ADULT EDUCATION AND THE IMPERATIVE TO CONTROL

A study of the sources, characteristics and the exercise of power and control in adult education enterprises in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: with special reference to the county of Surrey

A thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Surrey for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

IN TWO VOLUMES

by

James Jeffrey Robinson

Department of Educational Studies
University of Surrey
Guildford

1985
I wish to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Dr P Jarvis, for his guidance and encouragement during the course of this work. I would also like to thank Dr A F Chadwick for his interest and valuable advice.

I am also grateful to the staff of the Surrey County Council Library Service, of the Guildford Institute of the University of Surrey, the Haslemere Educational Museum, and of the Egham and Farnham museums. I also extend my thanks to those persons, too numerous to mention individually, who shared my enthusiasm and who brought valuable sources of evidence to my notice.

Lastly, my thanks are due to Margaret and Sarah for their patience and support.
A study of the sources, characteristics and the exercise of power and control in adult education enterprises in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: with special reference to the county of Surrey

Acknowledgements i
Table of Contents ii
Preface vii
Introduction ix

PART ONE LOCATING THE ENQUIRY x

CHAPTER I
Adult Education and the working class in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: some fundamental issues 1

CHAPTER II
Concepts of Power 60

CHAPTER III
Methodology and Sources of Data 126

NOTES and References to PART ONE 140
# PART TWO  THE THEORY

## CHAPTER IV  THE PROVISION

1. Adult Education from above 166
2. Adult Education from below 179

## CHAPTER V  THE STRATEGIES

1. The labelling of mental abilities: the mind of the working class 237
2. The labelling of people: class differences 253
3. The apparatuses of power and control 273
   (a) the curriculum 276
   (b) transmission: the pedagogues 315

Notes and references to PART TWO 326

# PART THREE  A RETURN TO CONCEPTS

## CHAPTER VI

Summary discussion and conclusions 359

Notes and references to PART THREE 411
PART FOUR APPENDICES

Preface

Contents

1 The Data: Adult Education in Surrey (Map)
   i In the context of Surrey
   ii The Surrey Institutions
   iii Science, Art, and Technical Instruction: The Surrey Prospectus

NOTES and references to THE DATA

3 Buildings used by Surrey institutions
   a) Kingston Mechanics' Institution
   b) Richmond Mechanics' Institution
   c) Farnham Working Mens' Institute
   d) Farnham Institute
   e) Godalming British School
   f) Godalming Old Town Hall
   g) Godalming Technical Institute and School of Art
   h) Guildford Public Hall: Guildford Institute
   i) Guildford Working Mens' Institution
   j) Cranleigh National School
   k) Cranleigh The Peake Institute
   l) Reigate Public Hall
   m) Redhill Town Hall
   n) Dorking, Chart Lane Institute
   o) Sutton Congregational Church, Benhill Street
   p) Sutton Public Hall
   q) Sutton Adult School
   r) Chertsey, Steer's Bakery
   s) Egham Literary and Scientific Institution
   t) Epsom Technical Institute and School of Art

4 Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution: Minute of letter received from the projectors of a Mechanics' Institute, 23 November 1843

5 Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution: Reply to the projectors of a Mechanics' Institute, 28 November 1843

6 Reigate Mechanics' Institute: Reading Room Regulations
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Location/Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>Reigate Mechanics' Institute: Advertisement for Reading Room</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172</td>
<td>Richmond Mechanics' Institution: Advertisement appealing for donations towards financing new building for the Institute</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173</td>
<td>Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution: Rules and Regulations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174</td>
<td>Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution: Terms of Membership</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>Epsom Literary and Scientific society, Presidents and Secretaries 1898 -</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>176</td>
<td>Class arrangements, Lectures, and Entertainments held at Surrey institutions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177</td>
<td>Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution: Class Arrangements 1858</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178</td>
<td>Richmond Mechanics' Institute, Lectures 1838 - 1844</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179</td>
<td>Reigate Mechanics' Institute, Lectures 1844 - 1848</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>Kingston Literary and Scientific Institution, Lectures 1839 - 1841</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>Guildford Mechanics' Institution, Lectures 1840 - 1841</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>Guildford Mechanics' Institution, Lectures by General Bratish 1842</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182</td>
<td>Reigate Mechanics' Institution, Lectures by John Humffreys Parry 1844</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182</td>
<td>Reigate Mechanics' Institution, Lecture by Walter Rowton 1866</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>Godalming Mechanics' Institute, Lectures 1836 - 1843</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>Godalming Institute, Lecture/entertainment programme 1860 - 1861</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution, Conversazione 1860</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>Epsom and Ewell Literary and Scientific Institution, Lectures 1862</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>Farnham Working Mens' Institution, Lectures 1863 - 1864</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
n) Reigate Mechanics' Institution, Lecture/entertainment programme 1872 - 1873
o) Farnham Working Mens' Institute, Lecture/entertainment programme 1885
p) Farnham Institute, Lectures 1896 - 1897
q) Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution, Lectures and Entertainments 1918
r) Egham Literary and Scientific Institution, Lecture/entertainment programme 1901
s) Egham Technical Institute, Curriculum 1896 - 1912

13.1 Summary of Libraries in the County of Surrey
13.2 Books, journals and newspapers in the libraries of Surrey institutions
a) Godalming Mechanics' Institute 1836 - 1843
b) Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution 1838-1839
c) Richmond Mechanics' Institute 1838 - 1846
d) Cranley Literary and Scientific Institution 1849 -1873
e) Reigate Mechanics' Institution 1844
f) Chertsey Parish Library 1857
g) Chertsey Literary and Scientific Institution 1872
h) Egham Literary and Scientific Institution 1880
i) Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution: Notice of the Annual Meeting of Members and Subscribers of the Institution held in the Old School of Art Room on Wednesday 19 November, relating to the auction of the Institution's magazines, periodicals, and newspapers, 1905

14 Letter from the Manpower Services Commission to Waverley Adult Education Institute 22 November 1982
15 Terms of Employment of the Curator of Egham Literary and Scientific Institution 1890

BIBLIOGRAPHY
A purpose of historical sociology is to search out universal patterns within a historical perspective. The almost universal concern of the Victorian governing classes with the question of social control and the problem of order suggests such a pattern.

This study seeks to direct new evidence towards confirming or denying the validity of this, by examining the exercise of power in nineteenth and early twentieth century adult education. Thus the discontinuities which determine the historical period under investigation coincide with the acceleration of working-class political demands at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and with the promise of a 'new beginning' heralded by the Final Report (Adult Education Committee) of the Ministry of Reconstruction, at the beginning of the twentieth.

A great deal of history is written 'from above', i.e., from the standpoint of those who have had the charge of running or influencing the educational activities of other people. To counter this tendency, insights and data emanating 'from below' are, where possible, set against insights and data emanating 'from above', in order to generate a more general theory and in order to delimit the boundaries of existing theory.
Hitherto, attention has mainly concentrated on studies of adult education institutions in the northern counties of England; particularly Lancashire and Yorkshire. They are rich sources of evidence, and represent the existing caucus of theory. However, adult education in the southern counties was developing apace in the nineteenth century. A particular relevance of this study is therefore that it is supported by hitherto unrevealed and unresearched data from the county of Surrey; data which reinforce or otherwise qualify those general conclusions drawn from previous studies.
INTRODUCTION

The manner in which the text of this study is presented is a consequence of the research itself. This is to say that it is the result of an evolutionary process. At the beginning, no hypotheses were stated and no logico-deductive strategy employed to explain data in terms of existing theory. Any theory arrived at would be generated from the data. It is therefore not surprising that the final shape of the study is very largely imposed by the data and is thus a contribution to theory.

PART ONE consists of three chapters establishing the context and locating the enquiry. Chapter I gives a brief description of the context within which nineteenth century adult education enterprises developed. A number of issues are raised together with a number of instances of the exercise of power and what appear to be consistent strategies of social control. These are left undeveloped until they can be dealt with more appropriately in the chapters which follow. Thus this chapter establishes the discontinuities and the parameters of the study. Chapter II is concerned with a summary of principles and concepts of power. Since there is a lack of agreement and considerable ambiguity in the use of power terms, it would be irksome if not confusing to define power terms on each occasion they are used. This discussion also locates the phenomena of power relations in a historical perspective. The chapter concludes with a model of power against which the
Chapter III is devoted to an outline of the methodology employed in approaching the subject of study and to a discussion of the sources of relevant data.

PART TWO develops the theory and enlarges upon the categories of power which began to emerge in Chapter I. Thus Section i, describes ways in which the mental abilities of the different social orders were characterised, and how such labelling was an important and effective strategy of social control. Similarly, in Section ii, discussion is devoted to the labelling of people into social classes resembling what was believed by many to be a 'natural order'; an important strategy which sought to legitimate and maintain the prevailing social order. Section iii, is devoted to a discussion of the apparatuses of power and control through the content and transmission of knowledge and through a number of other ideological state apparatuses.

PART THREE marks a return to the concepts and power terms introduced in Chapter II, and discusses a number of conclusions drawn from this study regarding the sources and exercise of power and control in adult education in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

PART FOUR is devoted to Appendices, and consists entirely of the data, the greater proportion of which is derived from hitherto unrevealed, and for the most part, unresearched sources in the county of Surrey. Section i, establishes the necessary foundation for any educational enterprise that might exist in a largely rural county; being a description of the social context. Section ii, describes and examines initiatives derived from above; this is to say, designed for the people: the Mechanics' and similar institutions. Section iii, similarly describes those initiatives derived from below; designed by the people, and includes the mutual improvement societies and similar ventures. Section iv, is an evaluation of those
educational enterprises which, from the latter part of the nineteenth century, were, to a greater extent than hitherto, independent of Church and philanthropy; indeed were funded by the State. This very largely concerns the establishment of Technical Institutes and Schools of Art, and the beginnings of technical education.

A number of additional Appendices and a Bibliography complete this volume.
CHAPTER ONE

Adult Education and the Working Class in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries: some Fundamental Issues.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. religious and philanthropic bodies,</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. the Mechanics' Institutes and the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii. social and political agitation, expressed through the Chartist movement and the Owenite and Chartist Halls,</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv. the universities</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. the new institutions and movements</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi. the State</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PART ONE

CHAPTER ONE

ADULT EDUCATION AND THE WORKING CLASS IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES. SOME FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES

Introduction

The history of the last two centuries of education has been well documented and indeed the richness and continuity of documentation is one of the key facts about English education. Precisely because it is well documented it has also been the subject of much research. Despite this, most histories have demonstrated two main features. The first is that studies have tended to look at education in isolation; have looked at the contributions of great educators, of great men, of particular institutions. The second is that the history of education is often written from above; from the point of view of those same great educators or great men. To quote Samuel:

'It is remarkable how much history has been written from the vantage point of those who have had the charge of running - or attempting to run - other people's lives, and how little from the real-life experience of people themselves. The history of education is a prime example. It is either a history of great headmasters or reformers, or else about organisational change. The student is expected to memorise (for examination purposes) the more controversial clauses of the different Education Acts, to summarise the findings and recommendations of various Royal Commissions and to set education in a 'wider context' of denominational rivalries and party politics. He does not need to know much about the children - where they sat, what they learnt, how they were disciplined (or bribed) into obedience; nor will he be invited to inquire into the wider context in which the child itself experienced - the interplay of family, work and home, or the way in which schooling helped to teach behaviour and inculcate sex and class roles.' (1)
There is no doubt some value in these approaches since they provide some attempt at coherence in a country distinguished for its haphazard and uneven education provision. Nevertheless, such provision must be considered in relation to the political, social and economic structures prevailing at the time. Concern must be to, '...rescue real men and women who have been shrunk by historians into the bloodless units of a generalization, or have become the ugly depersonalised charicatures of partisan legend or modern prejudice.' (2) When this is done, and the evidence reappraised, a number of persistent features are revealed. The present study is concerned to explicate one of these features: the use of power; the intended as well as the unintended consequences of power. This concept is seen, not just as power exercised in its observable, behaviourable, form but in subtle, non-behaviourable forms such as that exercised when doing nothing at all; by maintaining the statuo quo by inaction.

The history of education has included then a history of ideas, or its administration, the history of great men, or of practical philanthropy. Sometimes indeed an, often paternalistic, identification with the indigenous efforts of working class enterprise or at least, as in the case of the Hammonds, a willingness to moralise history and to arrange materials too much in terms of 'outraged emotion.' (3)

This is at the heart of the debate concerning history and Historical Sociology and has led to D G MacRae's claim that 'sociology is history with the hard work left out: history is sociology with the brains left out.' (4) Though few historians
nowadays believe that their task is merely to relate events, their task is distinct from that of the sociologist in that the language of history is written in ordinary everyday language. It does not generally obscure narrative with technical jargon or the manipulation of concepts. This is a concern of Holloway, who argues:

'People in their everyday life assume, without being aware of the fact, that they already know the laws of human behaviour and social interaction. They do not hesitate to offer explanations.....nor do they refrain from enumerating the cause of racial tension, of industrial conflict.....They do not stop for a moment to consider that these questions might be problems for investigation for social scientists.' (5)

There is however force in Marwick's defence of the historian 'in earnest and laboured pursuit of the insignificant:

'Their puny labours are made to seem positively significant compared with certain social science projects where vast statistical resources are brought into play in the interest of re-stating the obvious in the most obscure fashion possible.' (6)

The purposes of historical sociology must be therefore to search out universal patterns, and laws of human behaviour within the context of a historical perspective. The history of education, and in particular the history of adult education, has not, in the main, been concerned to do this.

By way of exception, it has been powerfully argued that many of the social movements and reforms in the nineteenth century were attempts at persuading the working classes of the essential 'natural order' of society; of the legitimate right of the ruling class to
control its social, political and economic institutions. (Price 1971) Certainly, the middle classes feared, "... an uneducated, drunken, unrefined working class coming to dominate through natural political progress, the centres of power". (7)

An alternative is the absorption of potential threats to the centres of power. For Vilfredo Pareto, a ruling elite, whether based on force or cunning, whether 'lions' or 'foxes', must eventually become decadent and therefore vulnerable. In this condition the status quo can best be served by absorbing potential threats to its maintenance. (8) While, for Marx, "... the more a ruling class is able to assimilate the most prominent men of the dominated classes the more stable and dangerous is the rule." (9) The persistence of this notion is echoed in Freire's fundamental characteristic of anti-dialogical action, 'cultural invasion':

'In this phenomenon, the invaders penetrate the cultural context of another group, and ignoring the potential of the latter, they impose their own view of the world upon those they invade and inhibit the creativity of the invaded by curbing their expression.' (10)

Thus, direct conflict can be avoided by the 'absorption' or 'cooptation' of potential threats from the dominated class. In this respect it has been argued that:

'The elite that has displayed most virtuosity in the absorption of potential revolutionaries is the English elite, which for several centuries has opened its doors to the most gifted of those who were not born into the privileged class.' (11)

Despite this, universal patterns in the main have not been sought, and even in the foregoing examples the emphasis is to infer the motives of those in positions above. Very little attention has been paid to the perspective from below. Much of the evidence from
working class sources, if it is forthcoming at all, is too often culled from a superior working class or literary competent artisan culture.

Adult Schools, the Chartists Halls, the Mechanics Institutes, University Tutorial Classes and the Workers Educational Association have each been documented as significant contributors to the development of Adult Education.

The possibility that, in the context of working class adult education, they have very largely failed, or the extent to which their founding ideologies have been 'invaded', 'coopted' or attenuated to a degree that, distinct from indigenous working class effort, has helped to legitimate existing power structures, is rarely conceded. Price has argued, for example, that the Working Mens Club Movement was:

'.....a very clear attempt to intrude upon working class society and culture and to impose the accepted value system of respectable society; and in this respect it was a clear consequence of the fear, latent or otherwise, in which the masses were held by the middle and the upper classes. For it was no accident that aristocrats, industrialists, clergymen were all jointly involved in propagating the movement and in trying to impose its ideology upon the working class.' (12)

It will be argued that this is also true of the Adult Schools and, in particular, the Mechanics Institutes and later of those institutions which cluster round the ideologies of the Settlement movement. It is not suggested that pity or a stirring of conscience was absent from any of these enterprises. Despite her loyalty to King, country and the established church and thus her
commitment to educating 'each according to his place' Hannah More was in no doubt sincere:

'I have devoted the remnants of my life to the poor, and to those that have no helper; and if I can do them little good, I can at least sympathise with them, and I know it is some comfort for the forlorn creature to be able to say, "There is somebody who cares for me." That simple idea of being cared for has always appeared to me a very cheering one.' (13)

Such was the climate of thought at the end of the eighteenth century. The ruling classes did not see the need to change society, and it is equally true that the social remedies of the later nineteenth century philanthropists and humanitarians were, in the main, palliative. In recording the work of the Strutt family of Derbyshire, Chadwick claims 'that the Strutts were genuinely concerned for the emancipation of the working classes was not in question:'

'Certainly they were inspired by the idea of Benthamite social justice, as witnessed by Joseph Strutt's hope that the better educated work people would ultimately become enfranchised, and thus take a part in Britain's affairs.' (14)

Thus, no less than in the case of Hannah More, is practical action prompted by an unquiet conscience. However, even here, working class emancipation was constrained within a narrow latitude of acceptance - well within the confines of the prevailing climate of thought. Thus it might be said that any hardening of attitudes towards the working classes were the unintended consequences of humanitarian action. Writing of the eighteenth century 'age of benevolence' Jones observes, that '...it was beyond the range of their mentality to concede that the
poor were poor because society was an ill-regulated machines, or that the body politic was, as a whole, responsible for the disease which attacked it.' (15) This is equally true of the nineteenth century. However, the injunction to 'forgive them for they know not what they do' cannot be applied in mitigation since concern must be with outcomes; with the consequences as well as the intentions: with effect as well as cause. This does not exclude Kitson Clark's instruction to '....try to understand the emotions, the irrational feelings, the prejudices, the experiences which form men's minds.' (16)

Many worthy books and articles supplement the language of words with the language of symbols and of photographs. They are no doubt intended to widen perception by bringing other senses into play. Typically, there are early photographs of benefactors, clergymen and politicians, together with the occasional representative of the 'struggling masses' - usually chosen to illustrate the extreme. And so often do these grim expressions peer up from the dead pages to be variously interpreted depending on the observer's degree of empathy. These must be viewed with caution however, for, without a footnote it would be hard at times to tell the 'heroes' from the 'villains.' Furthermore, standards of beauty, taste and fashion can alienate the contemporary observer. Photographs and drawings of working class homes and environment might actually distance one's understanding because the relative nature of deprivation dulls a perception of the evidence under scrutiny. The utterances, the performance of these nineteenth
century actors cannot be adequately understood other than against the background of contemporary wisdom; against the contemporary fabric of beliefs and the evolution of social systems and processes. They cannot be understood if divorced from the homeostatic or compensatory adjustments made by society in order to counter threats to the status quo.

Therefore, in approaching this study, an attempt will be made to 'rescue real men and women' and to give credence to their perceptions and everyday descriptions of their environment. More specifically, attention will be focused on the founding ideologies of adult education enterprise and upon their gradual attenuation. Particular attention will be paid to the rival power bases between Church and State and the rival power bases within Church and State, and thus the exploitation of religion and education as Ideological, in contrast to 'Repressive', State Apparatuses of social control. (17)

In order to locate this enquiry and thus facilitate further discussion, it will be necessary at the outset to give a brief description of the context of the nineteenth and twentieth century adult education movements. This will in no way trivialise the enquiry since a deeper understanding will emerge as the evidence is explicated in the chapters that follow.

This description will lead to the identification of six main initiatives in providing education for the adult working class:
religious and philanthropic bodies,
the Mechanics Institutes and the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge,
social and political agitation,
expressed through the Chartist movement and the Owenite and Chartist Halls,
the universities,
the new institutions and movements,
the State.

Though attention will be focused on the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this introduction must at times stray into the closing years of the eighteenth century.

Religious and Philanthropic Bodies: providing Moral Rescue

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries mark the transition from a widely held belief in a pre-ordained natural order in society and relations within society to one in which the energies of the working classes, fuelled by an increasing consciousness of themselves as a class, were directed against the status quo, against the conventional wisdom, and towards seeking to establish alternative institutions of power and control.*

*Particular attention to definitions of social classes is given in Chapter IV, Section ii. At this point it is sufficient to note that when the term 'working class' is used it refers to that section of men and women who feel and articulate an identity of interests as between themselves. The term 'working classes' is used in acknowledgement that people in the nineteenth century recognised certain sub-categories within the working class as a whole.
This slow, often fretful, metamorphosis of English society is the binding element of this period of history and forms the background against which the behaviour of individuals can most justly be analysed. The beginning of the nineteenth century is characterised by a radical awakening of the working class resulting from an increase in urbanisation and in the population generally and partly as a result of the quickening pace of the industrial revolution following the social and economic legacy of the Napoleonic wars. Though some doubt has been expressed regarding causal links between the increase in industrialisation and the educational expansion (Johnson 1975) the hypothesis that the industrial revolution brought about, in the first half of the nineteenth century, educational stagnation which in turn led to a slowdown in industrial production towards the end of the century, has been vigorously refuted by West (1975). What is, however, undeniable is that the demand for education, seen as a means of political and economic emancipation, became more energetic. (Simon 1977). Any attempts at educational reform however had to overcome two widely-held fears. The first was that attempts to educate the working class might lead to their becoming dissatisfied with that station in life ordained for them.* This attitude is well represented in the literature (18) and so two contrasting examples will be sufficient illustration. Davies Giddy, President of the Royal Society and great patron of scientific enterprise is often quoted thus:

"However specious in theory the project might be, of giving education to the labouring classes of the poor, it would in effect be found to be prejudicial to their morals and

* For the second of these fears, refer to page 13
happiness; it would teach them to despise their lot in life, instead of making them good servants in agriculture, and other laborious employments to which their rank in society had destined them....' (19)

Not only would education unfit the working classes generally for their destined station in life but, in the case of women, would unfit them for their particular role. A writer complaining of the 'vanity and profligacy of domestic servants' remarked:

'.....young women are monstrously over-educated for their stations, to the neglect of homely and useful acquirements and to their disgust for the plain paths of duty.' (20)

A propensity for all sensual pursuits, immorality, vice, improvidence, crime, drunkenness was seen, even by the most sympathetic nineteenth century observer, as typifying the working classes. Though there were some who considered that this was due to the conditions of life of the working classes and therefore improvable (21) there were others who saw in this the undeniable consequence for those destined to the base of the social hierarchy: natural, and therefore unimprovable. Political and social unrest fed the appetites of the upper and middle classes for establishing social discipline among the poor who were to be:

'.....found each Saturday night, in these dens of iniquity, with pale and haggard cheeks, applauding and licentious.....plotting the next strike, divising some new means of intimidation or aggression against the resisting or industrious.....and, after a stale and filthy debauch of two or three successive nights, with all that is degraded and sensual, in the lowest sties of a manufacturing metropolis, returning, with sleepless eyes, on Monday morning, to his work.' (22)
An extreme example perhaps but not unique. It was this type to which T H Huxley was alluding when he remarked:

'I have seen the Polynesian savage in his primitive condition before the missionary or the blackbirder or the beechcomber got at him. With all his savagery he was not half so savage, so unclean, so irreclaimable as the tenant of a tenament in an East London slum.' (23)

To what extent these typifications were legitimations for the existing social order and therefore a licence to control, will be further discussed in a later chapter, as will the related concept of 'class-cultural control' suggested by Johnson. (1976)

Significantly, to champion the cause of education for the working classes was a prerogative of the middle class. Furthermore, these latter were a class who sought to live in conformity with Christian teaching; 'at once puritan and middle class in character.' (24) It is easy to be persuaded, from the voluminous writing of such people, that they were sincere for, with poverty on the one hand and affluence on the other, the social inequalities were accepted as the will of God. And there is, ever present, the danger of interpreting nineteenth century attitudes in the light of contemporary wisdom.

Again, speaking of the 'age of benevolence', Jones says,

'That the well-being of the State and the happiness of individuals were bound up with the injunction that men should do their duty in the station of life to which they were called, was a well-trenched belief, peculiarly apposite to the poor, but it was not, on that account, lacking in sympathy or social compunction.' (25)

Despite his enormous contribution to English education, no less to adult education, even T H Huxley was to write:

'To take a young man of capacity from what is toilsome and disagreeable, and is sometimes regarded as lowering in status,
and to give him a high education would accustom him to a
different set of social conditions, and he would not ordinarily
be content to return to his former occupation.' (26)

A certain ambiguity was not uncommon though it is fair to say that
Huxley, in pointing out the consequences of educating the working
class, is not necessarily commenting on its de-merits.

The second fear to which reference was made was that
education might lead to working class resistance and challenge, so
threatening the existing authority structure. Of course both fears
share a common heritage and indeed became more acute as the century
progressed and the need to facilitate industrial progress intensified. Given that the working class was characterised as
'morally and intellectually indisciplined', 'given to licentious
display' and 'ungovernable behaviour' the task of education was seen
as moral rescue: the outcome of which would be the re-assertion of
order and control. Thus, concern for the plight of the working
class was not a concern for their material poverty so much as for
their spiritual poverty; a spiritual poverty which predisposed
social disorder. It could of course be ameliorated through the
'right kind' of education - and religious education was the right
kind. Religious education was therefore of the greatest social
importance. Religious education, wrote Daniel Wilson, '.....is the
spring of public tranquility.....communicates the elements of a
cheerful and uniform subjection to all lawful authority.' (27) At
least three conclusions can thus be drawn regarding middle class
attitudes to the working classes (28), attitudes shared by those
who declared a belief in popular education and by those who opposed it. First, because they had 'never felt the value of labour... or the pleasure of thinking' (29) and because they were occupied so much with labour, the working classes filled their leisure hours with debauchery, drunkeness and other sensual pursuits. Indeed Henry Solly, who founded the Working Mens' Club and Institute Union in 1862, believed that the main cause of the depressing conditions of the working people was moral failing and in particular their inclination to drunkenness. (30) This was so powerful a concern that, even today, many Working Mens' Clubs have rules against excessive drinking. This labelling of a whole class of people; this ascribing of particular mental abilities and sensuous propensities was a powerful control strategy and deserves the fuller attention it will be paid in a later chapter. Its persuasiveness derived from the fact that the observed behaviour seemed to confirm the theory. (see pp 237-252.)

Often, those most in favour of establishing educational enterprises for the working man believed that, through such enterprises, he would be weaned from the public houses:

'...his habits will become changed, he will then prefer home to tippling in a public house, frequently resorted to for relief from the fatigues of labour, and because an active mind is always restless after pursuit.' (31)

Secondly, the working classes were themselves conditioned to accept that social hierarchy which the middle classes took as an
undeniable truth. Gradually this conditioning lost its force with the birth and development of a new class-based society. This birth can be seen as a process by which the whole society itself generated new vertical economic conflicts powerful enough not only to burst through the old bonds of patronage and dependency but to replace the old structure of relationships with a new.' (32)

Thirdly, the philanthropic and benevolent middle class view of working-class culture carried notions of deficit, lending credence to the philosophy of Locke's 'tabula rasa' (33), by whom they were greatly influenced, and as exemplified in Arnold's 'the best that has been thought and said in the world.' (34)

This attitude is all the more potent if one considers that once those with the power to control, ie the nineteenth-century 'middling classes', labelled another section (in this case the working classes) as culturally deprived 'the spontaneous realisation of their culture, its images and symbolic representations, are of reduced value and significance.' (36) The question then arises as to whether labelling the behaviour of members of a group or society as deviant leads to social control, (37) or whether social control leads to deviant forms of behaviour. (38) This is a particularly important aspect and one which will be developed later. (pp245-251)

One might ask, to what extent did the working classes collaborate with the 'middling classes' and with the churches in acquiring forms of education.
The influence of Methodism is important here even if, as Thompson argues, '.....the picture of the fellowship of the Methodists which is commonly presented is too euphoric.....has been emphasised to the point where all other characteristics of the Church have been forgotten.' (39) Its importance and hence its attraction for working people lay in three directions. First, it offered consolation in their distress and offered salvation in the afterlife. Secondly, through its meetings, its classes, its Sunday Schools it attracted men and women with gifts of oratory and leadership and gave education and training which was beneficial in leading working class organisations, trade unions and suchlike.

Thirdly, as Thompson concedes,

'It remains true and important that Methodism, with its open doors, did offer to the uprooted and abandoned people of the Industrial Revolution some kind of community to replace the older community-patterns which were being displaced. As an unestablished (though un-democratic) Church there was a sense in which working people could make it their own; and the more closely knit the community in which Methodism took root (the mining, fishing or weaving village) the more this was so.' (40)

A discussion of whether the working classes were largely opportunistic and made use of Methodism or whether Methodism made use of the working classes will be deferred. (see pp 450-453) The Hammonds were in no doubt,

'The teaching of Methodism was unfavourable to working-class movements; its leaders were hostile and its ideals perhaps increasingly hostile.....' (41)

It seems probable that, since the Methodist class meeting developed a less ritualistic style combining oratory and singing at a level easily accommodated by the working classes, such an organisation was more acceptable to them than the discipline and the parochial system of the established Church. As Kitson Clark
observes, 'The mass of the people would in all probability only be moved by men imbued with strong missionary zeal who would act in ways that were profoundly shocking to men not equally inspired.' (42) This approach was what was going to penetrate the 'savagery and ignorance of the neglected and indifferent.' (43)

The Hammonds were in fact bound to concede:

'.....by the life and energy and awakening that it brought to this oppressed society it must, in spite of itself, have made many men better citizens, and some even better rebels.' (44)

The Adult School Movement, an offshoot of the Sunday Schools, and often quoted as the first big experiment in working class adult education, (Pole 1814) was set up originally and characteristically as an 'Institution for Instructing Adult Persons to read the Holy Scriptures.' And even as late as 1887 a commentator on the educational scene at Kingston-upon-Thames maintained:

'Since the passing of the Elementary Education Act these schools may be said to have acquired even greater importance, as the only certain channel of conveying religious instruction to the children of the poor.' (45)

The Adult Schools eventually began to teach writing, and by the late 1840s had extended the curriculum to include other books and other subjects. (46) It is however important to note that there is no convincing evidence that these movements were the result of popular demand for religious teaching: nor that the people they addressed felt themselves to be spiritually deprived and in need of
that brand of moral salvation dispensed by the churches and chapels. Pickering in re-examining Horace Mann's interpretation of the Religious Census of 1851, (47) found that though Mann's attendance figures were an underestimate and furthermore favoured the Church of England, nevertheless they could only account for 35% attendance at church of the total population; equally divided between Anglicans and Nonconformists, with Roman Catholics accounting for about 4%. (48) It is therefore of interest that many of those attending Adult Schools ceased to do so when they had acquired sufficient familiarity with reading and writing. In consequence, it is no coincidence that the influence of the Adult Schools declined as elementary education became more generally available later in the century. (49) Indeed there is evidence that the population as a whole, and the working class in particular, showed very little enthusiasm for official Christianity or churchgoing, or reading the Bible. For instance, a survey reported in the *Philanthropist* (1812) reveals that 20% of those interviewed had no Christian beliefs at all, and 50% had no bible.

The counter-offensive mounted against the "moral and vile corruption of the unstamped press" by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and perhaps more obviously by the Religious Tract Society goes some way to confirming that the situation did not much improve as the century progressed. Webb records that despite efforts to give away religious tracts by buying up hawkers' "vile publications" or distributing their own tracts in their thousands at public executions that many of them were used,
unread, to light fires or for even baser domestic purposes. (50) Martin notes that in the second half of the nineteenth century there existed mass alienation in the slums and he suggests that this is derived '.....simply and almost immediately from the urban structure consequent on large scale urbanisation.' (51) The writer, Mrs Humphry Ward, whose credentials as a social investigator are attested to by Beatrice Webb observed the position in 1889 thus:

'Upon the genuine London artisan the Church has practically no hold whatever; and Dissent has nothing like the hold which it has on similar material in the great towns of the North. Towards religion in general the prevailing attitude is one of indifference tinged with hostility. 'Eight Hundred thousand people in South London, of whom the enormous proportion belong to the working class, and among them, Church and Dissent nowhere - Christianity not in possession. Such is the estimate of an Evangelical of our day; and similar laments come from all parts of the capital.....Religion has been on the whole irrationally presented to him, and the result on his part has been an irrational breach with the whole moral and religious order of ideas.' (52)

Her conclusion as to the cause differs somewhat from Martin: at least as it applies to those living in and around London. The Londoner, she observes, is more conceited and prejudiced and more given over to crude theorising. He is sharp enough to see through the contradictions of popular religion and his life supplies him with excitement enough without the stimulants of 'other-worldliness. (53)

If by way of a summary, those initiatives described above are labelled 'religious and philanthropic' and 'benevolently conferred' at least two features can be identified. The first is that in
providing education for adults the curriculum was defined for them; and at the root of its prescriptive formula of moral rescue was the imperative to control. (see pp278-325) The second is that education was becoming one of the main areas of conflict within which the working classes struggled for their right to education and consequent social and economic emancipation. There is mounting evidence that these movements were a response to demands from the working class becoming conscious of itself as a class. (54) This resulted, as Williams has observed in a new kind of class-determined education resulting from, 'a process of change from a system of social orders, based on localities, to a system of social classes. (55)

It is appropriate to look further at some of these 'benevolently conferred' approaches to the education of the working classes. Curtis and Boultwood advise that 'Adult education in the modern sense did not exist in this country until the early years of the last century.' (56) They go on to emphasise that before 1800 there were three interesting, isolated experiments in adult education. The first was the establishment of a system of circulating schools in Wales. (57) The second was the foundation of the Birmingham Sunday Society in 1789, associated with Robert Raikes. And the third, with the foundation of the 'first adult school at Nottingham' in 1798. (58) However, there is evidence that in Wales as early as 1739 'in some of the day schools as many as two thirds of the scholars were adults, 'many above Fifty, and some above Sixty, and even Seventy years of age' who learned to read sitting side by side with their children and grandchildren.'
These schools were the initiative of the Circulating Charity Schools. This phenomenon was not entirely unknown in England and at West Horsley in Surrey as late as 1861 a school was built by the rector who directed that it should be:

'.....for the education of children and adults or children only of the labouring manufacturing and other poorer classes.....according to the principles of the Church of England.' (60)

Generally however, in England, though the charity school movement intended to extend its work to adults it in fact rarely did so, restricting its activities instead to issuing religious tracts and pamphlets. Indeed a recent view casts doubt on the influence of the Charity School Movement on education provision claiming that, '.....research, on a local and regional basis, has shown that "elementary" schools, sometimes under popular control were relatively widespread in the early 17th century, long before the Charity School Movement got under way.' (61) There were also 'benevolently bestowed' Schools of Industry, which were not unlike Charity Schools and what Johnson has described as a 'kind of workhouse for children.' What is clear, in respect to this and similar movements, is that there were growing demands from the working classes for education and it was such that they were quite prepared to suffer the scriptural bias of the curriculum if it opened the way to literacy.

It will be shown however that their efforts were relatively unsuccessful, were attenuated, or were subject to cooptation by the middle classes, thus robbing them of their power. (62) The Mechanics' Institutes had initially a greater success because they were a creation of the middle class. As will be shown, the outcomes were very much the same.
At the start of the nineteenth century there had been little opportunity for higher education for the working classes and there is a tradition that traces its beginnings to the activities of Dr Birkbeck, resulting in the formation of the Glasgow Mechanics Institute. (63)

The Mechanics Institute movement, perhaps the most significant educational enterprise of the nineteenth century, soon spread to all parts of the country. No matter how attenuated, or indeed adulterated the movement eventually became, at least superficially, the fundamental aim remained the same. Thus in 1823:

'The instruction of the members in the principles of the arts they practice or in the various branches of science and useful knowledge connected therewith.' (64)

Though it must be said that this aim was interpreted by different people in many different ways. For instance, eleven years later, the stated aim of the Guildford Institute was 'for the promotion of useful knowledge among the working classes.' (65) And in Cranleigh, fifteen years later still:

'.....a society should be formed, having for its object the promotion and diffusion of a knowledge of Arts, Science and Literature by means of a library and lectures.' (66)
There were, however, other and older expressions of working class intent. Hudson refers to the many groups of 'knowledge hungry' adults who met informally whenever and wherever they could for the purpose of study and debate. Evidence has also revealed that there were many educational initiatives indigenous to the working class in the eighteenth century. (67) The Mechanics Institutes were nevertheless an important development in the provision of adult education - though it has been powerfully argued that the founders inherited intentions of social control and moral rescue similar to those that had motivated the philanthropic movements. (68) Ironically many of these latter considered the Mechanics Institutes to be subversive. (69) Nevertheless, the initial success of the Mechanics Institutes was largely the result of their representing the aspirations of a specific section of the working class, since the curriculum appealed to their daily experience. This section of occupational sub-categories comprising 'mechanics' and 'artisans' would themselves have claimed a 'social distance' from the mass of the working class. Indeed, the artisan could not be confused with those 'morally and intellectually indisciplined' labouring poor. Sobriety and intellectual enquiry characterised the artisan. As such they could as easily, '.....lead the working classes in violent confrontation with the industrial system, they could lead them in drunken apathy, or they could come to set examples of acceptance and identification with the values of the industrial middle classes.' (70) Thus it was vital that this potential challenge to existing authority be contained. This could be achieved through the management of, and the curriculum of the Mechanics Institutes, and by labelling
radical behaviour as deviant or against the natural order. (see Chapter V)

Many reasons for the eventual decline of the Mechanics Institutes have been expounded. They were often seen as alien to the interests of the working classes who were suspicious of the middle classes who dominated their committees. McCann (1977) cites this as one of the reasons for the lack of support given to the Spitalfields Mechanics Institute. (71) Hole claims that their energies were dissipated,

'Out of a hundred lectures recently delivered at 43 of these Institutes there were on average scarcely two lectures to each subject. (72)

With the development of new science-based techniques for use in industry old religious explanations and legitimations of social and natural phenomena were no longer tenable. The curriculum of the Mechanics Institutes sought to fill this potentially dangerous gap and, as Shapin and Barnes suggest,

'.....science was a particularly appropriate form of culture for general dissemination in an industrial community. It could lay down in the mind the general form of a communication system appropriate for controlling and monitoring the current forms of production. Hence it could help to establish the work habits required of a complexly organised workforce.....' (73)

This might well have been one of the motives of those with the wealth and position who gave the Mechanics' Institutes their support. It nevertheless leaves unexplained late eighteenth
century flirtations with science. It does not for instance provide an adequate theory to explain the purposes of such as the Manchester and Newcastle Literary and Philosophic Societies' excursions into science. In any event, the strategy seems to have failed because members voted with their feet. For example, a member of the Kingston-upon-Thames Literary and Scientific Institution bitterly attacked Kingstonians who had 'evinced such bad taste as not to patronise' a lecture (entertainment) on singing - which he deplored! (74) Even if the Institutes reinforced their strategy by lining their bookshelves with scientific volumes there was no guarantee that they would be read. In Dickens' rather extravagant description of the Institute in Dullborough town there is the suggestion that all the esoteric or 'cerebral' literature was read by one man - and he, hired to do it! (75)

The lectures became more popular in order to attract wider support (76) and instead of mechanics, who now found that the curriculum or instruction did not suit, came in their place:

'.....men concerned with the higher branches of handicraft, clerks in offices, and in many cases young men connected with the liberal professions.' (77)

When Brougham visited Manchester in 1835 he reported that there were three times as many merchants, manufacturers and clerks upon the rolls as mechanics or operatives. (78) One result was their failure to attract finance. Instead of progressing more modestly, as Thomas Hodgskin had proposed for the London Institution, those setting up institutions elicited financial support from the middle
class who therewith gained control of the Institutes from the artisans. They declined also because of the inadequate basic education of the artisans for whom they were designed. Like the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, which was set up with similar intentions, they avoided politics and religion, declaring that the inclusion of these subjects threatened their claims to neutrality. Thus they alienated working men who more and more needed to discuss their new-found social and political consciousness.

