them very acceptable wives and companions. Had the separation from his wife not offended Miss Coutts' sensibilities about the sanctity of marriage, the likelihood is that the Home would have continued longer than its fifteen years or so, and the experiment progressed into a firm establishment, since Dickens' interest in young people never flagged.

What Urania Cottage proves to us, and proved to Dickens, was that he was right in his notion that education is reformatory, reviving, restoring, as well as contributory to comprehension; that its contents include the things of life itself, of everyday living, of working, of re-creation and of rest and leisure; and of the spiritual things of life also: compassion, pity, honesty, love. Beyond these things, too, is developed a sense of what is important in life, and what is fun, important or not. Cheerful, confident practicality towards life and its problems was a sound education for anyone. This Dickens had acquired for himself: this he organized and effected for the girls of Urania Cottage. Their letters "home" show without a doubt how successful this attitude was. They had been truly re-formed and re-created.

The journals are perhaps Dickens' greatest achievement
in a number of ways. They are, above all other considerations, his most effective educational thrust covering twenty years of sustained creative endeavour — more than a third of his whole life.

They are not erudite works; had they been so, they would not have gained the popularity and respect which they did; nor could they have fulfilled their essential function, which was to provide family enlightenment and entertainment, since through entertainment and pleasure, learning is enhanced. In a sense, the "education" thus afforded is indirect and comes from the enjoyment, wonder, astonishment and sheer pleasure proffered by the dazzling array of subject matter with which Dickens constantly sought to keep his magazines imaginatively vibrant. In short, the journals are Dickens' contribution towards the imaginative life of all those families which shared in the weekly surprise of new information, and new views of old; as well as in the eager anticipation of the current story's next part.

Nor is it insignificant that the novel encapsulating the Dickensian Doctrine of the Imagination, *Hard Times*, first appeared in the journals. This served as a beacon to guide all his readers into the right paths of thought about the Imagination, its importance and its functions. It is Dickens' stated creed on the matter, illustrating most clearly the results of systems of nurture and upbringing (education) which lack any exercise of the imaginative faculty. They lead, says Dickens, to lives sterile of essential human feelings — love, consideration of
others, compassion — and, in consequence, precipitate the recipients of such systems' effects into self-interest, greed, even crime, on the one hand, and into submissive, unnatural relationships and hatred on the other. All lead away from those qualities sought through the Great Virtues and Eutrapelia (4), veering to a state where comprehension and eventual enlightenment are impossible, as in Bitzer's case — Dickens describes him as colourless, bloodless (ie inert) in apppearance, lacking in all truly human qualities. Real life is symbolized by the tinsel and make-believe of Slearcy's horse-riding. Slearcy's people are the ones who truly care for Sissy. Gradgrind can only begin to care when he sees his family life in ruins — Tom, a runaway from justice; Louisa, nearly ruined by Harthouse, and Bounderby's ambitions. Gradgrind has to undergo a shattering change of heart — moral re-formation — before he can begin his slow approach to human warmth and sensitivity about others, like Mr Dombey, like Scrooge.

HARD TIMES enshrines the Dickensian tenet, but the Doctrine of the Imagination was spread throughout the journals in all kinds of ways. One simple example was the visual effects which Dickens essayed in the layout of the Almanacs. A deliberate use was made of a folklore medium in the decoration and layout of the pages, perhaps, in some ways imitative of older, traditional chapbook-like or broadsheet-like styles. Certainly, the emphasis on country things (bird songs, times of flowering of different plants, etc.) aimed at maintaining some connection with rural life,
traditionally regarded as heart matters of English virtues.

The journals did more, however, without visual adornment, in that the Preliminary Word's promise to show as much as possible, both good and bad, about the world at large was upheld. The contents range over "common things" such as recipes for different dishes (mainly cheap to produce, at least at the time of writing), to discussions on evolutionary theory, different religious beliefs, a history of England for children, artistic and scientific matters, and so on, a seemingly unstayable flow of new, captivating information. The use of curious characters (Bendigo Buster, the Roving Englishman, the Happy Raven, etc.) served to point the material and its narrator, both calculated to stir the imagination.

For us, more than a century after Dickens' last editorial exercise, the journals stand as massive, monumental proof of Dickens' concern for the English People as a whole. The forty-nine volumes (5) with which he was associated in person constantly illustrate the man's essential beliefs made manifest in the articles, even though the majority were the work of others. Dickens' hand is absent from few: his beliefs are present in all.

Indeed, the articles were chosen and vetted in such a manner that they would sustain the Dickensian design. His added touches merely bestowed the final imprimatur.

The journals remain, an amazing collection, unrivalled by any other similar publication, even the ever-living PUNCH, begun by Mark Lemon, a great friend of Dickens, with a common outlook and sense of humour. No other collected
journal has the kaleidoscopic, twopence-coloured atmosphere of HOUSEHOLD WORDS possesses; none has the quality of outstanding contributions of ALL THE YEAR ROUND. Above all, no other journal had the imaginative drive underpinning all the contributions that Dickens' journals have. None has had the all-seeing, all-guiding mind of a "Conductor" as was Dickens' mind, over volumes it took more than half his life to bring into being in just the way he wished. He tried a number of times, without finding exactly what he sought. When HOUSEHOLD WORDS, that title of paramount significance to himself, was hit upon, the search was over. Dickens' rush to the fenders of the nation's firesides had taken place. He had begun his task of the education of all the People in earnest. In remembering his own ambitions, and the means selected to educate himself up to his ambitions, he was uniquely prepared to set up the journals and make them successful through their truly popular appeal.

Dickens recognized that all things had come together to make him what he was; so, too, his speeches, his letters to Miss Coutts, Urania Cottage and the journals all come together for us to show Dickens' ideas, beliefs, and practical success as an adult educator. These things have left us, too, a philosophy of education through kindness, interest, fun, sadness, wonder, enthusiasm, and, above all, through the Imagination, which some have recognized as the true way of education, that Free Liberty of the Mind Sir Thomas More envisioned for his people (6), the same free liberty of the mind which is the only way to true
It is my claim from the evidence I have presented here, and from the theme of this thesis, that a clear case for recognizing Dickens as a major adult educationist exists. Moreover, the case is established in the substantial reassessment of the scholarship as presently extant which I have attempted in this work to demonstrate by focussing upon the education of adults at formal, informal and non-formal levels, exemplified by the many varieties described in the journals' articles. In these alone, there remains an astounding monument to a man whose final success is still increasing through the generations who have followed him in time and in their beliefs, largely fashioned by their reading of his enduring works.
NOTES AND REFERENCES

Chapter One — pp 1-26

1. Branches of the Dickens Fellowship exist all over the world. The Head Quarters are at 48 Doughty Street, London.


3. V. articles by GRUBB, G.G. listed in Note 13 Chp. 3 of this thesis; and in addition: "Dickens the Paymaster once more," Journal of English Literary History, IX, June 1942, 141-156; also: "The Editorial Policies of Charles Dickens." FMLA, LVIII, December 1943, 1110-1124.

4. V.: THE LETTERS OF CHARLES DICKENS, "edited by his Sister-in-Law [Georgina Hogarth] and his Eldest Daughter [Nanie Dickens]," London, 1880/1882, 3 vols. "My principles and inclinations would lead me to aspire to the distinction you invite me to seek [ie election as MP], if there were any reasonable chance of success ... But ... I
cannot afford the expense of a contested election." I, 31MAY41, 44.

Later, also to Mr G. Lovejoy, he writes: "The sum you mention, though small I am aware in the abstract, is greater than I can afford for such a purpose; as the mere sitting in the House and attending to my duties, if I were a member, would oblige me to make many pecuniary sacrifices, consequent upon the nature of my pursuits.

The course you suggest did occur to me when I received your first letter, and I have very little doubt indeed that the Government would support me ... But I cannot satisfy myself that to enter Parliament ... would enable me to pursue that honourable independence without which I could neither preserve my own respect nor that of my constituents." I, 10JUN41, 45.

Later still he wrote to F.D. Finlay replying to the proposal that he should stand for Edinburgh; "I am much attached to the Edinburgh people. You may suppose, therefore, that if my mind were not fully made up on the parliamentary question, I should waver now.

But my conviction that I am more useful and more happy as I am than I could ever be in Parliament is not to be shaken. I considered it some weeks ago, when I had a stirring proposal from the Birmingham people, and then I set it upon a rock for ever and a day." II, 4OCT68, 389-390.

"To one of
the Metropolitan constituencies a reply is before me in which he says: 'I declare that as to all matters on the face of this teeming earth, it appears to me that the House of Commons and Parliament altogether is become just the dreariest failure and nuisance that ever bothered this much-bothered world.'

To a private enquiry of about the same date he replied: "I have thoroughly satisfied myself, having often had occasion to consider the question, that I can be far more usefully and independently employed in my chosen sphere of action than I could hope to be in the House of Commons; and I believe that no consideration would induce me to become a member of that extraordinary assembly." II, 277.


Most references are to the 2 vol. edition of the LIFE, though I have used the 3 vol. ed. elsewhere. V. N.4 above.

The latter edition is illustrated, and has corrections on the Tenth Edition of the original ed. (dated "Palace Gate House, Kensington, 29th of October 1872," by Forster). It also has running subheads on each outside margin and extensive footnotes. The third vol. has appended a chronology of CD's writings, his Will, and "Corrections made in the Thirteenth Thousand of the Second Volume."


6. ORWELL, G. "Charles Dickens," in CRITICAL ESSAYS,
London, 1946.


8. Letter, 26SEP68, given to his son, Plorn (Edward Bulwer Lytton Dickens, 1852-1902), the day he sailed for Australia; 11, 402-404.

Of also letter to Henry Fielding Dickens (1849-1933), Thursday, 15OCT68, II, 392-394.


10. E.g.: "The red-nosed man" who led Mrs Weller astray at tea-drinkings and was eventually ducked in the horse-trough by the lady's irate husband; PICKWICK PAPERS.

Also: The Revd Mr Chadband, "a large yellow man, with a fat smile, and a general appearance of having a good deal of train oil in his system . . . and never speaks without first putting up his great hand, as delivering a token to his hearers that he is going to edify them." BLEAK HOUSE.

11. The article, "Natural Selection," which appeared 7JUL60, 293-299, is an excellent summary of the book's thesis. Its judgment is fair, as for instance: "The world has seen all sorts of theories rise, have their day, and fall into neglect. . . . If Mr Darwin's theory be true,
nothing can prevent its ultimate and general reception, however much it may pain and shock those to whom it is propounded for the first time. If it be merely a clever hypothesis ... its failure will be nothing new in the history of science."

Two other articles are linked to this, viz. "Deluges" (AYR, 21APR69, 40-47), and "Species" (AYR, 2JUN60, 174-178). The former deals with Alphonse Adhemar's theory of recurrent deluges which have successively reshaped the earth and its animals, now superceded by the concept of continental drift. The second discusses natural selection and various related matters, as expounded by Darwin.


13. ibid., 48. As Houghton reminds us very clearly, superstition may well have been destroyed but even the removal of an unpleasant burden can leave a sense of loss, particularly for those with little other resources to sustain them. V. esp. Chps 2 and 3.


a highly partisan but useful view of the Movement and its personnel.


17. V. "The Great Baby," (HW, 4AUG55): HARD TIMES; BLEAK HOUSE; et al.


19. It is arguable that the people's interest in the Great Exhibition did more to ameliorate their lot than much well-intentioned legislation had done to that date. It proved conclusively that the people could draw refreshment and stimulation from such events, and was a substantial plank in Dickens' argument for the opening of museums and galleries on Sundays, most workers' only free time. V.: SUNDAY UNDER THREE HEADS; also HARD TIMES, Slearey's lisping admonition: "Don't be croth with uth poor vagabondth. People mutht be amuthed. They can't be alwayth a learning, nor yet they can't be alwayth a working, they ain't made for it. You MUTHT have uth,
Inquire. Do the withe thing and the kind thing too, and
make the betht or uth: not the wortht!" Bk III, Chp. 8.

In a different context, but exemplifying the same
underlying principle to which CD adhered, is his insistence
at his public readings of a given number of seats being
allotted to the working people at a lower price than the
rest. This was one of his ways of reaching out the hand of
friendship to the poor masses.

20. CD made his attitude to the "people" very clear in
1869: "I will now discharge my conscience of my political
creed, which is contained in two articles, and has no
reference to any party or persons. My faith in the people
governing is, on the whole, infinitesimal; my faith in the
People governed is, on the whole, imitable." (Speech at
the Birmingham and Midland Institute, Annual Inaugural
Meeting, Z/SEP'69).

When questioned as to how "the people" was to be
written, he replied to his questioner: "You are perfectly
right in your construction of my meaning in Birmingham. If
a capital P be put to the word People in its second use in
the sentence and not the first, I should suppose the
passage next to impossible to be mistaken."

"He replied to the same effect on returning the
corrected proofs of his speech to the secretary, carefully
correcting the capitalization and punctuation so that there
should be no further doubt." FIELDING, K.J. : THE SPEECHES
21. On Victorian morality v. RAILEIGH, J.H. "Victorian Morals and the Modern Novel," in WATT, I. (ed.): THE VICTORIAN NOVEL: MODERN ESSAYS IN CRITICISM, London, O.U.P. 1971, 462-485. A key fact to be remembered when treating of "Victorian morality" is that it... is only middle-class morality. Above and below, the puritanical code did not prevail: and indeed, in many respects, the aristocrats and the poor had more in common with one another, morally speaking, than either had with the middle-class." p. 463.


23. The Combination Laws, imposed by Pitt in 1799 and 1800 against workers' political agitation were eventually repealed in 1824, as a result of a campaign by Francis Place (1771-1854) and Joseph Hume; nevertheless, the struggle was to continue as the Tolpuddle Martyrs (1834) were to witness. Unions had been legalized in 1825, the taking of oaths (under an Act of 1797) remained illegal. An attempt in 1834 to form a brand National Consolidated Trades Union of skilled workers, designed jointly by Robert Owen (1771-1858) and John Doherty (1791-1854), failed after the Tolpuddle incident. Until that time, between January and October (when it was dissolved) the Union had attracted half a million members. These numbers were instrumental in increasing governmental fears which resulted in the men of
Toobuddle being deported.


An Indian variant is described in SINGH, S.: SOCIAL EDUCATION: CONCEPT AND METHOD, Orient Longmans, 1964. The work posits three propositions:

1. social education is adult education;
2. social education is education for social change;
3. social education enables a community to assume direction of its own development.

26. V. DAVE, R.H.: FOUNDATIONS OF LIFELONG EDUCATION,
446


29. Thompson, op. cit. V. N. 22 supra.


32. HEALEY, Edna: LADY UNKNOWN, London, Sidgwick &
An earlier and more personalized biography is Clara BURDETT PATTERSON'S ANGELA BURDETT-COUTTS AND THE VICTORIANS, London, John Murray, 1953, which "is chiefly an account of Angela Burdett-Coutts' friendships with some great Victorians, but it also aims at showing her character." (Foreword)

Another source is KANNER, S. B. "Victorian Institutional Patronage: Angela Burdett-Coutts, Charles Dickens and Urania Cottage Reformatory for Women, 1846-1858," UCLA Ph.D. thesis, 1972, which contains the fullest review of the concept of Urania Cottage to date. However, data on the project are scarce as neither CD nor Miss Coutts appears to have left much documentary evidence of the work done. In any case, Kanner is primarily concerned with feminist issues, less with CD's achievement.

33. For Kanner, v. previous note.


35. James op. cit. 200.

So far only five out of the projected twelve vols have appeared; ed. HOUSE, M. and STOREY, G., O.U.P.


Fielding, op. cit. V. N. 21 supra.

Ibid. xv-xviii.


Collins: DICKENS'S PERIODICALS, v. N.26 supra.

For Lohrli v. N. 2 supra.
Chapter Two -- pp 26 - 55


2. Adult education has gathered a collection of related terms: "continuing education" and "recurrent education" among them. These two terms carry the idea of an adult's returning to a clearly defined learning situation as and when need arises. As far as this thesis is concerned I have taken "adult education" broadly to signify any learning situation which adults enter wherever and whatever the assisting agency might be. This will therefore include any engagement, formal, informal and non-formal, whether autodidactic or not. The thesis, as a whole, explains and demonstrates Dickens' concept, though as far as I am aware he never used the term as such, not recognizing any divisions in "education" by age bands, his concern resting with the learning process and product.

3. For the debate on adult education (andragogy) as separate and distinct from child education (pedagogy), vide KNOWLES, Martin S. THE MODERN PRACTICE OF ADULT EDUCATION, N.Y. Association Press (1970) 1972, where he defines pedagogy as the art and science of teaching children, and andragogy as the art and science of helping adults to learn. V. also 2nd ed. of this work (1980).

4. V. WEST, E.G. EDUCATION AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, n. 31, Chp. 1, for a full discussion on the idea that the Industrial Revolution, of itself, caused a need for higher levels of literacy and education generally; and JAMES, L. FICTION FOR THE WORKING MAN, n. 38, Chp. 1 for a broader view of general literacy and reading habits.