The injunction 'no political or theological topics shall be allowed on any pretext' was rarely if ever absent from the rules of mechanics' and similar institutions. Neither was it missing from the rules of those similar institutions founded later in the century. Thus in 1881 we hear the Chairman of the Richmond Athenaeum warning his Committee, 'do not exclude politics, or you will soon be wasting your eloquence on a beggarly array of empty benches.' (80) The ban was curiously persistent for even as late as 1921 the President of the Epsom and Ewell Literary and Scientific Institution was complimenting the retiring President on his steadfastness in refusing the inclusion of politics and religion as subjects for discussion. (81) However, since this issue is of fundamental importance to the study of Mechanics' Institutes it will be given particular attention in a later chapter on the curriculum of adult education. (see pp278-283)

There was some attempt in the 1840s to co-ordinate the efforts of the Mechanics Institutes but not with a great deal of success. Their appeal to working class aspirations was to a great extent lost to, often rival, institutions: mutual improvement societies, working mens' organisations, clubs and Institutes, and in time many of their
remaining functions were increasingly carried out by other, often public, bodies such as the public libraries and the technical institutes and colleges. (82)

iii Social and Political Agitation: the Chartist Movement and the Owenite and Chartist Halls

Despite these failures however, and despite the slowly growing facilities for elementary education, self education remained the common road to knowledge. To be sure:

'.....the history of adult education is not only that of the Mechanics' Institutes, but also that of small, informal, mutual improvement societies, lending societies, and men filching time to study their scanty supply of books and periodicals. The radical political movement and the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties are essential counterparts to the story of monitory, private venture and Sunday Schools at the beginning of the nineteenth century.' (83)

There is mention here of 'radical political movements' and of 'filching time to study' (84) and though insights into the phenomenon of 'Saint Monday' have cast doubt on the 'filching time' thesis (85) there is sufficient to indicate the reality of a demand for education.

It is so far evident however that efforts to promote adult education for the working class, had to a great extent, failed. A greater thrust was to come from the working class socio-political and
radical social movements which had gained in effectiveness during the period of economic distress following the French and American revolutions. The variety and complexity of these initiatives will be elaborated later and so what follows is a brief summary of the main influences.

The main concern of educational efforts among working class radical movements was with the education of the adult, spurred on by numerous societies and organizations, and it found its focus in Chartism. (86) An early qualification that must be made however is that, after 1850, the radical movements were less concerned with pressing for education from the indigenous working class movements but with the pressures for a free, state provided, system. Now, added to the question of whether education should or should not be state provided and free was the question of who should control it, the Church or the State.

The ideas that promoted radical political activity at this time were largely those of Tom Paine and Robert Owen. Tom Paine's 'Rights of Man' laid the foundations of a democratic culture that saw all men as equal whilst the rational and humane educational radicalism of Robert Owen, though equally inspired by economic and political difficulties of the working classes, represented the most deeply rooted popular education movement of the century. (Silver 1965) In an age of indifferent elementary education and therefore inadequate literacy provision the publication of comparatively inexpensive newspapers and the circulation of numerous pamphlets
became nevertheless the chief means of promoting radical ideas. Newspapers such as Cobbett's 'Political Register' could at least be read aloud and discussed wherever working men gathered. Various organisations such as the Co-operative Movement had libraries where members could meet and discuss issues. Other groups contributed to the growing consciousness of the working class. The corresponding societies, the first political and educational association of working men, and the Hampden Clubs similarly promoted discussion side by side with political activity. The importance of promoting an inexpensive literature allied to growing opportunities for meeting and for discussion cannot be minimised for it was through,

'.....cheap editions of radical pamphlets and books (outstandingly those of Tom Paine), through the public meeting, the radical organisation and rudimentary libraries that a confidence in the power of education was disseminated at many different levels of society. (87)

Thus it is not surprising that what the working classes were reading, or having read to them, (in particular, the outpourings of the unstamped press) was cause for considerable alarm. Repressive measures are unsuccessful in taming the mind and so are doomed to failure. More appropriately, the ideological apparatuses of the State, education and the Church could, through their agents, re-establish the status quo.

The fusion of many political and social movements into the Chartist Movement had considerable influence on the minds of working men and indeed the legacy of its ideals was to inspire trade unions, mutual
improvement societies and friendly societies all with a conviction that 'in knowledge you gain power.' The new 'model unions' took a hand and, while some provided education for their members they all pressed for an education Act. (88)

Chartism was the main focus of popular discontent in the 1840s and it was with the Chartists that new social ideals and an Owenite commitment to education arose. As William Lovett was to say,

'Give a man knowledge, and you give him a light to perceive and enjoy beauty.....call forth his moral excellence in union with his intellect, and he will employ every thought and force of action to enlighten ignorance, alleviate misfortune, remove misery, and banish vice.' (89)

The ultimate aim of the Chartists was manhood suffrage but there were differences among them as to how this could be best achieved. One group, the Rotunda Radicals or Physical Force Chartists believed that their ends could only be achieved through force, whereas the Knowledge or Moral Force Chartists believed that through knowledge lay power, and through the franchise lay the means of distributing that knowledge. Although as early as 1831 a Chartist organisation professing educational purposes was formed (90) the most determined effort came after the publication of Lovett's book, written with John Collins while in Warwick jail in 1840. (91) In the person of Lovett there is a shift from the broad humanist approach of Owen towards practical politics. This describes '.....the first attempt made by a representative member of the working class to make known what that class considered the context and purpose of popular education. (92)
Lovett described a scheme for the creation of 'Public Halls or Schools of the People', influenced by the Owenite Halls of Science which, in the daytime, would be used for infant, primary, and secondary education, and in the evening would be used by adults. Membership was to include all classes and opinions and each hall was to include baths, a museum and laboratories or workshops. From money raised by the workers numerous Chartist Halls were established throughout the country but the only one to approach Lovett's vision was the 'model' District Hall in Holborn, London. Ironically, though Lovett had not appreciated the magnitude of the task he had set, nor had he the means to put it into practice, his defeat came at the hands of the poor who, hungry and over-worked, were guided more by their passion than reason and so gave their support to Feargus O'Connor and the Physical Force Chartists. The fate of the Chartist programme for education from this time on was in the hands of the Christian Chartists but it was nevertheless the political wing of Chartism which conducted the main struggle for educational reform. Ironically, the assumption that elementary schools protected society against radicalism and in particular Chartism led to increased efforts to provide elementary education by organisations such as the National Society. (93)

So far, three main thrusts towards providing education for the adult working classes have been identified:

i religious and philanthropic bodies; providing moral rescue,

ii the Mechanics Institutes and the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge,

iii social and political agitation, expressed through the Chartist Movement and the Owenite and Chartist Halls.
At this point it will be useful to recapitulate since the turning point of the century is also a turning point of adult education. It had begun with the Adult Schools and with religious and philanthropic attempts at moral rescue. By the mid-century the Adult Schools were in decline and attempts at moral rescue had lost much of their force. The Mechanics Institutes, after a promising start, had lost the support of the mechanics, and the social and political agitation that had given rise to Chartism had, after its failure in 1848, given place to new working class movements.

There are two significant features for education in the second half of the century. The first is that all the old institutions declined and new institutions took their place. As a corollary to this, evidence will later be provided to show that the new radical movements were more concerned with pressing for a free, state-provided education system than with pressing for education by the indigenous working class. The second feature is that, whereas it is possible to identify approaches in the first half of the century as a classification of socio-political intentions, in the second half there was a combination of such intentions and institutions in a process of change. This necessitates therefore a different approach to their discussion. These features predisposed two developments of increasing importance: the Universities and the State. The Universities became important as a result of demands for their reform; and the State, because of increasing social and political pressures. Therefore, initiatives in the latter half of the century are not merely developments grafted on to earlier movements.
In the interests of clarity, the following three areas will be identified for discussion:

iv the universities
v the new institutions and movements
vi the State

iv The Universities

At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were only two universities in England and Wales and these two, Oxford and Cambridge, had suffered a decline in the previous century. It is not proposed to discuss the traditional role of the universities except to say that the nineteenth century saw them having to adjust themselves to changed social conditions, and in this context, the University Extension movement will be considered. This movement can be divided into two main streams; the establishment of university colleges, and the establishment of extra-mural departments.

The former grew out of pressures from such sources as the Co-operative movement and the North of England Council for the Higher Education of Women. It was however the latter, the extra-mural departments, that more nearly maintained their founding intentions. (94) The university colleges such as Reading and Nottingham, became universities in their own right and followed the traditions of the older universities to the extent that they
provided vocational education for full-time undergraduates. Even the two London Colleges set up in the first half of the nineteenth century did not cater for the working class. University and King's Colleges were designed to serve '.....the middling rich' and those '.....with small comfortable trading fortunes.' (95)

The older universities in particular were beginning to feel their isolation from the life of people who lived in the community outside their walls. In discussing these universities Godwin states,

'.....the knowledge taught there is a century behind the knowledge which exists among unshackled and unprejudiced members of the same community.' (96)

And J S Mill (1867) was to say:

'Youth come to the Scottish universities ignorant, and are there taught. The majority of those who come to the English universities come still more ignorant, and ignorant they go away.' (97)

Furthermore, by the middle of the century, this isolation particularly from the poor was most marked. The idea that while it was not possible to bring the mass of the people who needed education to the university it might be possible to take the university to them is traditionally credited to William Sewell. (98) Nearly a quarter of a century later, Benjamin Jowett, Master of Balliol, speaking in 1874 was urging the Oxford Colleges to set aside money to establish colleges in the larger towns:

'While we seem to be going to the large towns, we should really be drawing them to us.....the intelligence of the lower classes
Meanwhile, James Stuart, a Cambridge professor, had been more successful in persuading his university to adopt his scheme - and the University Extension Movement was born. The first lecture courses were provided at Derby, Leicester and Nottingham in 1873, and were soon followed by similar lectures in London and Oxford. The University Extension Movement was concerned to attract students from all social classes:

'We expect the audiences of our lectures to be as miscellaneous as the congregation of a church.... We know nothing of social classes in University Extension. We wish our audiences to include all kinds of people, all ages, all degrees of previous education.... It is for all classes alike. (100)

However, as a contribution to working class education it was a disappointment. The aims of the University Extension Movement clearly diverged from those movements for education arising out of social and political ideals as expressed by the People's Colleges and, anticipating later developments, the Workers Educational Association and the Educational Settlements. University Extension appealed to the middle classes and '.....to provide them with the higher education which for many had hitherto been impossible.' (101) It certainly recruited a great number of middle class female students and, as Jepson (1973) asserts, 'as such it could be claimed that the early Extension movement made a valuable contribution to the emancipation of women, slow though this wider social movement was.' (102)
The Movement shared the same dilemma that led to the failure of the Mechanics Institutes and other nineteenth century institutions providing education for the working classes. In order to attract enough finance it was often found necessary to provide 'popular' lectures with a wider appeal and this often led to superficiality. This failure of the movement to sufficiently attract the working class student for whom it was intended was very largely due to two characteristics: the first, that as an extension of the university, it was also an extension of its curriculum; a curriculum that, despite some acquaintance with the sciences, was still largely alien to the experience and needs of the working classes. The second characteristic is that it was conducted through the process of lecturing rather than class teaching. Both these characteristics relied on a prescriptive formula with a result that it appealed increasingly to a specific class of people. That it did not attract the working classes was also partly due to the lack of basic education necessary to gain the full benefit from an Extension course; partly due to the lack of unorganised time available to working men and women, but very largely due to the lack of money. In support of this, Kelly claims that when the course could be offered at a low fee, the response from the working classes was enthusiastic. (103) Simon doubts the primacy of economic factors in quenching the Extension movement, claiming rather that the working classes began to look no longer to Oxford and Cambridge for intellectual leadership; looking instead to Tom Mann, J L Mahon and the socialist speakers H M Hyndman and William Morris. (104) Agreeing that finance was not the only barrier to attendance, Jepson observes that 'whilst, indeed, it may be claimed that without some form of subsidisation the chances of increasing working class support were small, ... improvement in the financial position did not automatically ensure success.' (105) However, the relationship which had been established between the University Extension Movement...
and working class audiences, together with similar associations with the Settlement movement, provided the impetus for a new initiative in adult education. This was the Workers Education Association, as it was to become.

Founded in 1903 by Trade Unionists and Co-operators, the Workers Educational Association is perhaps the most influential of educational movements resulting from working class demands. The purpose of the Workers Educational Association was to bring the teaching resources of the University into the movement for universal adult education. This movement, together with University Extension, contributed to the growth and influence of university extra-mural departments.

The stated aims of the Workers Educational Association were that it should be:

'a working class body, in the sense that it is an educational expression of the working class movement, and looks on education not only as a means of developing individual character and capacity, but as an equipment for the exercise of social rights and responsibilities.' (106)

It was intended that the Workers Educational Association would make it possible for working people to enjoy an education of university standard on their own terms. This is to say, of a character desired by working class students. Another feature was that tutorial classes should be provided through joint committees on which working class bodies should be equally represented with the universities.

The Workers Educational Association shares a fate similar to that
which overtook the Mechanics' Institutes and the University Extension movement; its founding intentions were gradually attenuated. Today, as Kelly points out, 'the WEA, apeing the Universities, now exhibits all the signs of a middle-class voluntary organisation.' (107) In analysing the nature of this change, from providing adult education with avowed radical intent to the purveying of traditional education in traditional styles, Thomas concludes:

'The organisation has survived, (indeed it is very strong), but, in spite of occasional resurgence of radicalism, it has been steered into less controversial waters.' (108)

There were however other significant enterprises, and these will now be discussed.

v the New Institutions and Movements

At this point it is appropriate to review other sources of inspiration for the furtherance of working class education. There is considerable evidence of indigenous working class movements continuing their struggle to grasp education for themselves. (Simon 1974) The Report of the Newcastle Commission (109) contains many examples of adult education usually taking place in the evenings. Furthermore, classes were more numerous after the 1880s when they received support from the School Boards and from resolutions from the TUC. (110) After a period of
quiescence the Adult Schools were revived and adopted a wider curriculum. The value of association was also recognised and by the end of the century the National Council of Adult School Associations was founded. The spirit of religious and philanthropic initiative had not died but re-emerged in new forms. This spirit of philanthropy, accompanying a general tendency towards humanitarianism was the consequence of the role that religion played in the nation's life. The proper understanding of nineteenth century history is impossible, claims Kitson Clark, without considering the claims of religion:

'.....it might not be too extravagant to say of the nineteenth century that probably in no other century, except the seventeenth and perhaps the eighteenth, did the claims of religion occupy so large a part in the nation's life, or did men speaking in the name of religion continue to exercise so much power.' (111)

Religion found practical expression in philanthropy and agitation for social reforms and in the direction of providing education (however prescriptive) for the working class. Kitson Clark claims furthermore that the revival of religion stirred men and women to:

'.....acquire greater humanity, greater justice, and greater common sense in the methods of government and law. Some men were inspired by the revival of religion to accept for themselves a higher standard of morality and to condemn practices which the earlier eighteenth century and all preceding centuries had accepted without question.' (112)

Of the new forms of religious initiative perhaps the most important for Adult Education, since it was to inspire much of the enthusiasm for other forms of working class education, was the Christian
Socialist Movement. Christian Socialism is associated with such men as F D Maurice, Kingsley and Ruskin, and represented a fusion of religious and political-social ideas. It described a practical approach to Christianity, or, more appropriately, Christianity in practice. Neither was it a revolutionary brand of socialism— that came later. Rather it was the evolutionary brand of Robert Owen. The two main contributions of the movement were, first, the great support and impetus it gave to the co-operative movement; not initiating it but furthering it; second, in founding the Working Mens College. Of course the history and ideals of co-operation are rooted in the work of Robert Owen and a continuous history of the movement can be traced back to its founding. Nevertheless, the permanent legacy of the Christian Socialist was to co-operation; as Maurice wrote:

'Anyone who recognises the principle of co-operation as a stronger and truer principle than that of competition has either the honour or disgrace of being called a socialist.' (113)

A view shared by the co-operators and the Christian Socialists was that before socialism could be achieved the working classes needed more education, for, as Robert Owen said:

'How can a corrupt government stand against an enlightened people?' (114)

There was already a People's College at Sheffield, founded by Rev R S Bayley in 1842 at which the government, finance and curriculum was in the hands of the students. This was to influence the foundation of many other colleges throughout the country. Eventually, these colleges disappeared or were absorbed into newly-founded universities. For instance, in 1861 the Manchester Working Mens College was absorbed into Owens College; later the University of Manchester; the Sheffield Peoples College became in 1878 the nucleus
of the Arts side of Sheffield University; the Vaughan Working Mens College founded in Leicester in 1862, was transferred in 1924 to the University College as a centre for extra mural work. Only two remain today; the London Working Mens College, founded by F D Maurice and his fellow Christian Socialists in 1854 and the Frances Martin College, London, which was founded in 1864. (115) The London Working Mens College was founded, as Maurice said, because, '.....the whole country must look for its blessing through the elevation of its working class.' (116)

He also believed that adult education was the primary form of education; that schooling was merely a preparation for real education - which was the education of adults. The maturity of the student was to be the occasion of education. In this, Maurice is heir to a long tradition stemming from Plato and Aristotle:

'.....a man has rights, has a knowledge, has a position, which must be taken for granted and respected....The world has been teaching him - I must add with all reverence, God has been teaching him - whatever you have been doing. To overlook this fact, is simply to deprive yourself of the best opportunity of delivering him from the ignorance that cleaves to him.' (117)

It will be argued later that the loss of this ideal in the subsequent agitation for mass schooling and its consequent primacy in the state system has, on the one hand, shifted the control of education to the state and its agents and, on the other, has weakened the cause of adult education.

Despite Maurice's claims, his actions were something less than
democratic for, despite the example of the Sheffield People's College they had used as a model, the Working Mens College was under patrician rule, and Maurice resisted any attempt to involve its students in the management of it. As he asserted:

'I would not let them have the least voice in determining what we shall teach, or how we shall teach.' (118)

It might be argued of course that students, due to inexperience, would have little knowledge of different teaching approaches. They would however know at least whether the teaching was efficacious. Some of them no doubt would have experienced and learnt something of method from the Methodist class meetings and from cooperative and Chartist educational enterprises. It is unlikely that this was the only teaching environment in which they found themselves. On the particular point of self-government, Maurice's attitude is curious, and his ambivalence is commented on by Thompson-McCausland:

'Perhaps his (Maurice's) own strong character and devoted labour inevitably cast him as a benevolent autocrat; or perhaps his memory of the failure of the Christian Socialist Associations may have determined him to see the College through its early years before it should, as it were, mature into self government.' (119)

Nevertheless, the Working Men's College inspired (and still does) the best of working class adult education that was to follow. Allaway (1977) has summarised it thus:

'The gathering together, for example, of a variety of adult classes under a single roof and the uniting of their members in a fraternity through membership of the common room and
participation by the students in the day to day management of the premises was one of the main objects of Maurice's Working Mens' College and its numerous (short-lived) imitators. (120)

Turning to the Educational Settlements, which were inspired by the Working Men's College and Christian Socialism, they were motivated, as their leading historian has put it, by,

'The sense of obligation of the Victorian middle class (highly developed for instance in the Rugbeian tradition of duty) combined with a certain guilt consciousness and a desire to justify themselves. (121)

Toynbee Hall was the first educational 'settlement' of its kind. This is to say that it was a place that housed 'settlers'; men and women who had gained from society and who were now prepared to give a little to those less fortunate than themselves. Settlements such as Toynbee Hall and indeed its closest imitator, the Passmore Edwards Settlement were more than educational centres; they were engaged in social work with both adults and children. As Pimlott has said:

'Toynbee Hall was not primarily established as a centre for education but to bring together the rich and the poor, the educated and the uneducated, to make a social peace to raise men up of low estate and to bring down the haughty. (122)

This view is reinforced by Mrs Humphry Ward, founder of the Passmore Edwards Settlement, later the Mary Ward Settlement, in declaring her purpose:

'.....to provide a home for the new learning of a New
Reformation, and a practical outlet for its enthusiasm of humanity.'

There would be,

'....continuous teaching by the best men available (123)---
history and philosophy of religion was one half of the scheme;
the other half busied itself with an attempt to bring about
some real contact between brain and manual workers....a spirit
of fraternisation was in the air, an ardent wish to break down
the local and geographical barriers that separated rich from
poor, East End from West End.' (124)

Discussion of whether these notions advance the theme of 'moral
rescue' or shared the nineteenth century imperative to control will
be deferred. (see pp379 -381) It is sufficient to observe that the
development of the educational settlements continued into the next
century. Together with the Adult Schools and Colleges which continued
to gain ground, Toynbee Hall, the London Working Mens' College (and
the College for Working Women), the Passmore Edwards Settlement, conti­
nued their work and were joined by new foundations maintaining the
traditions of their founders. Of these, Kelly has to say:

'The debt of the settlement movement to the ideas of F D
Maurice and his friends is very obvious. Indeed we may well
regard University Extension and the settlements as the twin
offspring of Christian Socialism, one being a development in
the direction of education and the other mainly in the
direction of social work.' (125)

It is important at this stage to note that there was a new impetus,
focused on Christian Socialism but owing a great debt to Owen
and Co-operations, to the Adult Schools, the Society for Promoting
Working Men's Associations, and to the new spirit of philanthropy which was recognising the fact that educational need was related to social need and to social conditions. Kitson Clark claims:

'.....it has to be remembered that the lessons of the intelligent philanthropy of the nineteenth century were often the basis of the social legislation of the twentieth century.' (126)

It must be noted however that this was the expression of philanthropy 'handed down' from above and any social reform was not therefore the result of working class enterprise. A recent contributor to the debate asserts:

'Theoretical clarification of the relation between education and social change, therefore, is no abstract question, it is crucial to grasping the means to effective action. This is because such clarification is the essential condition for unifying integrating and giving meaning both to the day to day actions of the teacher.....and to action on social, economic and political issues in society generally. Action on both the educational and the political plane go hand in hand. Neither should exclude the other.' (127)

vi The State

If one persistent debate of the nineteenth century was over sectarian and non-sectarian control of education then the second was over State and popular control of education. The extent to which the State should be involved in providing a national system was a
particular and fundamental controversy of nineteenth century educational thought. For instance, Tom Paine thought that education was far too important to be left to philanthropy. Kay Shuttleworth and Cobbett had taken opposing views. (128) J S Mill was also opposed to the State provision of education and believed that education should be the responsibility of parents. However, this view was not predicated on the belief that the public would not value education if it were provided free by the State. Mill was convinced that the responsibility for education should be in the hands of those who received it. Furthermore, if the State did not have to provide education then it would put an end to the disagreements over what education should consist of.

'The objections which are urged with reason against State education do not apply to the enforcement of education by the State, but to the State's taking upon itself to direct that education; which is a totally different thing. That the whole or any large part of the education of the people should be in State hands, I go as far as anyone in deprecating. All that has been said of the importance of individuality of character, and diversity in opinions and modes of conduct, involves, as of the same unspeakable importance, diversity of education. A general State education is a mere contrivance for moulding people to be exactly like one another: and as the mould in which it casts them is that which pleases the predominant power in the government, whether this be a monarch, a priesthood, an aristocracy, or the majority of the existing generation; in proportion as it is efficient and successful, it establishes a despotism over the mind, leading by natural tendency to one over the body.' (129)

Thus Mill was concerned to avoid the sectarian quarrels over the content of education and therefore excessive control over the curriculum by the State and by sectarian interests. Stated briefly, 'If the government would make up its mind to require for every child a good education, it might save itself the trouble of providing one.' (130)

It is of course a matter of speculation whether he would have been content to substitute payment through local rates and taxes for the
direct claim on parents' wages.

On the other hand, Robert Owen's position must appear at first sight somewhat ambivalent. Though of the declared opinion that education was the proper function of government he was prepared to support philanthropy and indigenous working class effort. Thus, Owenite and similar movements:

'established schools and ran lecture courses on political, social and scientific subjects; they gave rise to private ventures in education, and wrote educational aims into the constitutions of trade unions and co-operative societies; they planned infant and adult education; they issued cheap publications and taught masses of people to analyse economic and social issues; they made ideas a real tool in the work of social reformation.' (131)

However, Owen saw this only as a temporary measure: it was a substitute for a function which rightly was the duty of the State to provide.

In the present context it should be recognised that what is common to all the participants in the debate, whether between Church or secular opinion, or between State and voluntary effort, is concern with the location and exercise of power and control. This debate is crucial to this study, not least because at its heart is the conflict over who should control education and over attempts to wrest the monopoly of the supervision of education from the religious bodies. Thus it will receive particular attention in a later chapter and discussion will therefore be deferred. However, a review of those events sufficient and relevant at this stage is in order.
In the first half of the nineteenth century the State was doing little or nothing for the education of the working classes and did not distinguish between the education thought suitable for their children and that thought suitable for the great majority of working men and women themselves. Due to political agitation (132) the first grant for education was given in 1833, a year after the passing of the Reform Bill. These grants were paid to supplement private subscription and were administered by the National and British Societies, thus locating control in the apparatuses of Church and Dissent. The prevailing attitude towards preserving the Dual System of education, ie State and voluntarism, is well represented by Henry Brougham's evidence to The 1834 Committee. (133) His main objection to a national system of education rested on a conviction that:

'The funds now raised by subscription.....will entirely fail, I take it to be the inevitable consequence of establishing a school rate. All will think they do enough by paying that.....My belief is, that a surer way to make education unpopular, and thus arrest its progress, could not be devised, than making it the cause either of a general tax, or of an increase in the parish rate.' (134)

Brougham castigated those who looked to the example of Prussia and accused them of having, 'betrayed ignorance of the nature of Englishmen' (135) There was, however, despite the defeat of a number of Education Bills over the next two decades, increasing agitation for a national system of education. (136) Grants in aid of evening schools, at which adults might be expected to attend, did not begin until 1851 and were specifically for elementary education.
Indeed the Revised Code of 1862 (137) quite definitely laid this down. This Code was opposed by nearly everyone. As Matthew Arnold said, '.....there will be only one sufferer; - the education of the people.' (138) Nevertheless, there were some who considered it at least wrested the responsibility for providing education from the church. (139) The British and Foreign School Society Report of 1864 recognised certain gainful results. It reported that small schools and night schools were encouraged and reported on the beneficial results in Lancashire during the years 1861-65 where a rapid development took place - in night schools and adult classes attended by operatives unemployed due to the effects of the Civil War in America. Hence the special value at this time of the assistance afforded by the Revised Code. (140)

Robert Lowe's conception of education is persistent for, very recently, a Minister of State for Education was claiming that, despite its unpopularity, 'the Revised Code did improve reading standards because teachers had to concentrate on skills and not on indoctrination.' (141) The precise nature of the indoctrination here referred to is elusive. In the first half of the century the Adult Schools had taught little more than reading, writing and arithmetic, and higher education could not be considered until this elementary basis of education was achieved for the working classes in general. Only the 'mechanics' and 'artisans' could hope to acquire an education beyond this elementary stage - which in any case was based on highly selective criteria, discussion of which has already been introduced.
Further evidence is to be gained from a study of the Wesleyan schools which existed '.....for the children of tradesmen, of farmers, and of mechanics of the higher class.' (142) However, it must not be assumed that a country area such as Surrey for example was an educational backwater, as evidence will be presented later to show that this was anything but the case. Certainly, a concentration on reading, writing and arithmetic was the last thing employers wanted from education. They saw it as having little to do with farming. Education was a hindrance to those whose prime interest was in recruiting a labour force. This is not to say that farm labourers would be forever kept in ignorance. Even at the beginning of the nineteenth century contact with the more dynamic sectors of society, with village radicals and an 'education by collision' would deny this. As Connell (1978) observed:

'Had they too been isolated the Captain Swing riots of 1830 would have been incomprehensible, as would the substantial stirring of dissent that followed Joseph Arch's organisation of an Agricultural Labourers Union in the mid-1870's.' (143)

In the second half of the century the availability of elementary education increased and therefore higher education became available to a wider interest group. This inevitably influenced the curriculum which now began to include non-technical, non-vocational subjects. It is important to note that elementary education is claimed to have been more available. This is not to say that all those who were able to attend actually did so. There is sufficient evidence to the contrary. (144) In mid-Surrey for instance, boys customarily stayed on at school until the age of twelve which, taking the
country as a whole, was exceptional. Despite this, at harvesting, and fruit and potato picking seasons, attendance was very low, and even in the mid 1870s, many boys started work at the age of eight years:

'. . . probably doing jobs which required very little energy, such as scaring birds from crops, and graduating through tasks such as weeding and stonepicking so that . . . by the time they were 12 they were capable of doing arduous tasks such as driving the plough.' (145)

Considering the effect of the Revised Code on a headmaster's salary (which was in any event often little more than that paid to a farm labourer) it is easy to understand his concern with attendance figures.

Nevertheless, by 1872, largely as a result of successive Acts (arguably the most important being Forster's Act of 1870) elementary education was so general that the State considered it unjustified to spend money on the elementary education of adults. The effect of this was that adults who wished to attend State-aided evening schools could not be reckoned with for grant earning-purposes. Thus, the beginning of mass schooling heralds the beginning of a new struggle to establish the rights of adults to education provision substantially their own. The passing of successive education Acts and the publication of various Reports is not to be misconstrued as simply the gradual recognition of the needs and the rights of the masses to an education. Henry Brougham opposed a national system because he thought it might depress public subscription. Edward Baines believed it would erode the religious and moral purpose of education. (146) Both therefore rooted their objections in the soil of social control. However, those who later supported a national system of education shared similar motives, though they might claim to be stimulated by other exigencies. Evidence illustrating this
is plentiful. From Forster (1870) 'upon the speedy provision of elementary education depends our industrial prosperity' (147) to Samuelson (1884) 'the education of a certain proportion of persons employed in industry abroad, is superior to that of English workmen' (148) and so on to Bryce (1891) who asserted that:

'. . . not a few censors have dilated upon the disadvantages from which young Englishmen suffer in industry and commerce owing to the superior preparation of their competitors in several countries of continental Europe. These disadvantages are real.' (149)

It will be argued later that, today, courses such as those under the Youth Opportunities Programme, and in particular, the Youth Training Scheme, funded by the Manpower Services Commission, are heir, in many ways, to this long tradition.

However, in 1893, largely as a result of the Cross Report (1888), no student was compelled to take elementary subjects and, more importantly, persons over the age of twenty-one were able to count for a grant. This now accelerated the development of a State-aided Adult Education system. Two further factors, however, entered the contest for power. First, in 1899, largely as a result of the Bryce Commission recommendations (1895), a Board of Education was created. Though Bryce had insisted that a central authority was not in order to control or override local actions the scene was set for that struggle between local and central control that remains a current feature. This development was aided by the Technical Acts (150) which resulted in conflict between local school boards and
technical instruction committees set up under local councils. Secondly, the later nineteenth century witnessed the growing system of raising standards by competition.

In 1868, the Schools Inquiry Commission (151) had called for more examinations of school pupils; in addition it recommended the setting up of more University examination boards. Following the 1902 Education Act there developed a proliferation of examinations and in 1911 a Consultative Committee under the chairmanship of A H Dyce Acland, though remarking on the dangers as well as the advantages of examinations, nevertheless concluded that they were not only necessary but desirable. (152) Thus another feature of control came into education: control by examination systems. (153)

In 1893 a new principle had entered adult education: the Cross Commission's recommendations (154) concerning evening schools resulted in a new evening school Code in 1893. The requirement that students should pass in reading, writing, and arithmetic was abolished, and adult students over twenty-one were recognised for grant purposes. For a long time this privilege was used for aiding continuation schools; usually in technical subjects.

An added spur to the Technical Instruction Acts was the money made available with the passing of the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act of 1890, popularly known as 'Whisky Money.' The purpose behind the introduction of this Act was to raise revenue (an extra 2
1/2d per gallon on spirits) and to reduce the number of licensed premises, and so restrict the sale of alcohol. It will be recalled that drunkenness was the disease of the masses. The Act was merely permissive and indeed 10 out of the 49 English Counties did not spend the money on technical education. (155) Many of the older institutions (often the later Mechanics' and Literary and Scientific Institutions) had taken up the examinations of the Science and Art Department, established in 1853. In many cases these examinations were now offered in the new institutions, Technical Institutes and Schools of Art, which blossomed in the mid-1890s. The effect of a subsequent loss of financial support and a re-definition of their curriculum brought many of the earlier institutions to an end. Of particular importance to adult education, these measures 'released the individual entrepreneur from the responsibility of individually paying for the reproduction of his labour costs' (156) and control through the curriculum and the examinations system was strengthened.

However, in 1921, H A L Fisher set up the Adult Education Committee of the Board of Education, an advisory body whose duty it was 'to promote the development of liberal education for adults'. In 1924 new regulations for adult education were issued, the effect of which was to bring a large increase in the number of classes carried on under the Board of Education, directly or indirectly.

Before briefly summarising the part the State has played in advocating the provision of adult education it is useful to be
reminded of William's comments on the nineteenth century:

'...a period of major reconstruction of institutions was undertaken largely without reference to the best learning of the age, and without any successful re-definition of the purposes of education and of the content of a contemporary liberal culture....it was the training of a specific class.....a society which had changed its economy, which under pressure was changing its institutions, but which, at the centres of power was refusing to change its way of thinking.' (157)

In the twentieth century the State has concerned itself not a little with a re-definition of the purposes of adult education and is perhaps, however slowly, changing its ways of thinking. Counter to this, there is still the question of education's role in the reproduction of the hierarchal nature of English society. (158)

In order to conclude this introduction and in order to place the discontinuities of this study in context it is now appropriate to briefly consider three landmarks of State commitment. First, and arguably the most important, is the Final Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction, published in 1919. (159) The 1919 Report was the first, and for over 50 years the only, comprehensive survey of the history and organisation of adult education. The Committee made the observation that:

'...adult education must not be regarded as a luxury for a few exceptional persons here and there, nor as a thing which concerns only a short span of early manhood, but that adult education is a separate national necessity, an inseparable part of citizenship, and therefore should be both universal and lifelong.' (160)
Such were the concepts enshrined in the 1919 Report: a contribution to the creation of 'that land fit for heroes to live in.' As the Russell Committee (1973) pointed out, 'everyone who has worked in adult education during the last fifty years has had reason to be indebted to the eloquent and comprehensive Final Report.' (161) The Report was predominately concerned with University tutorial and extension classes, the Workers Education Association, settlements and other voluntary organisations. Marriott makes the claim that the Report was in fact a brilliant exercise in special pleading:

'Once the terms of reference had been trimmed to adult education "other than technical and vocational the active members of the committee threw themselves into a single-minded advocacy of the superior claims of the WEA and the tutorial classes on scarce public money and defence of the privileged participation that a voluntary association had won in the organisation of university extra-mural teaching.' (162)

Nevertheless, the Committee made a number of important recommendations among which was the declaration that 'the scope of adult education should be as wide as the interests of the men and women to whom it makes its appeal.' (163) It also recommended that there should be more expenditure of public funds on adult education, and that each University should institute a department of extra-mural adult education. Much of the present practice of adult education derives from the principles enshrined in the 1919 Report. As the Russell Committee confirm:

'We too have found our thoughts stirred by this Report and have been struck by the extent to which the principles and values there enunciated are still valid.' (164)

This may be an indication of the enduring vision of the 1919 Report or an indication of the inability of the educational establishment
to change its way of thinking.

The second landmark is the 1944 Act which defined as part of further education the duty of providing, '....leisure-time occupation, in....organised cultural training and recreative activities. (165)

After 1944 the growth in the building of technical colleges meant that much of the junior technical subjects and commercial work that had formally occupied evening institutes was transferred to these new colleges. The institutes then took on the role of providing leisure-time occupations. The fact is that the evening institutes, whatever their shortcomings, had provided school leavers with the opportunity for economic mobility. The image of the trivial recreation haven that resulted is one that adult educators are still trying to fight down. This despite the Russell Report (1973) the third landmark:

'Adults in their own right, have claims for the provision of a comprehensive service which can satisfy these demands in appropriately adult ways; all areas of education will be enriched if demands for the education of adults are met. (166)

A decade later, the recommendations of the Russell Report have still to be implemented. Its publication was followed almost immediately by massive cuts in the funding of adult education. However, implemented or not, education reports have been, it is argued, great 'consensus makers'; the 'debate and discussion that the committees caused made fashionable the almost educationally undiscussable.' (167) In discussing adult education, the broad and humane
conception of education for the working man which was the vision of F D Maurice in the mid-nineteenth century remains, as H A Jones has recently claimed, a central set of concepts in English adult education:

'.....the mission of adult education is to the deprived or non-participating classes for the creation of a just society; that the objective is the democratic one of freedom based on knowledge; that the mature experience of the adult is one of the strengths of the work; that learning is an active partnership of student and tutor in which each has much to give to the other; and that the mark of its effect will be the enrichment of the personality rather than in material prosperity or social advancement.' (168)

Phrases such as 'non-participating classes', 'freedom based on knowledge' and 'the enrichment of the personality rather than in material prosperity or social advancement' have a familiar Arnoldian ring about them. They were all used, and it can be assumed with equal sincerity, by nineteenth century moral rescuers. This raises the question of what precisely lies behind the words. Put another way, can we interpret reason and intent from words (or indeed actions) used in a social context of which we have but vicarious experience? Adult education can look back on two centuries of effort and initiative and it might be asked, against a background of current adult education wisdom, whether its nineteenth century pre-cursors would still be in the vanguard of social and educational practice.
In conclusion

In the process of establishing the context and the discontinuities of this study a number of issues have been raised: a number of recurrent phenomena given prominence. Perhaps the most persistent phenomenon is the attenuation of the founding ideologies of those institutions providing adult education for the working classes. This raises a number of questions. It might be asked to what extent and for what particular purposes were these ideologies attenuated? What was the precise nature of that power which was subsumed under inimprecise and interchangeable power terms? Was the exercise of power intentional or unintentional? Whether or not its exercise was to promote conflict or to promote integration was it nevertheless a means of social engineering? What was the particular use of the processes of co-optation and cultural invasion?

Since the purpose of this study is to seek answers to these questions it is now necessary to consider the nature of power, and to investigate consistent strategies of power within a historical perspective.
Chapter II

Concepts of Power

Introduction

Power: landmarks in the evolution of concepts

Machiavelli
Hobbes
Pareto
Weber
Marx

Three Dimensions of Power

The One-Dimensional View
The Two-Dimensional View
The Three-Dimensional View

Consolidation of Theory

a) the exercise of power in social domination
   and social integration

b) education as an agent of power

c) the exercise of power as a source for cooptation

d) a redefinition of power terms

Conclusions

A Heuristic Model of Power Relations
CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTS OF POWER

'The graveyards of history are strewn with the corpses of reformers who failed utterly to reform anything, of revolutionaries who failed to win power, of anti-revolutionaries who failed to prevent a revolution - men (and women) who failed not only because of the forces arrayed against them but because the pictures in their minds about power and influence were simplistic and inaccurate.'

R S Dahl (1)

The need for an agreed model of power

It will be recalled that the purpose of this work is to identify the phenomena of power and its exercise in adult education in nineteenth and early twentieth century England. Thus, crucial to this study is the concept of power; or to be more correct, concepts of power, since power and power terms have no agreed meaning. If it were otherwise, then all that would be required would be the elaboration of a model of power against which phenomena could be measured. However, despite the rich and varied literature on concepts and power relationships, having deep historical roots dating back to Aristotle and latterly finding new impetus in the thought of Max Weber, C Wright Mills, and other twentieth century theorists, there is still, as Bachrach and Baratz claim, 'no broad gauge model in terms of which widely different case studies can be systematically compared and contrasted.' (2)
In the absence of any such model it might be argued that a summary statement of contemporary theories of power would suffice; that a discussion of a number of major contemporary models of power would adequately locate the focus of the present enquiry. This however ignores two fundamental characteristics of power. First, since power is relational, it is context-dependent, and secondly, current theoretical statements are essentially the latest stage in the evolution of ideas about power. The discussions in later chapters must take account of current theory for it would be hazardous for any contemporary writer to abrogate contemporary wisdom; to deny knowledge gained through hindsight. However, hindsight, though undeniably valuable, can also obscure historically situated meanings. Thus, when discussion of power is carried out in the light of contemporary wisdom its validity is conditional upon its being located in an historical perspective.

Alternatively, a commonsense view of power might be adopted for the purpose of this study; a view of power such as 'the ability of one person or group to direct the thoughts and actions of another.' Any such view would however raise a number of serious questions. How for instance would this 'direction' be effected. By force, by influence, by manipulation? Do these choices suggest weaker or stronger forms of power? For what purposes and under what circumstances might these alternatives be employed? Indeed would they be necessarily conscious decisions? Clearly, answers to these questions are essential if the motives and reactions of nineteenth century actors are to be understood for, whenever commonsense views
are advanced, the problems that arise are similar to the kind which have hampered those attempting to construct more formal theory. Furthermore, while in the present century it is possible to recognise and share certain commonsense perceptions of power with nineteenth century men and women, it is equally important to recognise, as Kitsch Clark maintains, that no one can 'recover that sense of common reality, that natural understanding of the world in which they moved as a matter of everyday fact, which they all shared at that moment, and which disappeared for ever as soon as they retreated from life into history.' (3) At best then, a study of everyday attitudes and reactions to power in nineteenth century England can only result in a general tentative hypothesis regarding its cause and effect.