6. An excellent background to these disturbances is THOMPSON, E.P. THE MAKING OF THE ENGLISH WORKING CLASS, n. 23, Chp. 1.

7. He designed a "panopticon" in 1791, for the central inspection of prisoners.

8. The London Mechanics' Institute was the first regular M.I. to be established in London, but other organizations of similar aims had existed before. For instance, the Spitalfields Mathematical Society, "a mutual improvement society of weavers and other manual workers" had been formed in 1717. At Manchester, in the 1780's, "operative artisans were among those attending the lectures on Applied Chemistry at the College of Arts and Sciences." V. Kelly op. cit. 221.

Birkbeck never viewed the M.I.'s as being merely narrowly technical institutions, he felt "that much
pleasure would be communicated to the mechanic in the
exercise of his art, and that the mental vacancy which
follows a cessation from bodily toil, would often be
greatly occupied, by a few systematic philosophical ideas,
upon which, at his leisure, he might meditate."

V. KELLY, T GEORGE BIRKBECK : PIONEER OF ADULT
EDUCATION, Liverpool University Press 1957.

9. Much of this practical education for women and girls
was hindered or omitted by the lack of specialist
accommodation -- a situation familiar to L.E.A. adult
education institutes today as far as laboratories, car
maintenance workshops, music rooms, etc. are concerned. V.
Chp. 7.

10. 42 Geo. III, C.73.

H.M.S.O. 1927, 1.

12. SADLER, M.E. (ed.) CONTINUATION SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND AND
ELSEWHERE, 1907, xi.

13. MACLURE, J. Stuart, EDUCATIONAL DOCUMENTS : ENGLAND AND
WALES, 1816 TO THE PRESENT DAY, London, Methuen, (1965,


16. Described as "Elementary and Advanced Education," and includes the Classical languages, French, German, Italian, book-keeping, shorthand, the traditional sciences, drawing and music among others.


It is an interesting side-step to note that Collins, at the time of writing, was Warden of Vaughan College, once the Leicester Mechanics' Institute, now a constituent of Leicester University.

Chapter Three pp 56-92


In the same volume, Angus Wilson says of Dickens: "That he should have spoken so directly to our age [in his Joycean linguistic experiments] is evidence, I think, of his exceptionally sensitive response to the depths of his own time; for he undoubtedly heard overtones that were not to be commonly received for half a century. But prophecy, even intuitive prophecy, is not literary greatness; and our harping upon these prophetic excellencies seems a
little provincial." p.34. V. also note 50 below.


3. Spellings vary : HUFFAM and HUFFHAM. It was the name of CD's godfather -- "a well-to-do rigger" in HM Navy whom John Dickens had met. The second spelling occurs in the church register of CD's birth; but it is a clerical error.

4. In 1812, John Dickens had the sizable income of £176 0. 0. p.a. A NEW SYSTEM OF PRACTICAL ECONOMY (1824) showed how a man earning £150 0. 0. p.a. could be called "a gentleman." £400 0. 0. p.a. were considered sufficient to employ two maid servants, a horse and groom. A recommended outlay for a household, roughly comparable with the Dickenses', comprizing the married couple, three children and a maid, shows the following expense:

WEEKLY HOUSEKEEPING:

Bread 6s 0d
Butter, cheese, milk 6s 3d
Fish 3s 6d
Fruit, vegetables 3s 0d
Beer, other liquors 7s 0d
Tea, coffee 2s 6d
Sugar 3s 0d
Meat 10s 6d
Coal, wood, soap, etc. 6s 10d

Total: £2 11 7

ANNUAL

HOUSEKEEPING: £134 12s 4d
Entertainment, medicine 7 11 0
Clothes (husband £15, wife £12, children £9) 36 0 0
Rent, taxes 25 0 0
Education, extras, personal 10 10 0
Maid 16 0 0

Total: £229 3 4
Savings (1 1/12) 20 16 0

£250 0 0 p.a.

Quoted in HIBBERT, C.: THE MAKING OF CHARLES DICKENS,

V. also BURNETT, J. (ed.): USEFUL TOIL,
Autobiographies of working people from the 1820's to the
5. Now 393 Commercial Road, and the Dickens Birthplace Museum.

6. Cf Charlotte and Noah Claypole in OLIVER TWIST; the Marchioness in MARTIN CHUZZLEWIT; etc.

There appears to be no record of CD's visits to his paternal grandmother's quarters when he was a child, but presumably he visited her from time to time. In any case, family conversations may well have given him more than an insight into servant life.

7. This section owes much to R.S. Neale's article "Class and Class-consciousness in early nineteenth century England: Three Classes or Five?" Victorian Studies, 12, Sept. 1968, 4-32.


9. HW, 28SEP50, 10-12; HW, 26MAY55, 385-387.

11. Forster, I. 16.

12. Ibid. 17.

13. V. GRUBB, G.G. "Dickens' Influence as an Editor," Studies in Philology, XLII, Oct. 1945, 811-823, which traces his innovations in magazine management and design. For instance, CD was the first to appoint a special foreign correspondent (he sent Geo. Sala to Russia on £40 per month); he introduced special feature supplements; he invented the informal critique of drama and music; he was the first to realize the possibilities of associated news-gathering.


14. In his latter years, he felt that there were a few criminals who had gone beyond the pale and deserved execution. V. COLLINS, P.: DICKENS AND CRIME, London, Macmillan, (1962, 1964) 1965, Chp. X, passim. Dickens' only real exception was murderers whom he considered irredeemable people, as he believed they were by nature cruel and dangerous. V. esp. his interest in the case of Professor Webster (Collins, ibid) of whom he comments that "he was always a cruel man." This, says Collins, was because CD "had always shared the common assumption that murderers are by temperament monsters of vice." (254)

Inasmuch as CD did not accept the idea of evil in terms of a personal devil, his early life had awakened him
to the existence of evil, and his mature life was spent. In part at least, in efforts to destroy various manifestations (prostitution, poverty, crime and ignorance) -- all of which he saw as linked together, often in a cause and effect relationship. For a view (and a very important one) of CD's awareness of the irredeemable nature of murderers and of evil in various forms which were difficult but not impossible to overcome, v. STONE, Harry: DICKENS AND THE INVISIBLE WORLD: FAIRY TALES, FANTASY, AND JUVENILE-MAKING, London, Macmillan (1979) 1980; esp. introductory chps 1-3. Also N. 69 below.

   This point is greatly developed in Chp. 5.


18. CD wrote that he had for Dr Channing "the very highest estimation." and "the greatest possible respect."
   Pilgrim Letters, III, 16.

William Ellery Channing (1780-1842) was the founder of the American Unitarian Association (1825) and minister

19. Edward Tagart (1804-1858), Unitarian Minister, who "asserted doctrines with simplicity and fervour." Pilgrim Letters, III. 449, \textit{fn} 4, 6, 7. CD found that Tagart and he "held similar views of religious truths." (ibid. \textit{fn} 5) and therefore took sittings at Tagart's chapel.


21. V. the articles by Grubb, N. 13 supra.


24. David Cooperfield and Pip are both made gentlemen, as is Oliver Twist, all of whom succeed against fate, including the loss of friends, relatives, and personal fortune. Significantly, CD's common quotation was Burns' lines:

\begin{quote}
"The rank is but the guinea stamp:
The man's the gowd for a' that."
\end{quote}


27. Maclure, op. cit., 39.


29. Forster, I. 32.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid. 6.


Mary Weller (1804-1888) was about fifteen years of age when she came to the Dickenses’ household at Ordnance Terrace, the Brook, Chatham. Mary left and eventually married Thomas Gibson, a shipwright, and died 22 April 1888.

32. Ibid.

33. DAVID COPPERFIELD, IV: "I had been apt enough to learn, and willing enough, when my mother and I lived alone together. I can faintly remember learning the alphabet at her knee. To this day, when I look upon the fat black
letters in the primer, the puzzling novelty of their shapes, and the easy good nature of 0 and Q and S, seem to present themselves again before me as they used to do. But they recall no feeling of disgust or reluctance. On the contrary, I seem to have walked along a path of flowers as far as the crocodile-book, and to have been cheered by the gentleness of my mother's voice and manner all the way."

34. Forster, I, 17.

35. Johnson, 18.

36. POPE-HENNESSY, U.: CHARLES DICKENS, 6. V. N. 45
Chap. 1 of this thesis.

37. Forster, I, 8.


"Mr Giles took at once to Charles. He recognized both his ability and his unusualness, and taught him very carefully. The two became companions and friends, spending their evenings together in informal lessons, when no doubt
all the more was learnt because so much less was taught. The schoolmaster was well read, and a practised elocutionist. He was a man too who liked all things done decently and in order, yet not gloomily: his scholars wore quiet, dark clothes, but natty little white beaver hats."


THE BEE was a Saturday miscellany, edited and written by Goldsmith, of only eight weeks’ duration (6 October-24 November 1759). It contained "a select collection of essays on the most interesting and entertaining subjects." Many of Goldsmith's titles are echoed on CD's own journals.

41. Forster, op. cit., 10.
42. Ibid. "What would I have given, if I had had anything to give, to have been sent back to any other school, to have been taught something anywhere."


43. Ibid.
44. Pearson, op. cit. 12.
46. A short catalogue of some of the inventions and discoveries soon indicates the profusion of inquiry then afoot:

1821 Faraday demonstrates the principle of the electric motor.
Wheatstone demonstrates sound reproduction.
1822 First railway locomotive used in Durham.
1823 World's first iron railway bridge.
1825 "Rocket" opens first passenger railway line.
1826 Telford bridges Menai Strait.
1829 Louis Braille perfects his reading system for blind people.
1830 Geographical Society founded in London.
1831 Darwin sets out in HMS Beagle.
Chloroform discovered by Simpson, Edinburgh.
British Association of Science founded.
1833 Atlantic crossed by steamer, SS Royal William.
1834 Faraday expounds the laws of electrolysis.
1837 Morse develops telegraph.
Pitman introduces his shorthand system.
1838 Daguerre perfects Daguerreotype system of photography.
Beginning of regular trans-Atlantic steamship service.

47. V. BUTT, J.; TILLUTSON, K.: DICKENS AT WORK,
"'There was a very dirty lady in his little room; and two wan girls, his daughters, with shock heads of hair. I thought I should not have liked to borrow Captain Porter’s comb.’ Even at such a time of anguish as this the observant boy was always taking things in. He noted the Captain’s untrimmed whiskers, and his bed rolled up in a corner; and, despite the few minutes that he stood timidly wondering on the threshold, he says, 'I knew (God knows how) that the two wan girls with the shock heads were Captain Porter’s natural children, and that the dirty lady was not married to Captain P’." Jonson, op. cit. 33-34.

He remembered, too, in mature years, the drilling formation of soldiers, seen when a small boy of 3 or 4 years of age, as he watched the same formations being carried out. Forster, I,4-5, for this and other memories.

In everything he undertook, he put all his energies into the task:

His hours and days were spent to rule. He rose at a certain hour, he retired at another, and though no precise, it was not often that his arrangements varied. His hours for writing were between breakfast and luncheon, and when there was any work to be done, no temptation was sufficiently strong to cause it to be neglected ... His mind was essentially methodical ... governed by rules laid down for himself by himself -- rules well studied beforehand, and rarely departed

50. Quite a family concern: John Dickens reported for the journals and Charles also became a Parliamentary reporter like his father. When editor of the DAILY NEWS, Charles appointed his uncle as sub-editor.


52. Johnson, op. cit. 50-51.

Robert Keeley (1793-1869), born in England, deserted an apprenticeship to join strolling players in Richmond. After a period of obscurity he appeared at the Olympic in 1818 and later at the Adelphi, where he was outstanding as Jemmy Green in TOM AND JERRY. In the sequel, LIFE IN LONDON, he played Jerry, at Sadler's Wells in 1822. A fine low comedian his stolid look, and slow, jerky speech adding much to his humour. Of his Dogberry, Dickens said, "The blunders of the old constable fell from his lips with the most immovable and pompous stolidity ... As we write, we see again the wonderful expression of his face at the supreme moment when he was called an ass. No other catastrophe on earth ... could have aroused in living man such an amazing exposition of stupendous astonishment, indignation, and incredulity, as that insult wrung from
Dogberry as Keeley drew him. But his Verges was even finer."

He also created Jacob Earing in **BOOTS AT THE SWAN**.


55. Dubrez Fawcett. 175.


58. Goldberg, 1.

59. Ibid. 2.


62. Goldberg, 155.

63. Ibid. 156.

64. Ibid. 156-157.

65. Ibid. 157-158.

Chapter Four - pp. 93-200

1. In 1977, Philip Collins published "Some Uncollected Speeches by Dickens," The Dickensian, May 1977, vol. 73, part 2, 99 ff. In the same volume David A. Roos also published "Dickens at the Royal Academy of Arts: A New Speech and Two Eulogies," 100 ff. None of these speeches is significant or relevant to the present study.

2. Fielding, op. cit. xix.


4. HUDSON, J.W.: THE HISTORY OF ADULT EDUCATION,


8. Rohrbaugh, Chp. 6 on social learning ; esp. 144-149


10. SUNDAY UNDER THREE HEADS. dedication. Published 1836, as a small brochure by Chapman and Hall, with six wood-cuts by Phiz, ostensibly by "Timothy Sparks." is an early piece of CD’s political-reformist propaganda.

11. Guardian. 9 May 1983, p. 9 : "Defence is an empty chair." "Old Arrogance knows that the British people (like
the Irish and Indian peoples before them are not yet ready for self-rule. And until that time arrives, they must be treated, not as equal citizens, but as subjects. It can scarcely conceal its distaste for democratic procedures, and it can co-exist with them only so long as these are contained within a 'consensus' of Old Arrogance's own making. Once this 'consensus' is threatened, it reverts at once to older methods of control."

12. "The articulate consciousness of the self-taught was above all a political consciousness. For the first half of the nineteenth century, when the formal education of a great part of the people entailed little more than instruction in the Three R's, was by no means a period of intellectual atrophy. The towns and even the villages hummed with the energy of the autodidact. Given the elementary techniques of literacy, labourers, artisans, shopkeepers and clerks and schoolmasters, proceeded to instruct themselves, severally or in groups. And the books or instructors were very often those sanctioned by reforming opinion. A shoemaker, who had been taught his letters in the Old Testament, would labour through the AGE OF REASON; a schoolmaster, whose education had taken him little further than worthy religious homilies, would attempt Voltaire, Gibbon, Ricardo: here and there local Radical leaders, weavers, booksellers, tailors, would amass shelves of Radical Books; illiterate labourers would, nevertheless, go each week to a pub where Cobbett's editorial letter was read aloud and discussed."


CD was never a soft touch for charity or philanthropy. Cruikshank once asked him for a loan of £50 to assist an impecunious friend. "Dickens' rejoinder was not to resort to his cheque-book, but to remark that he knew George's [Cruikshank's] incapable friend would be as badly off as ever after the execution had been paid out of his house, even if the money were sent. 'Then,' he added, 'you would deny yourself all sorts of things and be miserable till you paid me back. That I can't stand, so I must decline.'" LIFE OF GEORGE CRUIKSHANK, London, Chatto & Windus. 1898, by W. Jerrold, rep'd Chicheley, 1971,

14. V. FALK, B.: THE NAKED LADY OR STORM OVER ADAH. London, Hutchinson, 1934. This fascinating biography relates, among all the glittering facets of her life, Adah Isaacs Menken's acquaintance with CD, and his encouragement of her literary efforts. V. chp. VII, et passim. A selection of Menken's poems is appended.

CD met Menken autumn 1864, having seen her as Mazeppa at Astley's. He accepted the dedication of her poems very graciously in a letter from Gad's Hill Place, 21 October 1867: "I shall have great pleasure in accepting your dedication, and I thank you for your portrait as a highly remarkable specimen of photography. I also thank you for the verses enclosed in your note. Many such enclosures come to me, but few so pathetically written, and fewer still so modestly sent."

Her poems, entitled INFELICIA, were eventually published by John Camden Hotten, some days after Menken's death (10 August 1868). This was the same Hotten who was just as anxious to cash in on CD's death. V. N.14 supra.

15. It is an interesting parallel to note that whereas the Victorians set up local associations to assist popular education, such as the Lancashire and Cheshire one, the twentieth century set up a national body, the Educational Centres Association (E.C.A.), now encouraging local
branches for very similar reasons: the unification and mutual self-help of the movement towards universal adult education provision.


17. CD read up the experiences in America of Capt. Marryat and Miss Martineau as recorded in their respective books, before first visiting USA in 1842.

18. Thomas Southwood Smith (1788-1861), sanitary reformer of great energies: member of central board of enquiry into conditions of factory children, 1832; wrote reports on causes of sickness and mortality of poor for the Poor Law Commissioners; principal founder of Health of Towns Association, 1839; and of Metropolitan Association for the Improvement of the Dwellings of the Industrial Classes, 1842; Children’s Employment Commission, 1840; appointed medical member of General Board of Health, 1848-1854. Helped CD in deciding site and drawing up of plans for Miss Coutts’ flats for working men in the Columbia Estate, Bethnal Green, during the 1850’s.

19. Antony Ashley Cooper, Lord Ashley (1801-1885), 7th Earl of Shaftesbury, 1851. CD supported much of Lord Ashley’s work, but they rarely met. After CD’s death, Ashley wrote to Forster that God had given CD "as it were,"
20. "The Victorians were, in part consciously, transforming the metropolis into an environment designed to reinforce certain specific values, notably privacy for the individual and his family; specialization and segregation were important means to that end." OLSEN, D.J. "Victorian London: Specialization, Segregation and Privacy," *Victorian Studies*, XVII, March 1974, 265-278; 267. It must be said also that "privacy" may (or ought to) be interpreted to carry the added meaning of "exclusion of undesirable elements," i.e. neighbours of lesser affluence and lower class.

In contrast, v. DYOS, H.J. "The Slums of Victorian London," *Victorian Studies*, XI, 1, Sept. 1967, 5-40. A short but interestingly useful history of the term "slum(s)" opens the article, in which is shown the emergence of some class-consciousness and distinction.

Lord Morpeth proposed his Health of Towns Bill in 1847, but encountered by ferocious opposition, was forced to except London. It was passed in 1848 as the Public Health Act, after many concessions to the anti-"centralization" lobby. Morpeth, Ashley and Edwin Chadwick, members of the newly appointed Board of Health, were almost immediately confronted with the cholera epidemic of 1848-1849. London saw little done.

21. Henry Austin (1812-1861), civil engineer, pupil of...
Geo. Stephenson. Secretary to an association for the Improvement of the Dwellings of the Labouring Classes; joint Secretary of the Metropolitan Commission of Sewers; later Chief Inspector to the General Board of Health.

22. Almack’s (a gaming house opened in 1763, later called Brooks’) was a famous West End gathering place for the people about town. Reference here is to the fact that the prevailing wind was (and still is) westerly, and that the more industrialized and, therefore, poorer parts of London were to the east. The distinction still obtains: the West End is wealthy and business confined to leisure and money-making; the East End, still more industrialized, is home to many working-class people.

23. CD resided at 1 Devonshire Place at this time.

24. Sir John Potter (1815-1858), businessman, was Mayor of Manchester 1848-1851. He was knighted in 1851, and MP for the city from 1857 until his early death the following year.

25. Austen Henry Layard (1817-1894): excavator of Nineveh; politician. Had travelled in Persia, Turkey, Albania, 1840-1843; excavated various ancient Assyrian sites, 1845-1851; appointed attache to Embassy in Constantinople, 1849. Published *Nineveh and Its Remains*, 1848-1849; and *Nineveh and Babylon*, 1853. MP for Aylesbury 1852-1857; Under-secretary for Foreign Affairs,
1854. Member of Sebastopol Committee, gave evidence and
led attack on conduct and mismanagement of the War in the
House of Commons. CD wrote to him: "I most earnestly
entreat you, as your staunch friend and admirer ... to
count upon my being Damascus steel to the core."

26. COLLET, C.D. : HISTORY OF TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE,

27. BASCH, F. (trans. RUDOLF,A.) : RELATIVE CREATURES:
Allen Lane, 1974, 113.

V. also: "The Victorian Governess: Status
Incongruence in Family and Society," in VICINUS, M. (ed.)
SUFFER AND BE STILL, 3-19.

Chapter Five - pp 224-283

1. V. HOLLIS, Patricia: WOMEN IN PUBLIC: THE WOMEN'S
MOVEMENT, 1850-1900, London, Geo. Allen & Unwin 1979:
171-178. Barbara Leigh-Smith Bodichon's "Brief Summary of
shows quite clearly the legal attitude towards women, as
quite incompetent once made wives. Yet, "The Queen Regnant
in all respects fills the office of King; she has the same
rights, prerogatives and duties: and all that is said in
the words of the law of the regal office, is as applicable to the Queen Regnant as to a King."

2. GREER, G.: THE FEMALE EUNUCH, London, Paladin (1970) 1971. "It is impossible to argue a case for female liberation if there is no certainty about the degree of inferiority or natural dependence which is unalterably female. ... What happens is that the female is considered as a sexual object for the use and appreciation of other sexual beings, men. ... The characteristics that are praised and rewarded are those of the castrate -- timidity, plumpness, languor, delicacy and preciosity. ... female reproduction is thought to influence the whole organism in the operations of the WICKED WOMB, source of hysteria, menstrual depression, weakness, and unfitness for any sustained enterprise. The compound of induced characteristics of soul and body is the myth of the Eternal Feminine, nowadays called the STEREOTYPE. This is the dominant image of femininity which rules our culture and to which all women aspire." 14-15.


"We discovered four cultural notions of femininity which we have in some sense shared: women as inferior, passive, beautiful; object, wife and mother. We realized how severely these notions had constricted us, how humanly limited we felt at being passive dependent creatures with no identities of our own. Gradually, with each other's support, we began to rediscover ourselves." 13.

Each chapter has extensive reading making the 592 pp a veritable mine of information.

A volume of equal authority is Joanna Bunker Rohrbaugh's WOMEN: PSYCHOLOGY'S PUZZLE, equally thoroughly researched and documented, subtitled: "The radical breakthrough account of the feminist challenge to male psychology's view of women."  V. N. 1 Chp. 2 supra.

3. CD's choice of words here rings of the Angel in the House concept. It is tempting to say that his view might be expressed as: Women are by nature more angel than anything else; therefore, fallen women are fallen angels. Maybe this is not far from the truth when his feelings towards Mary Hogarth, Miss Weller, the young Queen Victoria et al. are all considered together.


4. Hippolys Taine noted in the 1860's that it was
impossible to walk a hundred yards or so in some of London's major streets without being jostled by twenty harlots.

Sigsworth and Wyke give the following information:

Colquhoun (1797) estimated 50,000 prostitutes in London; Talbot, Ryan and the Bishop of Oxford, at 80,000 in the late 1830's and early 1840's; Whitehorne in 1858 "opined that one sixth of unmarried women between the ages of 15 and 50 were prostitutes" -- some 83,000. Police estimates of known prostitutes for London, England and Wales give:

1858: 7,194 in London  
1859: 6,649  
1860: 6,940  
1861: 7,124  
1862: 5,795

27,112 England and Wales
28,743
28,927
29,572
28,449

These record only known individuals, so no accurate total is possible.


5. Gladstone vowed, as an undergraduate at Oxford, to devote a tenth of his income to reclaiming prostitutes, eventually spending the estimated sum of £80,000 on this work. V. TRUDGILL, Eric: MADONNAS AND MAGDALENS: THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF VICTORIAN SEXUAL ATTITUDES, London, Heinemann, 1976; 287-288.

The literature on this and allied subjects is extensive and


7. Urania Cottage lasted for more than fourteen years, from 1847 at least until 1861, when the Census shows it was still functioning as a "Home," under the supervision of Mrs Marchmont and Mrs McCartney, both known well from the letters to Miss Coutts. Archives, Shepherd's Bush Library.

8. WILSON, Angus: THE WORLD OF CHARLES DICKENS,
9. His French friend would understand all the nuances in this sentence. "Pleasant" and "gay" could be taken as synonymous or tautologous; but does "gay" also convey the meaning that Victorians used to indicate that women were prostitutes? Similarly, the antithesis of "pleasant" and "diableries" is present --- the Duality concept again. Cf n. 3 supra, Auerbach.

10. Between October 1845, when their sixth child, Alfred D’Ursay Tennyson Dickens was born and around September 1857, when CD fell desperately in love with Ellen Landless Ternan, the situation went rapidly from dissatisfaction on his part to frenzied despair. However, in that space of time, Catherine became pregnant at least five times, four of which led to normal childbirth. (Their seventh child, Sydney Smith Haldimand, born eighteen months later, 1847, had had an extremely difficult and complicated birth, to be followed not altogether surprisingly, by another miscarriage eight months after that, on a train to Scotland.) What would appear to be happening during this whole time of their estrangement was that CD’s sexual attentions to his wife were no less, but that as his dissatisfaction increased, so his attentions increased with the simultaneous intensification of both desire and dissatisfaction. The vicious circle was complete. When the tour of *The Frozen Deep* came to an end in August 1857, he wildly implored Wilkie Collins to go "anywhere --- take
any tour — see anything" to rid him of "grim despair and restlessness." When this vacation tour ended in September, CD, more restless than ever, decided he could no longer sleep in the same bed or room as his wife. He moved into his dressing-room, sealing it off from his wife's room. In May 1958, eight months later, CD separated from his wife, never to see her again. The recriminations, wild accusations and CD's fury are all, too sadly, recounted vividly by many scholars.

V. Leacock, op. cit. 172-184; Pope-Hennessy, op. cit. 390-407; Pearson, op. cit. 263-280; Johnson, Edgar, op. cit. 450-464: "... in London, in the country, in France, in Italy, wherever we have been, year after year, month after month, week after week, day after day ..."

Catherine had apparently "for some years past ... been in the habit of representing to [CD] that it would be better for her to go away and live apart; that her always increasing estrangement aggravated a mental disorder under which she sometimes labours — more, that she felt herself unfit for the life she had to lead as my wife, and that she would be better far away." CD maintained, that he "uniformly" insisted, that they had to "fight the fight out to the end ..."; that the children came first, and that they should stay together if only "in appearance."


11. This collection is known in USA as THE HEART OF
CHARLES DICKENS, and in GB, less poetically, as THE LETTERS OF CHARLES DICKENS TO ANGELA BURDETT-COUTTS, 1841-1865, London, J. Cape 1953.

12. Scenes, Chp. XXIII, "The Pawnbroker’s Shop," SKETCHES.

13. OLIVER TWIST.


16. CD had known George Laval Chesterton since 1835 when he had visited the latter’s prison, Coldbath Fields House of Correction, in preparation for an article to be included in SKETCHES BY BOZ. Chesterton’s constant support and advice was gratefully acknowledged by CD in his work at Urania Cottage. CD’s views and Chesterton’s had much in common. V. COLLINS, P.A.W. "Dickens and the Prison Governor George Laval Chesterton," The Dickensian, Jan. 1961, No. 333, vol. LVII, 11-26, for an appreciative view of Chesterton.
17. Curiously, there is no copy in Stonehouse's catalogue of the Gad's Hill library. However, the list is not entirely explicit as two pamphlets by Capt. Maconochie are listed under "Pamphlets (Modern) on various subjects..." (p. 89), viz. "General Views regarding the Social System of Convict Management suggested by Capt. Maconochie, Hobart Town, 1839," and "Norfolk Island, by Capt. Maconochie, late Superintendent 1847 -- On Secondary Punishment, by the same, etc." Maybe his paper (as CD called it) on the Marks System was part of the "etc."

18. Johnson, op. cit. gives three spellings of Captain Maconochie's name: Maconnochie, Macconochie and Macconnochie, and Stonehouse's catalogue gives "Maconochie," and this one I have preferred.

19. The origins of prostitution I have discussed above, but v. also Harrison, THE DARK ANGEL, Chp. 12, 217-243; esp. 227-236. The point is well made that prostitution could offer a better, more affluent, indeed even healthier life than "honest" sweat-shop labour; Hyde Park filled daily with "pretty horse-breakers" in their sumptuous carriages as well turned out as any high-born lady. These "successful" women had mostly entered prostitution deliberately, having set out to make money and exploit men, by investing their charm, sexual attractions and healthy, good figures.

However, v. also: Basch, op. cit. 199-201; Sigsworth and Wyke in Vicinus, SUFFER AND BE STILL, 77-99.
20. This estimate is based on the remarks CD made in his HW article (v. infra), in which he tells us that in the first five years or so, 56 inmates had been admitted to the system. Equally, I repeat the phrase "young women" because in the same article he tells us that women of more than six and twenty were rarely admitted or even assisted. There appears to have been a conspiracy of silence between Miss Cotts and CD to the effect that the Home’s brief should restrict the election of suitable inmates to young adults only, probably as their youth allowed for easier possible reclamation. V. also note 7 supra.

21. This dress was the all too real symbol of an imminent expulsion. "To provide for such a case again, I told Mrs Morson to buy at a slop-seller’s, the commonest and ugliest and coarsest (but still clean and whole) woman’s dress that she could possibly purchase, and invariably to keep such a thing by her. It occurs to me that they will be very beneficially astonished when we have occasion to bring it out." (19NOV1852). Two years later Rhena Pollard was to be the occasion of the dress being brought down and aired "BEFORE ALL THE OTHERS." (4JAN1854)

22. The success of the Home’s 56 inmates who had gone on is enumerated with arithmetic precision: of these 56 cases 7 had left "by their own desire during their probation"
were discharged for misconduct.

"emigrated and relapsed on the passage out"

"on their arrival in Australia or elsewhere,
entered into good service, acquired a good character " : 7 of whom "are now married."

As he rightly points out : "the failures are generally discovered in the Home itself, and that the amount of misconduct after training and emigration, is remarkably small. And it is to be taken into consideration that many cases are admitted into the Home, of which there is, in the outset, very little hope, but which it is not deemed right to exclude from the experiment."

"On the cheerfulness, quickness, good temper, firmness, and vigilance of these ladies [the Superintendents, Mmes Morson and Macartney], and on their never bickering, the successful working of the establishment in a great degree depends. Their position is one of high trust and responsibility, and requires not only an always accumulating experience, but an accurate observation of every character about them."

CD refers here to Cruikshank's highly melodramatic series of cuts done for the latter's propaganda for Total Abstinence, published in 1847.

Further evidence of CD's successful work at Urania Cottage is provided by Mrs Gaskell's interested enquiries about the system adopted. She recommended girls to the
Home as an establishment of proven excellence and efficiency. (V. Mrs Gaskell's letter to CD, 8JAN50, Johnson, op. cit. No. 109.) She apologizes for troubling CD's "busy life," requesting "some help, and I cannot think of anyone who can give it to me so well as you." She wanted "a prospectus of Miss Coutts' refuge" as "the report was required by people desirous of establishing a similar refuge in Manchester." The letter is doubly interesting as it relates the poetic justice meted out to a surgeon who seduced a girl whom Mrs Gaskell was recommending to a refuge.

Chapter Six - pp 262-300

1. "There never existed, I think, in all the world, a more thoroughly tidy or methodical creature than was my father. He was tidy in every way -- in his handsome and graceful person, in his work, in keeping his writing-table drawers, in his large correspondence -- in fact, in his whole life." Mamie Dickens, "My Father in his Home Life." The Ladies Home Journal, XXIX, January 1912, 46.

2. CD suggested to Forster a magazine to be called "Charles Dickens" or "Charles Dickens' Own," but Forster objected. In a way, it happened nevertheless, since both HOUSEHOLD WORDS and ALL THE YEAR ROUND had CD's name at the top of each double page, although contributions were anonymous.

CD chose for himself this odd title of "Conductor,"
the English equivalent of the German, Fuhrer, which, without Nazi associations, connotes "leader," "commander," "controller," "boss," etc. Certainly, it has the idea of a ruling mind brooking no opposition. CD's mind without doubt was of that stamp.


4. Ibid. 17.

5. V. West EDUCATION AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION; N. 31 Chp. 1 supra.

6. James, op. cit. 20.

7. James, FICTION FOR THE WORKING MAN; N. 38 Chp. 1 supra.


This kind of novelliste's sensational elements equally permeated melodramas which filled the theatres everywhere, including Drury Lane, Sadler's Wells, etc. This phenomenon was peculiar in its rise to the monopolies of the great "Patent Theatres" over the "legitimate" drama.

V. Allardyce Nicoll BRITISH DRAMA, HISTORY OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY DRAMA, etc.
8. James, *Fiction for the Working Man*, lists 99 differently named persons, but it is not exhaustive since various other categories of writers and publishers are omitted. A further dozen pages list penny-issue novels' titles, but, again, many others are omitted. These sources are extensive, repaying further study.


11. Ibid. 419

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid. 423.

14. All three are reproduced in Stone, *The Uncollected Writings of Charles Dickens*, I. 18.

15. Ibid. illus. 121, 122, pp 538, 539 resp.

16. James, *Print and the People*, 54. Very little literature on almanacs appears to exist according to James' select bibliography. He cites nothing after 1939.
17. Within ten years AYR became so successful that its weekly circulation rose to 300,000. Its success (according to Johnson, LETTERS TO BURDETT-COUTTS, P. 366) was its constant provision of a serial story by a well-known author.

18. Lohrli, HOUSEHOLD WORDS, lists all contents of HW, firstly by issue, secondly, alphabetically; biographical details and publications or contributors. This is a work of great value to the scholar, assembling all the basic information about HW as drawn from the Office Book. I have noted Stone's valuable contribution above; v. N. 2 Chp. 1.