A reconciliation of ideas

The question must now be asked, how far can the seeming differences between everyday meanings and formal theory be reconciled?

Glaser and Strauss were cited above as claiming that everyday situational meanings given to power must line up with what is likely to be theoretically possible or probable. Within the ethnomethodological paradigm, utterances, and attitudes to the exercise of power are understood to be context-dependent. No historical period, no less that bounded by the discontinuities of this study, stands alone; is independent of the period which precedes it and that which follows it. A great deal of eighteenth
century thought and action pervaded the nineteenth century, and a
great deal of the nineteenth century pervades the twentieth. The
reaction to people and things, the thoughts and behaviour of
nineteenth century actors, were to a great extent the result of
influences lingering from the eighteenth century. They are
characteristic of an evolutionary process and as such cannot be
considered in isolation. However, parallel with the evolution of
everyday thought and action, a number of writers advanced
theoretical statements regarding the nature of power; statements
which demonstrate a number of persistent notions and strategies a
number of which prevail to the present day. Though the relevance of
these notions must be considered, together with everyday situational
meanings at each stage in the evolutionary process, their
persistence through time helps to substantiate that part of theory
which is likely to be most possible or probable.

This analysis denies the appropriateness of logico-deductive
methodology but at the same time allows for the intrusion of the
present writer's analyses of events; permitting the emergence of
tentative hypotheses without weakening the integrity of the
ethnomethodological approach.

The ground to be covered

Considerable effort by social scientists and others has gone into
trying to classify such terms as power, influence, coercion, force,
manipulation, in order to reduce ambiguity in the use of these
labels and in order to bring them together under the collective label 'power'. Legitimate power, or authority was the major concern of Weber (1922) under whose influence later writers developed the basic categories for a sociologist's analysis of power. These attempts at classifying or categorising power relationships have not been noticeably successful, not least because of semantic differences between the power terms used and because the concept of power relates to a whole range of social phenomena. Despite this it is possible to recognise a measure of underlying agreement in the approaches to the analysis of power. This agreement tends to lie more in the broader, less precise, aspects of power than with the narrower sub-components of power relations where the analysis would of necessity demand precision.

It would be beyond the scope of this work to analyse in any great detail the literature on power and power relations. Furthermore, it would be quite inappropriate to chronicle a host of writers on power where such contributions to the debate would not add significantly to the perspective of this account. What is required is a review of the important landmarks and in particular an elaboration of certain key issues; issues which go somewhere towards a synthesis of sub-concepts and which are of particular value in the interpretation of adult education theory and practice in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These key issues are (a) the role of power in promoting both conflict and integration (Duverger 1972), (b) a partial synthesis of the concepts of cooptation (Marx 1963, Bachrach and Baratz 1970), cultural invasion (Freire 1972) and counter-
revolutionary theory (Harvey 1973), (c) decisions, non-decisions and
the mobilisation of bias (Bachrach and Baratz 1970, Lukes 1974), and
(d) the power of education itself in cultural reproduction (Bernstein
1975, and Bourdieu 1973) and (e) the concept of hegemony (Gramsci 1971).

Together with an attempt to clarify some of the more contested terms
used to label subcategories of community power, this analysis might
provide an acceptable framework for others wishing to proceed more
systematically and efficiently when approaching empirical research.

Power: landmarks in the evolution of concepts

Power, as a necessary feature of society, has been a concern of
political theorists for centuries. Indeed Beatie makes the
following observation:

'... the exercise of some form of legitimised or authorised
social power, or the possibility of its exercise, appears
generally to be a condition of the maintenance of social order'
(4)

Much consideration is given in Aristotle's 'Politics' (5) to the
classification of the different types of constitution possible for a
city state. The prevailing opinion was that there were three
distinct types. What distinguished them however were differences in
the location of power; differences which served as major criteria
when judging whether the constitution of the State would lead to the
spiritual cultivation of its members: to the promotion of 'the good
life.' Aristotle, in company with most political theorists since
his time, did not trouble to define such key terms as power, authority, influence. They were everyday common terms, and it was assumed that there could therefore be no ambiguity in their usage. (6) The distinctions between different kinds of rule was of central importance to Aristotle and he returned to the subject time and again. What is of particular significance is that he was determined to elaborate different forms of authority. He contrasted the differences between the authority of the constitutional ruler and the authority of a master over his slave. Indeed he considered it one of Plato's errors that he did not distinguish household authority (that is the authority a man exercises over his family) from political authority. Thus authority, or power, is relational; it refers to relationships between social units whether the unit be that of political rule and the ruled, the slave and his master, or the man and his family. The notion that power is a particular kind of social relationship is perhaps the least contested and most enduring variable in the study of power.

Most political theorists since, and including, Aristotle had restricted their discussions of power to power relations within a given community; the city state, the mediaeval institutions of government. What was eventually to shift the emphasis was the accumulation of economic changes wedded to the power of a rising class of men who had both wealth and enterprise. (7) In all the kingdoms of Europe royal power grew at the expense of competing institutions.
'Absolute monarchy overturned feudal constitutionalism and the free city-states, on which medieval civilization had largely depended, just as nationalism later overturned the dynastic legitimacy to which absolute monarchy gave rise. (8)

Profound changes such as these eventually produced similar changes in political theory. They also gave rise to new kinds of political writing; gave rise to such men as Machiavelli; a man who saw more clearly than most the direction that political evolution was taking in fifteenth century Europe.

Machiavelli

Machiavelli's writings are less political theory than diplomatic writing. He used history to confirm conclusions he had already reached and his 'The Prince' is little more than an idealised picture of the fifteenth century tyrant. Nevertheless, his view of power resting in the person of one man, the omnipotent lawgiver who, '.....should have no other object or thought, nor acquire skill in anything, except war, its organisation, and its discipline,' (9) brought a new dimension to the study of power relations. His conception of the state growing in power and influence under an enlightened despot and assuming inalienable rights over other institutions, anticipated the growth of power relations which were a feature in the development of modern capitalism. If he did not quite break the Aristotelian mould and, as Dahl suggests, '.....in his treatment of power relations.....frequently described a specific event as an example of a general principle ....and he used a variety of undefined terms, ' (10) he nevertheless correctly anticipated the direction of political evolution. Of particular interest is the
discovery that he was one of the earliest writers to hint at the tactical advantage of cooptation, or cultural invasion; concepts later developed from their crude form by Marx and Freire.

'What happens is that when the nobles see they cannot withstand the people, they start to increase the standing of one of their own numbers, and they make him prince in order to be able to achieve their own ends under his cloak. The people in the same way, when they see that they cannot withstand the nobles, increase the standing of one of themselves and make him prince in order to be protected by his authority.' (11)

This notion will be met with again when considering Pareto. To summarise Machiavelli's position: all people are selfish, and so power in a society must be maintained by the rule of force. This is because men are, so it is claimed, aggressive and acquisitive by nature. Men aim to keep what they already have and seek whatever else they can acquire. It is important to note also that Machiavelli's primary interest was in promoting secular totalitarianism. His marked views on the role of religion in the politics of power will be alluded to later, both in discussing the conflict between Church and State in the provision of education in the nineteenth century, and with reference to the role of religion as an ideological state apparatus. (Marx, Althusser et al.)

Hobbes

Profound change in the philosophical and intellectual climate of Europe was bound to encourage profound change in political theory. Hobbes' political writings are a noticeable response to such changes. For present purposes it will be necessary only to mention three features of his thinking. Like Machiavelli, he
accepted the unsocial inclinations of men and the only effective method of curbing man's natural unsocial inclinations was the fear of punishment. Indeed Hobbes' unique contribution to the debate on power relations is the stress he placed on the laws of nature and on which he predicated his philosophy. Secondly, he stressed the importance of the individual. The State exists in order to serve the collected interests of individuals. The State therefore is itself an 'artificial' body. Thirdly, Hobbes' theory of sovereignty demanded the subordination of the Church to the State. Since there cannot be any conflict between divine and human (or natural) law there can be no limitation on the authority of the sovereign. The importance of these three perspectives in Hobbes' theory will become apparent.

Thus, power was vested in the authority of the sovereign. There could be no limitation to this, and efficient government would be affected by the exercise, or the potential to exercise, coercive power:

The bonds of words are too weak to bridle men's ambition, avarice, anger, and other passions, without the fear of some coercive power.' (12)

Another feature of Hobbes's work is of particular relevance to the present study. Any explanation of social order and conflict; that is, concern over standards of behaviour and social interaction, now usually referred to as the 'problem of order', usually starts with the problem as formulated by Hobbes. Because of the unsocial
inclinations of man, greedy, self-seeking, continually in search of power, the stability of society would depend on the existence of a government with the power to curb these unsocial inclinations. Hobbes' solution was to prescribe a contract, by which individuals would resign their rights to govern themselves to the sovereign. The contract might read as follows:

'I authorise and give up my right of governing myself, to this man, or to this assembly of men, on this condition, that thou give up thy right to him, and authorise all his actions in like manner....' (13)

The problem of order has taxed political theorists since Hobbes, and has been a particular concern since the nineteenth century. It has featured in the theories of such notable writers as Alexis de Tocqueville in the nineteenth century and Talcott Parsons, S M Lipset and others in the twentieth century and informed structural-functional theory, particularly in the United States, in the 1950's. The importance of the theory will become apparent as this study progresses since, it has been claimed it describes education as a means of motivating individuals to behave in ways appropriate to maintain society in a state of equilibrium. (14)

If the purpose of this review were to deal with the evolution of concepts in a strict chronological fashion it would be appropriate at this stage to consider Marx as a power theorist. Marx however stands in contradistinction to writers in a classical-elitist mould; Vilfredo Patero and Gaetano Mosca. Therefore, attention will be paid to these writers since their theories are closely contiguous with what has already been discussed. This is not to deny that Marx was a major influence on their ideas, for they shared with him the belief that the class struggle was a fundamental fact of history;
though they believed him wrong in supposing that the modern class struggle differed from that observed throughout history.

In point of fact it will suffice to concentrate attention on the work of Pareto. A similar approach to political sociology is attributed to another Italian, Gaetano Mosca. There was a violent quarrel between him and Pareto; each complaining that the other had plagiarised his work.

**Pareto**

Pareto's conception of power is based on his interpretation of the history of past societies, wherein lies the harsh reality that these societies consisted of the distinct classes of the rulers and the ruled. The rulers he called 'elites'. It might be noted that Mosca came to a very similar conclusion, though his theory of elites is less psychological and more political than Pareto's. Here again, in contrast to Marx, Pareto argued that elites were necessary and inevitable. There would be no defeat of the bourgeoisie (to use Marx's term) since a privileged minority of the proletariat would succeed to positions of power and would exhibit characteristics little different from the elites they had overthrown.

There were two types of elite; the broad one that covers the whole social elite, and the narrow one that refers to the governing elite. He called these, following Machiavelli, 'Lions' and 'Foxes.' Each of these elites is distinguishable by very different psychological characteristics and motives. Pareto calls these 'residues.' Class I residues, the 'Foxes,' are characterised by the 'instinct of
combination*. This is to say they have the ability to collect ideas, be more innovative, less set in their ideas. However, they are given to less decisive action. This class gains power by guile, by the infiltration into important positions in society. Class II residues, the Lions, are characterised by the instinct of the 'persistence of aggregates'. This is to say, a tendency to conserve established positions; to preserve things as they are; to maintain the status quo. They are however given to forceful, decisive action. This class gain their power by force. These residues are psychologically based in human instincts and are therefore unchangeable. This is to say, they are psychological pre-dispositions; not concrete separate realities. They are analytic concepts describing the common roots of many forms of human behaviour and, as such, are rooted in the human consciousness. They are, moreover, determinants of human action which almost always (since they are not separate realities) act in combination. However, this inflexibility, this inability to act contrary to the behaviour determined by residues, leads to the eventual downfall of the particular ruling elite. This condition is aggravated by a phenomenon of particular significance, this being, the 'onset of decadence'. Each of the elites, this is to say of Lions or of Foxes, eventually becomes decadent. This is characterised by inertia, and is evidenced when the particular elite has been in power over a long period. Its rule becomes complacent, lazy, lacking in thought and in vigour. History, says Pareto, is a graveyard of aristocracies. Aristocracies grow to power through violence but, after a time, they loose the vitality which brought them power. Gradually they are infiltrated by residues of the first
class. This is sometimes done by design, as when elites of Foxes use their cunning, their guile, and their ideological skills (which Pareto would call 'derivations' (15) to recruit more Foxes. Sometimes this occurs because there is no lasting harmony between the residues of those who gained power and those who, through hereditary processes, assumed power. Thus the sons and grandsons of those in power may not exhibit the same residues. Laws of heredity cannot guarantee this. And so, there is a gradual infiltration of Class I residues. However, social stability can only be maintained through strong, powerful government. Inevitably, a Class II elite of Lions overthrows what has now become governing elite of Foxes. This process, which Pareto calls the 'circulation of elites' is a fundamental aspect of all societies. The elitist theory of power is predicated on the belief that the masses should be dominated by a small number of elites, since the ability to exercise power effectively must be in the hands of those who have the psychological and instinctual characteristics (residues) to succeed in this mission. Moreover the masses recognise this and have an equally instinctual need to be thus dominated by an elite. It will be recalled that, in this respect, Machiavelli and Hobbes held similar views.

Pareto recognised that the masses would contain a minority who would have the ability to aspire to membership of the elite. He saw two solutions to the problem, 'elimination' (16) and 'absorption'. For present purposes we need only be concerned with the latter. Rather than put their survival at risk, an elite can recruit this minority from the masses; can 'absorb' or 'co-opt' them. If for
example members representing Class I residues were 'absorbed' into an elite representing Class II residues (or visa versa) the effect would not only be to disarm a potential threat but would provide new stimulus, new blood, and thus delay the onset of decadence. Of course if the decadence of the elite in power is extreme then it is likely that it will not have the perception or the will to resort to a strategy of absorption and so will not survive. This tactic has already been met with when discussing Machiavelli and will be met again when discussing 'cooptation'.

Of relevance at this stage is Pareto's elaboration of the classical elitist concept of power; celebrating, as it does, an oligarchy alternating between force and guile, and of particular relevance his concept of 'absorption'.

Weber

In turning now to the work of Max Weber (1864 - 1920) a particularly significant landmark in the study of power has been reached. He too responded to the influence of Marx but like Pareto believed that after a social revolution things would remain much the same. The fundamental characteristics of capitalism would survive any revolution which might establish state ownership of the means of production. Weber's views are of particular importance because he was the first to present a systematic theory describing the basic categories of power. They are also of importance because of the enormous influence Weber had on social science. For example, they exercised particular influence in the 1960's on the Pluralists, Dahl (1961), Polsby (1963) and Wolfinger (1971). They are important because a
great deal of Weber's analysis is still valid.

Weber's key categories for the sociological analysis of power are, power, authority, and legitimacy. As will be shown, later theorists described a greater number of power relations and introduced other power terms. Power is defined by Weber as:

'.....the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests.' (17)

There are several things of particular note here: each refers to the use of the notion of 'probability'. To begin with, this term could suggest that the exercise of power should not be taken for granted. The exercise of power involves a social relationship and, as such, stability cannot be assured. The threat of sanctions may one day cease to have the desired result for the wielder of power. In such a situation A has lost power over B but, in winning the exchange, it might be asked has B thereby acquired power; since it is likely that A would not have capitulated unless he himself was under some pressure so to do. In other words, he now becomes the person who is subject to the will of another. Such is the precarious nature of power. Secondly the notion of 'probability' could, as Aron suggests, be a measure of power:

'.....power exists within social interaction and designates a situation of inequality in which one of the actors has a chance to impose his will on another.....Power is greater or lesser according to whether the master's probability to obtain the others' submission to his will is greater or lesser.' (18)

Thirdly, in introducing the term 'probability' into his definition Weber accommodates the view taken by Bachrach and Baratz
Thus, resort to force can result in a loss of power.

Having defined power as the probability that an individual or group will be in a position to carry out its will despite resistance, it is now possible to turn to that most important of Weber's analyses, his classification of the types of authority. (20) Like power, authority is the probability that a specific command will be obeyed. However:

'Such obedience may feed on diverse motives. It may be determined by sheer interest situation, hence by the compliant actor's calculation of expediency; by mere custom, that is, the actors inarticulate habituation to routine behaviour; or by mere effect, that is, purely personal devotion of the governed. A structure of power, however, if it were to rest on such foundations alone, would be relatively unstable. As a rule, both rulers and ruled uphold the internalizing power structure as "legitimate" by right, and usually the shattering of this belief in legitimacy has far-reaching ramifications'. (21)

And so, like power, authority is unstable and is stated by Weber in terms of the probability that it will prevail. Authority, however, differs from power in that it is, at least, potentially more durable. It becomes durable due to habit and due to legitimation. Authority continues to be exercised because a society has become habituated to it or because it believes that its exercise is
rightful and just; it is legitimate. Weber describes three types of authority - or legitimate rule. They are, rational-legal authority, traditional authority, and charismatic authority. These three types are never found in 'pure' form and in practice are found in varying degrees. However, '.....given pure types each is connected with a fundamentally different sociological structure' (22) or as Aron explains, 'based on the particular quality of the motivation governing obedience'. (23)

Legitimate authority based on rational-legal structure is predicated on a belief in the legality of the titles and the right of those elevated to authority to issue commands:

'Legal authority rests on enactment; its pure type is best represented by bureaucracy. The basic idea is that laws can be enacted and changed at pleasure by formally correct procedure.....Obedience is not owed to anybody personally but to enacted rules and regulations which specify to whom and to what rule people owe obedience'. (24)

Obedience to authority is thus based on law and the person in authority also obeys the law, or rules and regulations. There is thus legally defined scope to his office. To go beyond this is to exceed his authority. This rationalist element allows for and permits changes in the law; in the legal limits of authority.

Traditional authority rests on precedent, in the sacred quality of long-standing tradition: It rests on:
'.....the belief in the sacredness of the social order and its prerogatives as existing of yore.....The body politic is based on communal relationships, the man in command is the "lord" ruling over "obedient" subjects. People obey the lord personally since his dignity is hallowed by tradition; obedience rests on piety'. (25)

As with rational-legal authority, the holder is also bound by the legitimation of his authority. That is to say, his decisions and commands are bound by the same traditions as his "subjects".

'Commands are substantially bound by tradition, and the lord's inconsiderate violation of tradition would endanger the legitimacy of his personal rule, which rests merely on the sacredness of tradition'. (26)

The most perfect example of this type of authority is that of patriarchal rule, that is of the family father, sib chief, father of the people. Weber distinguishes two types of traditional authority, the patriarchal structure and that of the estate. Briefly, the patriarchal structure is similar to the phenomenon of the extended family:

'.....typical "officials" of the patrimonial and feudal state are domestic officers with originally purely domestic tasks (dapifer, chamberlain, marshall, cupbearer, seneschal, major domo'. (27)

In the authority system of estates, on the other hand, servants are not personal servants but independent men. The ruler depends for his support on his subordinates. This support must be bought or earned by personal relations. This, says Weber, is exemplified in a
feudal system where the ruler's authority depends on the fealty of his nobles:

'The rule of estates is most clearly represented by aristocracy, in purest form by feudalism, which puts in the place of the functional and rational duty of office the personal allegiance and appeal to status honor of the enfeoffed.' (28)

In present-day societies it is probably true to say that this type of authority is now rarely found. Weber's third type of legitimate rule is charismatic authority. Charismatic authority is based on an extraordinary devotion to the exemplary character, heroism, or other admirable quality claimed on behalf of the person exercising such authority:

'Charismatic authority rests on the effectual and personal devotion of the follower to the lord and his gifts of grace (charisma). They comprise especially magical abilities, revelations of heroism, power of the mind and of speech. The eternally new, the non-routine, the unheard of and the emotional rapture from it are sources of personal devotion. The purest types are the rule of the prophet, the warrior hero, the great demagogue'. (29)

Weber claims that charismatic authority is one of the great revolutionary forces of history. Often therefore, the charismatic leader appears in times of crisis. It is spontaneous and it is personal and it is mainly for these reasons that it is a relatively unstable type of authority. Two further features are worthy of note. The first is that, since charismatic authority is a personal relationship, when the ruler dies, that is, when the personal
has a tendency to 'routinize'.

'This is the case when the charisma is not extinguished at once but continues to exist in some form and the authority of the lord, hence, is transferred to successors'. (30)

Of course Weber's political thought, and more specifically, his classification of authority, is more complex than this short discussion perhaps indicates. Weber's analysis of authority is of particular relevance in any discussion of authority relationships between those promoting adult education in the nineteenth century and their clients and so will receive further attention in a later chapter. (pp.444-446). Indeed Weber can be criticised for not adequately distinguishing between purely analytic concepts and semi-historical concepts. (31) His ironic view of history led him to the notion that because the exercise of power is precarious and unpredictable it could lead to unforeseen or 'unintended' consequences. Paradoxically, though a great critic of Marx, his interpretation of modern society has been criticised as being too Marxist. (32) It now becomes essential therefore to consider the views of Marx on power.

Marx

It has been shown that the political theorists described so far linked their analyses of power to the State or particular community.

The significance of Karl Marx is that he broke with this tradition. Other writers described societies in which there was the natural order of rich and poor. They went to great lengths to describe the relations of power. The concept of elites, for example, is based on the notion of competition between individuals for places within the power elite. They did not examine how or why there came to be rich
people and poor people. They did not examine why an elite existed and in discussing how new elites were generated and nurtured they never anticipated that it would be other than from the nursery of the old elite. In contrast, Marx set forth a view that wealth and power do not depend on individual capacities but upon differences between social classes of people. Marx never satisfactorily developed his notion of social classes. However, the following offers a basic definition:

'What we call classes are vast groups of people distinguished by the position they hold in a system historically defined by social production, by their relationship (generally fixed and consecrated by law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organisation of work, and hence by the means of procurement and the portion of social wealth which they have at their disposal'. (33)

The classical elitist had believed that competition between individuals would lead to the most talented and gifted reaching positions of power. It was never conceded that there was any other mode of entry. The fact that the wielder of power was the prince or the noble or any other aristocrat did not invalidate the view. It was of course no accident that the aristocracy were also the most gifted and the most talented. This notion will be examined further when discussing cultural reproduction and the labelling of people. (Chapter V) Marx however held a distinctly opposing view. In this, power exists primarily in economic production. Whoever controls the means of economic production controls how the existing technology and resources generally will be distributed, and as a consequence, exercises total power throughout society. 'Political power, so called', writes Marx, 'is the organised power of one class for
oppressing the other'. (34) One class was the bourgeoisie, who control the means of production, and the other was the proletariat who, though constituting the mass of the people, were subject to their power. Though Marx did recognise that there were a number of intermediate groups between capitalists and proletarians, petit bourgeoisie, artisans, merchants for instance, he nevertheless believed that with the further development of capitalism these groups would gravitate towards the two polarities; capitalists and proletariats. This then represents the fundamental characteristics of the Marxian theory of power. There are however a number of features that are particularly pertinent. First, it has been noted that in his view the bourgeoisie own and therefore have control over the means of production. Marx was equally concerned about the distribution of resources and attacked those who thought it possible to resolve questions of distribution independent of questions governing their production. (35) It should be noted that it has long been argued that the scarcity of resources has been a crucial factor in imposing limitations on all other social activities.

Harvey remarks that 'it is questionable....whether there is any such thing as naturally arising scarcity'. And again, 'In sophisticated economies scarcity is socially organised in order to permit the market to function'. (36) Thus, in capitalist societies distribution as well as the production of resources is a major agency of control; of the exercise of power. (37) The second feature concerns the notion of 'cooptation'. As Marx has said:
'...the more a ruling class is able to assimilate the most prominent men of the dominated classes the more stable and dangerous is its rule*. (38)

The concept has appeared in numerous guises throughout this chapter; when discussing Hobbes, Machiavelli, and Pareto for instance and, as will become evident, it is a constantly recurring theme. Marx was quite clear that cooptation would not bring about the elimination of social classes. The classless society is only possible if the capitalists were destroyed. Thus there could be no cooptation of proletariats into bourgeois society. A truly classless society could only be achieved by revolution. (39) The third and final feature concerns the nature of man. Hobbes, Machiavelli, and Pareto followed a long line of writers who described man as intrinsically greedy and selfish. How then would society operate after the revolution? Marx does not say, but his post-revolutionary society would have to act from altruistic and unselfish motives. If, as he claimed, conflict is a primary feature of social life the question remains as to whether conflict would be absent from this new society or whether it would merely substitute one dominant resource of power for another.

From this brief account it can, nevertheless, be seen that Marx and the classical elitists agreed, despite their normal opposition to each other, that society is divided into two groups; the rulers and the ruled. They also recognised the existence of a particular power strategy; that of absorption, or cooptation. It will be argued later that this strategy has been a permanent feature of
institutional education throughout the nineteenth century and beyond. The major differences between the views of Marx and the classical elitists, as they are relevant to this study, have been introduced above. They can be summarised thus:

i For Marx, power is a relationship between classes; for the elitists, and in particular Pareto, it is a relationship between an elite and the masses.

ii Marx thought the class struggle would lead to the victory of the proletariat. Pareto believed that a privileged minority of the governed would succeed decadent elites and become identical with them. Weber thought that any transition towards socialism would lead to a strengthening of bureaucratic power.

iii According to Marx, the end of conflict would occur when the means of production were in the hands of the proletariat. For Pareto there would always be conflict, as there would always be a necessary circulation of elites. Competition would be a form of natural selection.

iv Following Machiavelli, Pareto believed that the few rule by one of two methods, force or guile, and he agreed with Mosca and with Weber in recognising the ideology of legitimacy which persuades those who are ruled that it is in their best interests and is their duty to obey the minority who rule.

It will be shown later that each of the above perspectives informs the history of adult education movements in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Before a fuller discussion can be attempted a number of cross-currents of thought must be brought into play. A complete break has not yet been made with elitism, despite Marx and Weber. And there are new perspectives on power advanced as a result of anxieties over the possible alienation and disintegration of society brought about by increasing industrialisation. It is to these that this discussion is now directed.
The Pluralist perspective on power and social control is based on the premise that power within the political systems of industrial societies is an expression of the interaction and conflict between a plurality of social groups. This is to say, power is diffused throughout society and in consequence this view represents a totally different perspective from that advanced by the elitists. The pluralist view is, in part at least, a response to concerns about the disintegration of society as a result of industrialisation. (40) This perspective will be dealt with as part of what might be called a One Dimensional view. This view also includes a remnant of elitist theory and as such provides a link with both the classical elitists and with some aspects of Marxist and Weberian thought and thus will be given attention.

THREE DIMENSIONS OF POWER

During the last three decades, sociologists and social scientists have shown an increasing interest in the problems of power. In consequence it is now possible to identify three stages in the development of the debate. To facilitate discussion these three stages will be identified by the labels suggested by Lukes (1974), the One Dimensional, Two Dimensional and Three Dimensional views.

The One-Dimensional View

Turning first to the One Dimensional view, two distinct approaches can be identified; one can be called 'elitist' and the other 'pluralist'. It has been suggested that two approaches can be either sociologically oriented or political science oriented. (41) Certainly Bachrach and Baratz confirm this distinction in
saying that:

'Sociologically oriented researchers have consistently found that power is highly centralised, while scholars trained in political science have just as regularly concluded that in 'their' communities power is widely diffused'. (42)

However, despite this, it is likely that these distinctions are not invariable. The elitist model bears resemblances to the classical-elitist models already discussed since they both identify a dominant and dominated class. The study that generated the current debate was undertaken by the American sociologist Floyd Hunter. Hunter's study of the power structure of a large Southern city of the USA led him to the conclusion that the major decisions in the community were made by a very small number of people. This conclusion he generalised to other communities and this ruling elite was called the Power Structure. The following conclusions can be drawn from Hunter's research:

a) In every human society there is a power elite whose purpose is to advance the interests of that elite.

b) This power structure stays stable over time. Thus power may be tied to issues.

c) Reputed power is equated with actual power.

Throughout the 1960s, what has been described as a pluralist view of power had a considerable influence; particularly in the United States. This view, which had deep historical roots in the analysis of power constructed by Max Weber, described the
key categories, Power, Authority, and Legitimacy, and is associated with the political scientists Robert Dahl (1961) Nelson Polsby (1963) and Raymond Wolfinger (1971). Perhaps the most influential of these writers is Dahl. He was concerned to make the concept of power empirically operational. As he claimed, only after 'careful examination of a series of concrete decisions' can power be analysed. (43) Thus, in contrast to Hunter and the elitists, he postulated an empirically testable theory. However, this approach too has come in for a share of criticism. First of all, elitist writers complained that his conception of power was too limited by a local perspective. In concentrating on local issues where diffusion of power is more likely the confirmation of a pluralist model is assured. Lukes (1974) draws attention to the following illustration:

'To speak, as these writers do, of a 'pluralist view' of, or 'pluralist approach' to power, or of a 'pluralist methodology', is to imply that the pluralists' conclusions are already built into their concepts, approach and method. I do not, in fact, think that this is so. I think that these are capable of generating non-pluralist conclusions in certain cases. It is, for instance, by using their view of power and their methodology for identifying it (so that the locus of power is determined by seeing who prevails in cases of decision-making where there is an observable conflict) that Robert McKenzie (44) concludes that power in the two main British political parties is pyramidal; and it is by using a different view and methodology that Samuel Beer (45) concludes that, in the case of the Labour party, it is not. The former view yields elitist conclusions when applied to elitist decision-making structures, and pluralist conclusions when applied to pluralist decision-making structures.....' (46)

Dahl stressed particularly that power represents dependence
relationships between people. Power is not an attribute: it is a particular kind of social relationship. At the most general level, power terms in modern social science refer to subsets of relations among social units such that the behaviours of one or more units (the responsive units, R) depend in some circumstances on the behaviour of other units (the controlling units, C). Certain important descriptive characteristics must be elaborated; the differences between different types of political systems must be explained, and attention must be paid to the problems of rigour and relevance when conducting research into power relations. Such are the central characteristics of Dahl's theory.

For present purposes the most important and the least satisfying feature of pluralist theory is its lack of precision in defining power terms. Dahl use the terms 'influence' and 'power' interchangeably, while Polsby writes, '.....one can conceive of 'power' - 'influence' and 'control' are serviceable synonyms.....' (48) Furthermore, the analysis of power offered by the pluralists, based as it is on observations of the decision-making process, is certainly more scientific than, for instance, the elitist speculations of Hunter or indeed the metatheories of the classical elitists. However, the rigour of the scientific approach is, for at least three reasons, in some doubt. The first reason is that the imprecise definitions of power terms used leads to what Leibnitz called 'counting with the mind without knowing what one is counting'. In other words, the pluralist may be measuring power, but may be unaware of which aspect of power and, to use Dahl's own
formulation, has no way of measuring the relative 'magnitude, distribution, scope or domain of power'. The second reason is that the pluralist limits analysis to what is observable when, as will be indicated later, a great many important decisions are not directly observable. And thirdly, noting Polsby's proposition that 'by pre-selecting as issues for study those which are generally agreed to be significant, pluralist researchers can test stratification theory' (49) there seems to be no equally 'scientific' method for selecting 'key issues' for analysis. There are other objections to this One Dimensional view of power but it would not be useful to discuss them at this stage. Indeed, they can better be dealt with by a process of comparison: in particular, by comparison with the Two Dimensional view of power.

The Two-Dimensional View

The two dimensional view of power is associated very largely with the work of Bachrach and Baratz. As they say:

'Intrigued by the controversy between "elitist" and "pluralist" students of community power, typified respectively by Floyd Hunter and Robert A Dahl, we focused initially on the limitations of each approach'. (50)

In reaching their own analytic framework Bachrach and Baratz first attempted a definition of the terms Power, Authority, Influence, so as to avoid '....imprecision of analysis and, not seldom, confusion'. Their work involved an empirical analysis of the
relationships between the anti-poverty effort and the political process in Baltimore, Maryland. A major purpose of this research was to test their concept of 'non-decision making'. They developed this central concept of their hypothesis from the following observations. The pluralists had concentrated their attentions on the exercise of power, that is to say, not on sources of power. The pluralist was concerned to select 'key issue areas' as opposed to 'Routine political issue areas'. ".....cases involving key political decisions in which the preferences of the hypothetical ruling elite run counter to those of any other likely group that might be suggested.....in such cases, the preferences of the elite regularly prevail" (51) The appropriate method of analysis is recommended by Dahl:

'determine for each decision which participants had initiated alternatives that were finally adopted, had vetoed alternatives initiated by others, or had proposed alternatives that were turned down. These actions (are then tabulated as individual "successes" or "defeats". The participants with the greatest score of successes out of the total number of successes were then considered to be the most influential". (52)

In short; select a 'key area', identify the participants in the decision-making process, tabulate their successes and defeats and then, from the proportion of successes from the total number of possible successes, determine the outcome of the conflict.

Bachrach and Baratz concentrate their criticism of the pluralists towards the latter's identification of 'key areas'. '.....can a sound concept of power be predicated on the assumption that power is totally embodied and fully reflected in "concrete decisions" or in activity bearing directly on their making?' (53) How can we be certain, that other issues - that is, other than those identified as 'key' issues, are not of the greatest consequence to an analysis of
the location of power? As Bachrach and Baratz claim, concrete decisions reflect only one facet of power:

'Of course power is exercised when A participates in making decisions that affect B. Power is also exercised when A devotes his energies to creating or reinforcing social and political values and institutional practices that limit the scope of the political process to public considerations of only those issues which are comparatively innocuous to A. To the extent that A succeeds in doing this, B is prevented, for all practical purposes, from bringing to the fore any issues that might in their resolution be seriously detrimental to A's set of preferences'. (54)

Situations of this kind, they say, are common. Therefore, can the possibility that some persons or association could effectively limit decision-making to non-controversial matters, to matters that do not challenge the vested interests and dominant values of this person or group, be underestimated or overlooked? In support of their thesis Bachrach and Baratz cite Schattschneider:

'All forms of political organisation have a bias in favour of the exploitation of some kinds of conflict and the suppression of others, because organisation is the mobilization of bias. Some issues are organised into politics while others are organised out.' (55)

The mobilization of bias is then a crucial issue in determining power. Political systems and sub-systems develop a '....set of predominant values beliefs, rituals, and institutional procedures ("rules of the game") that operate systematically and consistently to the benefits of certain persons and groups at the expense of others'. (56) Bachrach and Baratz suggest that the primary method
for sustaining a given mobilization of bias is through the process of non-decision-making:

'A non-decision, as we define it, is a decision that results in a suppression of thwarting of a latent or manifest challenge to the values or interests of the decision-maker'. (57)

Thus there are two faces of power. One face shows power 'totally embodied and fully reflected in "concrete decisions" or in activity bearing directly upon their making' (58) and the other face shown in non-decision-making and the mobilization of bias.

The Bachrach and Baratz critique of Dahl and his fellow pluralists hinges on the following summary analysis. They conclude that the One Dimensional view of the pluralists unduly emphasises the importance of observable 'indicating, deciding and vetoing' and in confirming the scope of decision-making to relatively 'safe' issues (59) take no account of the mobilization of bias and the potential of non-decision-making. The pluralists concentrate their attention on concrete political issues whereas Bachrach and Baratz believe it crucially important to identify potential issues. Therefore their perspective is less behavioural than that of the pluralist. To cite Lukes:

'Whereas the pluralist considers as interests the policy preferences exhibited by the behaviour of all citizens who are assumed to be within the political system, Bachrach and Baratz also consider the preferences exhibited by the behaviour of those who are partly or wholly excluded from the political system, in the form of overt or covert grievances'. (60)
A further critique of Bachrach and Baratz will emerge when the Three Dimensional view is discussed. Before moving on to this however some mention must be made of their attempt to define the power terms, Power, Force, Manipulation and Authority, since they are particularly important in informing this present study.

Influence and Force

Many of the problems in analysing power arise from the inconsistent and often confused way in which the term 'power' and the terms (or labels) given to sub-categories of power have been defined and used. For instance, it has been shown above that Weber confined his interpretation of power to the term 'authority' whereas Dahl preferred the term 'influence'. Thus power, authority and influence are interchangeable terms. Added to this, Polsby had seen power, influence and control as 'serviceable synonyms'. Bachrach and Baratz concede that by their lack of precision researchers thereby handicap themselves '.....for they utilize concepts which are at once too broadly and too narrowly drawn: too broadly because important distinctions between power and influence are brushed over; and too narrowly, because other concepts are disregarded - concepts which, had they been brought to bear, might have altered the findings radically'. (61) What Bachrach and Baratz set out to do was to provide a model '.....in terms of which the determinants both of decision and non-decision-making can be appraised, taking full account of the distinct concepts of Power, Force, Influence, and
Bachrach and Baratz first call attention to the mistaken perceptions of power evinced by earlier writers whom, they claim, viewed power as "simple property"; like wealth. Instead, power is relational. Indeed:

'.....the successful exercise of power is dependent on the relative importance of conflicting values in the mind of the recipient in the power relationship'. (63)

Since each of the power terms in the Bachrach and Baratz analysis will be used in the discussions in later chapters and thus to avoid confusion and ambiguity each power term will now be discussed in turn.

Power

The use of this term is somewhat confusing because it is used by Bachrach and Baratz both as an overall term, a general label, and also as a term embracing one of the sub-categories. For power to exist there must be a conflict of interests. Furthermore, a power relationship only exists if B actually bows to A's wishes. It can also exist only if one of the parties in the conflict can threaten to invoke sanctions. There are just two qualifications to this. First, the sanction must threaten to deprive an person 'of a value or values which (he) regards more highly than those which would have been achieved by non-compliance.' (64) Secondly, a distinction
must be made between 'actual' and 'latent' power, and the 'rule of anticipated reactions'. Briefly, as the writers explain:

'an investigation might reveal that, though B regularly accedes to A's preferred course of action, A in fact lacks power over B because A just as regularly tailors his demands upon B to dimensions he thinks B will accept.' (65)

Such then is the effect of the rule of anticipated reactions. Those who have the means for threatening sanctions may and often do abstain from doing so. This power is therefore latent. However, the existence of latent power may result in other individuals deferring to this real or imagined power. Thus latent power becomes actual power.

Force

Bachrach and Baratz see two essential differences between power and force. There is first a distinction between compliance and non-compliance.

'in a power relationship one party obtains another's compliance, while in a situation involving force one's objectives must be achieved, if at all, in the face of the other's non compliance'. (66)

And secondly, under the duress of force, the intended victim is stripped of choice between courses of action: the scope of his decision-making is curtailed. Where power is being exercised, the individual retains some choice. 'Put another way, in a power relationship it is B who chooses what to do, while in a force relationship it is A'. (67)
Manipulation

This is seen to be an aspect of force, not of power. For, 'once the subject is in the grip of the manipulator, he has no choice as to the course of action'. (68) It was claimed earlier that all power is relational. However, in common with other aspects of force, manipulation is minimally relational because, 'compliance is forthcoming in the absence of recognition on the compliers part either of the source or the exact nature of the demand upon him'. (69)

Authority

Bachrach and Baratz reject the traditional definitions of authority as 'Formal power' (70) and as 'institutionalised power' (71). Instead, they adopt Friedrich's analysis by which he defines authority as 'a quality of communication' that possess 'the potential of reasoned elaboration'. (72) Put simply, in a situation involving authority,

'B complies because he recognises that the command is reasonable in terms of his own values; in other words, B defers to A, not because he fears severe deprivations but because his decision can be rationalised'. (73)

Some considerable space has been given to Bachrach and Baratz' conceptual analysis of power. The main reason is that their view
has been and is particularly influential. Furthermore, despite certain restrictions in the development of their model (restrictions which will be elaborated below when the Three Dimensional view is introduced) it nevertheless provides a broad conceptual frame with which to analyse community power:

'A road is thereby opened towards the development of a general body of theory with respect to the decision-making process. Moreover, because we distinguish carefully among the forces at work in any given situation, we minimize the risk of putting unwarranted emphasis upon one factor to the exclusion, wholly or partly, of others'. (74)

The fact that Bachrach and Baratz vary only marginally from the pluralists in their insistence on studies of power being related to observable decision-making processes has led to one of the major criticisms of their model. (75) Furthermore, their analysis shows up a number of inconsistencies. Certainly the concept of influence is not very well elaborated. Neither is the concept of manipulation; particularly in the context of 'incremental decision-making' (76) which they claim results in 'decisionless decisions'. (77) This latter is of particular concern since their major thesis is derived from phenomena of non-decision-making and which they describe as, 'manipulating (author's emphasis) the dominant community values, myths, and political institutions and procedures'. (78) Again, having complained that in nearly all previous studies the terms influence and power have been used interchangeably and incorrectly, they are themselves hard pressed to satisfactorily demonstrate the difference. Indeed the more these authors qualify
each concept, the more they introduce provisos, with the result their
definitions become less precise and the more the terms they use
become interchangeable. Nonetheless, the Two Dimensional view of
Bachrach and Baratz represents a major advance towards informing
those simplistic and inaccurate pictures in the minds of many about
power and of which Dahl had complained. (79)

The Three-Dimensional View

The Three Dimensional View of power is associated with the work of
Steven Lukes and, apart from introducing a new perspective,
represents a critique of the two dimensional view of Bachrach and
Baratz.

Lukes' first criticism of the two dimensional view is that it is
still too committed to behaviourism, to the study of overt 'actual
behaviour'. They 'follow the pluralists in adopting too
methodologically individualist a view of power'. (80) Secondly the
insistence on actual conflict as essential to power is confusing,
particularly since they concede that two aspects of power,
manipulation and authority, rely instead on 'agreement based on
reason'. (81) It is also unsatisfactory to suppose that power is
only exercised in situations of conflict:

'The trouble seems to be both Bachrach and Baratz and the
pluralists suppose that because power, as they conceptualise it,
only shows up in cases of actual conflict, it follows that
actual conflict is necessary to power. But this is to ignore the
crucial point that the most effective and insidious use of
power is to prevent such conflict from arising in the first place'. (82)

Thirdly, Lukes challenges the assertion that non-decision-making power only exists where there are grievances which are denied entry into the political process in the form of issues:

'is it not the supreme and most insidious exercise of power to prevent people, to whatever degree, from having grievances by sharpening their perception, cognitions and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things, either because they can see or imagine no alternative to it, or because they see it as natural and unchangeable, or because they value it as divinely ordained and beneficial?' (83)

What Lukes is arguing here is that there is latent conflict, between the real interests of those excluded from power (interests that they might not be conscious of) and the interests of those exercising power:

'To assume that the absence of grievance equals genuine consensus is simply to rule out the possibility of false or manipulated consensus by definitional fiat'. (84)

In summary, Lukes offers the Three Dimensional view as having the following characteristics: a) it is critical of the exclusive behaviourist approach of Bachrach and Baratz and the pluralists; b) it focuses on decision-making and control over political agenda, not necessarily through observable decisions but also by paying attention to the power exercised by the inactivity of leaders; in fact to non-events; c) it recognises both observable and latent
conflict and the distinction between subject and real interests.

More importantly, Lukes contends that his view is 'operational'.

'Empirically useful in that hypotheses can be framed in terms of it that are in principle verifiable and falsifiable (despite currently canvassed arguments to the contrary)'.

Lukes describes an outline approach and the difficulties in the empirical identification of power exercised through inaction, the unconscious exercise of power and of attributing power to groups, classes and institutions. This aspect of Lukes work will be deferred but will be a constant resource later in this study in analysing data.

There is one further significant contribution from Lukes. Though acknowledging (and indeed celebrating) the fact that power is an 'essentially contested concept' he sets out a conceptual map of power and its cognates (fig 1). Its purpose is to analyse and situate the concepts of power which underlie the One-, Two-, and Three Dimensional views of power.

It will be seen that in this scheme power may or may not be a form of influence – depending on whether sanctions are involved; while influence and authority may or may not be a form of power depending on whether a conflict of interests is involved. Consensual authority, with no conflict of interests, is not, therefore, a form of power.
Observable (overt or covert) | Latent
---|---
Coercion | MANIPULATION
Force | Inducement

AU T H O R I T Y

INFLUENCE

Fig. 1 from Lukes S(1974) p32
At this point it is possible to claim that a conceptual map and operational model has been identified against which the exercise of power in nineteenth century adult education can be analysed and verified or falsified. This claim does not negate those observations made at the beginning of this chapter; namely, that such theory must not be viewed as independent of the everyday situational meanings given to the phenomena of power by nineteenth century men and women. More pertinently, the conceptual map is not independent of the evolutionary process from which it was derived.

Consolidation of Theory

It now becomes possible to consolidate the theory so far elaborated in an attempt to focus it more directly on education. Discussion will concentrate on:

a) the exercise of power in social domination and social integration,
b) education as an agent of power,
c) the exercise of power as a force for cooptation,
d) a re-definition of power terms in the light of the foregoing discussion,

and finally, these perspectives on power will be brought together in diagramatic form.

When Bachrach and Baratz described two faces of power they were referring to their own conceptual analysis of power, which recognises decisions and non-decisions, as opposed to the pluralist One Dimensional view of power which recognises only decisions. It is now appropriate to turn to the two faces of power central to the
a) the exercise of power in social domination and social integration.

At this point, necessity requires only the briefest account of Duverger's contribution to the theory of power. This is in the belief that it will be more appropriate and rewarding to delay further elaboration until a later chapter, when Duverger's concepts can be evaluated alongside the data. Attention will be concentrated therefore on the more fundamental features of his analysis. To Duverger, the concept of power is crucial to the proper understanding of political sociology. Paraphrasing Duguit (1911) he claims that:

'...in every human group, from the smallest to the largest, from the most ephemeral to the most stable, there are those who command and those who obey, those who give orders and those who comply with them, those who make decisions and those who abide by them. This differentiation constitutes a fundamental political fact that calls for comparative study in every society and on every social level'. (87)

Thus power is a phenomenon that permeates all social relationships and represents the main focus of the study of politics. A distinction is nevertheless made between 'institutional relationships' and 'personal relationships'. The latter, he argues, can be free from force and coercion. This relationship is however sporadic, ephemeral and unstable. Institutional relations, on the other hand, are stable, lasting and coherent. Power is thus comprised of:
'....the entire range of social institutions connected with authority, which is to say, with the domination of some men over others. It excludes simple, unequal relationships that have not institutional character and that do not derive from an institution. Political science is thus defined as the science of institutions in relation to authority'. (88)

However, the theory central to Duverger's analysis is the notion that power has two faces. One face is antagonistic and is manifested in conflict; in one individual or group seeking to force its domination on another which, in its turn, opposes such domination. The other face is integration and is manifested in a tendency to harmony; to the process of integration and the unifying of society. These two faces are inseparable, ambivalent and not very easy to distinguish. Political regimes are concerned with both faces:

'By establishing the rules of combat and defining its scope, the regime organises the means for expressing antagonisms and tends to lessen their intensity at the same time. Struggles within a regime are simultaneously a form of combat and a form of integration, since they reflect agreement on the basic principles of society and the institutions which apply them. When a regime's legitimacy is challenged, it becomes a weapon in the ensuing struggle; when it is accepted by a consensus, it is a means of integration'. (89)

There are two further observations which must be made. It is curious to note Duverger's definition of power as 'something always regarded as legitimate' (90) since this view is inconsistent with some of the conceptual analyses already discussed. The same
inconsistency is evident in his use of the term 'authority' which he describes as 'any unequal relationship in which one or several individuals dominate the other and bend them, more or less to their own will'. (91) Added to this is his adoption of the term 'domination', a term Aron (1970) regards as a more accurate translation of Weber's "Herrschaft" than the usual translation, i.e., authority. Clearly these inconsistencies are too important to be dismissed and so will be discussed later.

b) education as an agent of power.

Before attempting a summary discussion of this chapter, some reference must be made, however briefly at this point, to a particularly potent aspect of power; the notion of education itself as an agent of power.

In recent years, the work of such writers as Basil Bernstein and Pierre Bourdieu has reinforced the view that education is one of the main agents of cultural and social reproduction, and its modes of communication one of the major methods by which class struggles are reproduced. As Bourdieu claims:

'.....among all the solutions put forward throughout history to the problem of the transmission of power and privileges, there surely does not exist one that is better concealed, and therefore better adapted to societies which tend to refuse the
Bernstein, drawing on Bourdieu's work, has distinguished two sections of the middle class; one, the property-owning middle class reproducing itself through the ownership and control of capital, the other reproducing itself and therefore maintaining its position through the control of dominant and dominating forms of communication. Bernstein's theory of the classification and framing of educational knowledge leads him to the identification of educational codes and it is through these codes that knowledge and the form of knowledge is acquired and transmitted. (93) It is through this process that existing power relationships are maintained:

'Power maintains the classification (that is the insulations, the boundaries between things, be they relationships internal to the individual, or external). Power, however, may be realized through frames of different strengths. Framing regulates interaction and it is always present, even though the socialized and socializer may consider they are eliciting from each other a process of endless negotiation, of spontaneity, of unique authorship. In other words, frame strength regulates the modality of the socialization'. (94)

It is important to observe here that both Bernstein and Bourdieu emphasise the 'concealment' the 'camouflage' cf Duverger 1972 pp 241-45) It must also be noted that Bernstein's main focus is on cultural transmission and therefore his view of power is not well elaborated. There is considerable supportive evidence for the general thesis regarding the role of education in the transmission
of class culture; particularly the way teachers of the people have
themselves been regarded as agents in this process, and its
corollary, social control. (Tropp 1957, Keddie 1971, McCann 1977,
Sharp and Green 1975). More recently, Grace has said:

'...the origins of the occupational group under examination
(teachers) can be explicitly located in Victorian middle-class
preoccupation with the urban problem, as constituted by the
threat of 'anarchy' incipient in an urban working class. Thus
the teachers of the urban working class were quite clearly a
crucial sector of the 'agents of symbolic control' within
nineteenth-century capitalist society. As such, their
selection involved careful screening; their occupational
socialisation was bland and apolitical and their day-to-day
activities were closely monitored. The ideology of
professionalism and respectability and the process of 'being
cultured' served to distance the teachers from their own
socio-cultural origins and from any dangerous associations with
the organised working class'. (95)

Despite the move towards comprehensive education and despite the
polemic over equal opportunity of the democratisation of education,
the reproduction of class culture is still taking place. (Ford
1969, Keddie 1971) This has led Halsey ... in looking back at
British educational policy to observe that 'the essential fact of
twentieth century educational history is that egalitarian policies
have failed'. (96)

There are other complementary themes, one of the most important of
which is Marcuse's concept of 'one dimensional man', and his claim
that advanced industrial societies are producing a new social type
where consciousness is determined by technological requirements:
'The very mechanism which ties an individual to a society has changed and social control is anchored in the new needs which it has produced....Technology serves to institute new, more effective, and more pleasant forms of social control and cohesion'. (97)

Similarly, this development, which Gramsci called 'Americanism', would, he believed, change the nature of hegemonic control. (98) Thus, in much the same way Gramsci and Marcuse believed that the commonsense of the masses would lose its radical potential with the development of advanced industrial technology. What is particularly important here is the notion that technological controls appear to be the embodiment of reason and are maintained for the benefit of all classes of society. Consequently, contradiction appears irrational. Whether the so called 'scientific' rationalism of the 'natural order', on which the curriculum of many nineteenth century adult education initiatives was based, was designed to effect similar outcomes will form part of a later discussion. (pp.294-297)

For the moment it is only necessary to introduce the notion that education was an agent, if not the most important agent, of social control in the nineteenth century. What is particularly pertinent is Althusser's claim that the Church, as the dominant ideological state apparatus has now been replaced by the domination of education. (99) Clearly a return to these issues will be essential as this study progresses.

A number of other theorists could usefully have been included in this introduction, and it is arguable whether their omission is a serious error. However, the growing evidence and recognition that a
study of power is fundamental to the study of politics and that power is diffused at all levels of society and furthermore finds a particular focus in education, determines that discussion must here be limited to the strictly pertinent. A summary of concepts and aspects of power is now made possible. It is thus proposed to identify and clarify those perspectives on power and its exercise which will best inform this study and against which data can be evaluated.

c) the exercise of power as a force for cooptation.

It is important first to turn to the ubiquitous notion of co-optation. The notion of infiltration or absorption both as a tactic in the exercise of power and as a tactic in the adulteration or disarming of potential power is very persuasive. It has already been noted that Machiavelli saw the advantage to the ruler (the Prince) of increasing the standing of one of his own men in order to counter threats to his authority. (p 81) He also describes an associated ploy:

'To keep his minister up to the mark the prince, on his side, should be considerate towards him, should pay him honour, enrich him, put him in his debt, share with him both honours and responsibilities. Thus the minister will see how dependent he is on the prince; and then having riches and honours to the point of surfeit he will desire no more; holding so many offices, he cannot but fear changes'. (100)

A somewhat more elaborate form of co-optation is celebrated by Pareto for when a ruling elite of Foxes preserves the status quo by
letting in a few 'Lions', and visa versa, the 'Lions' are not only disarmed but contribute new life to the Foxes. Aron in commenting on Pareto, claims that in dealing with opposition the most humane method is absorption. Indeed:

'The elite that has displayed the most virtuosity in the absorption of revolutionaries is the English elite, which for several centuries has opened its doors to the most gifted of those who were not born into the privileged class'. (101)

Again, the notion finds a place in Marx's theory. There could be no absorption of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie. The dominant class would not voluntarily surrender its control over society. It would resist, and it would employ as part of its strategy the co-optation of the most prominent men of the proletariat. More recently, in discussing revolutionary and counter-revolutionary theory, Harvey suggests that:

'The counter-revolutionary co-optation of Marxist theory in Russia after Lenin's death, and similar counter-revolutionary co-optation of Marxist language into Western sociology (so much so that some sociologists suggest that we are all Marxists now) without conveying the essence of Marxist thinking, has effectively prevented the true flowering of Marxist thought and, concomitantly, the emergence of that humanistic society which Marx envisaged. Both the concepts and the projected social relationships embodied in the concepts were frustrated'. (102)

Thus threats to the contemporary wisdom or the political status quo are directly or indirectly neutralised by forms of co-optation. Marcuse has set forth a view that in advanced industrial countries a form of co-optation exists where the progress of science
and technology has established a system of social control by achieving the social and cultural integration of the working class, thereby eliminating any real force for change:

The critical theory of society, ie Marxism was, at the time of its origin, confronted with the presence of real forces....in the established society which moved (or could be guided to move) towards, more rational and freer institutions by abolishing the existing ones which had become obstacles to progress. These were the empirical grounds on which the theory was erected....without the demonstration of such forces, the critique of society would still be valid and rational, but it would be incapable of translating its rationality into terms of historical practice*. (103)

The view has, however been hotly contested by Bottomore. (104) This strategy is not limited to the political arena but also features in the control of ideas. Shapin and Barnes advance a view that the Mechanics Institutes of the nineteenth century were set up in the belief that a regime of scientific education for the working class would make them more docile. One purpose was to:

'.....lay down in the mind the general form of a communication system appropriate for controlling and monitoring the current form of production. Hence, it could help to establish the work habits required of a completely organised workforce, where individual components had to operate within close physical and temporal margins of error, and were highly interdependent and minimally redundant'. (105)

Moreover, the idea of introducing a 'cross fertilization' of working class and 'educated' class ideas into the classroom, the council chamber and the workplace, is behind concepts of community education, participative government and worker directors. It is no less a form of co-optation. The nineteenth century educational settlements were institutions for the meeting of educated and uneducated minds. Significantly, this coming together in fellowship might, according to Freire lead to a condition of cultural invasion.
This is a strategy whereby members of the dominant culture 'penetrate the cultural context of another group, and ignoring the potential of the latter, they impose their own view of the world upon those they invade and inhibit the creativity of the invaded by curbing their expression'. (106) Mathieson makes a similar observation when criticising the New Left and the new progressives. She has this to say:

'By diffusing power through discussion, by bringing working class pupils' culture into the classroom, the radicals are convinced that they will promote greater social justice. It is a conviction that makes them heirs to a strong tradition of moral purpose which characterises all prescriptive writing about English teaching since its origins in the nineteenth-century curriculum debate'. (107)

Two more brief examples should establish the point being made. Cockburn makes a number of valuable observations in her study of local politics. The gist of her contribution is that any efforts to involve local working class people in community affairs are overtly or covertly motivated by a concern to maintain control of the issues or to hide the reality of the problem facing them. For example, in inviting individuals to participate in community action programmes, attention is not focussed on the working class as such but upon the 'deprived', the 'poor'; what the Victorians called the 'residuum.' The purpose is to keep the groups small and is 'reflected in the bourgeois ideology of pluralism and participatory democracy'. (108)
In effect:

'It imposes blinkers which stop one working class group looking to another with similar problems as its natural ally and leads to a situation where groups in neighbourhood territories struggle in competition for the limited resources offered them - a situation often exploited by a local council'. (109)

The second example is cited by Bachrach and Baratz who claim that the particular potent form of co-optation is 'participatory democracy'. It gives, to quote Selznick, 'the opposition the illusion of a voice without the voice itself, and so stifles opposition without having to alter policy in the least'. (110)

Bachrach and Baratz record attempts to co-opt black militant leaders in Baltimore:

'Because the militants are few in number, they are highly exposed to the blandishments of whites with something to offer - elective or appointive office, membership on government boards and commissions, employment in professional and administrative capacities. Some have found it impossible in these circumstances, to remain true to "The Movement"'. (111)

Others refused to be co-opted for, to cite Cockburn again, 'to be a councillor is to accept the agenda of the council'. (112) Clearly, sufficient has now be said about co-optation. It is one form of the exercise of power that is all-pervading and is consequently not to be underestimated. Thus it is one of the key categories with which this study will be concerned.
d) a redefinition of power terms in the light of the foregoing discussion.

Power

A review of power terms is now in order. Duverger has written that 'Power is felt by those who obey it and by those who wield it'. (113) However, this does not describe what power is and, though some attempt has been made to review a variety of concepts, and though some measure of agreement over certain concepts is identifiable, there is still ambiguity regarding the definition and use of power terms. It has been demonstrated that power terms are used interchangeably. From earlier discussions it will be clear that Polsby's view that '......'power' 'influence' and 'control' are serviceable synonyms' (114) is unacceptable. The first consideration must be the term 'power' itself. Lukes complains that Bachrach and Baratz use the term in two distinct senses; in a general way to refer to all forms of successful control, and as a label for one particular type of power. (115) Clearly it is useful in descriptive terms to be able to collect all types of power under one label or power term. This makes descriptions of the exercise of power possible without the attendant necessity of specifying which type of power was exercised.

If however the term power is conceded as the collective noun then how can the concept of power in particular (that is as a sub-concept) be identified? Lukes solves the problem by calling this aspect of power 'coercion'. It is of interest to note that Aron and Duverger attempt to eliminate the
confusion by using the term 'domination'. These similarities are not however surprising. Aron equates domination with 'Herrschaft' and thus takes a Weberian view that authority is the legitimation of power. Similarly, Duverger defines power as 'something always regarded as legitimate'. (116) Most writers, whether they be in the elitist, pluralist or Marxist mould, would broadly agree with Weber's definition that power is:

'The probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance regardless of the basis on which this probability rests'. (117)

The view taken here is that power as a collective word is useful and thus, in this study, the collective term 'power' will concur with Weber's definition. Power as a sub-concept however; held distinct from other sub-concepts such as authority, force, and manipulation, demands a definitive unambiguous identification. Lasswell and Kaplan describe this aspect of power as being relational; not an attribute, not a 'simple property.....that can belong to a person or group considered in itself'. (118) Its most distinctive feature however must be as Weber claims, the probability that power will prevail; this is to say, its precariousness. These two characteristics of power identify it and isolate it from other sub-concepts. It would be possible to distinguish it by the term 'domination' but this would lead to confusion with 'authority' when eluding to Duverger or Aron. 'Domination' or an alternative 'compulsion' are also semantically to close to 'force' from which it
must be distinguished. And so, following Lukes, the term 'coercion' will be employed.

Force

Force is distinguished from power in that it is non-relational. The person or group subject to force has no options, no opportunity to negotiate. The major difference between power and force is that in the exercise of the former the recipient has choice; in the exercise of the latter he has not. Force is thus antithetical to authority and is in consequence exceedingly precarious. Without further elaboration this should provide an adequate working concept for this study.

Authority

The concept of authority, it has been noted, relies heavily on the classical formulation of Max Weber:

'As a rule both rulers and ruled uphold the internalizing power structure as "legitimate" by right, and usually the shattering of this belief in legitimacy has far-reaching ramifications'. (119)

There are but three clear-cut grounds on which to base this belief in legitimate authority; three types of legitimate rule. Bachrach and Baratz reject this definition of authority as 'formal power' or 'institutionalised power'. There are however aspects of their treatment of authority which are curious, since they appear to confuse the office of authority with its legitimacy. After first of all raising and then demolishing the spectre of authority as 'formal power' or 'prescribed by law' they
then go on to define authority in terms not significantly different from those which would result from an acceptance of the spirit if not the form of Weber's analysis. This elaboration has led to such power theorists as Talcott Parsons viewing power in terms of a 'capacity' an 'attribute' rather than a relationship; (120) an interpretation which Bachrach and Baratz are at pains to contest. In maintaining that authority (and power, which is related to it but antithetical to it) is relational, they adopt Friedrich's analysis of authority as 'a quality of communication' that poses 'the potentiality of reasoned elaboration'. (121) There does not seem to be any serious conflict with Weber here, for the maintenance of Rational-legal, Traditional or Charismatic authority depends on reasoned elaboration, on the continuance of its legitimation. Where this ceases to pertain, where a conflict of interests is involved, authority could not be maintained and thus any continued exercise of it would now revert to power or force. Therefore, it is the purpose of this study to conceive of authority in Friedrich's terms whilst accommodating Weber's categorization but reinforcing the notion that when there is a conflict of interests authority would be supplanted by some other form of power.

Influence and Manipulation

Turning now to the concepts of influence and manipulation, it becomes clear that anything but broad concepts of power lead to ambiguity and confusion. As Bachrach and Baratz rightly argue, influence and power are difficult to distinguish. Indeed their
analysis of manipulation and influence is considerably underdeveloped and represents the weakest part of their thesis. They define the difference between influence and power thus:

',...power depends on potential sanctions, while the exercise of influence does not'. (122)

However it does seem possible that a person could be influenced by another to the extent that his chosen course of action would involve a choice between what he believes to be sanctions. One distinguishing feature of influence is that, unlike other aspects of power, it can involve a third party in the power relationship and, though the agency exerting influence might not be threatening sanctions (for that would be power) the reaction of a third party might be to do so. For example, an officer of the local Mechanics' Institute might invite an individual member to avail himself of a course of lectures, arguing that this would find favour with the latter's employer and further his employment prospects. However, the individual might also be aware that should his employer discover that he has chosen not to avail himself of the opportunity, a sanction may be incurred in the form of loss of favour - a dilemma that did not exist before the invitation.

Bachrach and Baratz claim that the test of influence, in which compliance is seen as 'voluntary' or 'involuntary', is not very helpful - though they do not say why. Certainly, there would seem to some merit in Bierstedt's claim that:
'Influence is persuasive while power is coercive. We submit voluntarily to influence while power requires submission'. (123)

A more useful definition, and one that will be used throughout this study accommodates Bierstadt and is advanced by Lukes:

'......power may or may not be a form of influence - depending on whether sanctions are involved; while influence and authority may or may not be a form of power - depending on whether a conflict of interests is involved'. (124)

It is worth noting that manipulation differs from influence because the former is unobtrusive and indeed often unseen. There cannot be a significant difference however because it is evident that one can be unaware of being influenced or at least unaware of the source of the influence. The compliant person may not be aware that he is being manipulated. Thus, manipulation is an aspect of force because the recipient has no choice. However, a person can be manipulated by influence. In this event, following the argument above, the latter then becomes power. Lukes regards manipulation as a latent form of power directly related to influence. The interpretation informing this study differs from Lukes in rejecting the notion that manipulation can be other than power.
Repressive and Ideological State Apparatuses

The definition of Repressive State Apparatuses here referred to is in the Marxist tradition:

'This term means: not only the specialised apparatus (in the narrow sense) whose existence and necessity I have recognised in relation to the requirements of legal practice, ie the police, the courts, the prisons; but also the army which . . . intervenes directly as a supplementary repressive force in the last instance, when the police and its specialised auxiliary corps are 'outrun by events'; and above this ensemble, the Head of State, the government and the administration.' (125)

Thus it is most clearly identified with Force since, following Bachrach and Baratz' analysis, it is exercised in the face of non-compliance, and restrains all choice of action. However, of much more importance in the context of this present account is the concept of Ideological State Apparatuses.

Ideological State Apparatuses

Rather than functioning by force, these apparatuses function by ideology. Institutions which can be regarded as Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) are:

The religious ISA
The educational ISA
The family ISA
The legal ISA
The political ISA
The trade union ISA
The communications ISA

The cultural ISA

The distinction between the Repressive and Ideological State Apparatuses is described by Althusser. He observed that there are no such things as purely repressive or purely ideological state apparatuses:

'. . . the (Repressive) State Apparatus functions massively and predominantly by repression (including physical repression), while functioning secondarily by ideology . . .

. . for their part the Ideological State Apparatuses function massively and predominantly by ideology, but they also function secondarily by repression, even if ultimately, but only ultimately, this is very attenuated and concealed, even symbolic.' (126)

Power exercised through the state apparatuses of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was often very subtle. This subtlety, this 'double-functioning' was a common feature. However, in the context of adult education provision, the religious, educational and cultural ISAs call for particular attention.

It is now appropriate to bring this discussion of concepts of power to a conclusion.
Conclusions

This brief summary has concentrated on a number of significant concepts; all of them, as will be shown in the Chapters which follow, generally relevant, and a number of them specifically relevant to the study of power in adult education in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Attention has been paid to:

a) the role of power as a source of conflict and as a source of integration,

b) the persistence of strategies of accommodation, co-optation, and cultural invasion,

c) the central role of power in education, mediated through its curriculum, transmission, and through the agents of transmission, the teachers,

In bringing this summary to a conclusion, some observations must be made on the probable and possible ways power is exercised throughout society. This permits accommodation of such concepts as elitist and social class power structures; repressive and ideological state apparatuses, and the notions of conflict and integration. These perspectives are brought together in diagramatic form (fig.2) and so a few explanatory notes will suffice.
Fig. 2  A Heuristic Model of Power Relations

It must be noted that the model above is a heuristic one and is in no way descriptive of social events. This is to say that it is not a model of actual, observed power relations. Consistent with the purpose outlined at the beginning of this chapter, it is a model of what is possible and might even be probable. Neither does it assume that all men and women have aspirations for social mobility; though, compatible with the research evidence, (127) it suggests that a considerable proportion of them do, and thus the model accommodates them. The exercise of power in all its forms is manifested, following the pluralist analysis, at all levels; from the ruler to the ruled, at
every level of interaction. Following Dahl (1968), the closest equivalent to the power relation is the causal relation. Power relations are thus presented as a subset of causal relations. The Janus face of power leads to either conflict or integration. Since, following Duverger (1972), the purpose of the ruler's exercise of power tends towards integration and the ruled towards conflict, integration is shown in the upper segment of the diagram, and conflict in the lower. The area of greatest potential for either integration or conflict corresponds with the Area of Contention. This is the effect. Thus power relations relate to cause, and the integration or conflict which results relates to the effect.

Despite power relations operating at all levels, there exist elements of a 'power structure' (Hunter 1959) (128) and, following Althusser (1971), this is affected through Repressive State (the law, police, the army) and Ideological State Apparatuses; in particular education and religion.

Opposing this power are demands from the ruled, for access to the means of power, coinciding with aspirations for social mobility. The vast majority of the ruling group and the ruled remain comparatively unaffected since they are, on the one hand, too far removed from the direct consequences of demands from the ruled and, on the other hand, unaware of the apparatuses of state control. (129)

Where the more articulate, 'conscientized' (cf Marx) members of the ruled group meet with the 'executive' of the ruler - in bureaucratic organisations, the civil service and education for instance - is where power struggles are at their keenest. This again corresponds to the Area of Contention.
CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES OF DATA

i. Analysis of Power 137
ii. Methodology 142
iii. Sources of Data 149
CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES OF DATA

In Chapter I, a brief summary of the major developments in nineteenth and early twentieth century adult education was given as a location for the main purpose of this study. Though a number of instances of the exercise of power and a number of consistent strategies of social control were suggested, it was not considered appropriate to develop them as part of any general theory at that stage. The purpose of the chapters to follow will be to analyse historical data, the greater proportion derived from the county of Surrey, in order to reinforce, qualify, or challenge existing theory. It is now appropriate to outline how this will be achieved.

1. Analysis of Power

There was no attempt to define or re-define concepts of power in the light of the data. Evidence of the exercise of power was interpreted by reference to the conceptual analysis outlined in Chapter II. Any conceptual imprecision must remain to be disputed or re-evaluated by others observing the same and similar data and as a consequence of subsequent analyses of power.

The use of the word 'power' normally subsumes all power terms as outlined in Chapter II. The choice of specific terms demands more
than a search for semantic accuracy and was admitted only where conceptual imprecision would invalidate the observed effect of such exercise of power. Thus for example, the use of the terms 'manipulation' or 'influence' were preferred when differences in their exercise or effect required particular evaluation. Otherwise they both shared the same generative label 'power'. When the term 'control' was preferred, it was equated with problems of order and was more often associated with such strategies as 'absorption', 'cooptation', 'cultural invasion' and the concept of 'integration' as developed by Duverger, rather than with the exercise of force. More generally, the term was used to describe the effect of power relations as applied to defined social groups. Thus to describe an event as an exercise of social control had meaning.

Power can be exercised at all levels, this is to say, by rulers at every level in the social hierarchy. The definition of a ruler must not be assumed to concur with an aristocratic concept. The ruler can be identified at the lowest level in any hierarchical structure. Indeed one aim of this study was to show that the prevailing party in any action involving the exercise of power assumes the power characteristics of a ruler. In this respect at least it shares a view concurrent with the pluralist concept of power. (Dahl)

Following the notion that the exercise of power results in either conflict or integration (Duverger) this study aimed to show that integration is both an aspect of power as well as the effect of
its exercise. Put another way, integration is power exercised and is rarely if ever a compromise. Compromise is only possible between equals - and nineteenth century society is distinguished by its celebration of inequality. Any resolution of conflict resulting in integration is the victory of the interests of one party at the expense of another. Thus the control strategies of 'cultural invasion' (Freire) and 'cooptation' (Marx) can be bracketed with 'integration'. Throughout this study therefore, integration is discussed as both a cause and an effect of power and is thus a strategy of the ruler.

It is not uncommon to find in the literature of the history of education an over-indulgence with the deeds of middle-class philanthropists and reformers. Here is often where the power base is seen to be located. However, there are, in reality, strict limits to the power of the middle classes, and the real power has been claimed to lie with the upper classes (or more specifically, the capitalist owners) who are said by Holly to be the 'invisible ruling class'. Alternatively, the nineteenth century professional, non-capitalist middle class (the 'forgotten middle class') has been described as having power out of all proportion to its numbers. (Perkin 1969) Consideration of these and similar notions formed part of this investigation and, more particularly, the nature of the exercise of such power by the apparatuses of the state; both repressive and ideological.
11. Methodology

Mention was made earlier that a great deal of the history of education has been written from 'above'; this is to say, from the vantage point of those in authority, the politicians, great educators and reformers; from the vantage point of those controlling the machinery of Church and State. It was also claimed that this study would attempt to balance this condition by seeking out data representing history from 'below'. In attempting such a history however, the question of definition becomes paramount. The fundamental definition concerns the problem of discontinuity. At what point in the continuum from 'above' to 'below' is it possible to claim that history can now be written from 'below'? At what stage does the term 'below' become discontinuous with the term 'above'? Two definitions might seem to be appropriate. The first is that 'above' refers to the provider rather than the recipient - though of course the provider might well, and often did, benefit also as a recipient. The second is that, where the provider was invariably a representative of the upper classes, this might be identified with 'above' - in contrast to the working classes who were 'below.' Thus any working class person or institution or organisation having aspired to middle-class values would now represent an ascending position. From this it follows that working class organisations would represent history from 'below' - though here too the attitudes and beliefs of the recipients rather than the providers would more adequately fulfil the demands of history from 'below.' The difficulty of identifying such evidence was a major task of this study.
The next problem relates to that of data collection. Again, it was claimed that this account would attempt to search out causes, or universal patterns, and provide evidence for the generation of theory. Thus it would seek a sociological perspective. However, it is generally agreed that a basic method of sociology is comparison of data and there is a paucity of such data to be derived from 'below.' Historical data is very largely in the form of written testament and in a semi-literate society such testament must be treated with caution. For example, despite Stones' claim that illiteracy was not as widespread as might be expected in the early nineteenth century, one is rightfully suspicious of the bona fides of 'representatives of the working classes' whose letters to local newspapers could show spectacular fluency and were occasioned by a peppering of Latin phrases! (1) Therefore, following Glaser and Strauss, the present strategy was to regard all statements about events pertaining to the area under study as being data. This means that statements from any source, including the statements and writings of colleagues and other researchers in the field, together with those of the present author, were admitted into the account as data. So too, statements and values revealed in imaginative literature, ie, the literature of ideas and sentiments were also admitted since, as Weiner observes, such ideas 'are indeed real and have consequences.'

Interpretation of Data

The question of how to generate a theory from the limited data still remained. In no small measure this developed from insights. These insights were gained from the consistency with which attitudes and beliefs were expressed in the literature and from the
consistent characteristics of institutional settings. The former also contributed to a 'theoretical saturation', a term used by Grace (1978) to refer to a researcher's attempt 'to take on the theory and the world view of another through very detailed knowledge of their discourses.' (2) Therefore, these consistencies were regarded as evidence of integrity, despite any unsympathetic judgement of time. First, it was necessary to foster an acquaintance with the significant locations where nineteenth century adult education enterprises flourished, for:

'...to get to know an alien form of life is to know how to find one's way about in it, to be able to participate in it as an assembly of practices.' (3)

Certainly, familiarity with these institutional settings; their geographical locations, primary purposes, architectural styles, provided valuable evidence of the scale of the endeavour. Second, personal insights regarding existing theory had to be developed since it has been said that:

'researchers often stifle potential insights by virtue of too strict adherence to existing theory, particularly "grand" theory.' (4)

However, as with any researcher:

'no sociologist can possibly erase from his mind all the theory he knows before he begins his research.' (5)
This was to be a particular problem, for the purpose of this study was not to test pre-established hypotheses but instead to discover what aspects of power emerged from the study of the data. Then it would be appropriate to make reference to existing theory, or similar phenomena which had occurred elsewhere, in an attempt to generate a new theory. As Glaser and Strauss recommend:

'the trick is to line up what one takes as theoretically possible or probable with what one is finding in the field. Such existing sources of insights are to be cultivated, though not at the expense of insights generated by the qualitative research, which are still closer to the data.' (6)

To summarise: an attempt was made to develop insights into a systematic theory so that any contest between insights and existing theory became a 'comparative analysis that delimits the boundaries of existing theory while generating a more general one.' (7) Clearly insights derived from data emanating from 'above', together with insights derived from the limited data from 'below' were set against existing theory. However, very little systematic theory of power relations in adult education exists, though theory in an embryonic form is implicit in the works of Tylecote and Harrison. Perhaps the contributions of Shapin and Barnes have come closest to making such theory explicity. It is for this reason that no hypotheses were postulated at the commencement of this account. Consequently, the development of theory is the result of an evolutionary process; a process determined by the data, and a process which itself can be viewed as a contribution to the data.
It is now appropriate to return to the question of discontinuities.

Musgrave has observed:

'The nature of the hypothesis or theory being tested, or of the question being asked, will play the vital role in determining which continuities are important, since any era may be analysed along several dimensions, in each of which several discontinuities will be found.' (8)

In this study, the questions being asked are directed towards establishing a theory of the exercise of power in nineteenth and early twentieth century adult education. The continuities which most appropriately determine the historical period under investigation coincide with the acceleration of working class political demands predisposing the educational enterprises of the early nineteenth century, finding particular focus in the Mechanics' Institutes, and with the promise of a 'new beginning' heralded by the 1919 Report. (9) Thus, the generations under study lie between the years 1800 and 1920. It is important however to accept this only in so far as it provides a convenient focus for research. In order to maintain the integrity of this focus it was frequently necessary to refer to attitudes and events established in the eighteenth century and earlier, and occasionally to project the interpretation of events into the later twentieth century. The nineteenth century, no more than any other century, was not a discrete and insular period of history. The processes forming nineteenth century thought and attitudes were a continuation of previous historical periods and, equally, twentieth century thought
and attitudes are a continuation of nineteenth century processes.

A particular relevance of this study is that it is supported by hitherto unrevealed and unresearched sources of evidence from the county of Surrey. Earlier studies have focused attention on adult education enterprises primarily in the northern counties of England, notably those of Hudson, Hole, Tylecote and Harrison. However, it has been noted that adult education in the southern counties of England was developing apace in the nineteenth century and one purpose of this study was to reinforce or qualify theory drawn from previous studies. Two further observations are therefore pertinent.

First, because the primary data of adult education in Surrey had received little attention and had been, for the most part, unrevealed and uncoordinated, there was ever the likelihood of stumbling upon interesting and absorbing caches of data. There was always the danger of responding to the intrinsic fascination of such data; of not wanting to disregard it, even when its relevance had become questionable. However, as Glaser and Strauss warn:

'To be of optimal use for theory, caches need to be used in combination with data drawn from a variety of sources, all subjected to comparative analysis. A cache, no matter how interesting in itself, has no meaning for theory unless it is related to it. It must check out, or correct, or amplify the researcher's emerging hypotheses.' (10)
Therefore, sources of data are fully acknowledged but the analysis or even the reporting of its content is not exhausted and is instead restricted to its relevance to this study. Secondly, all historical examples are used to illustrate the exercise of power in its various forms. They are not used as proof of a particular hypothesis — though no doubt they could be used elsewhere in studies claiming a commitment to a logico-deductive strategy.

To summarise; this approach and methodology is essentially within the phenomenological paradigm. It need be recalled and noted that no hypotheses were formulated, and any theory subsequently generated was derived from the data, for:

'Theory based on data can usually not be completely refuted by more data or replaced by another theory. Since it is too intimately linked to data, it is destined to last despite its inevitable modification and reformulation'. (11)

This does not mean that the data was, as it were, 'allowed to speak for itself'; that there was no attempt at interpretation. What it does mean is that the context of statements and actions were of the utmost importance in determining the meanings of those statements and actions, both for the historical actors and the present writer. This 'context dependence' is elaborated by Cicourel (1971) as 'situational embeddedness' and by Garfinkel (1967) as 'indexicality':

'Indexical expressions and statements containing them are not freely repeatable; in a given discourse, not all their replicas therein are also translations of them'. (12)
The theory thus generated was not based on taken-for-granted descriptions of the everyday world of nineteenth and early twentieth century men and women but on a theoretical stance which, by suspending the writer's common sense belief in reality, permitted their world to be treated as a phenomenon. (13)

iii Sources of Data

In January 1980, when this study was commenced, the discovery of substantial data describing the provision of adult education in the county of Surrey seemed unlikely. Thus it would be necessary to rely heavily on published accounts of adult education in other parts of the country; in particular, Lancashire and Yorkshire, as mentioned above. Gradually, however, the data began to emerge, and though it remained necessary to include those other accounts, in order to locate this study in context, hitherto undisturbed and unresearched data eventually became of primary importance.