20. Grubb quotes two examples of CD's comprehensive memory, one about a part of a line of verse, and another about a whole article, which CD remembered "from an old paper in 'BLACKWOOD'." "The Editorial Policies of Charles Dickens," P.M.L.A., LVIII, 1943, 1110-1124 ; 1113. For example of reprinted material v. Lohrli, op. cit. 21, and fn 57.

21. Lohrli, op. cit. 9.

22. COLLINS, P.A.W. "Keep HOUSEHOLD WORDS Imaginative!" The Dickensian, 52, 1956, 117-123 ; 122-123.
23. Ibid.

24. "Families have been the foundation of every culture and society throughout history. Adult educators are committed to helping them continue to be so. Such action seems appropriate because meeting human needs and coping with and planning for change are known abilities of adult educators. . . . Home and family life education deals with humans’ basic needs for food, shelter, and clothing with the resultant need to manage family resources wisely; and with the development of harmonious relationships."


Chapter Seven - pp 301-422

1. CD carefully avoided jargon and specialized language with no association for the general reading public. Fitzgerald quotes CD’s writing to Wills, March 1853:

"'Starting a Paper' is very droll to us. But it is full of references that the public don’t understand, and don’t in
the least care for. Bourgeois, brevier, minion, and nonpareil, long primer, turnips, drawing advertisements, and reprisals, back forms, imposing stone blocks, etc., are all quite out of their way, and a sort of slang that they have no interest in." FITZGERALD, F.: MEMORIES OF CHARLES DICKENS Bristol & London, J.W.Arrowsmith, 1913: 161.


3. Lohrli, op. cit. 6.

4. Forster made only passing reference to the journals in his LIFE. Fitzgerald notes this omission: "Forster had lofty, severe conceptions as to his duty. He disdained small things or trivialities, however interesting, and ruthlessly expunged them all from his programme. ... With this in view he all but completely passed over that essential and most important section of Boz's life that was devoted to periodical writing. How important was this function may be conceived when we find that it absorbed all his time and thoughts for some twenty years of arduous, never-ceasing labour and drudgery, pursued from week to week, with scarcely an hour's relaxation -- to wit, the 'conducting' or editing of his two great journals." Op. cit. 104-105.

5. Engels had perhaps a more informed view of the
"English working man," since he was a factory owner in North England in the 1840's. "...the working-man is made to feel at every moment that the bourgeoisie treats him as a chattel, as its property ... he can save his manhood only in hatred and rebellion against the bourgeoisie. ... The cultivation of the understanding which so greatly strengthens the selfish tendency of the English bourgeois, which has made selfishness his predominant trait and concentrated all his emotional power upon the single point of money-greed, is wanting in the working-man, whose passions are therefore strong and mighty as those of the foreigner." THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN ENGLAND, St Albans, Granada (1892) 1981 ; 239.

6. Many articles may be cited. Eg from HOUSEHOLD WORDS:
"Another Lung for London," 4DEC52, 275-277, plan for a model living and working community.
"Our Last Parochial War," 21MAY53, 265-270, narrates local opposition to the enforcement of the Public Health Act.
"A Foe under Foot," 11DEC52, discourses on the foulness of London's sewers.

7. "The Quiet Poor," HW, 15APR54, 201-206, had already described those poor folk of Bethnal Green.
8. These considerations apart, Slater opines that CD would have felt "... the intrusion of prudential considerations into the intimate expression of connubial love would have been even more deeply repugnant to a man of his temperament than the 'moral restraint' propaganda directed towards the teeming poor of Victorian England by the followers of Malthus." Slater further comments on this statement: "Dickens fiercely attacked the Malthusians in his caricature of the political economist, Mr Filer, in THE CHIMES (1844). One of the dummy book-backs in his study bore the title MALTHUS'S NURSERY SONGS." Slater, DICKENS AND WOMEN, 120, and n.71, 404.

9. V. CD's comments about the lack of Mechanics in "Dullborough Town."

10. A co-operative workshop originated in Birmingham in 1777 for striking tailors.

11. V. "To Working Men, HW, 70CT54,169-170, discussed above. "On the Civil War now raging in England," AYR, 17AU661, 489-492, deals with envy and enmities within classes, between sexes, professions and the like, all based on "the one gigantic fact of self-advantage, and this beats the biggest tom-tom of all, and counts its foes by thousands and tens of thousands combined."

12. Such curiosity and fascination with the apparently endless possibilities of science led to a new literary form, science-fiction, through the work of Jules Verne
Verne's *JOURNEY TO THE CENTRE OF THE EARTH* was in fact summarized in *AYR*, 24DEC64, 469-47; and, *AYR*, 31DEC64, 486-489. The technique to grip the reader's attention is interesting. The "slight summary" has two chapters: the first tends to be "scientific" about the earth as well as literary — even calling upon Sir Thomas Browne's "Urn Burial" for explanatory texts. The chapter ends with a curious collection of "useful," even eatable earths! and the final tantalizing sentence: "Before altogether quitting the Earth, we will, in the second chapter, go a little deeper into it, following the itinerary of three recent travellers." Chapter II then follows, in the next issue, with the summary of the Journey to the Earth's Centre.

13. John Pyke Hullah (1812-1884) wrote the music for CD's operetta, "The Village Coquettes," produced at the St James's Theatre, 6 December 1836. Hullah had been a fellow student at the Royal Academy of Music with CD's sister, Fanny, through whom the two men had become acquainted.

14. F.D. Maurice (1805-1872), with Charles Kingsley (1819-1975), were co-founders of Christian Socialism in 1849; both were churchmen, both radical in their views. Maurice, also an academic, was expelled from his professorship at King's College, London, for his
questioning of the doctrine of eternal punishment in
THEOLOGICAL ESSAYS, in 1853. In 1854, he founded the
Working Men's College in Great Ormond Street.

15. Catherine Dickens' "one and only venture into
authorship" was WHAT SHALL WE HAVE FOR DINNER?,
"satisfactorily answered by numerous bills of fare for from
two to eighteen persons. By Lady Maria Clutterbuck." This
appeared towards the end of 1851, the pseudonym derived
from her role in the farce ALL USED UP. The Preface says:
"My experience in the confidences of many of my female
friends tells me, alas! that others are not so happy in
their domestic relations as I was. That their daily life
is embittered by the consciousness that a delicacy
forgotten or misapplied; a surplusage of cold mutton or a
redundancy of chops; are gradually making the Club more
attractive than the home ..." Hence the reason for the
cookery-book; really a collection of menus from the
Dickenses' household. "Modern commentators have marvelled
at the heaviness, richness and elaborateness of Catherine's
menus ..." Slater, DICKENS AND WOMEN, 132-133. Mrs
Beaton's BOOK OF HOUSEHOLD MANAGEMENT, appeared in parts
in 1859. Catherine's book went into its second edition in
1852.

16. Henry Mayhew executed much of his personal research
at home in Albany Street. CD's Devonshire Place house was
only half a mile away or so.
17. Of a more general article on the lack of foreign languages among the English: "The Gift of Tongues," HW, 10JAN57. 41-43.

Chapter Eight - pp 423-434

1. CD would have agreed with Illich’s statement: "A convivial society should be designed to allow all its members the most autonomous action by means of tools least controlled by others. People feel joy, as opposed to mere pleasure, to the extent that their activities are creative; while the growth of tools beyond a certain point increases regimentation, dependence, exploitation, and impotence. I use the term 'tool' broadly enough to include not only simple hardware ... I also include ... productive systems for intangible commodities such as ... 'education,' 'health,' 'knowledge,' or 'decisions.'" TOOLS FOR CONVIVIALITY, Glasgow, Collins (Fontana) 1973, 33-34.

He would likewise have accepted Illich’s definition of "a society, in which modern technologies serve politically interrelated individuals rather than managers" as "convivial." V. Illich, op. cit. 12-13.

2. "I conjure my friends on no account to make me the subject of any monument, memorial, or testimonial whatever. I rest my claims to the remembrance of my country upon my published works, and the remembrance of my friends upon their experience of me in addition thereto." Dickens’
3. This, in fact, is the nub of contention today, where the advocates of continuing (or life-long) education argue that the whole (State-provided) education system should be looked at as an entity from childhood to old age ("cradle to grave"), with open access to institutions, agencies, etc., paid educational leave, maintenance grants agreed accreditation, a new-look to the "total" curriculum, relationships between "education" and "training," work and leisure, etc. All this is implicit in CD's views.

4. Two very penetrating analysts of the modern situation are Illich (v. N. 1 supra) and CAPRA, F. THE TURNING POINT: SCIENCE, SOCIETY AND THE RISING CULTURE, London, Fontana Paperbacks 1983. The first looks to a time when Epimethean men inhabit the earth, "enhancing their ability to tend and care and wait upon the other ..." The second identifies "dramatic change of concepts and ideas ... from the mechanistic conception of Descartes and Newton to a holistic and ecological view..." Both analyses profoundly relate to the Dickensian synthesis, and to its outcome in praxis.

5. HOUSEHOLD WORDS was published in 19 half-yearly vols, HOUSEHOLD NARRATIVE in 6 yearly vols, and ALL THE YEAR ROUND (during CD's lifetime) in 24 half-year vols. The number of weekly issues in HW and AYR amounts to 1057, each of 24 pages, each page of approximately 1,000 words.
This totals something in excess of 25,368,000 words with which CD had been concerned in his conductorship: over 1.25m words each year besides his own writings, etc. HW has 479 issues, AYR 497, and AYR (N.S.) 81, up to D's death.

6. My argument here is that CD's educational efforts in toto present a working out and through of Sir Thomas More's statement of continuing learning as the repository of "the felicity of this life." UTOPIA, London, Dent, Everyman (1910) 1976, Book II, 69.

It is of curious interest to note that Thomas More was a family man who governed his household in such a way that "everybody performeth his duty; yet is there always alacrity; neither is sober mirth anything wanting."
(Erasmus to Ulrich von Hutten, on More's home life.) The similarity to CD's well-ordered regime is most striking.
This select bibliography is divided into various categories for ease of reference. Firstly, there are two major divisions:

a) complete books; and,

b) articles and essays from journals, etc.

Each of these two sections is further classified by the predominant stress of the writing in the following divisions:

a) nineteenth century historical background, mostly social in content.
b) education, especially of adults.
c) sociology.
d) women's studies.
e) literary criticism.
f) works on Dickens as man and artist.
g) miscellaneous.

As for Dickens' own works, I have used many different texts and editions. However, I would recommend, among the many, the Oxford Illustrated series; the "Authentic" editions by Chapman and Hall, printed from the edition corrected by Dickens himself between 1867 and 1869, such as the "badshill Edition." The listing I give here, consists of those texts which I have quoted from, or cited more than once. They are arranged in date order from the first
volume edition where applicable. Where two dates are
given, this indicates the final appearance of that
particular work or its parts in the sequence.

DICKENS' WORKS

1835-40 : SKETCHES BY BOZ
1836 : SUNDAY UNDER THREE HEADS
1837 : THE MUDFUG PAPERS
1837-70 : SPEECHES
1838 : THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS OF THE PICKWICK CLUB
1840-41 : OLIVER TWIST
1840 : MASTER HUMPHREY'S CLOCK
1843-48 : THE OLD CURIOUSITY SHOP
1843-48 : CHRISTMAS BOOKS
1844 : MARTIN CHuzzlewit
1846 : Dombey and Son
1850 : DAVID COPPERFIELD
1850-67 : CHRISTMAS STORIES
1850-59 : HOUSEHOLD NARRATIVE (6 volumes)
1853 : HOUSEHOLD WORDS (19 volumes)
1853 : BLEAK HOUSE
1854 : HARD TIMES
1856 : LITTLE DORRIT
1859-70 : ALL THE YEAR ROUND (20 volumes, First Series ;
        4 volumes New Series)


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APPENDIX "A": DICKENS’ READING

To trace Dickens’ reading is a difficult area to attempt any completeness or accuracy, since few people leave a documentary history of all the reading they have achieved. So, acknowledging Forster’s remark that Dickens was not in the habit of writing literary criticism, or even of passing comment in his letters on books and their writers, sufficient evidence is nevertheless available to show that his reading did in fact range over many subjects and many types of writing (1).

It has been noted already (supra) that he read many of the classics of his day, when quite a small boy. The over-quoted passage from DAVID COPPERFIELD lists the identical catalogue of John Dickens’ "library" of cheap reprints which the small Charles absorbed at Bayham Street (2), but with some omissions. The COPPERFIELD list comprizes: RODERICK RANDOM, PEREGRINE PICKLE, HUMPHREY CLINKER, TOM JONES, THE VICAR OF WAKEFIELD, DON QUIXOTE, GIL BLAS, ROBINSON CRUSOE, THE ARABIAN NIGHTS, TALES OF THE GENII; and Forster extends this list with THE TATLER, THE IDLER, THE CITIZEN OF THE WORLD, all journals (in the Dickensian sense), and Mrs Inchbald’s COLLECTION OF FARCES. As a first "reading list" for a seven to nine-year old boy, this represents a formidable task, which was, nevertheless, lightly and eagerly undertaken by Dickens who welcomed these books, and especially the characters therein, as "a host of friends when he had no single friend (3)."

Whatever text-books he used at school will remain
unknown (with the exception of Cocker's mathematical primer, and SANDFORD AND MERTON, which moralized everything from "the consumption of a plate of cherries to the contemplation of a starlight night"), and probably would be of little significance, if known, to his later life. However, whilst still with Mr Giles, he won "his first year examination . . . recitation of a piece out of the HUMOURIST'S MISCELLANY (1804) about Doctor Bolus . . ." for which he received "...unless his youthful vanity bewildered him, a double encore (4)."

Forster also tells us that when Dickens was living in Bayham Street, and not attending school, he frequently visited his uncle Barrow in Gerrard Street, Soho, who lived above a book-shop owned by Mrs Manson. Her lately deceased husband was father . . .

to the partner in the celebrated firm of Christie and Manson. Attracted by the look of the lad as he went upstairs, these good people lent him books to amuse him; among them Miss reporter's SCOTTISH CHIEFS, Holbein's DANCE OF DEATH and George Colman's GLORIOUS BRINS. The latter seized his fancy very much; and he was so impressed by its description of Covent Garden . . . that he stole down to the market by himself to compare it with the book. He remembered . . . snuffing up the flavour of the faded cabbage-leaves as if it were the very breath of comic fiction (5). The sum of Dickens' early reading has been assessed initially by Harry Stone's
article, in which he follows the Wilsonian view of the lasting effects of that reading upon Dickens’ remaining life and work (6). Certainly, his reading of the eighteenth century magazines fired his ambition to create his own in their image.

The reading of Dickens’ later life has been amply analyzed by Collins (7) and includes what is known about his borrowings from libraries. Equally, the article acknowledges Stonehouse’s catalogue of the Gad’s Hill library as it was at Dickens’ death. No firm reliance can be placed on either library slips or the catalogue as to whether any (or none) of the books were ever read. Fortunately, it is possible to be certain of some books as “read” by references in writings or recorded conversations, and this is the great value of Professor Collins’ article in that he has thoroughly researched this aspect.

To rehearse all the works traced and listed would be tedious here. What is of interest at this juncture, is that Collins’ research has given the lie to all those who claim Dickens was not well-read. It is clear that Dickens’ reading was unstructured, and frequently uncritical, but this is not unexpected when put against his early life style and his working life. No academic, Dickens followed only the urgings of his creative spirit and his personal beliefs on social matters, and therefore read what was needful to him at any time.

To summarize very briefly Dickens’ adult reading, we can say that he enjoyed topographical and travel books — voyages of exploration and explorers’ lives. He read much
on the emerging science of penology, and, indeed, contributed to it in his discussion of the Silent System. His interest in psychology and psychiatry has been used as a source of case studies, because of his uncannily accurate and precise observation of classic cases, as Sir Russell Brain has shown in his essay on Dickens' neuro-psychiatric insight and knowledge. The acuity and accuracy of description of the effects of serious head injury, cerebral arteriosclerosis and symptomatic epilepsy, as well as senile dementia and hypomania are such, since "he had no medical training, and lived and wrote when little was known about the physiology of the nervous system, and nothing of cerebral localization, yet his descriptions of nervous symptoms are so detailed and accurate that they can justly be compared with those given by clinicians of genius," and "... when Dickens became a novelist, medicine lost a great clinical observer (8)."

Connected with his interest in the human mind was his reading about mental aberrations in the form of crimes and criminals, an extension of his penological reading; which he looked at in two major aspects: that of the punishment and/or rehabilitation of criminals and their dependents; and that of the psychology of crime and its psychiatric manifestations. This has often led critics to call this a "morbid" or "sick" streak in Dickens' own psyche. Certainly, he was fascinated by crimes, their perpetrators and the reasons for their actions. His playing out of Nancy's death is one such witness to this fascination; but it is difficult to say whether this fascination derived
from his morbidity (if such be the case), or from the intense pleasure he derived from the audiences' shocked and thrilled reception of his performances.

Like other interests in the field of practical philanthropy, criminology and penology led him to read quantities of official reports on sanitation, education, prison reform, courts of inquiry and coroners' hearings and many others. As might be expected, these were the stock-in-trade of a good journalist and a didactic one at that.

His reading in creative literature was not neglected and he read widely in English and American authors. Moreover, Dickens was also fluent in both French and Italian, and was very familiar with continental literature as well as with many biographies and travel books.

A final group of subjects can be added to these reviewed so far, and this group may be called "esoteric learning," since Dickens was well-read in near-occult subjects such as conjuring, of which he was a self-taught expert; phrenology, which he partially accepted (in respect for his friend Dr Elliotson); and spiritualism and psychic research. This last enthralled him and he read widely in the subject, but apparently he did not indulge in any form of seance or ghost-hunting, in spite of there being a number of articles concerned with rappings and the like in HOUSEHOLD WORDS, as well as volumes such as John Aubrey's MISCELLANIES ON DAY-FATALITY, LOCAL-FATALITY, OMENS, DREAMS, APPARITIONS, VOICES, KNOCKINGS, ETC., the Count de Gabilis' HISTORY OF ROSICRUCIAN DOCTRINE OF
SPIRITS, and volumes on embalming, Egyptology, demonology, witchcraft and hagiography in his library at his death.

What links all his reading and learning, all his moral and social concern, with his fundamental religious belief, is his charity towards mankind. The most appropriate summary perhaps should come from Dickens himself in the objectives of HOUSEHOLD WORDS in the "Preliminary Word":

We aspire to live in the Household affection, and to be numbered among the Household thoughts, of our readers. We hope to be the comrade and friend of many thousands of people of both sexes, and of all ages and conditions, on whose faces we may never look. We seek to bring into innumerable homes, from the stirring world around us, the knowledge of many social wonders, good and evil, that are not calculated to render any of us less ardently persevering in ourselves, less tolerant of one another, less faithful in the progress of mankind...

For nothing can be of any interest in ... [any nation] ... without concerning all the rest ...

NOTES:

(1) The exception to his avoidance of written literary criticism is in his personal letters to aspiring authors, done with consummate tact and
kindness: to aspiring poets and essayists, who submitted their work to him for appraisal, and, hopefully, for inclusion in one of his journals.

One of the more interesting was the famous (notorious?) Adah Isaacs Menken, the "Naked Lady."

(V. n. 15, Chp. 5 of this thesis.)

(2) Forster, I, 9.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Forster I, 8.

(5) Forster I, 12.


The stage carpenter at the Haymarket Theatre remarked: "Ah! Mr Dickens, it was a sad loss to the public when you took to writing." Charles Dickens Jnr North American Review, May 1895.
Dickens’ fundamental concerns were an analysis and expose of social ills and injustice, with their rectification; and the People’s betterment and advancement through education to enlightenment. Some mention has been made of the importance and centrality which Dickens gave to what he termed "Fancy," and this paper is concerned to discuss what Dickens meant by the term, and its centrality to his cause.

I. Education and Fancy

In his early speech-making, Dickens stressed that education would "enlarge the mind" and "awaken the best energies of our nature," and that these "best energies" were those of imagination and creativity (1). He had concluded that had such institutions as Mechanics' Institutes existed in the more remote past, "many of the illustrious dead, whose works were destined to illuminate posterity, might not have died the wretched inmates of the madhouse, or the asylum for the destitute." Significantly, he named Milton, Otway and Wordsworth as examples, because these writers' moral content was considered to be of a very high order, no less than their poetic achievement, and this is perhaps the more important of these two essential qualities in Dickens' estimation. It is through the imagination of creative individuals such as these that the people could draw material to inspire and enlighten them.

As for himself, Dickens did not rest with his own
personal fancy and the uses he made of it; he actively strove to make it clear to others that this faculty, possessed by everyone, was a tool for many uses and many purposes: social, moral, religious, political, as well as psychological, and emotional, so that deeper, more enriched understanding might be achieved. It is to this aspect that I shall devote most of my attention in this paper.

Dickens' own personal use of fancy has been very well examined by scholars such as Butt and Tillotson, de Vries, Hibbert, et al. (2).

Firstly, educational institutions drawing their driving force from the creativity of poets and others, also acted as places of neutrality for men of differing political persuasions. Indeed, says Dickens, it proved satisfactorily "... the desire of those gentlemen rather to be elected by an enlightened constituency than to be representatives of ignorance and grovelling stupidity." Judgment, through the application of imagination, then, could allow differing opinions to exist in mutual respect. It would also help the electorate's intellectual powers, along with sense, to make choices, that were informed with vision.

Secondly, Dickens deemed that ladies also attended, not only to promote "... increased means for the dissipation of knowledge and the advancement of literature, but also by such means to cement more closely the dearest bonds by which society was united -- in bestowing an additional charm upon hearth and fireside of all ..." In other words, imaginative writings not only grace the
society from which they spring in their capacity as pieces of art (and in that sense reflect life as it is), but also provide "information" of a kind which promotes greater bonds of affection and love (CARITAS, or charity). The argument returns to improvement through moral reformation, as I have shown in Chapter Three, in what I would call Dickens' Triad of Aims (page 101). This process was the outcome of Dickens' interpretation of Christ's Great Virtues; in that HOPE was given by PRAGMATIC APPLICATIONS of effort, in the FAITH that God's Will would be achieved (MORAL REFORMATION), through CHARITY (LOVING RIGHT-WISENESS) in understanding others' circumstances.

Thus, the element of Fancy/Imagination is quintessential to Dickens' aims. That others did not understand its significance as he saw it emerged as a major theme in his writings. He was convinced that the effects of the increasing industrial revolution on English life had impoverished and stunted people's imagination. Like Gradgrind, many had come to regard it more of a hindrance than a help to the labouring masses. Imagination and the creations of the imagination were not "facts"; and therein lay the danger of getting ideas above one's station and showed the need for social control of the imagination itself.

Hughes, in one of the earliest reviews of Dickens' concern with Fancy, shows some of the many examples of Dickens' presentation of this abiding truth. In referring to children's imagination, Hughes tells us that "From the time of Barnaby Rudge ... [Dickens'] unconscious
recognition of the right of the child to have his imagination made freer and stronger can be felt in his writings. His conscious recognition of the absolute necessity of child freedom included the ideal of the culture of the imagination (3)."

He goes on to say that Dickens "reached his educational meridian in HARD TIMES ... revealing the fatal error of Mr Gradgrind's philosophy, which taught that fact storing was the true way to form a child's mind and character, entirely ignoring the fact that feeling and imagination are the strongest elements of intellectual power and clearness (4)."

Fancy in HARD TIMES

A brief summary of Gradgrind’s educational philosophy sets this argument in context. Gradgrind’s schooling system was based on factual information as the only reality. "Facts alone are wanted in life. Plant nothing else, and root out everything else. You can only form the minds of reasoning animals upon Facts; nothing else will ever be of service to them. (5)"

The upshot of such a view, when worked out in practice, results in the total unhappiness of both the Gradgrind children, Louisa, entering a loveless, arranged marriage, only narrowly to escape adultery, and Tom becoming a bank-robber, fleeing to die abroad. The saving graces in the tale are Sissy, the circus child, who cannot master Gradgrind’s schooling, and the circus symbolizing freedom and imagination. Louisa and Gradgrind are finally brought to a situation where feeling
and fancy redeem them from ending like Tom or Bitzer, the perfected model student whose only interest is self-interest and acquisitiveness in a world comprizing merely material objects.

Dickens sums up all the things that go to destroy the humane elements of people in his description of the lesson given by Mr M'Choakumchild to the children in front of the visiting official. M'Choakumchild, says Dickens, began in his best manner. He and some one hundred and forty other school-masters, had been lately turned at the same time, in the same factory, on the same principles, like so many pianoforte legs. He had been put through an immense variety of paces, and had answered volumes of head-breaking questions.

Orthography, etymology, syntax, and prosody, biography, astronomy, geography, and general cosmography, the sciences of compound proportion, algebra, land-surveying and levelling, vocal music, and drawing from models, were all at the ends of ten chilled fingers. He had worked his stony way in to Her Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council's Schedule B, and had taken the bloom off the higher branches of mathematics, and physical science, French, German, Latin, and Greek. He knew all about all the Water Sheds of all the world (whatever they are), and all the histories of all the peoples, and all the names
of all the rivers and mountains, and all the
productions, manners, and customs of all the
countries, and all their boundaries and
bearings on the two and thirty points of the
compass. Ah, rather overdone, M'Choakumchild.
If he had only learnt a little less, how
infinitely better he might have taught much
more!

A present view of such training and background might
elicit the comment that for all this knowledge,
M'Choakumchild had gained no real learning: he is a
vessel, brimming with facts, whose only function is to pour
some into further waiting vessels, empty as yet; a man of
knowledge but of no education. His imagination had not
received any kind of stimulus which would have extended a
sensitive awareness of his own situation. Learning held no
excitement, nor wonder, nor curiosity for him. Facts were
"production-line products." In the last paragraph of the
chapter, which follows the above extract, Dickens makes it
plain that he views M'Choakumchild's attitudes as futile
and destructive:

He went to work in this preparatory lesson, not
unlike Morgiana in the Forty Thieves; looking
into all the vessels ranged before him, one
after another, to see what they contained.
Say, good M'Choakumchild. When from thy
boiling store, thou shalt fill each jar brim
ful by and by, dost thou think that thou wilt
always kill outright the robber Fancy lurking
within -- or sometimes only maim him and
distort him!

This last short comment of Dickens brings the reader firmly back to the world of the Imagination by reference to the tale of Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves, and comes like a two-pence coloured sheet after endless penny-plains. The rest of the novel goes on systematically to denounce such methods of educating children and thereby the coming adult generations, for Dickens does not see education as something which children alone experience. His view is clearly that now held by many: that education is a process and product which continues throughout life.

III : Fancy and HOUSEHOLD WORDS

One of the most explicit statements which Dickens made publicly was that in "A Preliminary Word" which opened the first issue of HOUSEHOLD WORDS on 30 March 1850.

No mere utilitarian spirit, no iron binding of the mind to grim realities, will give a harsh tone to our HOUSEHOLD WORDS. In the bosoms of the young and old, of the well-to-do and of the poor, we would tenderly cherish that light of Fancy which is inherent in the human breast; which according to its nurture, burns with an inspiring flame, or sinks into a sullen glare, but which (or woe betide that day!) can never be extinguished. To show all, that in all familiar things, even in those which are repellent on the surface, there is Romance
enough, if we will find it out: -- to teach the hardest workers at this whirling wheel of toil, that their lot is not necessarily a moody, brutal fact, excluded from the sympathies and graces of imagination; to bring the greater and the lesser in degree together, upon that wide field, and mutually dispose them to a better acquaintance and a kinder understanding --- is one main object of our HOUSEHOLD WORDS.

A number of significant statements in this extract leads the argument forward into other areas which support my thesis. Firstly, Dickens makes his belief quite plain, that everyone has an imaginative faculty, whatever age, whatever condition, and that this quality is "inherent in the human breast." It is significant that he uses the word "breast" and not "mind." The breast or heart is, of course, traditionally symbolic of the seat of the feelings or emotions, of sensitivity and sympathy. Fancy is, then, not only a gift possessed by all, but a faculty concerned with sensitivity and feeling.

Secondly, Dickens tells us that Fancy must be cherished (i.e., respected and looked after), and, according to how it is tended, will produce either "an inspiring flame," i.e., the means to go on and forward to achievement; or will become "a sullen glare," a wretched, disconsolate and smouldering dissatisfaction. Whichever it becomes, it cannot be extinguished. Thus, Fancy can lead us to heights or leave us in the depths, according to its nurture, by
which Dickens signifies encouragement, learning, education, knowledge -- enlightenment, in a word.

Turning his attention to what materials might be used in the Journal to further these ends, he goes on to show how "The mightier inventions of this age are not, to our thinking, all material, but have a kind of soul in their stupendous bodies which may find expression in HOUSEHOLD WORDS." This shows us Dickens following his constant mode of using what critics have called his "animism" or "anthropomorphism." This is underlined when he moves on to refer to the "Power" of the new machines and work-places. "The swart giants [ie the new technology], Slaves of the Lamp of Knowledge, have their thousand and one tales, no less than the Genii of the East ..." (We are looking back again to fairy tales and tales of Romance.) "... and these, in all their many phases of endurance, in all their many moving lessons of compassion and consideration, we design to tell." The statement has come full circle, and we have returned to the initial aims of neighbourly caring.

The rest of the Preliminary Word goes on to elucidate Dickens' own feelings about the responsibility of his ambition "to be admitted into many homes with affection and confidence." He realizes how solemn a duty he is taking upon himself and hopes that his magazine will be accepted among those already in the field "whose company it is an honour to join." These are the magazines of "high usefulness"; but there are others, "Pandars to the lowest passions of the lowest natures" which he hopes it will be "our highest service to displace." These latter magazines
he refers to were the "penny dreadfuls," mass-produced pulp weeklies which he wanted to oust as evil influences (6).

We find him writing to Angela Burdett-Coutts, 12 April 1850: "The HOUSEHOLD WORDS I hope ... will become A GOOD PROPERTY. It is exceedingly well liked, and 'goes,' in the trade phrase, admirably ... It is playing havoc with the villainous literature."

HOUSEHOLD WORDS, then, was aimed at informing its readers of many aspects of human endeavour from across the globe, with the expressed intention of enlightenment, by cherishing their imaginations and creative impulses. So when the magazine was discontinued Dickens made it quite clear to the readership that he would continue with the same objectives in ALL THE YEAR ROUND: "Nine years of HOUSEHOLD WORDS, are the best practical assurance that can be offered to the public, of the spirit and objects of ALL THE YEAR ROUND ... That fusion of the graces of the imagination with the realities of life, which is vital to the welfare of any community, and for which I have striven from week to week as honestly as I could during the last nine years, will continue to be striven for 'all the year round'." His final remark on this theme is that "Through all that we are doing, and through all that we design to do, our aim is to do our best in sincerity of purpose, and true devotion of spirit (7)."

Perhaps the most explicit, and certainly very charming statement about the importance of Fancy and of its nourishing so that it remains active throughout life, comes from Dickens directly and refers to Dickens directly. The
article, "Where We Stopped Growing," appeared in No. 143 of
HOUSEHOLD WORDS for New Year's Day 1853. In it, Dickens
begins by referring to "the sorrowful feeling sometimes
awakened in the mind by the ideas of a favourite child's
'growing up.' ... Childhood is usually so beautiful and
engaging, that, setting aside the many subjects of profound
interest which it offers to an ordinarily thoughtful
observer; and even setting aside, too, the natural
caprices of strong affection and prepossession; there is a
mournful shadow of the common lot in the notion of its
changing and fading into anything else."

Though this kind of statement might well be widely and
generally accepted today, at the time it was written
children were still mainly regarded as inconvenient,
undeveloped adults with evil propensities, needing "strong
hands" to bring them through this unfortunate stage to
adulthood as soon as possible.

The article goes on to show where "this individual We
actually did stop growing when we were a child." To
Dickens' obvious delight and pleasure, the list he drew up
of books and stories which had fed his own childish
imagination, he was "glad to find ... longer than we had
expected. ... We have never grown the thousandth part of an
inch out of Robinson Crusoe." Details come tumbling one
upon another from the story, all delightfully remembered
and the section concludes with a long and warmly expressed
sentence of how memories, drawn from enjoyed reading, come
into real life and so enhance its reality into something
more deeply felt.
Never sail we, idle, in a little boat, and hear the rippling water at the prow, and look upon the land, but we know that our boat-growth stopped for ever, when Robinson Crusoe sailed round the island, and, having been nearly lost, was so affectionately awakened out of his sleep at home again by that immortal parrot, great progenitor of all parrots we have ever known.

So the article proceeds with Haroun Alraschid, Blue Beard, Don Quixote and Jack the Giant Killer. Places come next: the "tea-tray shop, for many years at the corner of Bedford Street and King Street, Covent Garden, London, where there was a tea-tray in the window representing, with an exquisite Art that we have not outgrown either, the departure from home to school, at breakfast time, of two boys -- one boy used to it; the other, not." Again, details come thick and fast. All these are "real people and places that we have never outgrown, though they themselves may have passed away long since: which we always regard with the eye and mind of childhood."

Covent Garden follows next, and then two eccentric women: the first a woman, "dressed all in black with cheeks staringly painted" who became demented the morning her brother was hanged for forgery, and ever afterwards wandered around the Bank awaiting his return, uttering her repeated enquiry "Is he come yet?" The second, the White Woman of Berners Street is familiar to us all in the figure of Miss Havisham in GREAT EXPECTATIONS.

Newgate Prison follows, and the old man released after
many years "who brought his white face, and his white hair, and his phantom figure back again, to tell them what they had made him -- how he had no wife, no child, no friend, no recognition of the light and air -- and prayed to be shut up in his old dungeon till he died." We recognize here not only the social problems of the long-confined, but also the character of Dr Manette.