Data from Surrey

Data relating to particular institutions in Surrey were, to a very great extent, gleaned from scraps of information in local Directories and from the somewhat meagre local history collections in the County's public libraries. Each one of these collections, twenty eight in all, was researched. The Muniment Room, Guildford, provided information relating to the Cranleigh Literary and Scientific Institution and to the mutual improvement societies in the Godalming area. Data pertaining to technical instruction are available at the Surrey
Records Office in Kingston. This was mainly derived from the Minutes and correspondence of the Technical Instruction Committee. This source also provided some limited information pertaining to the Reigate Mechanics' Institute. The main sources informing the histories of the Kingston and Richmond Institutions were to be found in the local history sections of the Kingston (Heritage Trust) and Richmond public libraries respectively. The Chertsey and Egham Museums were significant sources of data. Chertsey made Wetton's 'Chertseyana' available, and the Literary and Scientific Institute in Egham, now the Museum, contained a number of important items detailing the histories of the Institute and the development of technical instruction in the area. A number of local history and archaeological societies provided data on local institutions. The local history section of Sutton Public Library, and the Minute Library, Lambeth contained small collections. However, the largest caches of data relating to particular institutions were discovered at Guildford Institute and at Croydon Local Studies Library. The former houses the Minute Books of the Guildford institutions, in addition to a number of scrapbooks of newspaper cuttings and advertisements. The latter contains the Minute Books and other data pertaining to the Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution. Other data was forthcoming from the Adult Education Institutes at Dorking and Godalming. The archives of local newspapers were, for the most part, useful in confirming the histories of institutions. The most rewarding source was the British Newspaper Library at Collingwood, since material data from local newspaper archives is very limited. This, together with occasional references in the histories and other publications of local writers, provided the source material which informed this study.
Finally

One purpose of this account was to bring together all the available data relating to adult education in Surrey. However, its main purpose did not permit a chronological history. Thus close attention to Volume One reveals an incomplete history of adult education in the County. To remedy this, Volume Two is devoted to a number of Appendices which together supplement the data used in support of the arguments addressed in Volume One. This raised a particular problem for it can be expected that there will be occasions when Volume Two is consulted without reference to the earlier volume. An Introduction is essential therefore, since the data needs to be located in context. This has led to some minor repetition on a few occasions. Usually this repetition facilitates further elaboration or re-establishes the perspective of the particular history.

It was stated above that all data would be treated as evidence. Thus data relating to schools and teachers, and other apparently irrelevant details could not be left out of the account. In a number of cases very little else is known about a particular enterprise and so, for example, a street name or name of an individual teacher, school or location, might provide the only evidence upon which further research could be established.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Locating the Enquiry</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Concepts of Power</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>Methodology and Sources of Data</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NOTES

PART ONE

CHAPTER ONE  LOCATING THE ENQUIRY

(1) Samuel R (1975) Village Life and Labour RKP pxiii


(3) This point is made by Thompson E P (1963) and is elaborated by E E Lampard Industrial Revolution American Historical Association 1957, p7


(6) Marwick op cit p129


(9) Quoted in Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy Penguin Books, 1963 pp197-8

(10) Freire P (1972b) Pedagogy of the Oppressed Penguin Books p121


(12) Price (1971) op cit p147

(13) R Brimley Johnson (1925) Letters of Hannah More London


It might also be noted that the Commission appointed in 1832 to enquire into the employment of children in factories commended A R Strutt of Belper, Derby on the humane conditions of employment pertaining in his factories.
Althusser, following Marx, identifies the State Apparatus; which includes the Government, police, army etc. He also identifies the Ideological State Apparatuses which include, the religious, education, family, political, cultural etc. The main distinction is that the former (the repressive S A) functions massively by repression or force and secondarily by ideology, the latter functions massively by ideology and secondarily by repression.

It must be remembered that poverty and illiteracy, brought about by changes in social relationships, enclosures of common land etc were as much a problem in rural areas as urban areas. (see Thompson E P (1963)) There was indeed a fear that man might forsake the land: 'What plowman could read the renowned history of Tom Hickathrift, Jack the Giant Killer, or the Seven Wise Men, would be content to whistle up one furrow and down another, from dawn in the morning to the setting of the sun?' Quoted in Lawson J (1959) Primary Education in East Yorkshire 1560 - 1902 p13


Mr Warren to the Grand Jury of Hull, 1859. Quoted in Tropp,A (1957) op cit p59

See the writings of George Combe for example, Lectures on Popular Education Edinburgh 1848: See also Robert Owen
The explanation advanced by Jones is that puritanism in the eighteenth century was not an exposition of theological dogma but was instead an expression of austere and devout religious temper: conduct not dogma.

(25) Jones M G (1938) _op cit_ p4

(26) T H Huxley: evidence to the Royal Commission on Technical Education (The Samuelson Report 1882)

(27) D Wilson, Rev (1819) _The National Schools a National Blessing_. A Sermon Preached at Christ's Church, Middlesex....in aid of the Spitalfields Schools. London pp32-33

(28) I use the word 'classes' when I wish to call attention to the fact that people in the early nineteenth century recognised certain sub-categories within the working class as a whole. Mechanics and Artisans, for instance.

(29) Wyse T (1836) _op cit_ pp310-311


(33) Lock J (1693) _Some though concerning Education_ Section 94 In contrast see Hannah More, _Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education_ where she claims that it is a fundamental error to consider children as innocent beings rather than beings with a corrupt nature and evil disposition. p44

(34) Arnold M _Culture and Anarchy_ Preface PX
Dover Wilson (ed) Cambridge University Press 1932

(35) Grace G (1978) Teachers, Ideology and Control p21 RKP


(37) Kitsuse,J I(1962) 'Societal reaction to deviant behaviour':problems of theory and method' in _Social Problems_ Vol.9 pp247-256
Put another way, the question is: can social control lead to the amplification of deviance or can social control lead to the elimination or attenuation of deviance?

Though attendance tended to be higher in the counties than in the cities there is evidence that the size of the community was not an important factor. Evidence from recent work suggests that attendance at church was related to classes and different styles of living. Indeed, the lower the socio-economic class the more attenuated the practice. (Goodrich R M quoted in Martin D 1967 op cit p20)

Hudson estimated that the Adult Schools had taught 150000 people to read but that in the year 1851 only 3500 were being taught by them. Hudson J W (1851) A History of Adult Education


Mrs Humphrey Ward (1889) Robert Elsmere Smith Elder p472-3


Evans D (1883) The Sunday Schools of Wales SSU

Dr Pole claimed that the first school exclusively for the instruction of adults was opened in Wales by the Rev Thomas Charles of Bala in 1811. He referred to him as the 'First Establisher and Father of Adult Schools'. Pole T (1814) The Rev Griffith Jones rector of Llanddowror, Carmarthenshire, opened a Circulating Charity School in 1731 at which adults and children attended.

Welsh Piety, Letter to a friend, August 16 1729. Quoted in Jones M G (1938) op cit p309


The notion of co-optation or 'absorption' is common to both Pareto and Marx. It is also important in Bachrach & Baratz's concept of power (Bachrach & Baratz 1970). There are also similarities with Friere's 'cultural invasion' and David Harvey's claim that 'counter-revolutionary co-optation is the perversion of a theory from a revolutionary to a counter-revolutionary state' (Harvey, D 1973)

On another level, this form of control through 'absorption' is illustrated by the schoolboys of Barbiana:

'Languages are created by the poor, who then go on renewing them forever. The rich crystallize them in order to put on the spot anybody who speaks in a different way. Or in order to make him fail exams'. Letter to a Teacher by the School of Barbiana Penguin 1970 pp23-23
Dr Birkbeck, whilst working at Anderson's Institute in Glasgow, devoted a certain amount of his time to teaching 'unwashed artificers.' This led him to organise a Mechanics' Class. After he moved to London he took a major part in forming the London Mechanics' Institute in 1823. For this history see Hodgen, M T (1925) *op cit* p46. For a contrary view that its formation can be traced to Timothy Claxton's Mechanical Institute of 1817. See Kelly, T (1970) *op cit*. The idea of Mechanics' Institutes was also suggested as early as 1814 by Dr Dick of Methwen. See Kelly, T (1970) *op cit*.

London Mechanics' Institute, *Rules and Orders* 1823

Minute Book, Guildford Mechanics' Institute 1836

Minute Book, Cranleigh Literary and Scientific Institute 1849: Muniment Room Guildford

Simon Joan (1968) 'Was there a charity school movement' in Simon B (Ed) *Education in Leicestershire 1540 - 1940* Also Simon B (1968) *op cit* for a general view. Also Silver H (1965) *The Concept of Popular Education: a Study of Ideas and Social Movements in the Nineteenth Century*


Suspicions that education as 'an engine of destruction', were still held is quoted by Booth. See Booth A J (1869) Robert Owen London p56

Shapin S & Barnes B (1976) *op cit* p56

(76) The Rev Phillip Wicksteed, first Warden of the University Hall Settlement (founded by Mrs Humphrey Ward) faced the same problem. He was to say 'I was uneasy all the time.....I could never quite feel that the Settlement was doing the work it set out to do'. Wicksteed P (1921) Early Memories of University Hall in Memoriam Mrs Humphrey Ward and the Passmore Edwards Settlement. Mary Ward Settlement (June 1921) p23 The Ashton Chronicle was also to complain: 'I have not seen a single Mechanic's Institute accomplish the object avowedly contemplated by its projectors' Quoted in Tylecote M (1957) The Mechanics Institutes in Lancashire and Yorkshire before 1851

(77) Hole J (1857) op cit

(78) Brougham H (1835) Address to the Manchester Mechanic's Institute Manchester Taylor & Garnett pp14-15

(79) The Mechanic's Institutes were nevertheless aware of their failures: 'Nothing can persuade us that all systems of education are false that do not teach a man his political rights and duties'. Mechanics Magazine, September 11th 1824 See also Chapter 8 'Artisans and Others' in Thompson E P (1963) op cit

(80) Pilditch P (1927) The early days of the Richmond Athenaeum and now Lecture delivered at the open meeting of the session 1927 - 28 November 7th 1927 p9

(81) Styche T E J (1973) A Brief History of Epsom, Ewell and District Literary Society Epsom p11
Many of the technical colleges were created later in the century out of Mechanic's Institutes.

The term 'filching time' is significant because it has been suggested as another reason for their decline: the fact that men worked so hard and in intolerable conditions that 'it unfits a man for mental application and study.' See however Note 85 below.

St Monday, which Harrison (1961) says was known as 'Cobblers Monday' in Pudsey, Yorkshire. This refers to the common habit of workmen, mainly the better paid, staying away from work on Mondays. In a reply to a letter to the Birmingham Journal, complaining that the working man 'could not spare an hour for education without sacrifice', a correspondent observed that 'the Birmingham mechanic will not, in general, if ever, work more than five days a week'. (Birmingham Journal 15 February 1844) Quoted in Reid D A (1976) The Decline of St Monday Past and Present No 71 p78.

After the copyright decision of 1774 cheap reprints of various kinds of literature became available and access, through Circulating Libraries, through the radical press, through Sunday Schools, Workers Mutual Societies, Mechanic's Institutes and so on, became an increasing feature of the education of working men who were gradually becoming more literate.

For a further account see Kelly T (1966) op cit.
As this study amply instances, the working class and their Associations saw, in education, the means to social and economic emancipation. The Co-operators urged their supporters to 'form themselves into classes for mutual instruction' (The Co-operator No 6 1828) and Hetherington's weekly 'Poor Mans Guardian' urged, 'circulate the truths which we write and you shall be free'. (Poor Man's Guardian, June 14th 1831 p2)

Lovett W & Collins J (1841) Charism: A New Organisation of the People p76

John Doherty's National Union of the Working Class and Others. Doherty was critical of the Mechanic's Institutes and consciously promoted independent working class education institutions.

Lovett W & Collins J (1841) op cit

Hodgen M T (1925) Workers Education in England and the United States Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner p89

National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church which took over much of the work previously carried out by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. Its non-conforming counterpart was the British and Foreign School Society

see Mansbridge A (1913) An adventure in Working Class Education University Tutorial Classes Longmans

Campbell Thomas quoted in H Hale Bellot University College London 1826 - 1926 London 1929 p52

Godwin W (1798) Enquiry Concerning Political Justice and its Influence on Morals and Happiness Chapter 2 p294

Mill J S Inaugural address delivered to the University of St Andrews London 1867 p6

In 1850, William Sewell of Oxford, proposed the foundation of university professorships and lectureships in the large towns and large centres of the population. Sewell W (1850) Suggestion for the extension of the University, submitted to the Rev The Vice Chancellor. Oxford

Benjamin Jowett Paper to the Vice Chancellor of Oxford 1874
(100) Moulton R G (1890) *The University Extension Movement* pp10-11, quoted in Jepson N A (1973) p99

(101) Linden West (1972) 'The Tawney legend re-examined' in *Studies in Adult Education* Vol. 4 No. 2


(104) Simon B (1965) *Education and the Labour Movement* Lawrence and Wishart p90

(105) Jepson N A (1973) *op cit* p225


(107) Kelly T (1970) *op cit*


(109) Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the state of popular education in England. (*The Newcastle Report*) 1861

(110) Further discussion, particularly in relation to the founding of the National Education League, can be found in Simon B (1974) *op cit* pp361-387


(112) Kitson Clark G (1962) *op cit* p40

(113) Maurice F D (1855) *Dedication to Learning and Working* 1968 edn. Styler (ed) Oxford University Press 228

(114) Robert Owen, quoted in Thomas Cooper(1872) *op cit*
A Working Women's College was founded in 1864 in Queen's Square, Bloomsbury, London. In 1874, due to a disagreement with a faction in the College who saw advantages in amalgamating with the Working Men's College, a minority group broke away and founded a College for Working Women. This College still survives within the walls of the Working Men's College under the name 'Frances Martin College' a name adopted in 1922 on the death of its leading spirit, Frances Martin.

Quoted in Harrison J F C (1954) A History of the Working Men's College p91

Maurice F D (1855) op cit p133

Quoted in Harrison J F C (1954) op cit pp91-92

Thompson McCausland C P (1973) The Working Men's College Adult Education Vol. 45 No. 6 p362


Harrison J F C (1954) op cit

Quoted in Pimlott J A R (1935) op cit

Mrs Humphrey Ward (1918) A Writer's Recollections Collins p289

Where the teacher nowadays involves his students in active learning Mrs Ward believed that a passive role for the learner can at the right moment be turned to appropriate action. Thus Mary Ward thought that the working classes would respond to 'stars' to 'spellbinders' which is why she emphasised the 'best men available'.

ibid

Kelly T (1970) op cit p239

Kitson Clark G (1965) op cit p191

'Cobden and Shuttleworth were two of the shrewdest men in England; and while Cobden stated that nothing was to be hoped for from the religious bodies, Shuttleworth was equally sure that nothing was to be hoped for from the civil bodies. Both were apparently right in 1859, and yet in 1870.....an Education Bill creating local authorities was not only possible but inevitable'.


Bills allowing the levelling of a rate for education had been defeated in 1807 (Samuel Whitbread's Bill), and in 1820 (Henry Brougham's Bill). John Roebuck presented another Bill in 1833 and this too might have failed. The Commons, however, had been elected under an extended franchise following the Reform Act of 1832 and had received numerous petitions from all parts of the country.

Report of the Parliamentary Committee on the State of Education 1834

In his General Report for 1867, Matthew Arnold wrote: 'In Prussia, which is so often quoted, education is not flourishing because it is compulsory, it is compulsory because it is flourishing'.

See 132 above

The Code of Regulations made by the Committee of the Privy Council on Education for the administration of grants to schools was revised in 1862 and in the light of the Report of the Newcastle Commission.*

* Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the State of Popular Education in England. (The Newcastle Report) 1861)

Quoted in Sandford,F(1889) op cit p123 and Super,R H(1962) op cit p243
For example, Report of the Royal Commission known as the Schools Enquiry Commission (The Taunton Report) 1868. Affirmed by W E Forster in a speech introducing the 1870 Education Bill.

Elementary Education Act 1870. Speech by W E Forster introducing the Elementary Education Bill, House of Commons, February 17th 1870

Report of the Royal Commission on Technical Education. 1882-4 (The Samuelson Report)

Report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education. 1895 (The Bryce Report)

Particularly in a society in which specialist knowledge is at a premium an education system is a major instrument of social control. Examinations act as filters, denying access to knowledge (Stringer 1974). See also Bernstein's writings on cultural transmission and reproduction. (1975, 1977)
(156) see O'Connor J (1973) *The Fiscal Crisis of the State*
London: St. Martin's Press

(157) Williams R (1961) *op cit* p164

(158) For opposing views, see Homer Lane (1928) *Talks to Parents
and Teachers* Allen and Unwin, or A S Neil (1921) *A Dominie
in Doubt* Herbert Jenkins, and Jencks C (1972) *Inequality*
Penguin Books

(159) For a recent discussion of *The 1919 Report* see:

Final Report: Ministry of Reconstruction: Adult Education
Committee, HMSO 1919 Re-issued by University of Nottingham
in 1980 as *The 1919 Report*. pp. 7–44

(160) *ibid

(161) *Adult Education: A Plan for Development* (The Russell Report)
1973 HMSO p1

(162) Marriot S (1981) *A Backstairs to a Degree* Department of
Adult and Extramural Studies, University of Leeds p92

(163) *The 1919 Report* p83

(164) *The Russell Report* p1

(165) *Education Act 1944: section 41

(166) *The Russell Report* para 2.1, p ix

for Education Guidance, 3rd Edition p5

(168) Jones H A (169) *Education without End* Leicester University
Press p7
CHAPTER TWO CONCEPTS OF POWER


(4) Beattie J (1966) Other Cultures; aims, methods and achievements in Social Anthropology London RKP p139

(5) Aristotle Politics

(6) This is not of course to suggest that ancient writers were averse to conceptual analysis. On the contrary. Indeed we need only evidence Plato's 'Phaedrus', 'Protagoras', or Aristotle's First Philosophy.

(7) At the same time, and aided by a new appraisal of God, the universe and morality, the rise of capitalism led to greater social mobility. Man no longer had his place in society assigned by God. 'The classes which existed beneath the king and nobility were warned in vain not to 'presume above their own degree' or to exceed their betters in dress, food or in any other manner. The very fact that throughout the century such exhortations will never cease, shows us that many of the lower orders were in fact doing just that, and the need of the rulers for their support meant that those who were supposed to guard 'degree and place' were in reality engaged in helping to destroy it'.

Koenigsberger H G and Mosse G L (1968) Europe in the Sixteenth Century Longmans p2

(8) Sabine G H (1937) A History of Political Theory George Harrap p287

(9) Machiavelli The Prince Penguin Books p87


(11) Machiavelli op cit p67

(12) Hobbes Leviathan chap xiv

(13) ibid chap xvii
Derivations form the meanings which men attribute to their actions. They are similar to Marx’s concept of ideology.

It might be noted that elimination did not necessarily mean death. A particularly effective elimination was that by which men and women were transported to Australia for their crimes.


Aron R (1968), Main Currents in Sociological Thought 2 Penguin Books, p236

Bachrach P and Baratz M S (1970) op cit p28

Aron uses the word 'domination' in translating Weber's 'Herrenschaf' (op cit p240) on the basis that Herr means 'master': one who dominates. Talcott Parsons uses the term 'imperative control'.


ibid

ibid p240

ibid p4

ibid p5

ibid

ibid p7

ibid

ibid p8

ibid p14
'One of the practical effects of the sequence of revolutions in China since 1949 (and some have attributed this to Mao's conscious design) has been to prevent what Max Weber (1947) long ago called the 'routinization of charisma'. Harvey D (1973) Social Justice and the City Edward Arnold p110

(31) For instance, as Aron (1968) claims, 'The three modes of domination should be regarded purely and simply as analytic concepts; but Weber also terms them historical or semi-historical types'. p244

(32) Aron R (1968) op cit p256


(34) Marx K and Engles F (1848) (1948) Communist Manifesto George Allen and Unwin


(36) Harvey D (1973) Social Justice and the City Edward Arnold p113

(37) 'Only when production will be under the conscious and prearranged control of society, will society establish a direct relation between the quantity of social labour time employed in the production of definite articles and the quantity of the demand of society for them'. Marx K Capital Vol III, English Translation by Ernest Untermann, p221

(38) Marx K Selected Writings Penguin Books

(39) As Sabine says, 'In the revolutions of his own day Marx believed that he saw a new type of revolutionary uprising which had as its spearpoint not a middle-class intent upon political rights but a working-class rising to the consciousness of its own degredation and confusedly determined to alter not the political superstructure but the underlying causes of social inequality'. Sabine G (1936) op cit p636

(40) This concern was faced by Durkeim in describing the progress of society from mechanical to organic solidarity and the fragmenting of 'collective consciousness' (anomie) See also Tonnies, in particular his concepts of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. Also Simmel, and Marcuse for his concept of One-Dimensional Man
Bachrach and Baratz identify a similar weakness in Polsby's selection of key issues for study of decision making: "Polsby is guilty here of the same fault he himself has found with elitist methodology; by pre-supposing that in any community there are significant issues in the political arena, he takes for granted the very question which is in doubt. He accepts as issues what are reputed to be issues. As a result his findings are fore-ordained. For even if there is no 'truly' significant issue in the community under study, there is every likelihood that Polsby (or any likeminded researcher) will find one or some and, after careful study, reach the appropriate pluralist conclusions".

op cit p10
This study, writes Lukes (1974) is the locus classicus for the notion of the 'mobilization of Bias'. Bachrach and Baratz, op cit., give a number of examples from their research in Baltimore, pp67-104. For another perspective see Cynthia Cockburn's study of local politics in the borough of Lambeth: Cockburn (1978) The Local State Pluto Press

(56) Bachrach P and Baratz M S (1970) op cit p43

(57) ibid p44

(58) ibid p7

(59) ibid p6

(60) Lukes S (1974) op cit p20

(61) Bachrach P and Baratz M S (1970) op cit p17

(62) ibid p18

(63) ibid p19

(64) ibid p24

(65) ibid p25

(66) ibid p27

(67) ibid p28

(68) ibid

(69) ibid


It might be noted that Robert Dahl derives his notions of 'scope' and 'domain' from this work.


(72) Friedrich C J (1958) Authority, Reason and Discretion in C J Friedrich Authority 9th ed Cambridge Mass pp36,35
Bachrach and Baratz derive this notion from Braybrooke and Lindblom (1963) 
A Strategy of Decision New York Chapter 5

The latter describe 'disjointed incrementalism' by which decisions are taken in small steps and thus policy changes can be made surreptitiously. The small policy choices at the periphery are hardly noticed. It is arguable whether this is an aspect of force or of manipulation. (Bachrach and Baratz regard the latter as a sub-concept of force.) It would seem that at the decision-making stage, the recipient actors have choice; hence power is exercised, not manipulation. However, over a period of time, 'disjointed incrementalism' or 'incremental decision-making' assumes the character of manipulation since the recipient actors are not necessarily aware of the process by which (by now) major changes in policy have taken place.
Gramsci's concept of hegemony might be described as an equilibrium between civil society and political society; between direction based on control, and domination based on coercion. Cultural hegemony refers to, 'an order in which a certain way of life and thought is dominant, in which one concept of reality is diffused throughout society in all its institutional and private manifestations, informing with its spirit all taste, morality, customs, religious and political principles, and all social relations, particularly in their intellectual and moral connotations. See Williams G (1960)
(127) For instance, studies have shown that upward mobility rates, that is for the sons of manual workers who have become non-manual workers, for different generations and in different countries, average approximately 35%. See Young M and Gibson J (1963). Also, it might be noted, aspirations of teachers in the nineteenth century for assimilation into the middle class was a widely held objective and was the subject of resistance from the traditional middle class, the church, and the Government. See Parry N and J (1974). Boudon (1979) suggests the term 'social opportunity' might be synonymous with 'social mobility' and claims that increased educational opportunity continues to be largely ineffectual in aiding upward social mobility.

(128) This is also a conclusion that Cynthia Cockburn came to:

'The state, like industry, is hierarchical. At the top are senior officers, who take a big hand in making state policy (though convention has it that they subordinate themselves to politicians in this respect). In the middle ranks are the professional style jobs of social workers, teachers, public health inspectors, rent officers. And at the bottom are the low-paid jobs of clerks and manual workers'.

Cockburn, C(1977) op cit pl73

(129) Problems faced by the ruled, in particular the poor, the old, the inarticulate, are often described as being of their own making, and means to alleviating their poor conditions often confirm this social pathology. For a discussion of this process observed in a local community, see Cockburn, C(1977) op cit, especially Chapter 6
CHAPTER III METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES OF DATA

(1) See for instance the letter to the 'Derby Reporter' signed 'Atticus' and quoted in Chadwick, A F (1971) op cit p43


The term is derived from Glaser and Strauss (1967) op cit p61 who, Grace explains, 'use it to refer to situations of joint collection and analysis of data where 'saturation' means that no additional data are being found thereby the sociologist can develop properties of the category.' p240. N12


(5) ibid

(6) ibid p255

(7) ibid


(10) Glaser, B G and Strauss, AL (1967) op cit p168

(11) ibid p4


The term 'indexical' is elaborated from Bar-Hillel, Yehoshua (1954) 'Indexical expressions' Mind 63, pp 359-379

(13) Phenomenological suspension was called 'opoche' by Edward Husserl and involved a decision not to make use of the theses which unconsciously guide our judgements in ordinary life about reality
# PART TWO

## THE THEORY

## CHAPTER IV THE PROVISION

| i. Adult Education from Above                  | 166 |
| ii. Adult Education from Below                | 179 |
| iii. Science, Art, and the Industrial Spirit  | 219 |
Sir Walter Vivian all a summer's day
Gave his broad lawns to the set of sun
Up to the people: thither flock'd at noon
His tenants, wife and child, and thither half
The neighbouring borough with their Institute
Of which he was the patron . . .

Alfred Tennyson 'The Princess' 1847

Mechanics' Institutions, or variations of them, were such a familiar feature in the early and middle years of the nineteenth century that the poet makes reference to the Institute as a commonplace in the lives of the people. Perhaps, more significantly, the poet sees the necessary link between the philanthropic knight and patronage of the local institute. It was not always thus. It has been said of George Birkbeck, usually recognised as the founder of the Mechanics' Institute movement, that '... his enlightenment was free from the taint of patronage. He wanted to share with others the fruits of his learning, and he made a silent appeal to the comradeship of his hearers.'(1) It might equally be said that he was not entirely free from patronage of a certain kind, however. The intellectual status and social position of such men as Birkbeck would bring prestige to any enterprise with which they might be associated. As a member of that intellectual non-capitalist governing class he might attract to himself a patronage both from those who sought to promote him as a token of civic elitism and of those who sought status for themselves by association; often by shared endeavour such as in the founding of institutions for the education of adults. But this was in the beginning; before the intentions informing the establishment of the London Mechanics' Institute in 1823 had been attenuated; before the opportunities for the working man to take
control of his own knowledge had slipped from his grasp. Nevertheless, it is to the founding intentions of Mechanics' Institutions that attention must be first directed.

The context of readiness

It is no mere accident that the London Mechanics' Institute was established in the year 1823 or that the movement to establish similar institutions throughout the country developed with extraordinary impetus from that date. Tylecote suggests two immediate causes; the beginning of a two-year trade boom consequent on improving trade conditions following the recent wars, and the emergence of a group of influential public men who had become aware of recent experiments in the education of working men.(2) However, there were other causes. Since the beginning of the century a new breed of working man had emerged: a superior class of artisans and mechanics; '... men who were not only avid for scientific knowledge but also politically informed and seeking to extend their knowledge of economics and politics'.(3) As for working men in general, the appalling conditions in which they were living in the early part of the century is hardly exaggerated by Engels (4) and are attested to by Edwin Chadwick, Robert Baker, the Domestic Missionary Reports, and other sources.(5) The grimness of the conditions under which the working class had to exist, the long hours of work, the disease, the long periods of unemployment (relieved only by the 'grosser results of intemperance') formed the background against which the 'superior artisan' and middle class reformer propagated their initiatives in providing adult education, alongside the indigenous efforts of the working classes; more specifically those termed 'the labouring poor.' These latter too were becoming increasingly conscious of themselves as a class. The idea of the working class as a 'slumbering giant' about to awaken, struck terror into the hearts of many of the
employing and governing classes for, when awakened, they could just as easily lead as be led. But there were other causes still. There was a popular and widespread interest in science. This interest too was not a sudden phenomenon but was heir to the numerous initiatives to bring science to the citizen which had been a feature of the previous century; added to a demand for technical expertise consequent on the growth of industry. Finally, there was a growing working class movement for the provision of popular education which had drawn its impetus from radical theories of universal enlightenment and working class movements such as the Corresponding Societies and Hampden Clubs—and not least from Robert Owen, from whom the working man had inherited the conviction that it was through education that changes in society could best be achieved.

Such then was the social and political climate out of which was born those initiatives which shared, to a greater rather than a lesser degree, a common purpose in the education of adults.

The Institutes

The first thing to be said about a great many Mechanics' Institutions, Literary and Scientific Institutions, and others sharing similar purposes, is that they were designed, with few exceptions, for working men and were not designed by them. Indeed it has been claimed both that they were 'in general organised by interested members of the middle classes for specified sectors of the working classes' (6) and that their object was 'to exercise a more immediate and direct influence on the working class than could be achieved by the foundation of schools.' (7) The question of whether the Institutes were founded as instruments of the middle classes will be deferred to a later chapter. It is sufficient at this stage to establish that the Mechanics' Institute movement was not an expression of working
class endeavour.

The stated aims of the London Mechanics' Institute, which were similarly expressed by many of the institutions which followed its example, were:

'The object proposed to be obtained is the instruction of the Members in the principles of the Arts they practise, and in the various branches of science and useful knowledge.' (8)

At Kingston upon Thames this was reduced to 'the promotion and diffusion of Knowledge and Literature, Science and the arts.' (9) In the light of subsequent criticism of their aims, in particular the accusation that scientific education was a deliberate choice as a strategy of social control (10) it would be appropriate to look a little more closely at those aims expressed by Surrey Institutes. The accusation just alluded to is reinforced by evidence from the Richmond Literary and Scientific Institution, whose aims were:

'. . . to cultivate that knowledge which is derived from the study and contemplation of nature, and the agencies by which the operations of nature are conducted.' (11)

Elsewhere, the Secretary of the Institution recommends the study of Natural History because it teaches that nothing is in vain to the station in which it was placed. (12) Nevertheless this view coincided with the widely held notion that instruction in science would add understanding and insight to the task in hand; resulting in the working man making some kind of original contribution. He continues:

'For many ages the arts were practised empirically, processes being carried on merely by practical knowledge and experience, without any investigation of the principles upon which they were founded.' (13)

Though the institutions at Cranleigh, Egham, Godalming and Guildford followed a similar course, a sister institution, the Richmond Mechanics'
Institute, emphasised unity in its aims and nowhere specifies an emphasis on science - though its inaugural lecture was on the subject of 'The Comparative Estimate of Relative Advantages of the Sciences.' (14) However, the Institute's aims were presented as follows:

'The objects of this Institution is to draw into one Bond of Unity, the intelligent Mechanics of Richmond and its vicinity, for the obtaining from each other the mutual information so necessary to the well-being of Society. To collect every kind of information appertaining to the interest of the working classes in particular and Society in general.

To meet, and communicate with each other, for the purpose of digesting the information acquired, and to mature such plans as may be thought beneficial to Society.

To effect these arrangements, by every combination of means to the happiness of every Member of the Society, and at the same time, abstract as little as possible from his personal independence.' (15)

What is significant here is perhaps the emphasis placed on obtaining mutual information. However, due to lack of evidence, the extent to which 'intelligent mechanics' were in control over the programme of the Institution cannot be judged. In any event, it was a labouring elite which was being addressed, and the 'well-being of Society' was being strongly recommended. Fundamental to these aims was the inculcation of an ideology of liberation calculated to appeal to members of the working classes. This parallels a similar concern for mutual instruction added to an appeal for neutrality and harmony, to be elaborated later, which was central to the philosophy of the Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution. After prescribing the diffusion of useful knowledge, the Rules urged:

'the careful exclusion from its proceedings of everything calculated to exhibit impropriety, the distinction of classes, parties or sects, (and) to promote amongst the inhabitants of this town and neighbourhood that harmony and good feeling which ought to exist amongst all men.' (16)
Of course an alliance between the labouring elite and the employing and
governing classes was a particular kind of harmony, and one which could not
be interpreted as an egalitarian or democratic notion. Indeed these
statements of aims are significant examples of the rhetoric of social
control. Finally, it would be a serious omission not to record the naive
enthusiasm of another venture, whose very name suggests its distinctive
nature, 'The Richmond Literary and Amicable Institution.' As its Secretary
claimed:

'We are not actuated by part zeal or prejudice, we feel
none of these incentives; our discussions are free of
rancour, or animosity; we seek not to enjoy a petty
triumph from the veto of a biased audience: we would
balance fairly every Question, argue temperately,
dispute candidly, and decide with the full conviction
of reason and of truth.' (17)

This Institution published an elaborate prospectus and nowhere is there a
retreat or compromise of its aims. Nevertheless, the venture was
short-lived and in all probability eventually merged with one or other of
the local institutions which were formed over the next few years.
It might be noted that little attempt has been made in the foregoing
account to distinguish between the names given to the various institutions.
This is deliberate, and so deserves some explanation.

Character of the Surrey Institutions

There has been a tendency for some observers to claim that, in the South of
England the Institutions were in the main Literary and Scientific
Institutions; implying that their function was very different from
Mechanics' Institutes. This is to say they were more akin to what Harrison
has called 'genteel lecturing'. (18) As Kelly has remarked:

'In these rural districts, where the needs of the
industrial workers were less in evidence, the title
'Literary and Scientific Institution' was often
adopted, but Mechanics' Institution continued to be common in the North.' (19)

However, though he recognises that there was no sharp distinction between either of the labels given to these institutions or their functions (20) there remains the implication that the needs of the populations they served were distinctly different. Although it is shown in Surrey for instance that a number of so called Mechanics' Institutes existed, an equal number were designated Literary and Scientific Institutions. And the difference in name does not always signify a difference in function. Since later history has shown that these enterprises fell far short of providing for the mechanics for whom they were established it might have been more appropriate to have called them Literary and Scientific Institutions in the first place. This is no mere speculation. For instance, as early as 1827, both the Hackney and Southwark Mechanics' Institutes changed their names to Literary and Scientific Institutes for:

'We have only done what others have done . . . finding that 'mechanics' was a stumbling block to many, we struck out the word. Hackney is not much peopled with mechanics . . . ' (21)

Eleven years later, on 13 October 1838, it took less than a week for the promoters of the Croydon Mechanics' Institute to have a change of heart:

'A few Croydonians inspired by a common purpose, met together to form a Society "for the promotion of Literature and Science, especially among the working classes, to be called the Croydon Mechanics' Institution."
Six days later they met again and then decided to alter the title and call the new venture the Literary and Scientific Institution.' (22)

By the time an Institute had been founded at Cranleigh, and another at Guildford, foundations such as the great pioneering Institutes at Leeds and at York had changed their names to Literary and Scientific Institutions.
And many other enterprises in London and the North were now Literary and Scientific Institutions - in fact if not so named. Thus the aim of the Guildford Institute, 'the promotion of useful knowledge among the working classes' or, at Croydon, 'the promotion of Literature and Science, especially among the working classes', parallels the situation in the North. At a meeting in Cranleigh National Schoolroom in 1849 it was resolved:

'That a society should be formed, having for its object the promotion and diffusion of knowledge of Arts, Science and Literature by means of a Library and Lectures; the said Society to be called: The Cranley (sic) Literary and Scientific Institution.' (23)

There is no suggestion here that this institution was proposed with any particular class of persons in mind. However, some clue as to the eventual membership might be gleaned from the decision of the Committee in 1856 that 'Whist and Cribbage to be added to the games allowed to be played in the Reading Room' (24) though this was later countermanded by the Reverend Sapte, Vicar and founder-member of the Institution. (25) Of the seventeen major institutions established in Surrey before 1850, eight called themselves 'Mechanics' and the remainder called themselves 'Literary and Scientific.' One of them, Kingston, (though officially a Literary and Scientific Institution) was frequently referred to in local publicity and in correspondence to local newspapers as the Mechanics' Institute! Indeed a comparison of those institutions calling themselves 'Mechanics', as at Richmond, Guildford, Farnham and Dorking, and those calling themselves 'Literary and Scientific' such as those at Croydon, Epsom, Kingston and Egham, reveals no significant differences in purpose or in membership. Furthermore, other than in scale, the founding intentions and histories of these Surrey institutions closely parallel those established elsewhere in the country. Over a period of time a number of them merged with others. The
Guildford Mechanics and Literary and Scientific Institutions amalgamated in 1843, after only eight years of separate existence. It took a similar amount of time to achieve the amalgamation of the Richmond Mechanics' and Literary and Scientific Institutions; an event which took place in 1844. Such amalgamations were of course a common enough feature in the north of England and elsewhere, and the purpose of these mergers was not always too clear for whilst it could be argued that, for instance, the effect of the merger of the Leeds Mechanics' Institute with the Leeds Literary and Scientific Society 'were to strengthen its middle-class appeal' (26) it has equally been argued that the Literary Institutes 'sought to provide for all classes rather than mechanics only.' (27) The stated aim of the majority of mechanics' institutes was to provide a 'common neutral ground restricted to no condition, limited to no class, sacred to no denomination, but where all alike equally, and at all times, can meet together.' (28) An observer in Dorking however gave a much less laudable explanation for the change of name of its old mechanics institution:

'It was subsequently thought that it would succeed still better by receiving a more pretentious title, hence it was called afterwards the Literary and Scientific Institute.' (29)

Notwithstanding this, promoters of institutes in Surrey were anxious to demonstrate 'strict impartiality' and to provide for 'all classes of persons.' Any suggestion of partiality; any threat to that 'bond of unity' which it was, for instance, the stated purpose of the Richmond Mechanics' Institute to forge, was met with undisguised chagrin, not to say hurt. An uncommonly well-documented example of this took place in 1843, five years after its foundation, at the Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution at which time its committee was invited to consider proposals from the promoters of a Croydon Mechanics' Institution with a view to amalgamation. The example is worthy of close attention.
At a Committee meeting of the Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution held on 23 November 1843 the following communication from the projectors of a Mechanics' Institution was read and discussed:

1st. That one half of the Committee of the conjoined Institutions be selected from the working classes -

2nd That the quarterly subscription for each Member shall be 2/- entitling the Member to all the advantages of the Institution -

3rd. That every officer of the Institution shall be elected by ballot

4th. That every Member above the age of 18 shall be eligible to vote -

5th. That the name of the conjoined Institutions shall be the "Croydon Literary, Scientific and Mechanics' Institution" -

6th. That evening classes for elementary instruction be established -

7th. That youths of either sex between the ages of 12 and 18 be admitted at 1/- per quarter. (30)

At the time this communication was delivered, the Institution was having financial problems; the lectures were badly attended and despite calls at each Annual General Meeting for the formation of classes 'for mutual improvement' the Members did not respond. In August 1843 the Committee had resolved to ask for an annual instead of quarterly subscription as hitherto. The effect of this would of course cause difficulties for the working man since, though he might be able to find 2/- a quarter, he might not be able to find 10/- at one time. The Report presented to the Annual General Meeting of 1844 records 'considerable opposition and complaints about the new method of collecting subscriptions. The use of the library was restricted; only officers of the Institution were allowed in the library - though Members could borrow books. There had been trouble with each of the four gentlemen employed as librarians since
the Institution's beginning; each of whom had resigned or been dismissed for incompetence of one kind or another. (see Vol.2 pp31-33) Whether this situation was the result of role conflict it is hard to say, though the onerous tasks which accompanied the job of librarian, such as cleaning the rooms, setting out the furniture, attending to and lighting fires, and otherwise making arrangements for lectures, must have commanded more of the librarian's time than the supervision of some 1200 books. Attendance at meetings and lectures had fallen, and the Institute had to raise money by hiring out its accommodation. In short, the Institution was in trouble and it can be supposed that this accounted for the timing of the approach by the promoters of the Mechanics' Institute. Nevertheless, the Committee of the Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution resolved 'that as a whole the proposition could not be acceded to,' and the Secretary was requested to write to the parties explaining the reasons for their decision. It was first pointed out that the Institution already welcomed all classes of people, the 'first in rank and richest' and the 'poorest and most humble.' Furthermore, it had proved very difficult to get members of the working classes to serve on the Institute's Committee. Members could always select their own method of voting, annual subscriptions had but lately been fixed, and it was not thought desirable to admit children at a lower rate of subscription than adults. (see Appendix 5 )

This was, without question a polite, even conciliatory letter, but one which hardly succeeded in hiding the Committee's umbrage. It will be shown later that, despite these avowals, distinctions in class of membership did exist (see 'Rules, Appendix 9) Furthermore, difficulties in obtaining working class involvement resulted in the Institution developing a pattern of entertainments and genteel lecturing, and it was another twelve years before classes in elementary instruction were established. (25) (see Appendix 12a) No record has emerged regarding any further communication on
the above matter. It might be noted that the conditions set by the projectors of the Mechanics' Institute at Croydon were identical to the Rules set out by the Richmond Mechanics' Institute. However, in the latter case it was the Literary and Scientific Institution which enquired whether "the Mechanics' Institution were desirous of cooperating with them." (32) This was a considerable about-face since they had refused permission to the Mechanics' Institution four years previously, when the latter organisation sought to hire rooms from the Literary and Scientific Institute. The reason then given was 'that it appears that the attendances at the Mechanics' Institution are much larger than the Lecture Room of the Institute can accommodate, for that and other considerations the request cannot be acceded to.' (33)

Before leaving this discussion it should be mentioned that although evidence suggests that differences in purpose and in membership between institutions in Surrey appear to have been marginal, there is one possible exception. Godalming Mechanics' Institute had only a short life; from 1836 to 1843. Even a perfunctory glance at the limited entries in the few pages of the Minute Book reveal the character of an institution somewhat closer to the sympathies of the local people.(34) The whole enterprise would appear to have been run on a shoestring: no Lord Elsdon, as at Croydon, or Duke of Cambridge, as at Egham to lend patronage. The promoters had climbed the ranks no higher than that of local schoolmaster and local printer. An earlier secretary could not spell and a later secretary wrote illegibly; in marked contrast to the neat copperplate script and so proper English which characterised the Croydon Minute Books.(35) Despite this example however, there is little to suggest that Surrey institutions as a whole differed significantly other than in name. It has to be understood that, compared with the great metropolis of London and the industrial towns of the north of England, even the larger towns of Surrey still exhibited the
characteristics of the English village, with its reliance on the philanthropy and patronage of the local squire. Differences were thus differences in scale.
ADULT EDUCATION FROM BELOW

'Standards from without is often enfeebling in its effects, but help from within invariably invigorates ... where men are subject to overguidance and overgovernment, the inevitable tendency is to render them comparatively helpless.'