The article's final paragraph pulls together these memories and their sources, both purely imaginative (i.e., drawn from literature), and real, by concluding the argument in an expression of gratitude, coupled with the possible extensions that such memories may produce.

Right thankful we are to have stopped in our growth at so many points -- for each of those has a train of its own belonging to it ... let none of us be ashamed to feel this gratitude. If we can only preserve ourselves from growing up, we shall never grow old, and the young may love us to the last. Not to be too wise, not to be too stately, not to be too rough with innocent fancies, or to treat them with too much lightness -- which is as bad -- are points to be remembered that may do us all good in our years to come. And the good they do us, may even stretch forth into the vast expanse beyond those years; for, this is the spirit inculcated by One on whose knees children sat confidingly, and from whom all our years dated.
So, then, Fancies, that is the exploration of ideas through the use of imagination, may well supply greater appreciation of a thought or concept, and eventually a much enriched understanding of the matter in hand as further ramifications or other related topics are perceived. Herein lies the function of the Imagination or Fancy.

IV: Fancy and Childhood

Sensitive and feeling adults are, then, the product of lives, spent as children awakened to the wonders of the world, retaining on into mature life that child-like sense of wonderment. In terms of his own wonderment and fancy, Dickens conserved to bewildering abundance, and across "the vast expanse beyond those years" to our time through his writings.

This argument and belief that the imaginative faculty must be cultivated in childhood if adults are to be normal is enunciated (as I have shown) in Dickens' speech to the Playground and General Recreation Society, 1 June 1858 (8).

He had arrived at the London Tavern, "... meditating very much upon the great need there is, in London and in all large towns, of places for the children to play in; and considering with what a determined self-assertion nature declares that play they must, and play they will, somewhere or other, under whatsoever circumstances of difficulty."

He began with children "because we all began as children; and I confine myself to children tonight, because the child is father of the man." As we have seen earlier, Dickens mentioned the surgeon and the recruiting officer who looked
to the physical development of the young for healthy, strong adults, and the clergyman, schoolmaster and moral philosopher who looked to children's play as "of great importance to a community in the development of minds. I venture to assert that there can be no physical health without play; and there can be no efficient and satisfactory work without play... A country full of dismal little old men and women who have never played would be in a mighty bad way indeed..."

In sum: imaginative play brings health to the young, both physically and intellectually. Such young people will develop and grow into balanced adults who will in turn make the nation and country a developed and balanced community.

V: Fancy and Fairy Tales

A final view on Fancy from HOUSEHOLD WORDS gives a rounded assessment of Dickens' belief. In "Frauds on the Fairies," (HW, No. 184, OCT 53), Dickens confesses "that we are not singular in entertaining a very great tenderness for the fairy literature of our childhood," a sentiment very close to the that of "Where We Stopped Growing."

"What enchanted us then, and is captivating a million of young fancies now, has, at the same blessed time of life, enchanted vast hosts of men and women who have done their long day's work and laid their grey heads down to rest."

The social effects of these tales are manifold. "It would be hard," says Dickens, "to estimate the amount of gentleness and mercy that has made its way among us through these slight channels. Forbearance, courtesy,
consideration for the poor and aged, kind treatment of animals, the love of nature, abhorrence of tyranny and brute force -- many such good things have been first nourished in the child's heart by this powerful aid." Thus adults (children grown physically, but stopped in another sense) come to be creatures of sensitivity, with feelings of morality and empathy.

Furthermore, "It has greatly helped to keep us, in some sense, ever young, by preserving through our worldly ways, one slender track not overgrown with weeds, where we may walk with children, sharing their delights." Children's company is to be enjoyed, since their sense of surprise and wonderment can revitalize the adult's own, so binding both together. The tragic results of not allowing this to happen are shown in the figures of Paul and Floy Dombey, in Jenny Wren, in Jo the Crossing Sweeper, and many others.

The article's thrust is mainly concerned to take "our own beloved friend, Mr George Cruikshank" to task for altering the old tales to propagandize the cause of tee-totalism, or as Dickens puts it: "as a means of propagating the doctrines of Total Abstinence, Prohibition of the sale of spirituous liquors, Free Trade, and Popular education." This, warns Dickens, is "against his right to do any such thing" and therefore "we protest with all our might and main. ... He has no greater moral justification in altering the harmless little books, than we should have in altering his best etchings." The stories must speak for themselves as eternal exhibitors of the defeat of evil by
good, expressed in their own symbolism and metaphor, for therein lies Fancy.

Dickens' argument in defence of these tales stresses again the special importance of imagination:

every one who has considered the subject knows full well that a nation without fancy, without some romance, never did, never can, never will hold a great place under the sun. The Theatre, having done its worst to destroy these admirable fictions ... it becomes doubly important that the little books themselves, nurseries of fancy as they are, should be preserved. To preserve them in their usefulness, they must be as much preserved in their simplicity, and purity, and innocent extravagance, as if it were actual fact.

Echoing Wordsworth, Dickens' parting shot sums up his own view very succinctly: "The world is too much with us, early and late. Leave this precious old escape from it, alone."

Further values were evident to Dickens, firstly in his own childhood, as well as later in adulthood. He was aware "how all these things ... worked together to make me what I am (9)." The misery of not going to school and having no companions when he lived in Bayham Street was relieved only by that "host of friends" in his father's "library." Such was his "precious old escape" from a dreary and apparently hopeless situation. Harry Stone summarizes what was eventually to come out of this kind of background:
Born in an age dominated by dour notions concerning imagination and children's literature, he yet found his way into the realms of fancy — realms made all the more precious to him by the vast desert of opposition. Born in an age when fairy tales were considered rubbish and wild stories pernicious, he had a grandmother who excelled in one and a nursemaid who excelled in the other. Childhood sickness isolated and encumbered him, but it also forced him to find comfort and recompense in the life of the imagination.

... Imagining soon became paramount ... By the time he moved to London, imagination itself was threatened, yet it still saved him: first by providing some continuity with the imaginative resources of the past, and second by allowing him to translate the intolerable present into the realm of make-believe and art.

... In fairy stories all things were possible; in fairy stories the universe became interconnected and numinous. Dickens' art may be seen as a most consummate melding of reality and fairy tales, a melding that intensifies and distorts reality in order to be more profoundly true to it. For through the magic and technique of fairy tales, Dickens found that he could convey life in its exactitude while at
the same time dramatizing and commenting on that deceptive exactitude and depicting its intricate mystery (10).

This last sentence of Stone's is profoundly important both to Dickens, in that he based his whole editorial policy and system on the imaginative presentation of information in his journals; and for us, equally, to understand how knowledge and learning may be imparted, received and retained only in the degree to which our imaginations have been stimulated. Dickens, knowing and understanding this, exploited it in a host of ways to the full.

VI. Imagination and Fancy in Context

Other writers have picked up the thread of fairy-tale in their investigation of Dickens' life and art, and, indeed, it is a golden thread since from it were spun so many glittering tales, but in this consideration of Fancy it is important also to place Dickens' deep feelings about it into the context of his time. There are other writers of the nineteenth century who perhaps provide something of a frame of reference.

Andrews points out (11) what he calls "Dickens' slightly simplified and sentimentalized version of Wordsworth's ideas on the relationship between the child and the adult." There is no doubt Dickens' belief owes much to Wordsworth, as the following extract from "The Prelude" shows. In referring to the Infant, Wordsworth says:
Emphatically such a being lives; An inmate of this ACTIVE universe;
From nature largely he receives; nor so
is satisfied, but largely gives again,
For feeling has to him imparted strength,
And powerful in all sentiments of grief,
Of exultation, fear, and joy, his mind,
Creates, creator and receiver both,
Working but in alliance with the works
Which it beholds. -- Such, verily, is the
first
Poetic spirit of our human life;
By uniform control or after years
in most abated or suppress'd, in some,
Through every change of growth or of decay,
re-eminent till death.

(The Prelude)

The child, then, according to Wordsworth, is not
disconnected from "this active universe"; he is part of
it; uses it and is used by it, through the "poetic spirit
of our human life," i.e. the power of the imaginative
faculty, or as he calls it later, "the infant sensibility."

Further, when Dickens' use of animistic and
anthropomorphic symbolism is considered, it becomes clearer
still that Dickens felt himself very much at one with the
world around him, although it may have been oppressive,
ugly and disgusting. I have shown above, that even in
conditions such as those Dickens was able to find some
affinity, in a manner similar to Victor Hugo's perception
of beauty in ugliness (12).

Turning to Coleridge, we see that his concepts of imagination and fancy are similarly defined.

The imagination ... I consider either as primary, or secondary. The primary Imagination I hold to be the living power and prime agent of all human perception, and as a repetition in the finite mind of the eternal act of creation in the infinite I AM. The secondary imagination I consider as an echo of the former, co-existing with the conscious will, yet still as identical with the primary in the KIND of its agency, and differing only in DEGREE, and in the MODE of its operation. It dissolves, diffuses, dissipates, in order to recreate: or where this process is rendered impossible, yet still at all events it struggles to idealize and to unify. It is essentially VITAL, even as all objects (AS objects) are essentially fixed and dead.

This definition seems to indicate that Coleridge is referring to two states of the human psyche as possessing an unconscious will (intuition ? or instinct ?) and a conscious will; the latter being the driving force of the individual to act, in whatever way; the former being the force or power which facilitates analysis, synthesis and evaluation. The two parts are separate, yet indissolubly linked through any single action.

Fancy [says Coleridge], on the contrary, has no
other counters to play with, but fixities and definites. The fancy is indeed no other than a mode of memory emancipated from the order of time and space; while it is blended with, and modified by the word Choice. But equally with the ordinary memory the Fancy must receive all its materials ready made from the law of association (13).

This would appear to mean that Fancy is the power of free association of thoughts, without the necessity of logical connection, since it takes no account of time, as a continuum, from time past to time future; or of space, tangible or intangible; in the sense that negative space is that which exists between all objects or within them, whereas positive space is that occupied by solid objects. This reminds one of Scrooge's voyaging through space and time with the spirits, to the past and to a possible future, as an example of this kind of meaning.

It is in the light of both of these concepts that Dickens perceives Fancy. Certainly, the use of freely associated thought and concept is a central occupation of Dickens, in that such association links the imagined thing more firmly to reality; but so, too, is the use of the Imagination as Coleridge defines it. Briefly: Dickens' perception and practical application of Fancy combines all these concepts in the preservation of "infant sensibility" on into adulthood by the use of Imagination.

Coleridge drew his arguments from eighteenth century sources or earlier, as did Addison who wrote a series of
papers in *The Spectator* (June/July 1712). The latter's view of the Imagination or Fancy confined itself to drawing its impetus from the visual world, and defining it through the pain or pleasure thus provided.

Pleasures of the Imagination or Fancy [writes Addison]...arise from visible Objects, either when we have them actually in Our View, or when we call up their ideas into our Minds by Paintings, Statues, Descriptions, or any like Occasion... I divide these Pleasures into two kinds: My Design being first of all to discourse of those Primary Pleasures of the Imagination, which entirely proceed from such Objects as are before our Eyes; and in the next place to speak of those Secondary Pleasures of the Imagination which flow from the Ideas of visible Objects, when the Objects are not actually before the Eye, but are called up into our Memories, or formed into agreeable visions of things that are either Absent or Fictitious.

Later, Addison explains that Words, when well chosen, have so great a Force in them, that a Description often gives us more lively Ideas than the Sight of Things themselves. The Reader finds a Scene drawn in stronger Colours, and painted more to the life in his Imagination, by the help of Words, than
by an actual Survey of the Scene which they
describe. ... As we look on any Object, our Idea
of it is, perhaps, made up of two or three
simple Ideas; but when the Poet represents it,
he may either give us a more complex Idea of
it, or only raise in us such Ideas as are most
apt to affect the Imagination ... Not only did Dickens
subscribe to these views, he actually employed them in his
own writing and editorial criteria. These were thoughts
familiar to him from his Bayham Street days since it was
there that he had devoured so much eighteenth century
writing, among which were volumes of THE SPECTATOR.

One last quotation from Addison delineates the
function of the Imagination as Dickens perceived it.

There is [says Addison] yet another
Circumstance which recommends a Description
more than all the rest, and that is, if it
represents to us such Objects as are apt to
raise a secret Ferment in the Mind of the
Reader, and to work, with Violence, upon his
Passions. For in this Case, we are at once
warmed and enlightened, so that the Pleasure
becomes more Universal, and is several ways
qualified to entertain us.

Addison sees the whole matter of the Imagination in
rather simplistic terms of pleasure and pain, in much the
same way as Dickens was to do, except that Dickens'
purposes in developing the imaginative faculty were aimed
at more than developing artistic or aesthetic sensibility,
and avoided wherever possible the painful side of things, or at least presented them in such a light as to give true pathos instead of discomfort. Clearly, Dickens knew and cherished these thoughts of Addison, as they contain so many key-words of the Dickensian doctrine of the Fancy: "enlightened," "entertain," "Pleasure" (Dickens' cheerfulness or happiness), "warmed," "agreeable visions."

With his prodigious memory Dickens surely remembered these dicta and acted upon them throughout his working life, exemplifying them in his writings and applying them in the regimen of Urania Cottage, as well as in his home with family theatricals.

V. Conclusion

It is very clear that Dickens was seriously and continuously concerned to encourage Fancy wherever possible. Equally clear is the cardinal centrality of the whole concept to his vision of how the People's enlightenment might be achieved. Chapters Five and Six treat of this concept through two extensive, practical examples of Dickens' turning theory into an active reality.

The two examples are different, the first (in the main) concentrates on the young women of Urania Cottage; the second, as part of his concept of group learning, within the family, where shared experience and knowledge, coupled with information derived from an external agency (ie Dickens' journals), proffered divergent applications of Fancy and the pooling of responses. These responses hopefully would lead on to positive actions by the family.
members, both within the group for its own maintenance and
growth, and outside the group in the wider Society at
large, as their perception of their situation and
circumstances widened and deepened. In this way, Dickens
perceived Sir Thomas More's idea of "the free liberty of
the mind," arrived at by the exercise of the imagination,
as the liberating force and power for the People to achieve
their own freedom from social thraldom.
**APPENDIX "C"

**DICKENS' SPEECHES**

These speeches are arranged chronologically and listed as stated in FIELDING, K.J.: *THE SPEECHES OF CHARLES DICKENS*, O.U.P. 1960. The Groupings are those employed in this research.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group I</th>
<th>Page</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Southwark Literary and Scientific Institution:</td>
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<td>20DEC40</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soiree of the Mechanics' Institution:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liverpool: 26FEB44</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conversazione of the Polytechnic Institution:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birmingham: 28FEB44</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Annual Soiree of the Athenaeum:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glasgow: 28DEC47</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At a Reading of the CAROL:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birmingham: 30DEC53</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prize-giving of the Institutional Association of Lancashire and Cheshire:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manchester: 3DEC58</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birmingham and Midland Institute:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Inaugural Meeting:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birmingham: 27SEP69</td>
<td>397</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group II</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Sanitorium: 29JUN43</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sanitorium: 4JUN44</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metropolitan Sanitary Association: 6FEB50</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Opening of the Free Library:
Manchester: 2SEP52

Administrative Reform
Association: 27JUN55

Playground and General Recreational Society: 1JUN58

Group III

A.
Printers’ Pension Society: 4APR43
Printers’ Pension Society: 6APR64
Newsvendors’ Benevolent Institution:
Institution: 21NOV49
: 27JAN52
: 21MAY55
: 20MAY62

Governesses’ Benevolent Institution
Institution: 20APR44

Metropolitan Rowing Clubs: 7MAY66

B.
General Theatrical Fund: 6MAY46
: 29MAR47
: 5APR52

Presentation to Dickens and Banquet to Literature and Art:
Birmingham: 6JAN53
APPENDIX "D"

**DICKENS’ LETTERS TO ANGELA BURDETT-COUTTS**

These letters are to be found in JOHNSON, E. (ed.): CHARLES DICKENS’ LETTERS TO ANGELA BURDETT-COUTTS, 1841-1865. They are listed chronologically with the same numbering as in the text. I have felt it important to give both date and address as another piece of evidence of CD’s Gargantuan efforts in his work.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Date and Address</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>May 26, 1846 Devonshire Terrace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>July 25, 1846 Rosemont, Lausanne, Switzerland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>October 5, 1846 do. do. do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>January 12, 1847 Rue de Coircelles, Paris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>May 16, 1847 1 Chester Place, Regent’s Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>May 23, 1847 148 King’s Road, Brighton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>June 3, 1847 1 Chester Place, Regent’s Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>August 26, 1847 &quot;At your house in town&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>October 28, 1847 Devonshire Terrace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appeal to Fallen Women enclosed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>November 3, 1847 do. do. do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>November 9, 1847 do. do. do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>November 20, 1847 do. do. do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>December 29, 1847 Glasgow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>January 7, 1848 Devonshire Terrace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>January 10, 1848 do. do. do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>January 11, 1848 do. do. do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(To Dr W. Brown)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>January 14, 1848 Devonshire Terrace</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
January 16, 1848

(To Dr W. Brown)

January 31, 1848 Devonshire Terrace

(To Mrs Brown)

August 10, 1848 Broadstairs, Kent

(To Mrs Brown)

September 8, 1848 Devonshire Terrace

(From Mary Ann Stonnell)
March 29, 1849  
do.  
do.
May 7, 1849  
do.  
do.
May 16, 1849  
do.  
do.
August 12, 1849  Winterbourne, Bonchurch, 
    Isle of Wight
August 15, 1849  
do.  
do.
August 30, 1849  
do.  
do.
September 7, 1849  
do.  
do.
November 6, 1849  Devonshire Terrace  
    (To Dr W. Brown)
November 7, 1849  
do.  
do.  
    (To Dr W. Brown)
December 6, 1849  
do.  
do.
December 7, 1849  
do.  
do.
Christmas Day, 1849  
do.  
do.
January 1, 1850  
do.  
do.
January 10, 1850  
do.  
do.
February 4, 1850  
do.  
do.
April 12, 1850  
do.  
do.
April 17, 1850  
do.  
do.
August 14, 1850  
do.  
do.
August 31, 1850  
do.  
do.
September 6, 1850  
do.  
do.
September 13, 1850  
do.  
do.
September 22, 1850  
do.  
do.
November 8, 1850  16 Wellington Street North,  
    Strand (HW Office)
November 24, 1850  Devonshire Terrace
November 25, 1850  
do.  
do.
August 17, 1851 Broadstairs, Kent
October 9, 1851 do. do.
April 20, 1852 Tavistock House
June 1, 1852 do. do.
July 25, 1852 10 Camden Crescent, Dover
November 1, 1852 Tavistock House
(The Marks Memo)
November 19, 1852 do. do.
December 3, 1852 do. do.
May 10, 1853 do. do.
May 19, 1853 do. do.
July 18, 1853 Chateau des Moulineaux, Boulogne
January 4, 1854 Tavistock House
February 2, 1854 do. do.
April 16, 1854 do. do.
May 23, 1854 do. do.
June 18, 1854 Pavilion Hotel, Folkestone
June 22, 1854 Villa du Camp de Droite, Boulogne
October 20, 1854 Tillington
(From Louisa Cooper to Miss Coutts)
February 9, 1855 Tavistock House
May 13, 1856 do. do.
November 15, 1856 do. do.
February 3, 1857 do. do.
February 6, 1857 do. do.
July 10, 1857 do. do.
APPENDIX "E"

HISTORY OF URANIA COTTAGE

This Appendix outlines the history of the building known as Urania Cottage, which I now show with certainty to have existed beyond the second decade of the twentieth century. My collation of evidence from a number of sources, including maps, tithe records, and minutes of the Metropolitan Commission of Sewers, proves conclusively that the photograph (Figure 9), taken in 1915, of the building known only as "the Manager's House, is of Urania Cottage, used by Dickens and Miss Coutts for their Home for Fallen women. I also show, from cross reference with Censuses and the Coutts letters some details of the inhabitants and to date more accurately the duration of the Dickens/Coutts enterprise.

Documentary Evidence

The earliest map showing a building on the site is Salter's of 1830, where a building and the plot are clearly delineated (Figure 1.). Dickens' description of the house being "in a pleasant country lane" in the Appeal to Fallen women, is borne out by this map. The garden is bordered by trees and other neighbouring plots also show plenty of trees in support of his description. It shows too some flooded areas (which accounts for some of the Cottage's drainage problems in later years), one opposite the site, where ironically public baths now stand.
Figure 1: Salter 1830

Figure 3: Robert 1853
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Acres</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Gross</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mark Hewson</td>
<td>1215</td>
<td>Meadow</td>
<td>Grass</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Wells</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>Oliers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Goal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.31</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mansell</td>
<td>1216</td>
<td>Meadow</td>
<td>Grass</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anderson</td>
<td>1211</td>
<td>Buildings and garden</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.61</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah Martin</td>
<td>1198</td>
<td>House, yard, &amp;e.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1199</td>
<td></td>
<td>Market-garden</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Hals</td>
<td>1199</td>
<td>House</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1191</td>
<td></td>
<td>Garden</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scott, Elizabeth</td>
<td>1833</td>
<td>House and yard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1834</td>
<td></td>
<td>Garden</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Herrall</td>
<td>1833</td>
<td>Arable, and part pasture</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1834</td>
<td></td>
<td>Waste, water, and part garden</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Scott</td>
<td>1834</td>
<td>House and garden</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heinberg, Christina, Angelina, and Juliet</td>
<td>1790</td>
<td>House and outbuildings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomsbeet</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>Quers, water, and part garden</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1791a</td>
<td></td>
<td>Reclaimed hillfield</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Boat Company</td>
<td>859</td>
<td>Arable land</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stewart</td>
<td>2120</td>
<td>Houses and gardens</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Tithe Apportionment Book, 3 November 1845 (Figure 2.), records Elizabeth Scott (1) as owner of plots 1817, 1818, 1819, 1833 and 1834. Plot 1817 (the Urania Cottage site) is described as "House and garden," and a tithe of 4s 0d per annum was due to the Vicar of the Parish Church, St Stephen’s, north and west of the road, which in Robert’s 1853 Tithe Apportionment map is named as Lime Grove for the first time. Plot 1817 shows two buildings, one the house and the second the stable block which CD (23MAY47) says would have to be altered (Figure 3.).

In the minutes of the General Committee of the Metropolitan Commission of Sewers (vol. 12) appears the following memo:

With reference to Mr Charles Dickens’ (of 1 Devonshire Terrace) letter of 2nd inst. forwarding a cheque for £75 for the drainage of Urania Cottage, Shepherd’s Bush, I have to report that Urania Cottage is situated in Lime Grove between the Uxbridge Road and the New [i.e. Goldhawk] Road; and that it is at present very inefficiently drained, the only drainage being with cesspools which are much complained of -- In the improvement of the drainage of this House about 700 feet of 9 inch Pipe will be required from the nearest existing sewer on the South near the New Road, the cost of this work with the necessary connections, I estimate at £75; and I would try (?) to recommend the immediate execution of this work on the terms mentioned in Mr Dickens’ letter.
This document is signed "Thos. Lovick Surveyor" and dated by him "2 Nov. 1850." At the top of the document is the date "5/11/50" and the word "URGENT." At the bottom is the signature "Approved Frank Foster."

In the printed volume of the Metropolitan Commission of Sewers for 17 October 1849 - 6 December 1850, page 724, appears this order:

"6. No. 3961 That 700 feet of 9-inch pipe sewer be laid down in Lime Grove, Shepherd's Bush, Mr Charles Dickens having paid into Court the sum of £75, that being the estimated cost of the works." This dated "Approved 2 Nov. 1850."

By measurement on the 1863 map 700 feet, with connections and bends, leads only to the site of Urania Cottage.

Dickens has left a record for us of the interview which he had with the Surveyor (which must have been this Thomas Lovick) in his letter (22SEP50) to Miss Coutts, written from Broadstairs: "Before going out there [Shepherd's Bush], I went to the Office of the Commissioners of Sewers in Greek Street, and delivered a most pathetic and moving address on the subject of the Drains -- at which the Surveyor was so much touched, that he engaged to go out there, immediately, and then 'communicate with' me, here. Notwithstanding the vague nature of this repentant promise, I have hopes that we shall shortly (though not, I am afraid, without incurring some expense) remove that nuisance. At any rate, as the affected Surveyor said, 'The premises must be relieved.'
Figure 4: Sketch from Railway Plans 1860

Figure 5: O.S. Map 1863-65
And what kind of relief is proposed, I will let you know, after I have been 'communicated with.'"

This interview led eventually to Dickens' letter of 2 November to Mr Lovick and the expenditure of £75 for the new drain. Unfortunately, by February 1857 there was again drainage trouble (letter, 3FEB57). The builder had been called to effect some further urgent repairs (31 January 1857). "I was really afraid to wait, to refer the matter to you (the parlor had then become uninhabitable and the whole house was fast becoming so); and I knew besides, that it must unfortunately be done. I am going out there today, to see how they are getting on."

The letter 6FEB57 tells us: "The drainage is distinctly our business (I am sorry to say), the main drain being provided. What is being done will cost, according to estimate, from Thirty to Forty Pounds. But I am pretty sure that when you see what it is, you will think the money well spent. We must have had illness without it. It is surprising that some obstinate disorder had not already broken out." This would imply that the fault lay within the house rather than outside, "the main drain being provided." It must have been a serious fault since the cost was about half the cost of the seven hundred feet of main drain laid in 1850.

Sheet 3 of the plans for the new railway (Hammersmith, Paddington & City Junction Railway) which were deposited in 1860, the configuration of the house is clearly recognizable as Urania Cottage (v. sketch, Figure 4.). The very slight differences on this and other maps could be the
Figure 7: O.S. Map 1896

Figure 8: O.S. Map 1916
result of either varying modes of surveying and representation, or addition and/or removal of temporary structures, such as porticos at entrances on the northern, western and southern aspects of the house.

The Ordnance Survey (O.S.) map of 1863–65 updated 1870/71 clearly shows the layout of the Cottage site even to paths and trees, and includes a small portico on the north side, the southerly and westerly ones having gone. The original survey of 1863–65 was updated in 1870/71 to show the newly-laid railway which ran alongside the site (Figure 5.). The house is also named for the first time, but incorrectly as "Trania Cottage." The O.S. 5-foot map of 1867–71 (a later version of the latter map) shows the site in great detail and the name correctly as Urania Cottage (Figure 6.).

The U.S. map of 1896 shows the Cottage in the same configuration as 1865/71, except that the northern portico has gone and a slightly larger one added to the southern side. Lime Grove is no longer a straight-through passage from the Uxbridge Road in the north to Goldhawk Road in the south, but now ends at Urania Cottage with a footpath along its front fence to join a new road laid out, Brooklyn Road.

To the south-east of the Cottage is now a Trunk and Portmanteau Works. By this time, the Home for Fallen Women had ceased.

The same configuration (without any porticos) appears also on the U.S. map of 1916 (Figure 8.), which was a further update (1913) of the original 1863–65 surveys. The road runs straight down, north to south, but still bears
Figure 9: Urania Cottage & Gaumont Studio (1915)
Figure 11: Geo. Pearson directing "Sally Bishop"

Figure 12: Geo. Pearson in his office (1915)
the two names, Lime Grove in the northern section, and Brooklyn Road in the southern; the division occurring at the southern boundary of the Urania Cottage site. The whole road by then was completely built up.

Figure 9 shows a photographic view of Lime Grove from the north-west with a cottage next to the newly completed glass-roofed film studio, in 1915 (2). On the drainage plans (Figure 10.) of 1915 for this studio (completed 18 January 1915) this house is called "the Manager’s House." The now familiar configuration shows the main house and the stable block (so-named), and in addition to the new drains, we can see the line where an old drain was taken up. Comparison with foregoing maps leaves me in no doubt that this is indeed Urania Cottage. This is the first positive identification of the "the Manager’s House," which exists in this photograph of 1915, as the Urania Cottage of Dickens’ Home for Fallen Women.

Figure 11 shows an external view of a door being used as a setting for the film "Sally Bishop," directed by George Pearson, which when compared with Figure 9 appears to be the front-door of Urania Cottage. In his book of reminiscences, FLASHBACK (1957), Pearson, who had been appointed Chief Film Director for the Gaumont Company at Lime Grove Studios in 1915, says (p.53) of the studios he took over, that "offices and dressing-rooms were available in an adjacent house attached to the main building." He also states that "... lunch was served in the adjoining house to principals and staff" (p.57). Opposite page 97 is a photograph (Figure 12.) entitled, "George Pearson in his
office, Gaumont Studios (1915)."

The edition 16DEC1915 of "BIOSCOPE," (p.1258), referring to the newly opened premises at Lime Grove, and using the same photograph as Figure 9, says that this "...picture gives some idea from the exterior of the size of the studio, and it will be seen, also, that the comfort of the artists is well looked after, a fair-sized villa being devoted to dressing-room accommodation."

These two references suggest that no one was aware of the Dickensian associations with the house, which I have shown conclusively to be Urania Cottage. When C.C. Osborne published his extracts from the Dickens-Coutts letters (1931), the house had entirely disappeared. O.S. maps up to 1946 show the Cottage configuration, but they are patently incorrect, since the house was almost certainly demolished during major reconstruction in 1926/27 (4), as drainage plans of 1928 for additional "WC's & Film Stores etc" show that the site of the Cottage was already covered by the "Studio and Offices" block (Figure 13.).

Term of Lease on Urania Cottage

CD wrote to Miss Coutts (23MAY47), that the house "may be got, I think for sixty to sixty five pounds a year, on lease for 7, 14 or 21 years. ... The taxes are very low." This refers to the tithe of 4s 0d per annum. His letter of 3JUN47 tells us : "The terms of the house are to be sixty guineas (£63.00) a year, for seven, fourteen, or twenty one years." A letter of the following July from Stratton
Street (July 1847) shows the lease was still not settled, but the letter 28OCT47 implies all was agreed as the house "will be ready for the reception of its inmates, please God, on Saturday fortnight" [i.e. 7 November 1847]. No letter affords the actual length of lease. This may be inferred from records which exist, and it is most likely that 21 years were agreed.

The lease obviously allowed for alterations and improvements to be carried out, as a new fence was erected, new gates installed and drainage problems overcome, as well as new sections of the house added or altered.

The same letter 23MAY47 indicates that CD intended to alter part at least of the stable block (at the rear of the building), to be made into a wash-house. Also he "would decidedly fence the garden all round. ... I do not know the expense (sic) of such a thing, but I should say that an expenditure of fifty pounds or seventy five pounds may be ... would amply cover the whole." Moreover, he says "I told the owners it was designed for an institution, and they did not object. I did not say what the objects were, or would be, or had been, because it seems to me a great point of usefulness and merit that this should never be told. I wouldn't label them among the neighbours."

Evidence of the Censuses and Rate Books

It is now possible to piece together something of the inhabitants of Urania Cottage, both its inmates and its staff, from the Coutts letters and various censuses.

The Home opened in November 1847 and from the Coutts
letters alone the names of over 50 inmates are known. Annexe 1 lists those inmates (starred where they appear in the 1851 census), with the first (and sometimes only) date that they are mentioned, and the last date they are mentioned. Some of these names appear again in the census of 1851 with further details not available from the letters (Annexe 2). Matrons' names appear in the censuses of 1851 and 1861, and, in the case of the latter, along with a group of young women not mentioned in the letters. The census shows, too, that Urania Cottage was "uninhabited" in 1871. The Home had been disbanded.

Both the letters and the censuses of 1851 and 1861 permit us to list the Matrons and their Assistants for the period (Annexe 3). The longest serving was Mrs McCartney who was appointed in 1848 and was still in residence in 1861 when the census was taken.

John Sapsford (3), a secretary to Miss Coutts, and his family lived in the Cottage after the Home had closed, from around October 1863 until around May 1867. The Rate Books show Miss Coutts' name for February 1862 as her last payment. The ensuing two periods show the house to be empty, as no rates were recoverable. Sapsford's name then appears at October 1863 and ensuing periods until August 1866. It is clear that since the lease began in August (?) 1847 and the Home was in full function at the 1861 census, but empty by October 1862 (by which time the Home had disbanded), but occupied by Sapsford until 1867, Miss Coutts must have taken a 21-year lease, i.e. until 1868. The house seemingly remained uninhabited (even by Mrs
Scott’s son, Ferdinand, who was boarding nearby) at least until the Census of 1871, but the Home had endured from November 1847 until around October 1862, fifteen years almost exactly, within the 21-year lease.

NOTES

(1) The Census for 1851 (Householder’s schedule 195) gives the details of the Scott family (v. Notes, Census 1851, Annexe 2). This schedule most probably refers to the house on the other side of the road opposite Urania Cottage, referred to in the 1871 Census as "Scott’s House."

By that time (1871) Urania Cottage was "uninhabited" and only Ferdinand Scott (then 60) remained at Scott’s House, and is described as "Boarder", but his occupation is given as "House and Land Proprietor."

(2) This photograph is a still from a film (which I have not yet traced) which was published by George Pearson in his book FLASHBACK.

(3) John Sapsford, "a competent accountant," was Miss Coutts’ bursar from 1857. He became a kind of Minister of Employment and Social Security in the East End. His budget varied from £6,000 to £20,000 per annum. During the 1867 cholera epidemic he organized a complete system of aid, distribution of medicines, food and clothing, and sending out health visitors. The Duchess of Tieck reported that in one week "1,850 meat tickets, worth 1s.0d. each, 500 lbs of rice, 250 lbs of arrowroot, 50 lbs of sago, 50 lbs tapioca and oatmeal, 20 gallons beef tea, 30 lbs blackcurrant jelly, 80 quarts a day of pure milk from our own farms,
400 yds flannel, 200 garments, 100 blankets, 25 gallons brandy, 50 gallons port wine" were issued by Sapsford.
(Healey op. cit. 164)

NOTE ON THE NAME "URANIA"

"A surname of Venus, the same as Celestial. She was supposed in that character, to preside over beauty and generation, and was called daughter of Uranus or Coelus by the Light." Urania, p. 715, II.