Samuel Smiles

'Education ... rather consists in opening out a way whence the imprisoned splendour may escape than in effecting entry for a light supposed to be without.'

Henri Bergson

The views of Smiles and Bergson are in marked contrast to Arnold's claim that 'light shows us that there is nothing so very blessed in merely doing as one likes ... that the really blessed thing is to like what right reason ordains and to follow her authority.' (1) Thus Arnold would effect entry for the 'best that has been thought and said in the world.' (2) These positions exemplify two contrasting ideologies; the one which celebrated education by the people and the other which celebrated education for the people. It is important to contrast these views at the outset because, despite the dominating principle of Smilesian philosophy which informed nineteenth century opinion, an uncritical acceptance of Arnold's notion of 'perfection' by those promoting education from above resulted in a legitimation for the transmission of selected aspects of middle class, in particular literary, culture; in what Freire has called the 'banking concept', in which 'knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgable upon those whom they consider know nothing. (3) The importance of this cannot be overstressed because both results persist to
this day and inform much educational practice. (4)

Education from below, or put another way, the means by which working men and women provided education for themselves, was an attempt to articulate the particular nineteenth-century characteristic which was self-help. As Briggs has said:

'... in the mid-Victorian years little faith was placed in government and almost unlimited faith was placed in individuals; there was no enthusiasm for big general theories, but there was unceasing curiosity about people.' (5)

Since the state showed no enthusiasm for action on social and educational matters, self-help was one of the few options open to those seeking social betterment. Such an education had however to be hard won for, as Smiles asserted 'knowledge conquered by labour becomes a possession—a property entirely one's own.'(6) This argument, that there is a particular virtue in working against difficulties, is part of an older tradition. Craik, writing in 1830, had made similar claims that 'an easy and luxurious existence does not train men to effort.'(7) Furthermore, support from the scriptures was at hand. Ranyard, writing in Kingston in 1841, observed:

'In desiring to benefit the poor, we ought not to think of them and treat them as domestic animals requiring to be fed and clothed by others . . . He has said, "If any provideth not for his own he is worse than an infidel;" therefore let us not inadvisedly, though with good intentions, induce them to neglect this paramount duty. . .' (8)

Lest anyone should question why hard work seemed invariably to be the lot of the working man:

'He who is left to educate himself in everything may have many difficulties to struggle with; but he who is saved every struggle is perhaps still more unfortunate.' (8b)

The message was clear. The natural law was indeed just: for the man of
leisure also had a price to pay.
Matthew Arnold's cause was to have all men live in an atmosphere of sweetness and light (9) but it was an ideal not to be realised while the individual remained isolated; while the swing of the personality was unrestrained. In contrast, the celebration of the individual was at the root of the concept of self-help. As Smiles has observed, 'the solid foundation of liberty must rest upon individual character.' (10) These contrasting positions are significant details in any study of nineteenth century adult education and thus call for some further elaboration.
Briggs has suggested that whereas Arnold promoted the idea of the 'best', of 'perfection!', Smiles was more concerned with the 'good'. (11) Arnold saw the pursuance of the best as a means of rescuing the future from an increasing vulgarism and as an antidote to anarchy. It took a man such as he to enshrine the notion in fine and persuasive language but it was a notion that had long been shared by the middle classes. Such education was always valued for its civilising qualities. As a contributer to the unofficial organ of the Kingston Literary and Scientific Institution put it, 'we hail the Literary Institute ... where all may increase their stock of knowledge', but more particularly:

'the minds of all may be cared for; and by cultivating the mind of man, are we not more effectually benefiting them, than by merely providing for the momentary wants of the body . . . ' (12)

Smiles on the other hand could assert that energy is man himself, that 'energy accomplishes more than genius, with not one half the disappointment and peril.' (13) Furthermore:

'it may be - nay, it will inevitably happen - that education will teach those who suffer how to remove the cause of their sufferings; and it may also make them dissatisfied with an inferiority of social privilege.' (14)
Here, the control element is hardly less in evidence than in Arnold's thought - though the latter would not approve the former's sentiments. A strategy predicated on the notion that 'what some men are, all without difficulty might be' is, as Silver observes, 'laissez-faire education, accepting the stratification of society, and justifying the system by the few who could fight their way through to honourable poverty-plus-culture.' (15) Perkin goes further:

'From this belief logically stemmed one of the most powerful instruments of propaganda ever developed by any class to justify itself and to seduce others to its own ideal; the myth of the self-made man.' (16)

Shorn of elaboration, it might be true to say that Smiles was concerned with effort, with the process of education and thus the individual, whereas Arnold was concerned with the best, disdaining the maxim 'everyman for himself' and thus with the content of education. The implication of this for adult education, and in particular the transmission of values, is detailed in a later chapter. For the moment it is sufficient to affirm that Arnold's view of what was the 'best' confirmed (at least from mid-century) the choices educational institutions made for the working man and, though less frequently, women. This is to say, choices made from above. Smiles, on the other hand, building on a much older tradition of self-help, encouraged enterprises initiated by the working man. This is to say, initiatives from below. From this it is evident that there were different reasons for encouraging self-help and so it is to these that discussion now turns. At least three main agencies of self-help can be identified:

i. Friendly and Benefit Societies,

ii. Libraries

iii. Mutual Improvement Societies.
Friendly Societies, and similar institutions, represent the largest agency of mutual self-help. Though not developing a distinctive form of adult education they did nevertheless, by fostering an ethos of mutuality, often by providing a cover for trade union activity, promote an education of a less innocent kind than that which was to characterise the major institutions of adult education, the mechanics' and literary and scientific institutions. Libraries of all kinds began to proliferate from the beginning of the nineteenth century and were often, in addition to local museums, the only immediate sources of self-help. Later in the century they formed the most important resource of the major institutions of adult education and often outlived the institutions which produced them. Mutual Improvement Societies might exist alongside the major institutions and might even be part of their activities. Less frequently they might be found as an extension of the work of a friendly society. Again, they might exist independently, sometimes in conflict or at least in contrast to the ideals of the major institutions but, just as often, as embryo or modest contemporaries.

These institutions will be discussed in this order since it broadly coincides with their historical development.
The Friendly Societies

The Friendly Society was closely allied to the Mutual Improvement Society as a major agency of self-help and, though its purpose was not primarily educational in the more obvious sense, to disregard the contribution these societies often made to the education of their working class members and to exclude them from the context within which adult education flourished in the nineteenth century would be a serious error.

Segregation by class was a resultant social effect of the urbanisation which was taking place throughout the nineteenth century and in particular in the first quarter of the century. Division of labour ensured that the gulf between classes widened as the old eighteenth century distinctions became blurred giving way to greater and more disparate distinctions as between unskilled labourers and mechanics and between mechanics and middle class merchants and professional men. They began to distinguish themselves by occupying well defined areas of the towns, by differences in speech, dress, and habits of behaviour. (1) Despite the undoubted heterogeneity of the social classes it remains true that a large section of the working population, to a greater or lesser extent, shared common value systems and a certain identity of interests and, by mutual action, sought to come to terms with the problem of industrialisation. This was no less true of rural areas such as Surrey for there too enclosures and the industrial revolution led to the demise of traditional crafts and industries; those local occupations by which agricultural workers were wont to supplement their hard-won living from the land. During this period there developed, often
from existing roots, a working class institution whose purpose was to ameliorate the social consequences of rapid industrial growth. This was the Friendly or Benefit Society, or, more accurately a 'group of institutions' since they included organisations calling themselves burial guilds, sick clubs, provident associations and societies for the improvement of small savings.

They all had one thing in common however. They were, from the beginning, 'non-revolutionary, ameliorative organisations designed to mitigate by mutual insurance the insecurities of the competitive system without in any way seeking to overturn it.' (2) Thus these societies were very much in the tradition of self-help, in particular mutual self-help, and intended no threat or challenge to the existing social order. Not all these societies were of working class origin. Nor were they introducing new ideas. Many such societies had been encouraged by the humanitarian gentry of the eighteenth century and, though many more were local and self-governing, there were still some surviving in the nineteenth century which were managed by the local gentry and clergy. Such was the case at Farnham. By 1795 the town already had three friendly societies with about 270 members. (3) However, in 1829 the Farnham Friendly Institution was established, with Bishop Sumner of Winchester as President and the Archdeacon of Surrey as Vice President. As Bailey observes, this was 'a more effective and businesslike society:

'The benefits of this society included sick-bed pay, medical attention and old-age endowments and the contributions varied according to age on admittance.' (4)

Bishop Sumner, who 'set a virtuous example of Victorian philanthropy and patronage in Farnham' left £500 to a second friendly society which was established in the town in 1837 and many local philanthropists and clergymen were trustees of both societies. Similarly, at Haslemere in 1806,
the patron of the newly-formed friendly society was Lord Midleton 'to whom the club rules had been submitted' and who 'generously gave his approval.' (5)

The friendly society was the most widespread expression of working-class self-help and by the mid-nineteenth century. Surrey, in common with the country as a whole, could boast that hardly a town or village was without such an institution. (6) Indeed a writer in 1822 erroneously claimed that provident institutions (a variant) 'took their rise in the congenial soil of Dorking.' Hence:

'Their plan and principles were disseminated abroad, and became a subject before a select committee of the House of Commons; and several cities and towns might be quoted, in which the benefits of these establishments have been more or less manifested.' (7)

A number of small village societies existed at the beginning of the century, often meeting in public houses. Such a one was that at Farnham which met in 1795 at the 'Lion and Lamb' or at the 'Goat's Head.' Similarly, the Surrey Yeomen met at the old 'Star' at Dorking in 1799. A feature of these small local societies was that the landlords paid out relief money to subscribing members; frequently providing them with a glass of beer out of the funds. In many cases these societies were hardly-disguised pretexts for social gatherings - encouraged by the landlord in anticipation of financial profit. In many instances, this was destined to lead to the misuse of funds and it is for this reason, and that of striking a blow against the evils of drink, that one of the changes advocated by Bishop Sumner at Farnham in 1829 was that there would be no expense incurred at meetings in the form of liquor. (8) However, the practice continued for some time and was compounded by the villagers' insistence on exercising communal ceremonial functions. In 1806, for example, a friendly society was formed in Haslemere at the King's Arms Hotel:
'Each man must come annually to the King's Arms on the appointed day at 9.0 a.m., decently clothed - or forfeit 2/6. Each man must wear a clean favour, in his hat, of 1 1/2 yards of blue riband. A procession was then formed to march to church for service and a sermon, after which, headed by the local band and carrying beautifully painted flags, the party made visits to nearby houses and returned for dinner at the King's Arms' (9)

Another forfeit of 6d would be levied should a member decide to leave the club room before 5 p.m. Nor were the festivities yet over:

'In the evening the band turned out again in procession, returning with a masquerade consisting of men dressed up as soldiers, sailors, and grotesque women, ending up with dancing in the High Street.' (10)

Ritual and a fondness for the annual feast and a procession to church were almost survivals of the customs of the mediaeval guilds. Hobsbawm has observed that these rituals did not serve any primary purpose such as might be associated with organisations for collective political or economic action. (10b) It is more likely that the working classes in particular looked on these ceremonials as highlights in the otherwise dreary calendar of their lives. At Dorking the feast day was Whit-monday:

'On this day, headed by the Dorking band and the banners of the club, the members, decked with blue favours walked in procession to church . . . The service at church being over, the procession was re-formed, and after parading the streets, the members retired to dine.' (11)

This kind of activity often led to extravagance and, compounded by a number of honorary secretaries who absconded with the societies' funds, led to conflict and in many instances to financial collapse. For instance, at a meeting held at the Catherine Wheel in Egham in 1827, called to discuss the decline in the friendly society's fortunes - due largely to the misconduct of one of the Stewards - the meeting was broken up without any resolutions
being carried 'owing to the disorderly behaviour of some of the members.'

(12) A new society, consisting chiefly of mechanics and labourers and with
the support of 'Ladies and Gentlemen of Englefield Green, Egham and its
neighbourhood' was formed at the 'Nag's Head,' Egham in October 1827, having
decided that 'the band and procession will be dispensed with on account of
the expense.' (13) In was in part to correct wasteful practices as well as
to have some control over insobriety that the Act of Parliament, Rose's Act
was passed in 1793 (14) allowing persons to combine to raise funds for
mutual benefit on condition that such organisations were approved by a
local magistrate. This is not to deny other more important reasons for this
Act - and a number of other Acts which followed.

In time, as these societies came more under the influence of the national
institutions, the Oddfellows, Foresters, Druids, Rechabites and the rest,
many societies became associated with temperance; formulating strict rules
and meting out fines and penalties for their breach. Thompson cites the
example of the Unanimous Society of Newcastle which cut off benefits if any
member in receipt of sick money was found in 'ale-houses, gaming or drunk.'
(15) Similarly, at Chertsey in 1819, parochial relief was withdrawn from
anyone discovered 'tippling' in a public house. (15b)

There was however another side to the societies' activities which in
educational terms was particularly significant. As Thompson puts it:

'In the simple cellular structure of the friendly
society, with its workaday ethos of mutual aid, we can
see many features which were reproduced in more
sophisticated and complex forms of trade unions,
cooperatives, Hampden clubs, Political Unions and
Chartist lodges.' (16)

The tavern friendly society was often a cover for trade union activity.
Their funds were often used as a kind of strike pay; this is to say used
for the maintenance of striking workers. The societies were not
infrequently viewed with suspicion by the magistrates and, as the Hammonds assert, their suspicions were often well founded. (17) The State's benevolence towards friendly societies was born of a number of motives not the least of which was a desire to monitor their activities and keep them under strict control. Arguably, the friendly societies did not, in rural areas at least, act as important centres or models of organisation; this is to say they did not contribute significantly to the strength or militancy of local political or social movements. (18) Nevertheless, membership of such societies was not activity indulged in in a vacuum. The public houses and taverns were the centres of village life. It was there that working men met with village radicals; where those who could read brought the issues of the day to the notice of those who could not. In the present century, when the transmission of knowledge or of cultural capital depends almost exclusively on the possession of a functional literacy, it is often forgotten that in previous historical periods people relied very much on a well developed oral tradition. Nor must the heightened awareness of non-literary cues on which the illiterate depends be ignored.

The experiences gained through membership of a friendly society would, at the very least, by supplementing the context of experience, contribute to an education largely gained by 'collision.' (Dobbs 1919) It has been claimed that the friendly societies in spirit and often in membership were close to the mutual improvement societies, and examples in Surrey are numerous. Bishop Sumner has already been mentioned. His was the guiding hand behind the societies at Farnham as well as behind the savings bank and the Institute. Lord Midleton actively encouraged the friendly societies in Godalming and Haslemere - as well as being patron of mutual improvement societies and institutes in both places. Mr C C Wetton performed similar services in Chertsey and Egham whilst Mr Whitewick, having already started the first Sunday School in Chertsey gave his services to the mutual
improvement society and was a trustee of the Ladies Friendly Society, established in 1810. (19) However, these connections aside, adult education was not normally included among their explicit aims; but, as Harrison observes, 'it was natural that the more thoughtful members (strongly encouraged by middle-class sympathisers) should have sought to direct the attention of their brother members towards education and self-improvement.' (20) Indeed, as late as 1848, the Manchester Unity, (an Affiliated Order) encountered strong condemnation from a Select Committee of the House of Commons for presenting lectures; therefore not furthering their legitimate objects. (20b) Certainly, there is evidence of mutual improvement associated with a number of societies in Surrey; such as those at Haslemere, Godalming, Bagshot and Dorking. As the century wore on, a number of societies acquired libraries, such as that at Sutton. In 1866, the provident institution at Sutton announced that it had recently added a library 'furnished by additions to a collection of books purchased some years ago by public subscription, but long left unused.' (21) In Surrey, a number of similar enterprises developed as part of the programmes of the various literary and scientific or mechanics' institutions. Even small village institutes such as those at Ashtead and Puttenham had Slate Clubs or Burial Guilds - the latter associated with the National Deposit Friendly Society. At Sutton, in 1869, there was established the Sutton and East Surrey Mutual Benefit and Building Society. Its object, as stated in its Rules, was 'to enable its members to build or purchase a dwelling house or houses, or to purchase freehold or leasehold property.' (22) Though this could be seen primarily as a savings bank, it was not exclusively so, as was the Surrey Deposit Society (later National Deposit Society) established at about the same time. (see Gosden(1973) pp105-107) A Cooperative Society was also founded in 1869, and only a very restricted definition of education would deny that, together, these institutions provided
opportunities for an education satisfying some of the more immediate needs of adults.

The Friendly and Benefit societies, whatever else they had in common with education, at least celebrated the Victorian creed of the humble man, perseverance, and the moral value of self-help. Speaking of the Benefit Society in Dorking, which had been founded in 1808, a contemporary observed:

'Imperfect though the constitution of the old Friendly Society was, and objectionable though some of its usages were, it was at least a step in the right direction, for it encouraged among its members the spirit of self-reliance and of manly independence - the very backbone of the nation's strength - and helped to stem the tide of a wide-spread pauperism which at one time threatened to sap the very foundation of the county's prosperity.' (23)

The main purpose of the Friendly and Benefit Societies was however to provide some income in the case of sickness. Such an important insurance was this for Surrey's agricultural workers that, it was claimed, men out of work and living on tea and bread, and not much of that, would pay into two Societies, Oddfellows and Foresters 'so that they may be sure of an income should they fall sick.' (24) Despite efforts at self-help, it must be noted however that there still existed considerable stress among the poor, as is attested to by reports on the effects of the Poor Law in Farnham for instance. The workhouse there, as opposed to that at Epsom where 'the kindness of the officers is fully proved' and 'where useful trades are taught' (25) was described as a fearful place. (26) This is confirmed by an inmate of the workhouse, Mr Rutter, who, writing in 1836, observed:

'There is more comfort, more happiness and more morality in prison than is experienced in Farnham Workhouse, which, as it is at present conducted is worse than a prison and calls loud for magisterial interference.' (27)
It is thus curious that in 1902 Moule and Thompson could conjure up a picture of the West Horsley workhouse (by then converted into cottages) as 'casting its reflection in the rural pond in front and still having an old-time look of comfort and protection.' (28) With regard to the Societies, it was clear that they performed a valuable service and, apart from those educational initiatives already identified, were often an important adjunct to the small village institutes. In some cases they represented the only, if rudimentary, form of adult education. Some of these Societies, in central Surrey for instance, became working mens' clubs and were, as Connell suggests, no more than benevolent versions of the public house system. (28) However, they had perhaps shown just what could be achieved and what resources become available when men seek to satisfy their own needs:

'Their significance, like the mutual improvement societies, was that they were the form in which the people themselves gave expression to certain needs and hopes which they felt could be satisfied through adult education activity.' (29)

Organising and running such a society was itself a learning process. Through their experience of ritual members learned something of organisation—though the Societies never acted as important centres or models of organisation. Radical craftsmen and shopkeepers in small market towns, through their membership, 'provided a link with the wider world and formulated ideas and programmes which the labourers sometimes made their own.' (30) Truly an education by 'collision.' (31)

Perhaps they learnt from a collective self-consciousness which owed much to the influence of the national institutions, such as the Oddfellows and Foresters, and which permeated the South East no less than other parts of the country from the 1830s. From this time their lodges might have libraries and might be associated with a local mutual improvement society.
Certainly, working class members could give expression to their ideas through such periodicals as the Magazine of the Grand United Order of Oddfellows. However, it is likely that they learnt the most from that collective self-consciousness which, in E P Thompson's view, distinguished the nineteenth century man from the eighteenth century man.
It might be observed that in the nineteenth century the provision of literature for people to read was an expensive business, and that it could only be produced if there was some person, perhaps in the form of publisher or local bookseller, or group of persons such as a religious or charitable body or the Library Committee of a local institution, willing to provide the necessary books or money. It might also be observed that there would be a consequent imperative to maintain some control over such an investment and that therefore this could not be described as education from 'below.' It is, however, appropriate to describe libraries under such a heading because, in theory at least, they offered the potential for independent learning.

The growth of the reading public has been accounted for in a number of ways (1) and it would be out of place to enter into any lengthy discussion at this time. It is sufficient to say that the generation of the French Revolution and Peterloo exhibited a new radicalism which sought the pursuit of human rights through education. Coinciding with this, the first decades of the nineteenth century saw a startling growth in the amount of published reading matter available. Access to the latter would be the key to the former and it has been said that 'through the radical organisation of rudimentary libraries a confidence in the power of education was disseminated at many different levels of society.' (2) Many of the libraries existing at this time in Surrey were indeed rudimentary. In common with the country as a whole there were book clubs, magazine societies, subscription and circulating libraries—libraries of all kinds: attached to Friendly Societies, public houses, coffee taverns, Mutual Improvement Societies; in parish halls and village halls, and at Mechanics'
and Literary and Scientific Institutes. As Kelly observes:

'The simple fact is that at a time when there was a great and increasing public demand for books, and when there was no public library service, almost every political, religious, social and educational group regarded it as a duty to make some library provision for its members.' (3)

The question that might be asked is whether, particularly in a rural area such as Surrey, the level or even the incidence of literacy would be equal to the demand for libraries. First of all it seems likely that the English reading public was greater than 'an uncritical reliance on shocked statements of early Victorian reformers would indicate.' (4) Secondly, when too much reliance on a literary foundation of knowledge is a feature, as in the present century, the strong oral tradition of past centuries is regarded as an earlier, evolutionary, form. Its compensatory nature is ignored and its force debased to the level of anecdote. In addition, the manipulation of those non-literary symbols and cues which even today sustain the illiterate adult in concealing his disability, even from close members of his family, is not conceded to the nineteenth century man or woman. The positive value of such cues and symbols is to extend even the most basic level of literacy. Nor should the context of literacy (or lack of it) be ignored. The ability to read was a shared expertise. As Webb observes, 'there was a hearing public as well as a reading public:'.

'in most towns of the kingdom, there are public houses, the landlords of which retain readers in their pay, who sit in the place of common resort, and read all the most interesting parts of the newspaper aloud - not infrequently illustrating the subject with geographical and other notes, or by going back and referring to previous circumstances, of which the conclusion only happens to be detailed in the paper of the day.' (5)

These remarks are intended to show that the demand for reading matter; for books, periodicals, newspapers, went beyond the reading public and was not
directly related to customary estimates of literacy. The demand had to be met however, and the evidence from Surrey would confirm Kelly's view that 'the resulting libraries were often pitifully inadequate, but the universality of such provision is an impressive fact.' (6)

The earliest town library in the County was at Guildford, where in 1573 John Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, bequeathed books 'to the Lybrarie of the same Towne ioyning to the schole.' (7) However, by the end of the century, this library had been appropriated to the (Grammar) school, of which 400 volumes remain to this day. One of the earliest known parochial libraries available as a lending library was at Reigate. In 1708 it was constituted as a public lending library for 'the Freeholders, Vicar and Inhabitants of Reigate, and the Gentry and Clergy of the neighbourhood' and was still partly in use in 1849. As an alternative to paying a deposit when borrowing a book the borrower might give a written undertaking that the book would be returned in a specified time. (8) Various donations to the library were recorded, including those from John Evelyn, The Earl of Onslow, Viscount Cobraine, the Earl of Shaftesbury, the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (Dr Thomas Bray had a particular interest in the library) and others. (9) A writer in 1885 gave the following description:

'Henry Ware, the carrier, and his son John after him, agreed to bring any parcels from London for the library free of charge. Drew Russell, the locksmith, in the Burrough (sic) of Reigate, gave the window iron barr (sic) and fastening, and the joiner gave the chimneypiece... ascending from the vestry, a little door is entered; it has an inscription, "Animi alimentum.1701" What a quaint room! What a miniature Bodleian! Those closely-ranged shelves are filled with brown leather bound volumes, whose dates and Imprimaturs carry one's thoughts back long ago. Here some rare MSS may be seen; a volume of Chronicles by Stephen Birchington, a monk of Canterbury; a Vulgate Bible; Lord Effingham's Prayer Book (1566); also block-letter volumes, the work of the Fathers of the Reformers, may be found. Histories, records, and many other curiosities, stand side by side in venerable ranks.' (10)
A 'miniature Bodleian', and one which would remain unsullied by the addition of nineteenth century popular literature:

'A few modern brethren, "bound in cloth" have intruded themselves into the solemn assembly; but the vulgar voice of the yellow-coat. or three-volume "Society" novel, is not heard among these "grave and reverend seigneurs." (11)

The library at this time numbered about 2000 volumes and was used for reference or visited as a curiosity.

There was an earlier parochial library available to the villagers of Compton, near Guildford, in the seventeenth century, but it seems unlikely that it was as freely available as that at Reigate. (12) All Saint's Parochial Library at Chertsey was similarly available in 1735; and at Newdigate in 1800 a type of free lending library was available 'for the benefit of cottagers.' (13) At Esher in 1789 a local benefactor left £850 to the rector and churchwardens for the support of the Sunday School and for a library of religious books for the Parish but no further details are available. (14) It is clear that the libraries described thus far were unlikely to be influenced by working men and women. To repeat what was observed above, such benefactors wanted a return on their investment. This is not to say a financial return. The expected consequence of providing so-called 'good' literature (and who would deny this description to the scriptures?) was the acquiescence of the working classes to the 'natural laws' of good behaviour and thus the maintenance of an ordered society. This is not to say that benefactors' intentions were dishonest. Their true purpose was more often implicit than explicit for they too were products of a socially constructed world of which they were no more conscious than were the working classes. However, much more significant enterprises were to develop from the beginning of the nineteenth century.
First was the growth of private subscription libraries, circulating libraries and book clubs. The humbler form of subscription library, the book club, made its appearance in a number of towns in Surrey; notably in Dorking, Egham, Guildford, and Kingston. A variation of this was the magazine society, by which a small group of persons clubbed their annual subscriptions together in order to purchase and circulate a selection of magazines and periodicals; at the end of which time the said works could be sold and the proceeds used to defray the subsequent year's expenses. On October 1st 1820 such a society was established at Dorking where 'for a trifling sum of fifteen shillings per annum, paid in advance, each subscriber was supplied in rotation with seven of the most popularly monthly journals, and three reviews quarterly; affording a series of intellectual entertainments during the whole year; amounting in the aggregate to one hundred numbers, and no fewer than one thousand hours' reading, besides a joint property in the stock at the expiration of the year.' (15) There was already a book club in the town and a circulating library 'on a scale more liberal to the public, than profitable to its proprietor' offering 'a series of reading, beyond the ordinary compass of so limited a collection.' (16) It is therefore curious that just a few year's later, at a time when there was additionally a Literary Institute and a Working Mens' Institute in the town, another writer could remark that 'in a literary point of view, Dorking may be considered deficient, when compared with other towns of the same size and importance.' (17) Adverting to the circulating libraries, it seems likely that John Feltham's comment in 1803 that 'every intelligent village throughout the nation now possesses its Circulation Library' (18) was as true of Surrey as it was of the rest of the country. These libraries of course varied in both size and in quality. Though Benton Seeley could castigate the commercial and tradesmen's libraries in Kingston as being 'too generally filled with the
vilest rubbish, in the shape of novels and poems of an immoral tendency' (19) no such description could be levelled at the highly respectable libraries run by the Wetton family at Egham and at Chertsey. Their subscription library and reading room established in 1805 in Egham can be instanced. By 1880 this library claimed 'upwards of three thousand sets of books, in History, Travels, Voyages, Novels, Romances, Plays, &c.' and to be constantly supplied with 'the most approved works of merit, as early as published.' (20) The reading room was furnished with the daily morning papers as well as the provincial ones. That such influential local publishers as the Wetton family, or Seely at Kingston, or Church at Sutton, exercised a form of social control in that they were selective in what they chose to publish or circulate, is hard to deny. However, a comparison made between the public statements of these men, the bias of their publications, and their local affiliations, reveals clear differences in ideological stance; differences which no doubt were reflected in their selection of literature and differences which the reading public would not fail to recognise and would in all probability determine their choice. It might also be noted that even if Seeley's description of commercial and tradesmens' libraries is somewhat hysterical, it nevertheless provides evidence of alternative types of literature accessible to the working classes. As the major institutions of adult education, the mechanics' and literary and scientific institutions grew, so did their libraries and there is no doubt that these institutions saw the establishment of a library as essential, 'their supreme attraction and in some cases their greatest justification.' (21) A number of features must be identified. First, the middle class ideology which informed the institutions generally was present in particular in the conduct of their libraries and reading rooms. Order, sobriety, and good behaviour were to be expected. Not uncommonly, this was enshrined in the Rules of the institution, as the following advertisement
REIGATE MECHANICS' INSTITUTION.

READING ROOM.

REGULATIONS.

Members will be pleased to bear in mind that the Reading Room is consecrated to the high purposes of mental cultivation and enlightenment, and the acquisition of knowledge. On entering which, they will be required to obey the observances of good manners, self-respect, and mutual respect.

First. They will be expected to remove the hat or cap, and to remain uncovered.

Second. The most perfect silence will be required, that readers may not be annoyed and disturbed in their readings.

Third. Those who do not read will be expected to exchange their books, and return home, for home study.

Fourth. No game will be permitted but that of Chess, and that to be played in perfect silence.

Fifth. The junior members will be required to leave by half past nine at the latest.

The wearing of 'decent apparel and in no way denoting their trade or profession' as at Kingston, and the almost universal rules enforcing silence and sobriety were strictly enforced. Secondly, there was a careful vetting of all books suggested for the library. The banning of books 'calculated to excite religious or political animosity' was almost universally applied. (22) Curiously, it is only at Reigate that such an injunction is missing from the Institution's published Rules - though there does not seem to be any particular reason for the omission. Many institutions in the country followed the example of the Chesterfield Mechanics' Institute in banning 'works on Party Politics and Controversial Divinity, Infidel ... publications and Plays and Novels.' (24) The rule to discourage music and drama from the Richmond Mechanics' Institute was dropped at their second printing. Benton Seeley, patron of the Kingston Literary and Scientific Institution and publisher of a literary miscellany which included the Institute's proceedings, wrote that:
'Poetry must not be entirely excluded from the Miscellany. But it is wished to occupy only a moderate proportion of each number, and must be good.' (25)

Nothing was allowed which might excite the senses. On the other hand, William Chapman, main mover behind the Richmond Mechanics' Institute, believed that the first step towards moral and social improvement might be made through the study of music.(26) The controversy regarding music and drama will be discussed later, together with other aspects of the curriculum. (see pp 302-308 ) It is necessary to emphasise that those who had charge of the Institution had charge over what appeared on its library shelves. No doubt many books were considered unsuitable - though this would not necessarily be recorded in the Minutes of meetings. Only two such incidents are recorded, and these were where books had been received as gifts. At a meeting of the Richmond Mechanics' Institute Committee in March 1839 it was decided:

'In consequence of many objectionable words and significations being found in Bailey's Dictionary, the Secretary was requested to return the same to the donor, Mr Edward Browne.' (27)

However, this was not confirmed at a meeting held one week later, and on 28 March it was further resolved:

'That Bailey's Dictionary be retained in the library of the Institution, leaving it to the Committee to expunge such words as may be considered objectionable.' (28) (author's emphasis)

At a meeting of the Godalming Mechanics' Institute in April 1842 it was agreed that Mr Coltham's books were unworthy 'and they were forthwith to be returned.' (29) The books are unidentified. Indeed numerous institutions suffered from the gift of books. Many of these gifts were quite unsuitable and not likely to excite the interest of institute members, often being
books and odd issues of magazines that the local well-to-do had no further use for. Thus it is not surprising that many volumes were never taken down from the institute's shelves — a circumstance satirised by Charles Dickens in his oft-quoted description of the library of the Institute at Dullborough town. (29b) It is not without purpose to mention another disadvantage consequent upon accepting loans of books. If a donor were to have a disagreement with an institution he was just as likely to withdraw his books, as was the case at Godalming in December of 1841. (30)

Finally, it is important to note that the controlling interest of the institution was usually in the hands of middle-class promoters; with the support of the local clergy and gentry. Kelly has noted that the libraries at the Mechanics' Institutes bridged a gap between the classes; with the literary and scientific institutions and athenaeums meeting the social and educational needs of the commercial and professional classes on one side and the mutual improvement societies and lyceums directing their appeal to the rank and file of the workers on the other. (31) This is a neat analysis. However, the nature of, and the reasons for, the institutions in Surrey — not least their confusing nomenclature — do not lend themselves so easily to this analysis perhaps because, in contrast to the large towns of the north, the Surrey towns and villages tended to maintain a close-knit isolation and independence characteristic of rural communities. Hobsbawm and Rude suggest that, for the country labourer, the parish (though not the only social unit in their lives) was a very real unit, and the parish boundary more important than the county line; much more important than the shores of England. (32) Thus the Surrey villages, as the evidence confirms, often set up institutions of adult education under a variety of descriptions and often within a mile or so of a similar institution. For instance, the Farncombe and Busbridge Reading Rooms existing but a mile or so apart, had libraries, lectures, and mutual improvement societies which
ran classes.

By the 1880s they had become Institutes. In addition, a number of mutual improvement societies were hardly distinguishable from modest mechanics' or literary institutions. (33) By the 1850s many institutes were boasting of their libraries. At Godalming, by 1885, there were at least twelve substantial libraries available to residents and members of various institutions. This in addition to any private circulation or subscription libraries that might have existed. By the 1880s, Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution was claiming (in association with Smith's and Mudie's Libraries) a library of 10000 volumes - with over 3000 on its own shelves. (34) These arrangements it seems were not uncommon, for as early as 1843 the Richmond Mechanics' Institute had announced a 'periodic supply of popular modern works and periodicals for the perusal of members.' (35) This was made possible by arrangement with certain publishers. It might also be noted that the terms of employment of the Curator and Librarian of the Egham Literary and Scientific Institution in 1889 required of him:

'To take a proper list of books required by members to Messrs Smith's agent at Egham railway station three times each week and return to him any books that may be returned to the Reading Room by members and also to receive from him any books he may have for the Institution.' (36)

The large institutions such as those at Croydon, Godalming, Guildford, Kingston, Reigate and Richmond, developed substantial libraries (this is to say substantial by the standards of the time) of which they were proud. Even when the Institutes finally decided they could no longer continue in their current form, their libraries were considered an important resource and represented, as part of the total, an important element in the status of the organisation, locally. For example, when the Epsom and Ewell Literary and Scientific Institution closed in 1880, the subsequent auction of the books in a library, already regarded as 'excellent' twenty years previously
(Swete 1860), was a notable event in the Epsom calendar. When the Godalming Technical Institute and School of Art was established in 1896 the 'nucleus of a library for the Borough (was) formed by the gift of books from the Trustees of the late Godalming Institute.'(37) It might also be noted that despite financial and administrative difficulties, the Godalming Mechanics' Institute continued to build up its library during the years 1836 to 1843 -largely as a result of gifts and loans- but also from its own resources. When the Chertsey Literary and Scientific Institution was threatened with closure in 1856 the Secretary received the following letter:

Gentlemen

I am requested as Chairman of the Chertsey Reading Room and Library to address you relative to the disposal of some £200 and some books etc., belonging to the Chertsey Literary and Scientific Institution. If, as it is affirmed, that Institute be defunct and that any attempt to revive it would be fruitless the question arises - what would be the best mode of disposing of its property. I beg to inform you that the proprietors of the Chertsey Reading Room and Library at their last Annual Meeting unanimously agreed that the formation of a circulating library in accordance with the constitution of their society should be at once commenced and a small sum of money was accordingly set aside for that purpose as a beginning. The Committee of the Chertsey Reading Room and Library being of the opinion that a library for the use of the town and neighbourhood would be a great public benefit request that the property of the late Chertsey Literary and Scientific Institution should be applied in aid of the funds for carrying into effect so useful a design.

Trusting that this suggestion will not be deemed intrusion, I remain Gentlemen, faithfully Yours,

Geo Bulpett (38)

A delicate approach but an opportunity not to be missed since this was another 'excellent library'. (See Appendix 13g) Their books and their libraries were indeed the institutions' most prized resources and often the minutes of their proceedings were mainly taken up with records of acquisitions for their libraries; a pre-occupation challenged only by their
recording programmes of lectures.

Therefore, for many if not all the Institutes the library was the most important resource, and this was no less so in Surrey. At Croydon for instance, even when the Institute was experiencing financial difficulties in the years between 1843 and 1849, and even though though they might find it difficult to afford the services of a librarian as in 1866, they continued to keep the library open and even acquired more books. Clearly, they would not share Samuel Smiles' view that the possession of a library, or the free use of it 'no more constitutes learning than the possession of wealth constitutes generosity.'(39) They had acquired one hundred volumes within a month of the establishment of the Institution in 1838. In 1849 when the Institution was again thriving, they could claim a library of some 4000 volumes. Not surprisingly, the librarian had a strong influence on the smooth running of an institution, not least because its proudest possession was in his custody. It seems however that they were not very easy to find and even less easy to keep. However small, however modest, an institution would have its librarian in one form or another. Furthermore, the influence of the librarian, could contribute to the making or the breaking of an institute. A particularly good illustration of this can be taken from the experiences of the Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution. In the early years of its existence this Institute was marked by constant troubles with its librarians. These circumstances are fully reported below. (pp.31-33) Though Croydon might have expected a great deal from their investment they did recognise the necessity to pay their librarians from the outset.

Elsewhere, this was not always the case. Cranleigh Literary and Scientific Institution maintained a library for twenty four years without, it appears, ever paying a librarian - though 5/- a quarter was paid to one of the National schoolchildren 'for cleaning and arranging the reading room.' (40)
On the other hand, in 1842, the Guildford Mechanics' Institute, which was concerned about the unsatisfactory state of the library and the apathy of some of the members, recognised the necessity of appointing a paid librarian. (41) On their amalgamation with the Literary and Scientific Institution in 1843 such an officer was appointed. By the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century, apart from those already mentioned, there were substantial libraries in a number of Surrey towns: this is to say substantial in the context of nineteenth century England or described as such by contemporaries. There were libraries at the Literary and Scientific Institute in Epsom, the Working Mens' Institute at Farnham, Weybridge Mechanics' Institute and, most notably, Haslemere Educational Museum. In a number of cases the libraries built up by adult education initiatives became public libraries. Spurred on by the new Library Acts of 1893 and by the Technical Instruction Act of 1889, together with the incentive of 'Whisky Money' (see pp234-235) their thriving libraries might become, as in Godalming, the first public library in the town. In the autumn of 1897 the secretary of the newly founded Godalming Technical Institute and School of Art reported:

'... the Committee have pleasure in announcing that the nucleus of a library for the Borough has been formed by the gift of books from the Trustees of the late Godalming Institute... These books are available to any householder in the Borough or any other person on the recommendation of a householder.' (42)

On the other hand the huge success of these and similar libraries (such as those at Croydon and Guildford) had the effect of delaying the general provision of rate-aided public libraries in these towns until well into the twentieth century.
In Summary

The libraries could furnish one of the best sources of self-help - or education from below. If, on the other hand, as Kelly claims, 'the controlling interest given to the well-to-do was a feature which the library shared with many of the early mechanics' institutes' (43) then the libraries would restrict self-help to safe, i.e., non-controversial, areas. Certainly a section of society with sufficient wealth at its disposal could borrow or purchase almost any book on any subject imaginable. Thus, the written word could be the most liberating mode of educational transmission. However, for most of the nineteenth century the great majority of working men and women did not have such wealth at their disposal and so, for the most part, books had to be borrowed. It is true that the well-to-do and the clergy made every effort to control what was placed on the library shelves of educational institutions. Instances of some kind of censorship are common enough. For instance, the Godalming Mechanics' Institute refused a gift of books - without giving a reason. The Richmond Literary and Scientific Institution refused to accept Bailey's Dictionary until the 'objectionable words' were expunged; and Mr Seeley at Kingston castigated the circulating libraries for peddling 'vile rubbish' whilst advising residents to look to the Institute for their books. On the other hand, in 1842, the Institute refused Seeley's own published lectures. These are but examples, and it would be difficult to be sure of the criteria for refusing or accepting books, as examination of the contents of libraries would confirm. (see Appendices 13a - 13i) The point has to be made that promoters of Mechanics' and similar Institutions, in an eagerness to bolster up their civic reputation, may have been tempted to accept gifts of books for their libraries which they might otherwise have rejected. In contrast to Freire's
concept of the process of literacy, i.e., that it should lead to cultural liberation, it can be argued that what often passes for literacy 'makes people accessible to political and historical myth.' (44) From this it can be seen that the provision of libraries could be observed as a political act. Yet it has to be accepted that myths and history are of all kinds. It would be an error to underestimate the intelligence of nineteenth century working men and women. They were no more likely to take what they read on face value than any other group of readers, for they could discuss what they had read with their contemporaries, as could any other social group in society. They could as easily discuss their reading with working class radicals as with illiterate men and women; which latter were still capable of independent thought and had not yet been induced merely to follow an argument rather than participate in it. If this was so, then the proliferation of libraries attached to institutions of varying kinds would suggest that in Surrey at least the well-to-do did not impose their will totally.

A summary of those institutions maintaining libraries is given in Appendix 13.1 where the number of volumes in a particular collection is known, the number is indicated. In certain instances further details of the particular library are given in additional Appendices.
Mutual Improvement Societies

These organisations provided what has often been described as the truest expression of indigenous working class effort. Evidence suggests however that though there were undoubtably a number of indigenous working class societies about which this statement would be true there were as many others which began as independent societies but soon lost their independence - often to special interest groups within their own ranks. There were yet others, often connected with the larger institutions, which merely represented a shift in responsibility to working class members for the day to day running of programmes of class instruction. Neither was the concept of mutual improvement restricted to the working classes. As was discussed above, the concept of self-help was applicable to all.

Mutual Improvement Societies appear to have been as numerous in Surrey as in other parts of the country and in particular the northern counties where it is claimed that, in 1847, 'there was scarcely a town or village in the West Riding without one or more mutual improvement societies.'(1) The parallel can be taken still further for they often existed alongside, and sometimes in competition with other providers of adult education; in particular the mechanics' and literary and scientific institutes. Such was the case at Croydon, Dorking, Farnham, Godalming, Guildford and Kingston. Nevertheless, some mutual improvement societies represented the only organised adult education in the district - such as at Woking.(2) Some, like those at Epsom, Godalming, Haslemere, Malden Rushett and Puttenham, were established by the Congregational or Unitarian churches. There were
others, as in Guildford, which were established by the Society of Friends (3) and yet others, notably at Sutton and at Witley which later developed into Institutes. The promoters of mutual improvement societies did not always share a common purpose. The working man had his own reasons. Participation in the mass popular movements of the 1770s and experience gained in the economic crises following the wars, together with exposure to Thomas Paine and the philosophers of the eighteenth-century enlightenment had proved fertile ground on which to nurture the conviction that the working man had an undeniable right to knowledge. To many working men the pursuit of knowledge had also become a necessity for had not the Chartists adopted Bacon's dictum, 'Knowledge is Power?' Artisans were 'profoundly suspicious of an established culture which had excluded them from power and knowledge and which had answered their protests with homilies and tracts.' (4)

Furthermore, the Methodist class system had provided a useful model which could as effectively serve secular as well as religious purposes. (5) The Corresponding Societies, Hampden Clubs, Political Unions, and the like thrived on self-instruction. Nor was this limited to the literate:

'At times of political ferment the illiterate would get their work mates to read aloud from the periodicals, while in the Houses of Call the news was read, and at political meetings a prodigious time was spent in reading addresses and passing long strings of resolutions.' (6)

The extraordinary educational achievements of some working men has been frequently commented upon. (see pp 246-247 below) and so one further observation will suffice to re-establish the point:

'in Lancashire there are hundreds of excellent botanists among the working classes, who, if examined, would probably be found to possess more knowledge in this particular subject than all the graduates of all the universities in the kingdom. Not a scrap of this was acquired at school, but entirely by self-instruction.' (7)
Thus an ethos of mutuality was established within which men of like minds would seek to gain the educational and material benefits so long denied them and which they believed would raise their status in society. Frequently, the mutual improvement society consisted of a small group of people who met together, sometimes in a public place - a school room or a church hall - but often in each other's houses. In many cases the programmes of these meetings imitated that of the large institutions; that is, there was a programme of Readings (in lieu of lectures), classes were set up by members to teach elementary subjects, and a collection of books, newspapers and periodicals, formed a rudimentary library. There is no doubt that sometimes these societies were formed as a reaction against what Harrison describes as a type of class and method of instruction alien to the working man; this is to say, that provided for him by the mechanics' and similar institutions. (8) However, they were just as often attempts to localise adult education, particularly in remote and in rural areas such as in Surrey. They sometimes served as an intermediary stage between the friendly society and local book club, and the mechanics' institute. In general, self-help, through the agency of the mutual improvement society, was an aspect of working class endeavour which met with the approval of its social superiors. Nevertheless this did not prevent the occasional outburst of disapproval (or perhaps realism):

'Members of the Woburn Literary and Scientific Institute were told that it was pointless to become pre-occupied with self-improvement because for the vast majority of them it would not be possible to achieve a different status from the one ascribed.' (9)

On the other hand, the secretary of the Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution identified a particular truth about mutual improvement societies:
'In many institutions the Members have discovered that one of the readiest methods of learning is by endeavouring to teach and that improvement may be more rapidly and certainly attained by the active enquiries of many, than by the passive reception of the learning of one.' (10)

A number of motives can be identified for middle class encouragement of self-education through mutual improvement societies. It now proposed to discuss them in turn.

First of all, it would be less expensive than paying the fees lecturers were demanding. The cost of running a lecture programme at the major institutions was in many cases financially debilitating and is the main reason for attempts to form unions of institutions following the pattern established in Yorkshire in the 1830s and 1840s. (11) This was no less so in Surrey where every institution in the county, at some time or other, had to curtail its lecture programme through lack of funds. Activities in the north of England had not escaped the notice of the Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution when, in 1841, the Committee could not refrain from mentioning the fact that 'in most of the institutions in the Northern Counties, the whole or a large proportion of the lectures are given gratuitously by Members and Others. Instead of lectures being given by men of great skill and proficiency in the science, the system of mutual instruction is beginning to prevail.' (12) There was no attempt to hide their enthusiasm. Nor was there any doubt about their motives:

'One great advantage of mutual instruction is, that by it a large amount of good is obtained at no expense to its recipients.' (13)

These sentiments were echoed by William Chapman at the Richmond Literary and Scientific Institution:

'... while we most gladly avail ourselves of the talent to which our nearness to the Metropolis gives us easy access, it is our purpose to invite the giving of
lectures on popular subjects by our own Members and residents in the vicinity; and permit me to say, that from that source I anticipate much and varied amusement and instruction.' (14)

Perhaps he too had the Northern Counties in mind, for he goes on to say

'I am sure that this neighbourhood cannot be the only barren spot in a rich and fertile country, and that as other places far less favored(sic) than this have by resident and native talent raised and firmly established institutions similar to ours, we shall here find a rich mine, which has yet lain unwrought, which may contain treasures of which the very owners are yet unaware.' (15)

In the event, these institutions had great difficulty in encouraging mutual improvement. Richmond never did succeed, despite the introduction of classes in French and Mathematics in 1837, and the plea for 'mutual information.' Croydon, having made regular appeals, year after year, was finally successful in 1858 (see Appendix 12a) after twenty years of effort, and after having circulated Charles Dickens' Address to the Institutional Association of Lancashire and Cheshire, with the hope that 'from its perusal, the Members of the Institute may be induced to emulate the energy and perseverance of which Mr Dickens speaks so warmly, as existing among the operative classes in the north of England.' (16) As late as 1878 a mutual improvement society was started in Sutton (following an earlier one which had appeared in 1867) and which was destined to become the Sutton Institute. The writer can hardly disguise his delight at the sound economy of the venture:

'The Mutual Improvement Society . . . has been of use to many during the twelve-months. Though no public or costly lectures are delivered, yet essayists, amateur lecturers, and would-be entertainers have, with their audiences, spent many happy hours together, and we think with satisfaction, instruction, and profit to all parties.' (17)

Two further motives for the encouragement of mutual improvement can be
identified. The working classes would learn for themselves the 'undeniable truths' about the rational organisation of society and, given middle class characterisations of the mental abilities of the working classes, it was not likely that self-education would pose any threat to the established order; provided that what was taught was carefully circumscribed. And so it followed that basic subjects were encouraged such as reading and writing, to which might be added French and, sometimes, music. Given that the working classes were observed to be sensual and inconsequential (see Chapter V, passim) the latter subject, along with theatre or drama, was often proscribed. Subjects most likely to receive maximum encouragement were those which could confirm the natural order - and in this category natural science and political economy fitted easily. As William Chapman observed:

'The study of natural history abounds with lessons which cannot fail to impress and correct the heart, enlighten the understanding, and dignify the thoughts. It teaches that nothing is made in vain nor without due adaptation of its organs to the station in which it is placed. It shows us that infinite wisdom and design is equally apparent in the monsters of the deep and in the minutist animalcule. It shows us, in short, that we may find:

"Tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, Sermons in stones, and good in every thing."

(18)

The natural science that was encouraged was limited to an elementary demonstration of clear-cut facts and laws. Anything that might lead to speculation, to questioning, was carefully discouraged. As Shapin and Barnes point out, 'what was retained was all that might implant a subtle model of natural order in such minds as the lower orders were thought to possess. (19) As to political economy, even towards the end of the century Merryweather was lamenting at Kingston that 'as yet it is true that much of
sound political economy taught by philosophy, and explained in the most accessible forms by the cheap press, is neglected by a large portion of the working class.' (20) The reasons for the inclusion of political economy are no better summarised than by the Reverend Edward Higginson, Secretary of the Derby Mechanics' Institute who, in 1825, remarked:

'violence for the redress of grievances; unlawful combination for the destruction of property, or the injury of obnoxious individuals; absurd and impolitic regulations interfering with the free exercise of trade or commerce, are never the consequences of sound knowledge, diffused among the people at large.' (21)

The laws of political economy were often accepted as were the laws of natural science. Thus if the working man was educated to understand these laws he would the more understand what was in his and in his country's best interests, and would be less likely to be misled into seditious acts.

Often, the mutual improvement society might include a class such as that begun at Croydon in 1853, where subjects were chosen for essay and discussion. Here again however strict rules prohibiting the discussion of politics and controversial religion ensured that nothing could be included which might lead to disharmony.

Yet another strong motive stemmed from the belief that by invading workers' unorganised time, their meagre leisure time, it would leave them with no other in which to ferment disorder. The working man would 'spend those evenings profitably, innocently, and usefully, which are now dissipated in the public streets, to the annoyance of decent passengers, and their own disgrace and injury.' (22) Even excepting the imperative to contain any threat of disorder this demonstrates at the very least, a paternalism which assumed that the cultivated few knew how best to use leisure.

Each of these motives for encouraging mutual improvement would result in a further legitimation of the natural order. The opportunities were offered by which working men could raise themselves from their lowly position. If
they failed, then the state was in no way responsible. The social pathology attached to the working classes was confirmed. These self-help movements:

'. . . reveal very clearly a certain diagnosis of the cause of social problems. At their most naive and pretentious they implied that poverty and dependence of the able-bodied sprang from an individual moral failing, a personal responsibility, which might be cured by a moral campaign for the social redemption of the individual by his conversion to the true social values. (25)

According to this analysis, as Mathias observes, the two main private responses, i.e./ charity and self-help, were all that were needed to overcome current social problems. (24) There were of course other motives, and some were not merely variations on the theme of social control. For example, Mr Fidler writing in Kingston in 1831, believed in the creative wit and genius of the working man; the 'unpolished diamond'. Yet:

'. . . much original knowledge, and many genuine ideas, frequently spring from uncultivated minds, well worth the notice of those who are more particularly acquainted with general science . . . sentiment and genius are not produced by learning, they are only thereby exhibited: the unpolished diamond possesses an intrinsic value, far superior to the laboured pebble.' (25)

Such then was the climate within which mutual improvement prospered in Surrey. If the major institutions found it difficult to stimulate their members, there were enough minor initiatives which valued and relied on mutual self-help. Of the early ones, at Dorking, Egham, Ewell, Kingston, and Haslemere (and there were surely others) very little is known. Of those making an appearance in mid-century many were associated with religious bodies, Anglican, Congregationalist, Unitarian, and the Society of Friends; at Dorking (1855) Guildford and Godalming (c1860) and Epsom and Halsemere (1864). Towards the third quarter of the century a number of societies such as the Young Mens' Association at Godalming (1859) and at Farnham
and the mutual improvement societies at Woking (1867) Walton upon Thames (1873) and Witley (1885) were established. In 1876, the Sutton mutual improvement society, which had been established in 1867, was accorded a premature obituary for it survived under new management to become the Sutton Institute. However the obituary (as most obituaries do) extolled the virtues of the deceased, and is worth reporting in full:

'The Mutual Improvement Society has very quietly passed away from Sutton, leaving only a few mourners, whose regrets are unheeded, and whose endeavours to resuscitate a decaying corporation fruitless. For many years this society was the only institution of the kind for miles around; now we have outgrown even these wants, while the neighbouring villages are creating them by the score. It is a truly beautiful spectacle, having fulfilled its day and mission, to see it go quietly away without any ovation or testimonial. Were no School Board in existence, possibly there would yet be room for the labours of an improvement society, and with chance of success. For what shall School Boards give place - the future alone can tell!!' (26)

In the 1860s there were 'cottage lectures' given at Malden, along with Penny Readings. At Wallington, in 1871, there was a mutual improvement society which, in addition to giving public lectures, established classes in drawing and mathematics. (27) At Carshalton, in about 1870, a mutual improvement society was announced thus by a local versifier known as the 'Leicester House Poet':

'There's a society formed for mutual improvement;
They're going to have people to lecture and so on'
(28)

When the new Public Hall was built in 1874 there were lectures and classes - though its historian claims that it was also a place for light entertainment for 'Carshalton had not been made entirely serious minded by its more cultural atmosphere.' (29) Then in 1877 the Carshalton Cottage Reading Rooms were established by the Quaker, Mrs Tylor; which Jones(1970) says 'corresponded to a Mechanics' Institute.' To this list can be added
the Coffee Taverns and more particularly the village halls which, though not intended exclusively or even primarily for educational purposes, housed mutual improvement societies, sometimes libraries, and nearly always, benefit societies and savings clubs. These appeared particularly towards the end of the century and, like that at Lingfield (1901) might have a reading room and library, whilst others such as that at Puttenham (c1880-1903) maintained a friendly society and gave penny readings. The remainder performed a role central to village life, occasionally, as at Walton (1889) becoming working mens' clubs. They were to be found at Ewell (1862), Weybridge (1883), Merstham (1884), Addlestone, Chobham, and Esher (1887), Stoke (a Church Institute in 1895), Byfleet (1898), Pirbright (1899), Ewhurst (1901), Dorking (1905) and Banstead and Bletchingly (1906). Thus was the character of self-help diffused throughout the towns and villages of Surrey. It took many forms, was often modest and therefore lacked the prestige of the larger institutions. However, as Harrison concludes:

'If one of the fundamental aims of adult education was to enable people to come to terms more effectively with the problems of living in an industrial community, and if such adult education was best pursued in a small democratic group, then the mutual improvement societies must be accounted at least as successful as some longer-lived and more pretentious adult education institutions.' (30)

Though not comprising the industrial communities Harrison had in mind, Surrey's changing rural community created problems which the mutual improvement society might help to alleviate.
'The true and profitable education, will be that which is voluntarily sought by men rendered peaceful in mind and free in action.'

Northern Star: December 1840

Godard, writing of the Mechanics' Class at the Andersonian Institute of 1802, records that 'a sense of honest independence led the mechanics to subscribe a shilling each to meet the incidental expenses.' (1) Indeed, the Mechanics' Institutes were for the most part self-financing. Evidence that working men would pay for education, either as subscriptions to Mechanics Institutes or to mutual improvement societies, if it was 'relevant to their needs and suited to their economic habits as weekly wage-earners' is not hard to come by. (2) Conversely, if the working man was not suited he was inclined to vote with his feet. It was this spirit of independence which had helped to legitimise the concept of self-help; had created self-educated working class leaders such as Cobbett and Lovett. It was at the core of that indigenous minority tradition; a tradition of exceptional artisans who were prepared to pay almost any price to educate themselves in the fullest sense of the term.' (4) It was, paradoxically, the same spirit which had hastened the demise of the early Mechanics' Institutes; not as some have said, a 'lack of literacy among those who needed such knowledge.' (5) It had led to the establishment of organisations independent of the Mechanics' and Literary and Scientific Institutions; to the founding of Owenite Halls of Science, Chartist Halls, Working Mens' Institutions, and a variety of mutual improvement societies. This same disillusionment with the Mechanics' Institutes had, for instance, led to the secession of some sixty or seventy socialists from the Coventry Mechanics' Institute; 'many of its
most talented, intelligent and active members' in order to obtain 'a wider knowledge than that available.' (6) Independence (or at least the absence of bias) was the declared purpose (7) of those institutions forbidding the discussion of religion and politics in their establishments, and it was a characteristic often preserved even against the advantages of any proposed government financial support. As Tylecote has observed, 'it was not . . . generally conceded that government help was desirable, for the sense of local independence was strong, and the benefits to be derived from self-government were recognised and government interference was liable to be jealously regarded unless expressed in the simple form of 'benefactions'. '(8) Thus honest independence, or education voluntarily sought, was a prerequisite for any successful venture designed to improve the conditions of the working classes. How then was this to be achieved? Harrison claims that 'to the Victorians of the mid-decades of the nineteenth century there appeared to be three main agencies by which the conditions of the working classes could be improved. The first . . . was through the assistance of the middle classes or some established institution; the second . . . was by means of the working classes helping themselves through voluntary associations; and the third . . . was government aid.' (9) He goes on to say that 'the first of these as applied to adult education was given a thorough trial in the mechanics' institute movement.' (10) However, whatever else can be said in favour of the mechanics' institutes and however much they contributed indirectly to the independence of the working man they did not in themselves represent his endeavour. The second of these agencies is best represented by the mutual improvement societies. Undoubtedly, the notion of a few working men combining together to provide for their mutual educational needs conjures up a picture of men 'rendered peaceful in mind and free in action.' On closer inspection, however, it can be seen that this was not always the
case for, though they might be independent of the major institutions (but not always so) they were more often less than independent; commonly meeting on church premises, often promoted within the organisation of a religious body which exhibited all the characteristics of middle class benevolence, their programme of action was often prescribed or curtailed. What then of the third agency? Would government aid serve the working man’s need to be independent or would it, though freeing him from the prescriptions and proscriptions of middle class benevolence on the one hand and the similar claims of the religious bodies on the other, now render him even more accountable to the new agency to which he would become beholden? The importance of the state in providing for adult education is brought more clearly into focus with the development of continuation classes and in particular with the development of Science, Art and Technical education in the last decades of the century. However, the first parliamentary grant for education was made in 1833. It was issued in aid of private subscription, not to replace it, and in fact was divided equally between the two major voluntary agencies, the National and the British and Foreign School Societies, to assist them in building schools. No conditions were laid down regarding standards of school buildings and there was to be no inspection of the suitability of such buildings or of the curriculum. For the most part, this historic occasion affected the education of adults only in so far as these same societies often made their schools available for adults as evening schools or for the provision of mutual improvement societies for which adults might have to trade a measure of their independence. Furthermore they might be caught up in the increasing antagonism between Church and non-conformity over the control of education which had been generated by the 1833 Bill.

The constraints under which the Cranleigh Literary and Scientific Institution operated, meeting as it did in the National Schoolroom; the
competing interests of the National School-based and British School-based mutual improvement societies at Sutton: and the fierce anglicanism of enterprises in Egham, are sufficient illustration. This first grant was made specifically for elementary education, and the revised code of 1862 confirmed this. The extension of elementary education for adults increased apace and, by the 1850s, a considerable number of evening schools were in existence at which adults might reinforce whatever elementary education they might already possess. (13) Many of these evening schools were extensions of the day schools and were under the control of the National or British Societies. Such was the case at Godalming, Ockham and West Horsley. Others were private ventures, perhaps undertaken by day-school teachers or were similarly undertaken by leading figures associated with local mechanics' and similar institutions, as were those at Chertsey and at Kingston. In 1851 these schools became eligible, under certain conditions, for government grant. However, another development occurred in 1853. The Great Exhibition of 1851 had demonstrated Britain's pre-eminence as an industrial nation but, with the knowledge that technical education on the continent was developing rapidly, British manufacturers began to show considerable anxiety at the prospect of serious rivalry from the continent, in particular from Prussia. This anxiety was justified. For only sixteen years later, Britain made a disastrous showing at the Paris Exhibition. Thus, the Great Exhibition stimulated the government's further interest in education and as a result the Department of Practical Arts (15), established in 1852, was in 1853 absorbed into a new body which was thereafter called the Department of Science and Art. Since, as will be shown, a great many of the institutions for adult education took advantage of the grants available from the Department of Science and Art some further discussion is in order. The stated purpose of the Department was:
'to increase the means of industrial education and extend the influence of Science and Art upon productive industry.' (16)

It must be noted that 'industrial education' did not mean 'technical education.' Indeed, in the 1860s and 1870s this latter term was rarely used. 'Scientific instruction' was the preferred term and furthermore, 'it would be scarcely too much to say that where science was spoken of it was generally supposed to mean chemistry.' (17) Nevertheless, the Science and Art Department is important because it encouraged the teaching of Science and Art and, it is claimed, in so-doing contributed to the development of a cleavage between the north of England and the south; the north moving increasingly towards technical education. (18) Perhaps two factors of more importance need emphasis however since they are persistent and have implications beyond the study of adult education. The first is that Science, or indeed technical instruction, was synonymous with general principles; with theory. As Musgrave has observed:

'One of the remarkable things about the demand for technical education over the last century has been the constant emphasis that it should be in principles, not in practice. The examinations of the Department of Science and Art on the whole were in pure, not applied science.' (19)

The second is that in England there has been, and continues to be, a certain ambivalence to industrial society; a pervasive upper and middle-class frame of mind hostile to industrialism and economic growth. As Wiener, in describing the decline of the British industrial spirit, has remarked:

'An "English way of life" was defined and largely accepted; it stressed nonindustrial noninnovative and nonmaterial qualities best encapsulated in rustic imagery.' (20)

This second factor will receive close attention in a later chapter; at this
point it is sufficient to establish it as a credible description of the mental climate within which scientific instruction was pursued in the nineteenth century. Within this frame of mind it was possible to comprehend the emphasis given to general theory which characterised the Department of Science and Art, and successive government Commissions and Bills well into the present century. It is possible to understand the persistent belief that it was the workshops and offices of the country which were the rightful places in which to learn the practical applications of science. This frame of mind was reinforced by the promoters of mechanics and similar institutions, since the aims of these enterprises commonly emphasised the teaching of pure as opposed to applied science. As the secretary of the Richmond Literary and Scientific Institution remarked:

"For many ages the Arts were practised empirically, processes being carried on merely by practical knowledge and experience, without any investigation of the principles on which they were founded." (21)

This sentiment is echoed by Benton Seeley of the Kingston Literary and Scientific Institution:

"though the shipwright knows from experience he must not build a man-of-war from the produce of the Fir, yet it is only the man of real information and philosophical research who can render the true reason why oak is more lasting than deal." (22)

Furthermore, institutions willingly cooperated with the Department of Science and Art (and with the Society of Arts, which had been established in 1852), accepting the 'South Kensington Grants' and preparing candidates for their examinations. No doubt they had read their Members' wishes aright; at Croydon for instance, no less a person than Harry Chester, of the Society of Arts, was invited to address 'a Local Board of Examinations in connection with the Society of Arts, so that facilities may be given to
the Members to study and compete for Certificates and Prizes.' (23) Croydon appears to have been the first institution in Surrey to have developed close associations with the Society of Arts and, as early as 1856, with the Department of Science and Art; announcing their first examination successes with great pride. (24) By the mid 1860s many of the Surrey institutions were receiving grants and preparing their members for examinations. Some like Croydon, Farnham and Godalming had established Schools of Art. One of the earliest associations with the Department of Science and Art was negotiated by the Guildford Working Mens' Institution which had organised a Drawing Class in the winter of 1853. It seems however that this venture was plagued with indifferent attendance at class meetings; a not uncommon feature. At a meeting in March 1861, the Reverend R B Matthews of Shalford (Corresponding Secretary of the Science and Art Department) took the Chair, and the following plea was made:

'... prizes being given for the purpose of encouraging the Art of Drawing you are earnestly requested to attend on every possible occasion, as it mainly depends on the interest displayed by the members themselves whether we have the support continued or not, the Committee therfore beg of you to attend on class nights if only for a short time.' (25)

This could have fallen on deaf ears for the Minutes of the Institute meetings for the next ten years or so consist almost entirely of catalogues of examination results. (26)

Opportunities for adults to attend classes in science subjects and art developed apace over the next thirty years or so. Though it is true that over the same period the pattern changed from financing evening school work to 'sponsoring a kind of one-eyed secondary education without an Act', (27) there is no doubt that a great many of the institutions for adult education benefitted from the 'South Kensington Grants.' By the mid 1870s there was hardly an institution in Surrey which did not have its science and arts
classes. Croydon had established a School of Art and a School of Science. At Farnham the School of Art, which had been established in 1865, was moved to new accommodation, and the Working Mens' Institute had held an Exhibition of Art and Industry, at which exhibits of horseshoes, inlaid paper-weights, terra-cotta work, dried ferns, bed quilts, and stuffed birds had been displayed. (28) If this latter example suggests a somewhat liberal view of technical or scientific instruction it must be remembered that even when the term 'technical education' was used it was synonymous with pure science; principles not practice, (29) and even Thomas Huxley did not see it as being divorced from a Liberal Education - observing that there was 'nothing especially technical about it.' (30) This must always be a possible interpretation whenever the provision of technical instruction in the nineteenth century is referred to. It will be recalled that though Britain had taken most of the prizes at the Great Exhibition of 1851 there was evidence that all was not well:

'. . . discerning observers detected alarming evidence of competition from abroad, and foresaw Britain's need for technological education if her industrial supremacy was to be maintained.' (31)

This led to demands for the technical instruction of workers. Britain's poor showing at the 1867 Paris Exhibition, where she won only ten prizes in ninety departments, lent more urgency to these demands, and the government appointed a Select Committee, under Samuelson, to investigate the matter. (32) However, there is one curious fact about this and indeed succeeding government initiatives - such as the Devonshire and later Samuelson Reports (1872-5 and 1882-4), the Elementary Education Act(1870), and the Bryce Report (1895). Despite emphasising the need to maintain Britain's industrial competence, and despite Lyon Playfair's observation that the decline in England's effort was due to the fact that her competitors had developed good systems of industrial education for masters and managers,
the outcomes were to maintain the generally held view that technical education should be in general principles, and the workshop the only school for the handicrafts. (34)

There was one other outcome which affected the provision of technical education. As Brook has observed:

'... it was becoming increasingly clear as the century progressed that the new industries demanded a new labour force skilled in ways which could not simply be picked up on the job, but also that the change of gear was being equalled by the massive expansion of competing capitals in Europe and North America.' (35)

Why then was there not a massive increase in technical education in the 1870s and 1880s? First, there was Britain's ability to exploit existing markets. What need was there for a change? As Cotgrove has indicated, 'ever increasing markets opened up by the developments in transport, encouraged expansion along existing lines rather than innovation.' (36) Second, and somewhat related to the first, there was that climate of mind, adverted to above, which celebrated the 'English way of life.' Thus, whilst 'it was admitted that the study of science for its useful applications might be appropriate for the labouring classes' (37) it was certainly not a principle to adopted by all classes. The low status of science resulted in an industrial education for masters and managers which was still founded on a 'good classical English education.' And yet, the major technical advances in the second half of the nineteenth century were essentially scientific.

To quote Hobsbawn:

'... they required at the very least some knowledge of recent developments in pure science for original inventions, a far more consistent process of scientific experiment and testing for their development, and an increasingly close and continuous link between industrialists, technologists and professional scientists and scientific institutions.' (38)
However, science was Janus-faced. It might be a preferable base for an effective technical education, i.e., preferable to the traditional liberal curriculum which had been followed by most masters and managers, but, as Landes has claimed, a student might suffer for his ambition since job and promotion opportunities in science and technology were few and unattractive. Indeed:

'... the most gifted of those few young men who had the means to pursue their education beyond the intermediate level followed the traditional liberal curriculum to careers in the civil service, to pursuit of the genteel country life, or to the kind of post in industry or trade - and there were many - that called for a gentleman and not a technician.' (39)

Nonetheless, as he goes on to claim, even if the system or the content of instruction in formal education was poorly suited to the requirements of the economy or polity, schooling came more and more to govern the recruitment of talent. (40) This observation finds support in the number of educational enterprises thriving in Surrey in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. For instance, at Godalming, the Institute which had been established in 1860 'for the promotion of Literature and the Study of Science and Art' (41) had by the early 1870s established a well-developed programme of classes in Magnetism, Electricity, Geology, Physical Science, Light and Heat. (42) The programme was so well developed that it was found necessary in 1880 to transfer the art classes, first to the Friend's Meeting House, and later, to the British School. From the very beginning these classes were available to women and indeed a number of science and art courses were organised especially for women. Several similar courses were held for pupil teachers in the National Schoolroom and, in 1884, building construction was added to the list of subjects. In the late 1880s the Institute at Witley began its continuation classes and together with the Institute at Shackleford added classes in Nursing and Cookery.
At Farnham there were classes in shoemending and carpentry, and in 1868 the town held an Exhibition of Art and Industry, in connection with the Working Mens' Institution, for which occasion the Chairman, Mr W Chapman, wrote the words:

Welcome we with heart and hand  
Heroes who before us stand  
On them heap with loud acclaim  
Lasting honours, deathless fame,  
May the object held in view  
Reap the success richly due  
And may Farnham ever be  
Famed for Art and Industry.' (43)

These words, in honour of exhibitors and prize-winners, were sung with great pride by the children of the National School. This could be matched at Guildford, for though in 1862 it was reported that the Working Mens' Institute could not afford to hold an exhibition because of its present financial state and because it 'feared the pecuniary consequences', (44) courses in Art and Drawing continued with success, and many examinations were passed and many prizes won. (45)

At Haslemere, classes in science were arranged by the Working Mens' Institution and by the Educational Museum, so that by 1891 a new 'Educational Hall' could be built. Haslemere was very fortunate in having the support of eminent men of science, such as Jonathan Hutchinson, John Tyndall, and John Stewart Hodgson. Such a small village was particularly well supplied with opportunities for the study of science, and in the early 1880s had a thriving and well subscribed Microscopic and Natural History Society. Certainly, small Surrey villages were not deprived of opportunities, as the following extract from the Bryce Report (1895) testifies:

'The village of Peper Harow is one of the smallest in the county, the population is 167. It is entirely rural. In this village there has been held for three years a
course of twelve lectures in agricultural chemistry, the chemistry of common things and plant life and manures. The audiences have varied from 50 to 80. In the first year eight entered for the examination and five passed. The examination was conducted by the Local Lecture Syndicate of the University of Cambridge. In the second year 23 entered and 19 passed, and three obtained the mark of distinction. A large proportion of the students and of the successful candidates were farmers, gardeners, and other wage-earners. The audience came entirely from Peper Harow, and the two neighbouring parishes of Shackleford and Elstead. I have myself seen and feel quite sure that these paper results represent a great deal of work and education. This shows what can be done in a purely rural district.' (46)

It might be expected that the larger towns such as Croydon, Guildford, Kingston and Richmond, should have developed opportunities for science and art subjects. It is remarkable however that the experience just alluded to could be found in a number of other small villages. For instance, Wallington founded an evening school in the 1870s, and offered classes in drawing and mathematics for mechanics. To the list of those providing some technical, i.e, science education, could be added the names of Dorking, Epsom, Ewell, Reigate and Sutton. There is no doubt that in the greater part of Surrey provision was being made for elementary art and science instruction which would be sufficiently developed to take advantage of the new series of events which was to commence in the 1890s. Evidence from the county of Surrey suggests that in no area is it possible to trace a continuous line of development. Often, what began as promising ventures capable of expansion, appear to have become absorbed, lost their way, or given ground to other initiatives and other institutions. An examination of initiatives at Croydon will serve to illustrate this and will complete this summary of early enterprises.

In 1862 the Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution established a Mechanical Drawing School 'for the purpose of affording artizans and other workmen opportunities in sound instruction in the varied branches of
mechanical drawing.' (47) The success of this venture led to the establishment six years later of the Croydon School of Art, which met in the Institute's premises in Pithill. Advantage was taken of the 'South Kensington Grants' and candidates were presented for the examinations of the Society of Arts. In 1870, the Croydon Microscopic Club had been established; its aims were 'the discussion of subjects connected with, or dependent upon Microscopical research; for the exhibition and exchange of Microscopic Objects and Preparations; and for the study of Microscopy and Natural History generally.' (48) There seems to have been a change of emphasis following this date, for in 1874, the premises in Pithill were being referred to as 'the Old School of Art' and classes were now held in Practical Geometry, Machine Construction, Mechanical Drawing, and Building Construction. (49) In addition, the Institute was operating classes in Animal Physiology and Physical Geography; again in connection with the Department of Science and Art. These latter ventures led eventually to the formation in 1876 of a School of Science at the Institute. To what extent the Croydon Microscopic Club was involved is not clear but a Croydon Marinoscopic and Natural History Society (together with the School of Art) is recorded as meeting at the Literary and Scientific Institution. (50) The classes thrived. Curiously, only eight years later, technical/science classes were being held at the Sunflower Coffee Tavern in George Street. Then, in 1888, an independent enterprise in technical education made its appearance.

Under the auspices of Croydon Parish Church, and under the personal direction of the Reverend J Oakley Coles, the Pitlake Technical Institution was founded. It seems that the Reverend Oakley Coles was dissatisfied with existing provision for technical education in Croydon. As the Parish Magazine records:

'(The Reverend Oakley Coles) has taken up residence at 22
One week later, the Pitlake Technical Institution was founded, meeting in the Pitlake Mission Hall, Westfield Street. The first published programme of classes included Electrical Engineering, China Mosaic, Wood Carving, Metal Work, Clay Modelling and Design. Fees were one penny per week per subject, and students were admitted from 14 to 40 years of age. (52) This was a very successful venture, and in 1891 tools, equipment, and some of the staff were transferred from the Pitlake Institute to a new building to become Croydon Polytechnic. At the opening address, the Mayor of Croydon claimed that the town 'was one of the first, if not the very first, town that took in hand the question of technical education.' (53) The Reverend Oakley Coles was elected Honorary Director, and there were at the first session 454 class enrolments. In 1903 the Polytechnic came under the jurisdiction of Croydon Education Committee in which year it had an enrolment of 2300 students - all of whom attended in the evenings only. Such then was the progress of technical education in Croydon. However, the account has obscured a particularly important series of events predisposing government aid for the education of adults.

In 1851 the Committee of the Privy Council in Education agreed to grant aid evening schools but insisted that the fees paid by students should equal the amount of the government grant. In the smaller village communities of Surrey this was of little help since numbers were too small to raise the required amount. Then, from 1862, the 'South Kensington Grants' were in future to be based on the attendance and attainments of students calculated at annually held examinations. They were to be paid to the individual teacher and thus paralleled the system of 'payment by results' which obtained in the schools and which had followed the publication of the
Newcastle Report (1861) Nevertheless, the effect of this was that many institutions for the education of adults relied on these grants to develop their embryo science/technical instruction programmes. In a great majority of the evening schools the main subjects taught were reading, writing and arithmetic, i.e., elementary subjects. Nevertheless, by 1872, largely as a result of successive Acts of Parliament (the most recent being Forster's Act of 1870) elementary education was deemed to be so generally available that the state considered it was not justified in spending money on the elementary education of adults. The effect of this was that persons over the age of eighteen years of age were made ineligible for grant—though this age limit was raised to twenty-one years in 1876. Nevertheless, by 1893 (largely as a result of the recommendations of the Cross Commission (1888)) no student was compelled to take elementary subjects in order to obtain a grant towards other subjects of instruction. More important perhaps, persons over twenty-one years of age could now count for grant. The new Education Code permitted greater freedom to the managers of schools, and greater freedom to students to choose from a wider number of subjects. The consequence was a significant increase in the breadth of the curriculum of institutions providing for adult education. However, whilst these developments were taking place yet others were destined to effect the future of technical education and so discussion now turns to two major sources of funding technical education.

Adverting to the first, it will be recalled that it was evidence of a decline in the competitive nature of Britain's industry which had brought into being the Science and Art Department, had led to the setting up of the Select Committee under Samuelson and had informed Forster's oft-quoted remark when introducing the Elementary Education Bill (1870) 'Upon the speedy provision of elementary education depends our industrial prosperity.' The conclusions of the Royal Commission on Technical
Instruction (again chaired by Samuelson) reflected similar anxieties and led in 1889 to the passing of the Technical Instruction Act. (54) This Act authorised the newly-established County and Borough Councils to raise the product of a penny rate for the provision of technical instruction. The Act was merely permissive and at first few authorities chose to raise the rate. However, a second occurrence realised another source of funding; a source, identified above, which has come to be referred to as 'Whisky Money.' By means of the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Bill, the government wished to raise revenue by increasing customs duties on the import of, and excise duties on the manufacturing and distilling of spirits; to restrict the sale of alcohol by limiting the number of licences granted to publicans, and to compensate landlords for the loss of their licenses. Under a scheme to reimburse owners of redundant public houses, an additional tax was to be levied on liquor. This tax was authorised and collected but the Bill authorising the use of the money for the compensation of redundant landlords was dropped. Arthur Acland, a founder of the National Association for the Promotion of Technical Education, (55) suggested that the money should be given to the County and Borough Councils either for application to technical instruction or for reducing the rates. The majority (39 out of 49 Councils) used the revenue in order to promote technical instruction though some of them, including Surrey, did not raise the penny rate which had been authorised by the Technical Instruction Act. As might be expected, this has been claimed to support the 'historical accident' theory propounded by Zimmern who, writing in 1898 observed that 'the money, thus provided almost by accident, became a new and valuable source of endowing secondary education.' (56) Archer presses the argument still further:

'So curious a source of revenue, however, entailed one unfortunate result; the funds available for technical
education increased whenever drinking increased and diminished with the spread of temperance, so that, if the total abstainers could have persuaded the whole country 'to go dry' there would have been no funds left.' (57)

Like the Technical Instruction Act, the Bill providing 'Whisky Money' was not prescriptive; Councils did not have to spend any money on technical instruction and whether they did or not depended on local economic conditions and circumstances. (58) Nonetheless, it has been conceded that the time was also propitious. (59) Further, it is of interest to note that although 93 out of the 129 borough councils spent their Whisky Money on technical instruction, only 13 out of the same total levied the penny rate. (60) Indirectly, they were using the money to reduce the rates (or at least to avoid raising them) though of course such authorities were less inclined to levy the extra rate for the purpose of technical instruction in the first place. However, while bearing in mind that (apart from the work associated with the City and Guilds of London Institute) (61) technical instruction was still very largely synonymous with principles and not practice, the occurrences of the 1890s gave a great impetus to the provision of such instruction.