"She [Venus] received the name of Paphia, because worshipped at Paphos ... also Venus Urania, and Venus pandemos. The first of these she received as presiding over wantonness and incestuous enjoyments; the second, because she patronised pure love, and chaste and moderate gratifications; and the third, because she favoured the propensities of the vulgar, and was fond of sensual pleasures." Venus, p. 704. Both of these explanations come from Lempriere's Classical Dictionary, revised by Reverend T. Smith, printed by Allman, London 1839. These are the kinds of associations Dickens was most likely to have known when he chose the name for the Cottage in preference to the kinds of names given elsewhere (The British Penitent Female Refuge, The Home for Penitent Females, The London Female Penitentiary).
**ANNEXE 1**

**KNOWN INMATES FROM LOUTTS LETTERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>First Ref.</th>
<th>Last Ref.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LEA, Emma</td>
<td>3NOV47</td>
<td>29AUG48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GALE, Rosina</td>
<td>20NOV47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STONNELL, Mary Anne</td>
<td>20NOV47</td>
<td>31AUG48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEWLEY, Francis</td>
<td>20NOV47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRIDGE, Maria</td>
<td>6JAN48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MORLEY, Julia</td>
<td>10JAN49</td>
<td>11JAN49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THOMAS, Adelaide</td>
<td>16JAN48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOLDSMITH, Martha</td>
<td>16JAN48</td>
<td>11JAN49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WALLER, Rubina</td>
<td>31JAN48</td>
<td>22MAY48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GODFREY, -----------</td>
<td>20MAY48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WESTAWAY, Jane</td>
<td>14OCT48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CATTLE, Mary Ann</td>
<td>?NOV48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BURDUN, Isabella</td>
<td>10FEB49</td>
<td>6NOV49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BARCLAY, Frances</td>
<td>21MAR49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRADLEY, Rachel</td>
<td>16MAY49</td>
<td>6NOV49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JONES, Mary</td>
<td>16MAY49</td>
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<tr>
<td>HISCOCK, Jemima</td>
<td>15JUN49</td>
<td>17APR50</td>
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<td>BROWNE, Mary Anne</td>
<td>2JUL49</td>
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<tr>
<td>WOOD, Sarah</td>
<td>7SEP49</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>------ Sesina (Sesini)</td>
<td>6NOV49</td>
<td>7NOV49</td>
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<td>MYERS, Hannah</td>
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<tr>
<td>JOYNES, Mary</td>
<td>17APR50</td>
<td>25APR50</td>
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<td>WALSH, Ellen</td>
<td>17APR50</td>
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<tr>
<td>GLYNN, Charlotte*</td>
<td>31AUG50</td>
<td>22DEC51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>GLYNN, Ellen*</td>
<td>31 Aug 50</td>
<td>25 Nov 50</td>
</tr>
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<td>SPENCER, Emma*</td>
<td>31 Aug 50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WILSON, Mary Anne*</td>
<td>31 Aug 50</td>
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<tr>
<td>DAVIES, Anne</td>
<td>8 Nov 50</td>
<td>25 Nov 50</td>
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<tr>
<td>HUMPHREYS, Mary</td>
<td>8 Nov 50</td>
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<td>CHURCH, Mary Anne</td>
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<td>HOGG, Elizabeth</td>
<td>22 Dec 51</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>THOMPSON, Matilda*</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WATTS, -----------</td>
<td>2 Mar 52</td>
<td>22 Jun 54</td>
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<td>HULGATE, Almina</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>JOHNSON, Anne</td>
<td>30 Oct 52</td>
<td>10 May 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MATCHAM, Susan</td>
<td>30 Oct 52</td>
<td>18 Jul 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STALLION, ---------</td>
<td>1 Nov 52</td>
<td>19 Nov 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YOUNGMAN, ---------</td>
<td>1 Nov 52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WILIS, -----------</td>
<td>19 Nov 52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAMPBELL, --------</td>
<td>19 May 53</td>
<td>9 Feb 55</td>
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<td>CRANSTOME, Frances</td>
<td>19 May 53</td>
<td>22 Jun 54</td>
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<td>FOLLARD, Rhena</td>
<td>4 Jan 54</td>
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<td>COOPER, Louisa</td>
<td>16 Apr 54</td>
<td>20 Oct 54</td>
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<td>STANLEY, Ellen</td>
<td>16 Apr 54</td>
<td>23 May 54</td>
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<td>VENNS, Ellen</td>
<td>16 Apr 54</td>
<td></td>
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<td>WILKIN, Eliza</td>
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<td>18 Jun 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOLDSBOROUGH, ------</td>
<td>23 May 54</td>
<td>9 Feb 55</td>
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<tr>
<td>TRIM, ----------</td>
<td>18 Jun 54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FISHER, ----------</td>
<td>9 Feb 55</td>
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</tr>
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<td>TANNER, Harriet</td>
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<td>MASON, ----------</td>
<td>15 Jun 56</td>
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<tr>
<td>HYAM, Saran</td>
<td>13 Apr 57</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>LUGG, Mary</td>
<td>13 Apr 57</td>
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</table>
MATTHEWS, Alice 10JUL57

* Indicates that these names have been supplied from the COUTTS letters, and checked from the 1851 Census.
### ANNEX 2

#### CENSUS 1851

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Job</th>
<th>Born</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Georgiana</td>
<td>Head/Widow</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Superintendent</td>
<td>N.K.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moore</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jane</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McCARTNEY</td>
<td>Serv.Widow</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Housekeeper</td>
<td>Hackney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HPLIN</td>
<td>Vis. Un.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>no occupation</td>
<td>N.K.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosina</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Newman</td>
<td>co. Un.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>do. do.</td>
<td>N.K.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lucy</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Barnes</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>do. do.</td>
<td>N.K.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ellen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glynn</td>
<td>co. Un.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>do. do.</td>
<td>Clerkenwell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPENCE</td>
<td>co. Un.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>do. do.</td>
<td>Clerkenwell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.J.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson</td>
<td>co. Un.</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>do. do.</td>
<td>Clerkenwell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dyer (?)</td>
<td>co. Un.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>do. do.</td>
<td>Limehouse</td>
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<td>M.J.</td>
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<td>Tompson</td>
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<td>19</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mx Turnham</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bates</td>
<td>co. Un.</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>do. do.</td>
<td>Green</td>
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</table>
NOTES

* N.K. = NOT KNOWN

Kiplin could be the Miss Templin which CD refers to (25APR50): "I administered a mild dose of dissatisfaction to Miss Templin today. I am afraid she is deceitful."

Both names, unusual in themselves, end in "-plin" and the copying of the Census, as I have shown, was not always accurate, since it is possible that the young women filled in their own returns, and not very well at that.

Emma Spence is identified from the COUTTS letters as Spencer. Wilson is Mary Anne Wilson (letters). Dyer (?) I cannot trace. Tompion should read Matilda J. Thompson (letters). Church is Mary Anne Church (letters).

In the same Census, Householder's Schedule 195 (Urania Cottage was 194) lists the following:

Elizabeth  Head/Widow  75  House Proprietor  Midx
SCOTT  Westminster
Augusta  dau.  U.  45  do.  do.  Midx
SCOTT  Hammersmith
Ferdinand  son  U.  40  do.  do.  do.
SCOTT  Islington
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Job</th>
<th>Born</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Lucy</td>
<td>Head/Widow</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>of &quot;Home&quot;</td>
<td>Chatton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARCHANT (?)</td>
<td>Asst/Widow</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>2nd do.</td>
<td>Hackney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jane</td>
<td>Asst/Widow</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Housek’per Wolverham’n</td>
<td>Stafford</td>
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<tr>
<td>[MAN?] BURY</td>
<td>Inmate Unmar.</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Dom. Serv.</td>
<td>Falmouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clara J.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[Bucks?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BANNISTER</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Cornwall</td>
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<tr>
<td>Annie S.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Higham Cross</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ann</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kate</td>
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<tr>
<td>RUSSELL</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fanny</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAKER</td>
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<td>Town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliza</td>
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<td>France</td>
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<tr>
<td>AKHURST</td>
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<td>N.B.K.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleaner</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Middx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUNN</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Sarah</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Sussex</td>
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<tr>
<td>COOK</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Worthing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Coutts letters bear out the fact that the two Matrons were Lucy Marchmont and Jane McCartney, as the latter's age tallies with evidence in the letters, and the Census of 1851. No Mrs Marchant appears in the letters but Mrs Marchmont was the last Matron appointed.

N.B.K. means probably "No Birthplace Known."

Dunn's first-name may have been as spelled in the Census, but may also have been "Eleanor". Ebbet's name, in full, was likely to have been "Elizabeth", and Jenkins' "Hephzibah".

Jane McCartney appears to have been redesignated as "2nd Superintendent" from "Housekeeper" in the 1851 Census. From evidence in the letters she would seem to have been the longest employed member of staff in the Home. CD obviously found her reliable but not able to accept the full responsibility of the Home, having been appointed in about November 1849.
ANNEX 3

MATRONS/SUPERINTENDENTS AND OTHER STAFF

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date App’t’d</th>
<th>Date Left</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mrs HOLDSWORTH</td>
<td>? October 1847</td>
<td>March 1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs FISHER</td>
<td>November 1847</td>
<td>April 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs GRAVES</td>
<td>April 1848</td>
<td>November 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss CUNLIFFE</td>
<td>May 1848</td>
<td>March 1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs MURSON</td>
<td>March 1848</td>
<td>Feb/April 1854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs FURZE</td>
<td>October 1848</td>
<td>November 1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs McCARTNEY</td>
<td>November 1849</td>
<td>? post-1861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs MARCHMONT</td>
<td>Feb/April 1854</td>
<td>? post-1861</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were three full Matrons/Superintendents:

1847–1849 Mrs Holdsworth, whose deputies were Mrs Fisher and Mrs Graves. Miss Cunliffe acted as a teacher.

1849–1854 Mrs Morson.

1854–186? Mrs Marchmont, with whom and Mrs Morson Mrs McCartney was assistant, in one capacity or another.
The title "Governor" is the one given by Dickens: "You will see that I speak of 'Governors,' for want of a better word." (Letter 3NOV47)

Dr William Brown
George Chesterton, prison governor
Charles Dickens
William T. Dyer
Reverend Edward A. Illingworth, prison chaplain
Sir James Kaye-Shuttleworth
Reverend John Sinclair, Archdeacon of Middlesex
Reverend William Tennant, prison chaplain
Lieutenant Augustus Tracey, prison governor
William Wardley, an agent of Miss Coutts

Most of these men were eminent in their own rights, and it says something for Dickens' powers of persuasion to have had them as governors, even if they did not all attend the monthly committees as regularly as he did himself.
APPENDIX "F"

ARTICLES FROM THE JOURNALS

CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED

From HOUSEHOLD WORDS

A Preliminary word, 30MAR50; 1-2.

Valentine's Day at the Post Office, 30MAR50; 6-12.

The Amusements of the People, 13APR50; 57-60.

Music in Humble Life, 11MAY50; 161-164.

William Wordsworth, 25MAY50; 210-213.

The Great Penal Experiments, 8JUN50; 250-253.

The Devil's Acre, 22JUN50; 297-301.

The Power of Small beginnings, 20JUL50; 407-408.

Health by Act of Parliament, 10AUG50; 460-463.

A Christian Brotherhood, 17AUG50; 489-492.

Chemical Contradictions, 14SEP50; 591-594.

Subscription Lists, 28SEP50; 10-12.

A Great Day for the Doctors, 2NOV50; 137-139.

Mr Bendigo Buster on our National Defences against Education, 28DEC50; 313-317.

The Chemistry of a Pint of Beer, 15FEB51; 498-502.

The Female School of Design, 15MAR51; 577-581.

The Sailors' Home, 22MAR51; 612-615.

A Time for all Things, 22MAR51; 615-617.

Small Beginnings, 5APR51; 41-42.

Free Public Libraries, 19APR51; 80-83.

The Labourer's Reading-room, 13SEP51; 581-585.

Budding Chathams, 27SEP51; 22-24.
The New School for Wives, 10APR52 ; 597-602.
The Wardens of Rye, 20C52 ; 55-60.
The Babbleton Bookclub, 23OCT52 ; 129-135.
Milton's Golden Lane, 6NOV52 ; 181-186.
Another Lung for London, 4DEC52 ; 275-277.
A Foe under Foot, 11DEC52 ; 298-292.
Gentleman Cadet, 9APR53 ; 121-125.
Home for Homeless Women, 23APR53 ; 169-175.
Our Last Parochial War, 21MAY53 ; 265-270.
Idiots, 4JUN53 ; 313-317.
Books for the Blind, 2JUL53 ; 421-425.
A Haunted House, 23JUL53 ; 481-483.
In the Presence of the Sword, 23JUL53 ; 492-498.
Accommodation for Quidnuncs, 24SEP53, 88-91.
Frauds on the Fairies, 10C53 ; 97-100.
The Modern Practice of Physic, 22C53 ; 169-173.
Manchester Men at their Books, 17DEC53 ; 377-379.
Deaf Mutes, 25MAR54 ; 134-138.
Idiots Again, 15APR54 ; 197-200.
The Quiet Poor, 15APR54 ; 201-206.
Blindness, 17JUN54 ; 421-425.
To Working Men, 7OCT54 ; 169-170.
Medical Practice among the Poor, 21OCT54 ; 217-221.
Army Interpreters, 16DEC54 ; 431-432.
The Board of Trade, 3MAR55 ; 101-105.
Frost-bitten Homes, 31MAR55 ; 193-196.
The Toady Tree, 26MAY55 ; 385-387.
The Great Baby, 4AUG55 ; 1-4.
Wild Court Tamed, 25AUG55 ; 85-87.
Music in Poor Neighbourhoods, 8SEP55 ; 137-141.
Day Workers at Home, 9FEB56 ; 77-78.
French and English Staff Officers, 9FEB56 ; 84-88.
Hints for the Self-educated, 28JUN56 ; 575-576.
Two Pence an Hour, 23AUG56 ; 138-140.
The Star of Bethlehem, 15AUG57 ; 145-150.
A School for Cooks, 15AUG57 ; 162-163.
A Piece of Work, 12DEC57 ; 565-568.
Minerva by Gaslight, 18DEC58 ; 58-62.
At Work in the dark, 5MAY59 ; 321-324.
The Cure of Sick Minds, 2APR59 ; 415-419.
Only a Governess, 7MAY59 ; 546-549.
All the Year Round, 28MAY59 ;
A Smock-frock Parliament, 28MAY59 ; 608-609.

From ALL THE YEAR ROUND
The Poor Man and his Beer. 30APR59 ; 13-16.
Aboard the Training-ship, 8OCT59 ; 557-562.
Musical Prize Fight, 12NOV59 ; 65-68.
Our Eye-witness at a Friendly Lead, 10MAY60 ; 472-476.
Deluges, 21APR60 ; 40-47.
Master and Man, 26MAY60 ; 159-163.
Species, 2JUN60 ; 174-178.
Natural Selection, 7JUL60 ; 293-299.
Mr Hullah's Classes, 5JAN61 ; 306-308.
Work for More Volunteers, 25MAY61 ; 208-211.
On the Civil War now Raging in England, 17AUG61 ; 489-492.
Bees of Carlisle, 18JAN62 ; 403-404.

The Best House of Correction, 1MAR62 ; 537-540.

Working Men's Clubs, 26MAR64 ; 149-154.

Friendly or Unfriendly ? 9APR64 : 202-204.

The Poor Man and his own Master, 16JUL64 ; 535-540.

Happy Idiots, 23JUL64 ; 564-569.

Industrial Exhibitions, 14JAN65 ; 535-538.

Poor Men's Annuities, 1APR65 ; 225-229.

Food for Powder, 26MAY65 ; 400-403.

Court, ball, Powder, and Evening, 10FEB66 ; 109-112.

Reading Made Easy, 1SEP66 ; 176-179.

M.D. 8DEC66 ; 514-516.

The Working Man, 8JUN67 ; 565-570.

Cogers, 15FEB68 ; 232-234.

The Rochdale Twenty-eight, 29FEB68 ; 274-276.

English Eyes on French Work, 23MAY68 ; 560-565.

Farm and College, 10OCT68 ; 414-421.

New Uncommercial Samples, N.S. 30OCT69 ; 517-521.

A Woman's Right's Convention, N.S. 19DEC69 ; 517-521.

Lectures for Ladies, N.S. 13NOV69 ; 566-569.

Mr Gomm on the Poor, N.S. 18DEC69 ; 56-60.

Blind Leaders of the Blind, N.S. 7MAY70 ; 550-552.