The County of Surrey was no exception and there is sufficient evidence to support a view that its Technical Instruction Committee, though not entirely asserting a little honest independence, was nevertheless inclined to a degree of manipulation, not to say bending of the rules.
### CHAPTER V THE STRATEGIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>The labelling of mental abilities: the minds of the working classes</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii.</td>
<td>The labelling of people: class differences</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii.</td>
<td>The apparatuses of power and control</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a)</td>
<td>the curriculum</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b)</td>
<td>the pedagogues</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus far, certain characteristics of working class thought and behaviour have been described. Though the friendly societies, libraries, and mutual improvement societies might in practice exhibit many of the features of middle class control and thus of education from above, they did nevertheless hold out the hope of independent action, this is to say, the potential for working class initiative. As the data confirms (see Volume 2) the majority of working men and women showed a distinct lack of enthusiasm for what was considered suitable for them by the promoters of the major institutions for adult education. Instead, they exhibited a tendency to favour activities of such as concerts, and illustrated lectures of a popular and entertaining kind. In the eyes of many they were disposed to habits of vice and intemperance; behaviour that was unacceptable to members of the middle classes, a number of whom were sponsors or benefactors of institutions for the educational and social benefit of the working classes. Whether legitimised by egalitarian 'phrenology' or by authoritarian 'natural law' the observed behaviour of the working classes was often reasoned to be pathologically determined; the inevitable manifestation of the sensual and inconsequential minds they were supposed to possess. Such a theory of deviant behaviour was sufficient to lend authority to prescriptive practices to control it. However, another currently commanding view, is that deviant behaviour is a social construction and is not biologically or, perhaps more appropriately, pathologically determined. Writers such as Becker(1963) and Kitsuse(1962) have claimed that deviant behaviour is not a quality of the act a person or a group of persons commit
but is a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions over the act committed:

'deviance may be conceived as a process by which the members of a group, community, or society (1) interpret behaviour as deviant, (2) define persons who so behave as a certain kind of deviant, and (3) accord them the treatment considered appropriate to such deviants.' (1)

In other words, deviance is created by those who 'operate' society, or to be more precise, by the dominant social group in society. These latter make the rules and so the act of breaking them (not the act itself) is regarded as deviant. Throughout the nineteenth century those who made the rules, this is to say the governing classes, regarded the observed behaviour of the working classes to be in important respects deviant. Thus, either from the standpoint of a theory of mental abilities based on social pathological interpretations of mental abilities, or a positivistic labelling of behaviour, an effective control strategy was legitimated since any departure from expectation, any rule-breaking, would confirm it. Before looking at the processes of control some attention must be paid to what certain members of the middle classes saw as evidence for their conclusions.

The evidence

There is little doubt that those who supported and those who opposed popular education believed in a social hierarchy and furthermore shared a view that the mentality of the working classes was 'superficial, sensual, and inconsequential.' (2) The major difference between them was whether or not the situation was insurmountable. It has become commonplace to cite the more extreme examples of these views, examples such as the pronouncements of reactionaries such as Thomas Wyse who typified the working classes as idle, drunkard, quarrelsome, slovenly, reckless, debased, wretched, and
'aiding and abetting every outrage.' (3) or the similar views of Country Gentleman, (4) or of erstwhile reformers such as John Foster (5) or George Combe. (6) However, perhaps a number of commonplace examples will best serve the present purpose and provide evidence for the universality of such views. Despite the fact that the English village of the early nineteenth century was not a backwater totally isolated from knowledge and contact with the more dynamic sectors of society, and despite the evidence that, for instance, the literature and intellectualism of 'weaver-poets', and 'miner-poets and of village shoemakers was proverbial, (7) vulgar interpretations of the mental abilities of the working classes helped to legitimate the existing social order. In Woking for example, though:

'An antiquary of the 19th century, Brayley, followed Aubrey of the 17th and Manning of the 18th in praising local civility, the Woking people are more intelligent than on the western borders of the county.' (8)

an anonymous writer in 1867 recorded 'scenes of debauchery' and 'blackguarding' and 'outrages to decency' in the village of Shepperton, with the bulk of the inhabitants 'living in a state of great ignorance.(9) Yet another observation of local people was made by a vicar in Newdigate who felt confident in diagnosing the exceptional stupidity of the local children as being 'attributable to the heavy soil thereabouts.' (10) Vulgar interpretations these may be and, supported as they were by the status-quo seeking 'Self-knowledge' of John Mason, a Dorking minister, (11) and by the pseudo-science of phrenology, which celebrated a biological basis of mental abilities, they held considerable sway. (see pp 288-294) In the main however, nineteenth century theories were based on observations of the living and working conditions and on the observed behaviour of the working classes. These were confirmed by a belief in the 'natural order' of the universe. Nonetheless, appreciation that the
environment might, in some degree, condition working class excesses was not entirely absent:

'. . . they (the working classes) are subject to feelings of langour and weariness . . . this feeling is forced off by necessity on the six days of labour; but on Sunday, when this is not the case, it is felt perhaps more than at any other time, giving them a disinclination to exert either their mental or physical powers, except it be to stimulate them by the exciting drink and company of the beershop or public house.' (12)

Even as late as the turn of the century, when working and living conditions might be thought to have improved, the working man saw his leisure time as his own, which he used as a compensation for long hours of toil. Thus in 1900, when the Guildford Working Mens' Institute proposed opening its doors on Sundays (with the purpose of attracting working men from the public houses) there were numerous objections from working men, of which the following is a typical example:

'One thing I feel sure that if I or any chap in the shop where I work wanted to look in at a public house for a glass on a Sunday evening the reading room being open wouldn't make much difference.' (13)

Addiction to drink, whether or not used to legitimise typifications of working class mentality, were nevertheless seen by nearly all social commentators, of whatever hue, as evil and self-defeating. It was this profound belief which led Sir William Lawson, representing the temperance lobby, to consider the 1890 Customs and Excise Bill the 'great Bill of the Session' (14) and which encouraged Mrs Humphry Ward to castigate the leaders of the Church for their inordinate attention to the minutiae of dogma whilst ignoring the evils of drink and other 'leading ideas of (this) seething time of social and industrial reform.' (15) Thus the view advanced by Shapin and Barnes that:
'Drunkness, debauchery, and promiscuity characterised workers' behaviour, according to those who advocated a remedy in scientific education' (16)

is limiting in that it ignores a more general concern, and is in other ways curious. Their view seems to confuse symptoms with cause - for these writers go on to quarrel with an attempt at a remedy, not whether or not the attempted remedy was successful. The causes lie elsewhere in the generally distressing conditions in which working people were bound to live their lives; conditions attested to by a plethora of writers and observers. One of these, Frederick Engels, wrote that there should be no cause for surprise if the workers, treated as brutes, actually become such:

'. . . they become brutes the moment they bend in patience under the yoke, and merely strive to make life endurable while abandoning the effort to break the yoke.' (18)

Of course it can be shown that excessive drinking was not limited to the working classes, but was a characteristic of all classes. (19) Nevertheless, this phenomenon is more often used to stigmatise the whole way of life of a particular section of society; the working class. The excessive intemperance observed amongst members of the working classes is attested to by all nineteenth-century social investigators, both sympathetic and unsympathetic. One of the most sympathetic of them condemned the prevailing habits of drunkenness thus:

'No other habit has such a strong and terrible hold upon a large portion of our working population; it occasions more waste, more sin, more misery and wretchedness than anything else besides. . . .' (20)

On the other hand, working men and women had an urgent need for recreation. They would not find this at the local Institute lectures and classes; they would not find this in their often damp, comfortless homes. Where else but
in a public house where friends could be met and wretchedness forgotten for a little while? Inevitably, this propensity led to an excessive number of public houses. After the removal of the malt tax and the passing of the Beer Act of 1830 it is estimated that 35000 beer-shops 'sprang up as if out of the ground' within five years. (21)

Apart from the number of public houses, two other features might be noted. First, drinking habits were rooted in working class culture. Not only were a variety of customs made the occasion for excessive drinking (22) but beer was regarded by agricultural workers, coal whippers, miners, for instance, as essential for any heavy labour in order to 'put back the sweat.' (23)

Secondly, drink involved feelings of status. It:

'. . . allows him (the working man) to share, in common with his superiors, in a plain wholesome beverage, which a poor man looks up to, more, indeed, than to anything that could possibly be granted to them by a British Parliament. (24)

Excessive drink was nonetheless a social evil to be condemned, and as a characteristic of working class life continued unabated through most of the century and beyond. As late as 1886 such a sympathetic observer as Beatrice Webb could complain:

The drink demon destroys the fittest and spares the meaner nature; undermines the constitution of one family, and then passes on to stronger stuff. There are times when one loses all faith in laissez-faire and would suppress this poison at all hazards, for it eats the life of the nation. For hardworking men are tied to drunken wives, and hardworking women to drunken husbands; so that the good are weighted down, and their striving after a better life made meaningless.' (25)

Such then are the symptoms. The causes lie elsewhere and have already been alluded to. Of further importance to this discussion is the apparent dichotomy between sensual and intellectual powers. If it could be argued that the working classes were capable only of exclusively sensual powers,
then they were unquestionably unfit to take part in any form of government or control; even of the mechanics' institutes, despite the stated intentions of not a few of their founders. First, the history of mechanics' institutes is one of failure to interest substantial numbers of the working classes, few of whom showed any apparent enthusiasm for a share in their management. (26) Second, the excessive desire of the working classes for concerts and popular lectures of an entertaining kind might provide further evidence of inconsequential minds. This again indicates a concern with symptoms rather than with cause. That the minds of working class men and women were trapped in bodies too weary with toil was scarcely appreciated - though, as one contemporary writer conceded, the environment of the mechanics' institute did indeed stand in marked contrast to the attractions of the public house:

'. . . the austere visage, the cold room, colder company, its mummy in a case . . . dusty chemical apparatus (and) temperance tracts.' (27)

As a consequence, many working mens' associations, and other self-educating enterprises representing dissatisfaction with mechanics' institutes, were often founded in opposition. Reporting a decline in membership, the secretary of one mechanics' institute observed:

'The causes of decline appear to have been numerous . . . One great cause of falling off has been the competition arising with other Institutions in the Town, more particularly the, Railway Institute, and the Working Mens' Association.' (28)

A correspondent to the same Institute suggested a further reason:

'Another thing that serves to injure your Institution I think is the formation of other Institutions at less expense (sic) and offer so many advantages to working men.' (29)

Whether one can generalise from this point of view is debatable. A recent
study of Mechanics' Institutes in the Home counties concludes for instance that, despite the coexistence of various types of institutes and societies, the subscription rates at many of them, and in particular the mutual improvement societies, were at least as high as the mechanics' institutes. (30) What the other institutions offered, in addition to more effectively providing for the educational and social needs of the working man, was a measure of entertainment or amusement. As one successful working men's association pointed out to the local mechanics' institute:

'. . . it would be very desirable and highly advantageous to Mechanics' Institutes to connect "more amusements with intellectual and scientific pursuits" because working men (with very few exceptions) after a hard day's work, have very little desire for those pursuits, but would much rather read the newspaper or something that is amusing and instructive. Such is the case in our Society, which is composed entirely of working men.' (31)

To the middle classes the reasons for disaffection were, if they were considered at all, another matter. Here was further evidence to substantiate their claims regarding the mental abilities of the working classes.

Adverting next to the great passion for the reading of fiction by the working classes, as Webb observes, 'when one asks what the lower classes read, the answer of a thousand reformers was simple - 'trash.' (32)

Again, however, as Dickens was to protest:

'The English working classes are, so far as I know, the hardest worked people on whom the sun shines. Be content if in their wretched intervals of leisure they read for amusement and do no worse. They are born to the oar, and they live and die at it. Good God, what would you have of them!' (33)

This observation however only confirms the evidence upon which the middle classes relied to reinforce their theory of mental abilities. Now, apart
from the sensual pleasures of drunkeness, even the less excessive desire
to read novels and newspapers and to play cards and be entertained could
be added to a catalogue of evidence of minds primarily gratified by the
senses. Thus the power of one group of people to define another group's
whole way of life as wanting or deviant was of itself an effective control
strategy for it left those so labelled, the working classes, stigmatised;
this is to say, with spoiled identities.(34)

The question of Cause or Effect

Strategies for dealing with this 'deviancy' are dealt with below (pp 276-
325). At this point a particularly important question must be put:

(a) Did the labelling of behaviour lead to the adoption of strategies
to control it or (b) did strategies for for its control lead to
unacceptable or deviant behaviour?

The question might also be asked whether each led to the other, this is to
say did each occur simultaneously. The most probable answer is that,
whatever the initial strategy, once the process was in operation the one
would reinforce the other. This however returns the discussion to the first
question. Did intemperance and infidelity bring about measures to control
it, for instance, or did measures to control it bring about such behaviour?
The answer must at best be intuitive because observers in the twentieth
century have no conception of the phenomenological world of nineteenth
century men and women - a prerequisite since 'unacceptable' or 'deviant'
behaviour is socially constructed and negotiated.

It is first necessary to examine whether typifications of the working
classes were indeed correct, i.e, not merely inferred from their behaviour.
Their behaviour was symptomatic of the depressed social conditions in which
many of them lived. In short, therefore, were they irremediably dull and
stupid? If it could be demonstrated that they were indeed stupid then it
would be possible to understand that the need to control was a conscious response by the middle classes.

Considered solely on the amount of schooling available (or at least, availed of) the typifications would be confirmed. However, the towns and cities, both urban and rural, offered far greater, far more relevant opportunities for informal learning than did formal schooling. 'Workers, by attending the organised public meetings, lectures, readings, debates and discussions, were able to acquire education of a kind which was impossible to get elsewhere.' (35) As has been shown, even in the rural areas, occasional village radicals provided vital links with the wider world and 'formulated ideas and programmes which the labourers sometimes made their own.' (36) This point has been well made elsewhere:

'Education is never synonymous with schooling; and the further back we go the more important does this distinction become. In consequence, we can never measure the educational provision of the past by merely recording the number of schools and scholars; many children who never went to school got a sound education in other ways.' (37)

This informal education, this 'education by collision' (38) taken together with even the most pessimistic estimates of working class literacy (39) and of schooling (40) would account for a substantial population who could not with any confidence be described as stupid or dull. There is no shortage of evidence. Prentice wrote of 'quiet but effective labourers' who had been Sunday School teachers, and who were 'creating thought amongst the hitherto unthinking masses,' (41) whilst Engels observed:

'... I have often heard working men, whose fustian jackets scarcely held together, speak on geological, astronomical, and other subjects, with more knowledge than most 'cultivated' bourgeois in Germany possess. And in how great a measure the English proletariat has succeeded in attaining independent education is shown especially by the fact that the epoc-making products of modern philosophical, political, and poetical
literature are read by working men almost exclusively.' (42)

Samuel Kydd could describe the people of the Ayrshire weaving villages as the 'most intelligent men with whom I have ever conversed' (43) and the Cornish miner-poet, John Williams, could recall the evening rambles with his friend. when they exercised themselves 'in questions of science, history, theology, etc. having only one end in view - self improvement.' (44) And there are sufficient similar examples available to dispel any notion that the working classes were stupid 'by nature.' And yet the observed behaviour of a significant proportion of the working class could, for those seeking to legitimise the existing social order, belie any such conclusions. In other words, to those same people, the behaviour of the working classes confirmed their stupidity. Having labelled such behaviour as stupid then it followed that the people themselves could be no other than stupid, and so the imperative to control was thus legitimised. However, as was suggested above, members of the working classes were not 'naturally' stupid and so it must be asked why numbers of them persisted in behaviour that was so universally condemned - even by many who sympathised with their condition and would wish to ameliorate it. This question can be asked in two ways:

i) if the working classes were not stupid, then did they indeed behave stupidly?

ii) if the working classes were not stupid then what is the rational explanation for their stupid behaviour?

Part of the answer lies in the relative nature, the socially constructed nature, of the labelling process. It was the ruling classes who had labelled the behaviour thus, and it was in their interests to do so. However, their own world view was no less socially constructed. It could be argued that they saw only what they wished to see, but this suggests a
conscious act. These perceptions of the middle classes could not be separated from their perceptions of what constituted a well adjusted society. They were not selective in this and so their perceptions of working class behaviour were not individual and conscious but were in response to a particular social construction of the real world; a construction which was shared by the vast majority of the middle class. Their response was to a *stereotype* which they saw sufficiently reinforced by working class behaviour to provide a legitimation of the label they attached to it. It might be noted that intemperance and vice were no less characteristic of a great many members of the ruling classes — though in the latter cases both drunkeness and fornication were at least indulged in in relatively genteel circumstances. (45) At least, for the most part, they had the good sense to stay off the streets! The antidote to the ever-threatening forces of anarchy was 'rationality', and this would be diffused through the ideological state apparatuses: the Church, education and the family. Sensuality was opposed to rationality and any behaviour not thought rational by that section of the population who defined rational behaviour as, equally by definition, sensual. Such behaviour was consonant with minds susceptible to the blandishments and bad influences of mischievous agitators. In other words, it was working class intemperance and vice that was deviant; all the more so because it led to insolence, which threatened the political and economic status quo. But more particularly because it was visible. It was there as a constant reproach; for all to see. There is however another explanation, and one which shifts the emphasis from effect to cause; from the symptoms to the malady. This is to say that intemperance provided an opiate, an opportunity temporarily to escape from the tyranny of ordinary life. Flight to drink is a common enough expedient for the ease of stress. As for immorality and vice, they are symptoms and are normalised in any society which celebrates exploitation. A
further explanation is worthy of some attention; an explanation which would suggest in part that the behaviour of the working classes was a result of the exercise of control and power over their lives. This can best be explained in terms of the 'perpetuation of a culture of poverty.'

The conditioning of a large section of the people to an habituation to poverty, long hours of toil, misery and disease, is attested to by many nineteenth century observers. Engels has written of a working class that was 'culturally deprived' and who 'had no experience of any other way of life than to slave away from morn til night until they were given permission to stop.' (46) Descriptions such as this, together with others by Edwin Chadwick and by Robert Baker, are among the many written in the middle of the century; but, fifty years later, Mrs Humphry Ward observed similar conditions in London's Somers Town and St. Pancras, and even today parallels can be found which produce this culture of poverty:

"On the level of the individual the major characteristics are a strong feeling of marginality, of helplessness, of dependence, and of inferiority . . . a high incidence of maternal deprivation, of orality, of weak ego-structure, confusion of sexual identification, a lack of impulse control, a strong present-time orientation with relatively little ability to defer gratification and to plan for the future, a sense of resignation and fatalism. . . " (48)

Of course the prevailing wisdom of the latter half of the nineteenth century maintained that this predicament could be avoided by the simple expedient of self-help. However, despite Samuel Smiles' enthusiastic rhetoric that 'what some men are, all without difficulty might be' it was, as Perkin has argued, a real myth ' . . . in that it had a sufficient basis in fact. . . to make it eminently plausible while remaining utterly fictitious as a sociological explanation of the entrepreneurs as a class.' (49) There were a few (such as those already mentioned above) who succeeded, and there were those who fill Smiles' pages - though the
latter's definition of 'humble origins' would require a separate discussion - who proved the rule. Towards the end of the century, George Birkbeck's biographer summarised the myth most succinctly:

''Peculiarly bright stars had undoubtably risen from time to time; but within their own immediate orbit myriads had continued to exist secluded from every ray of light.'" (50)

Thus for the majority of the working classes the future held little hope. Yet the notion of self-help was persistent since it afforded encouragement and, it might be supposed, a measure of self-esteem. Many would try, and some, with only a smattering of education, might become local leaders. (51) But for many, any upward social mobility, any amelioration of their wretched lives - despite the pursuit of education through hardship - would not place them in any position of real power over their destinies.

This is not to dismiss Smiles, as Thornton accuses, 'almost with contempt, as a nineteenth century curiosity wholly without point or relevance to modern society.' It is precisely because the myth of the efficacy of self-help has pervaded recent political thinking that the ideas of Samuel Smiles call for reassessment, and where Thornton's notion of a contrast between self-help and collectivism is most curious. (52)

For a good many more, the values, the cultural myths and the life style of the governing classes stood as an example and were interjected into their own society. Thus, according to Freire this latter society does not have an authentic voice, merely an echo of the voice of the governing class. This leads to their maintaining a 'culture of silence.' (53) This seeming powerlessness to change the nature of things also produces a culture of poverty, characterised by a resignation and fatalism and the production of its own, often ill-regulated, patterns of cultural and moral values; all of which confirms its ambiguity. In consequence, a cultural poverty is now added to a situational poverty. Thus it is clearly a
response to control. It might be, and often was, a form of defence. Indeed the phenomenon is by no means absent today:

'Even the most sympathetic writers on working class ways of life remark on what appears to be a stubborn determination not to develop - and not allow others to develop - attitudes or behaviour which would make for a more interior life . . . cognitive poverty describes habits of thinking rigidly, concretely, without speculation, without pleasure, over a narrow range of interests . . . there is unvarying ridicule of minor deviance. There is interest in minor detail as contrasted with an interest in wider and more abstract issues, concern with which is felt to be incomprehensible as well as slightly ridiculous and unfitting for members of the group.' (54)

To conclude

Members of the working classes might appear to behave stupidly in refusing ideas and interests which conflict with their own and still not occupy that category of irremedial stupidity to which a lack of mental ability would consign them. However, the culture of poverty, though it might stimulate dynamic working-class movements and concentrate working-class ideas, is vulnerable when on the defensive. Educational programmes designed for the working classes and not by them, and in the mechanics' and other similar institutions the insistence on a 'natural order' and on Ricardian political economy in order to 'promote peace and quietness to weaken the effects of inflammatory writings and to prevent all unreasonable and ill-directed opposition to the constituted authorities' *(55), supported a prevailing system of values, legitimising enormous inequalities. As Miliband has said:

If there is any virtue at all in the notion of a 'culture of poverty', much of it must be seen as an induced culture, calculated to produce guilt and to reinforce passivity.' (56)

Thus it is a powerful weapon in the armoury of control.
To Summarise

Attempts to label the working classes as stupid, as being sensual rather than intellectual beings, was part of a middle class strategy for dominance. By imputing inferior characteristics of mental ability, both the reasons for unacceptable or 'deviant' behaviour and the imperative to control it were legitimised. The observed intemperate, sensual and immoral behaviour of the working classes was both the cause and the effect of methods used to control it. Though there is considerable evidence of the efficacy of self-help, it in no way matched the promise, and raised expectations in some that could never be realised. For many working men and women it merely confirmed them in a culture of poverty and of silence. Thus was added 'cultural' to 'situational' poverty. It has to be stressed here, as Johnson observes, that the labelling of behaviour as deviant was not limited to the categories mentioned above; that the 'width and indiscriminate nature' of the denunciations of patterns of working class life could include accusations of cruelty to their families and to animals, wizardry and other indigenous forms of religion and belief, 'quack curing', tobacco smoking, snuff taking, and even provincial dialects. (57)

Ironically, both the ruling and the working classes turned to variations of the same solution; the one to the ever-present problem of order, and the other to the amelioration of their social condition. This shared solution was to be found in education and its missionary agents - the teachers.
ii. The Labelling of People: Class Differences

It has been shown that attempts were made to label the mental abilities of the working classes. However, it was not only their mental abilities that were labelled. Eighteenth century attitudes, prevailing at least into the first half of the nineteenth century, attitudes which countered any disturbance of prevailing social patterns and which sought to defend the legitimacy of a natural social order, were alike vehemently defended and attacked. The classic and oft-quoted statement of intent belongs to Hannah More:

'Bright is the order of society when each, according to his place, pays willing honour to his superiors - when servants are prompt to obey their masters, and masters deal kindly with their servants; - when high, low, rich and poor - when landlord and tenant, master and workman, minister and people . . . sit down satisfied with his own place.' (1)

If such an order thus described could be legitimised then appropriate forms of education could be prescribed suitable for each gradation of society. The purpose of education was the inculcation of sound moral principles which would render these classes respectful, hardworking, and content with the station in life ordained for them. This ideological exercise of power would result in conflict but, it was hoped, of a more manageable kind than that resulting from repression, and similarly appropriate means could be employed to control it. Put another way, if each were educated for his place in society the social and political status quo would be maintained but at the expense of continual conflict which it would be the duty of the rulers to control. Thus both the cause and the remedy would be legitimised.
On the other hand, if it could be demonstrated that circumstances make man, that man's character is formed for him and by him, this is to say, by his environment; that 'the infants of any one class in the world may be readily formed into men of any other class' (2) then the principle of the natural social order would be found wanting. These extreme positions in fact conceal a wide spectrum of opinion as to whether people could, should or must be labelled, categorised, that is, put into classes.

A fact of major importance to this study is that it would be meaningless to enter discussion in terms of the working class or of the middle class for that matter. Consistent with the aims of this account, social class must be discussed in terms of those classes recognised by the people themselves as they went about their everyday lives, and not in terms of some abstract theoretical framework. This is not to deny the importance of the many significant contributions of sociologists concerning conceptual issues surrounding the study of class (3) nor to deny the development of class consciousness during the period under scrutiny, but instead to recognise that both the working classes and the middle classes were composed of heterogenous groups. (4)

Thompson describes class as 'what happens when some men, as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared), feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves, and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs' (5) Thus, class is a relationship and not a thing. Class consciousness is the way in which experiences, largely determined by the productive relations into which men are born and are handled in cultural terms, are 'embodied in traditions, value systems, ideas, and institutional forms.' (6) Put another way:

'By looking closely at what classes are not, we come closer to seeing what classes are: classes are
This transition, from a system based on paternalism and local benefaction to a system based on social classes led to a class-determined education where higher education was reserved for the middle and upper classes whilst lower class education was to be limited to what would fit them for that position in society to which their lowly birth had consigned them. From the late eighteenth century onwards 'the phrases "the lower orders" and "the poor", with their connotation of a patient and uncomplaining acceptance of the status quo, were replaced by the new term "the working class."' (8) This concept of class is not static, it is dynamic. If it is also self-defined, as Thompson implies, then the dynamic will ensure change, and it (that is class) will be redefined in concert with the self-actualisation of individual men and women. Thus it might be that the heterogeneity of the working class and of the middle and the upper class is symptomatic of a society and its individual members in a process of repeated transition. The recognition of the emergence of class, entailing the notion of an historical relationship, does not deny that certain men and women came to share common value systems and an identity of interests which marked them out as being different from others. Indeed, the ruling class subscribes to a similar analysis. Members of these class strata were themselves aware of and maintained social and class divisions; often characterised by differences in dress, speech and norms of social intercourse. (9) A writer in 1863 observed that 'the mechanic and artisan class do not readily mix with the poor, nor even with the lower orders of unskilled labourers' (10) and many working men jealously guarded their skills and their culture against usurpation by other groups. (11) These
divisions were no less apparent in institutions established for the education of the working man. As one correspondent to the Derby Mechanics' Institute observed in 1860:

>'How few of the class to whom it was bequeathed are amongst its members! And it is because their presence is discountenanced and frowned upon by the officer before alluded to (the librarian) that they deterred from availing themselves of the boon left them by Mr Strutt.' (Joseph Strutt, the Institute's patron) (12)

That institute librarians were often less than sympathetic and perhaps silently nursed feelings of superiority finds support in the evidence from Cranleigh and Croydon, already referred to. There is also ample evidence that working men found the unusual social contacts experienced at many institutes, where 'the clerk turns aside from his employer, either from respect or humility' (12b) a considerable strain. The desire to attend in suitable attire was shared by both the members and the promoters. The working poor did not want social differences emphasised by manner of dress, and the promoter, maintaining that all were welcome irrespective of class, did not want the class differences (which he nevertheless conceded) to be made more visible. Though the intention was more often implied, it was sometimes clearly stated. For example, the Richmond Upon Thames Mechanics' Institute ruled that:

>'... Members of this Institution should appear on the nights of Meeting in decent apparel and in no ways particularly denoting their trade or profession.'

It has to be noted that this was not founded as a genteel Literary and Scientific Institution but was the rival of an institution similar to it already existing in Richmond. The Rule was directed as much towards certain artisans and mechanics who by their manner of dress might be tempted to display a relative superiority over poorer members. Time, in which to
change clothes in order to be suitably attired to appear in the company of the middle classes was not available to the working man who, in addition to working (even after 1850) a ten and a half hour day, might have a considerable distance to travel from his place of employment. This despite the Secretary of the Huddersfield Mechanics' Institute G S Phillip's (January Searle) assertion that now there was 'leisure enough for the working classes to get wisdom and understanding.' (14)

The existence of different classes of people is almost totally unquestioned in the experience of the nineteenth century. In whatever context the concept is used, whether to elevate, suppress, ameliorate or educate, its very use concedes its existence. There is a tendency to suspend critical awareness when confronted for instance with ambitious and benevolently-conferred plans for the education and elevation of the working classes. The expression is commonplace and its ubiquity encourages an insensitivity which is often consequent on familiarity. Even today, in an uncharacteristic and even unconscious acknowledgement to Marx, though there is more talk of social class than classes, consideration of the debate and practice of education exposes a hitherto concealed belief in a finely graded map of society not significantly at odds with the nineteenth century vision. This is so even though nowadays responsibility for the existence of social differences and the allocation of life chances might be differently proportioned, and only a bizarre interpretation would credit these differences to any grand design or natural order. Nevertheless, the word 'class',

'down to the end of the century and beyond . . . was still used interchangeably with the traditional concepts, 'rank', 'degrees' and 'orders', and without its nineteenth-century overtones of social strife and antagonism.' (15)

There existed a certain ambiguity in attitudes to classes. A writer in the
St James Chronicle of May 1825 complained that 'every step which they take in setting up the labourers as a separate or independent class, is a step taken, and a long one too, towards that fatal result.' (16)

Thus a separate class must not be identified. However, the writer goes on:

'Sylla, Cataline, and Caesar, had all different objects, but they pursued their objects by the same means, the severing of the lower classes from their superiors, and this means, as usual, tended to the same result.' (17) (Author's emphasis)

Clearly the writer acknowledged different classes but was, it seems, reluctant to make them visible. The same ambiguity might be discerned in Brougham, and, though to refer to it might seem ungracious, it is evidence that in a generally unsympathetic ethos, the prevailing attitude could sometimes rise above the surface. For example, both Birkbeck and Brougham attended a meeting in 1825 to discuss the setting up of London University. In his address Brougham remarked:

'When the progress of the Mechanics' Institution was considered, and the progress that was made by the lower classes all over the kingdom estimated, it occurred to . . . friends that unless some advance was made by those who were called the superior classes, they would not much longer continue superior. To find their carpenters, their bricklayers, and their shoemakers, with greater knowledge than they possessed themselves, would be a strange and dangerous solecism.' (18)

This is a concession both to the Owenite notion of the efficacy of the environment on education, and to the dynamic concept of class. Clearly, the consequences of providing education for the working classes would erode distinctions between them and other classes and negate the principle of the 'natural order.' In consequence, in the process of self-actualisation, the middle and upper classes would ensure the dynamic of change, in an attempt to perpetuate the prevailing stratification of society. In short, a shift in the base of the pyramid would ensure a proportionate shift to its
And thus, says Godard:

'it came to pass that whilst the artisans and others in the humble walks of life were being lifted from their ignorant condition, facilities were afforded to the middle and upper classes of society of attaining the higher branches of knowledge.' (19)

So long as the existing basis of society remained unchanged, so long as sections of the people could be labelled 'the lower orders', the 'artisan class', the 'labouring poor', or indeed the 'superior orders', the truth that classes existed was visible and could not be denied. It has been shown above that attempts could be made to explain their existence, to explain why they existed. Alternatively, their existence could be ignored, or at least the differences between them minimised. Thus it is not surprising that the Management Committee of the Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution should react strongly against a suggestion that it should be called a Literary, Scientific and Mechanics' Institution. Sensitivities were touched since their Institution was committed to 'exclude the distinction of classes, parties or sects', and they, in rejecting the suggestion, pointed out that:

'the first in rank and the richest in our Membership has the same privileges as the poorest and most humble - and no more.' (20)

This observation, by its very wording reinforced the class system.

In this respect the Croydon Institute claimed no more than many similar bodies. For example Burnley and Keighley, among a number of institutions in the north of England, claimed their institutes to be 'the neutral ground.' (21) However, the fact that the management structure at Croydon institution encouraged, even if it did not ensure, the exclusion of the working classes does not seem to have occurred to its promoters. This was further
exaggerated by the introduction in the 1860s of three categories of Membership based on a scale of fees. First Class members were entitled to use both the reading room and the library; Second Class members could use the library only, and Third Class members could use neither. An additional class was that of Honorary member, which comprised 'those who subscribe, without the intention of partaking personally of the benefits of the Institution; but in lieu thereof (were) entitled to four Third Class Tickets, for distribution among their artisans and servants.' (21b) (see Appendix 10)

The relationship of class might be locally defined, which, translated country wide would lead to ambiguity but would also demonstrate the co-existence of different systems and criteria of social stratification. Thus, as late as the 1870s, in Surrey's West Clandon, though the farm labourer could often earn more, the schoolmaster carried considerable social status. (22) Not so in Dorking. There, a schoolmaster, having exceeded his authority, had to suffer the indignity of being cast into an old copper together with an old grogram gown and a few old aprons and all set on fire in order to 'give him a good warming.' (23) (see pp 416-417) Despite such incidents however it is clear that teaching, in Surrey at least, generally carried status and a measure of prestige. Even the much-maligned Dame School seems to have earned a certain respect in Mickelham. (24) What is certain is that status and class relationships showed marked differences in degree in different parts of the county.

Differences in defining working class groups at the local level is evident for example in the scale of charges levied by Ewell National School in 1861. Three grades were recognised:

1. tradesmen or small farmers,
2. mechanics
3. gardeners, butlers, coachmen, gentlemens' servants. (25)
These grades can be compared with the three main economic divisions obtaining in the industrial towns and commonly recognised by contemporaries; this is to say, mechanics and artisans, factory operatives, and labouring poor. Furthermore, differences between these classes (which were not related to wage earning) were recognised by the workers themselves, and are consistent with the situation found country wide:

'The ploughmen hold the mechanics in contempt as an inferior race of beings, although the latter can earn the best wages: the journeymen cabinet-makers cannot degrade themselves by associating with the journeymen tailors: the journeymen-shoemakers cannot so far forget their dignity as to make companions of the labourers: the gentleman's lacquey cannot on any account, lower himself to the level of the carman.' (26)

Nevertheless, despite the endemic poverty of farm labourers, the superiority claimed by other workers was not infrequently accompanied by a lack of charity towards them. Thus it is not surprising that the Reverend Sir George Glyn records receiving 'a note from a Ewell mechanic who objects to pay 3d. for his boy's instruction while a labourer pays only 2d.' (27) The mechanic might have been even more grieved had he lived in Churt (near Farnham) where fees for those 'above labourers condition' were 4d. (28) As Harrison points out:

'Not only must different layers of social and intellectual hope and allegiance – which do not necessarily correspond exactly to economic divisions – be taken into account, but even the three-fold economic division at times became blurred.' (29)

Unusual social contacts, this is to say the coming together of the various sub-strata of the working classes, professional classes and employers, created conflicts which were hardly resolved as the adult education institutions developed throughout the century. A writer in 1889 stated that the mechanics' institutes had failed in their mission, mainly:

'... through the reluctance of the weaver in his
clogs and fustian jacket to meet in the same room with the better clad and possibly the better mannered shop assistants and clerks in the city.' (30)

Parallel with this is the suggestion that the physical size and grandeur of certain institutions contributed as much to the working man's reluctance to attend. Certainly, as the century progressed, the acquisition of a fine building, if not purpose-built, often became a matter of civic pride. These institutions, frequently situated in prestige positions in the fashionable areas of towns and managed by agents of wealthy benefactors, professional people, clergymen, and 'superior artisans,' were perhaps not the most welcoming places for the working man. Such institutions were not limited to the few establishments of note such as for example Keighley, Leeds and Stockport. Richmond upon Thames Mechanics' Institution preferred to build its imposing building in a most favoured position in the centre of the town, and the Kingston institution was designed by Sir Gilbert Scott, the foremost ecclesiastical architect of his time. (see Appendix.3a) It is not without significance therefore that in the two latter cases that the opening of their new buildings coincided with the demise of the institutions for which they were intended. However, though institutes were often situated in prestigious positions and though this might have discouraged working-class membership and indeed aggravated class divisions they were just as often of the kind characteristic of Dickens' description of the Dullborough Mechanics' Institute; (31) leading a 'modest and retired existence up a stable-yard,' half finished and in debt. (32) Some, particularly the early ones, like the Godalming and the Dorking Mechanics' Institutes occupied rooms in the local school and even (as in the latter case) in rooms at a local public house, whilst Chertsey Mechanics' Institute functioned in a room which was part of a bakery. Others, like those at Croydon and at Sutton, occupied public buildings which, though they might be small and might preclude development, were at least
acceptable—though as the fortunes of these institutions waned they
carried again to hired rooms in local schools. However, the fortunes of
these institutions in no way parallel the accommodation they secured. To
repeat, though the buildings and their location no doubt contributed in
some cases to the class composition of the institution, there is
nevertheless more convincing evidence that the lack of homogeneity of their
membership and mistrust of anything provided for the working man by
middle-class benefaction counted for more. Contemporary writers such as
Hudson observed that 'the warehouseman, the packer, the carter and
the millhand shun the society of the clerk and the foreman.' (33)
Furthermore:

'The clerk turns aside from his employer, either from
respect or humility, and when he joins his companions he
generally gives utterance to his discontent by an
intimation that he shall join the Mechanics', for he
will not subscribe to an Institution where the
'governor' is present.' (34)

Hudson is here talking of the Athenaeum and a comparison with the Richmond
Athenaeum would confirm that the substance of his claim was still relevant
thirty years on. Its members were in the main local public figures,
professional people and employers, who were also members of the Richmond
House of Commons, in which 'political matters were discussed under that
charming personality (the Chairman.)' (35) The working man would, like as
not, have fared little better at 'the Mechanics' for there too he might
have discovered his employer to be one of its leading lights. The promoters
of the institutions, united as they were by certain ties of interest,
profession, marriage, and by political and religious affiliation, were
often involved in more than one venture. William Chapman's work in Richmond
and Farnham and Henry Drummond's considerable commitment to local
institutions in Guildford are but examples. Elsewhere in the country the
situation was much the same. Benjamin Heywood of Manchester, and Joseph Hunter and George Palmer in Reading and Newbury can be cited; perhaps the most notable example being members of the Strutt family who, together with about half a dozen prominent local citizens of Derby were interested and involved in over fourteen institutions for the promotion of education: this in addition to founding and providing stability to the Derby Mechanics' institute. (36)

However, it was often the difference in class consciousness (or perhaps more accurately, self-actualisation) and in attitudes between classes at the local level which caused the most disaffection. There was a clear labouring aristocracy. As Perkin observes:

'These were the workers who ate meat, vegetables, fruit and dairy produce, lived in the best and newest cottages and filled them with furniture and knick-knacks, bought books and newspapers, supported mechanics' institutes and friendly societies, and paid the heavy subscriptions to the craft and trade unions.' (37)

There were also those who were labelled 'the labouring poor.' That the Institutes did not attract the labouring poor is all too evident. Writing in 1937, Lowndes observed:

'It is interesting to recall that the failure of many of the Mechanics' Institutes was due to their tendency to attract the types who these days would enter the technological courses proper.' (38)

Harrison describes three main groups; the mechanics and artisans (skilled workers), the manufacturing or operative classes (semi-skilled factory workers), and the labouring population (unskilled-workers, sometimes called 'the poor'.) There is ample evidence to support the contention that the mechanics' institutes catered in the main for the first two groups. The contention of Shapin and Barnes that they were founded with this aim is however difficult to sustain, mainly because 'evidence from below', that
is from letters of complaint written to the managing Committees of these institutions consistently use such phrases as 'the (working) class for which it was intended' or 'the (working) class of people it was founded for' (40) suggests a consensus among contemporaries as to their purpose.

In such an heterogeneous society, where education promised at least a degree of social mobility, a number of transitional groups (vaguely resembling the Marxist 'petty bourgeoisie') would be expected to emerge. Members of this class might be expected the more jealously to guard their perhaps hard-won status since (to follow the Marxist analysis) they were the most in danger of being forced down to re-join the proletariat.

Attention to one particular group of people might sufficiently illustrate the point.

As indicated above, librarians, perhaps because they were often the 'gatekeepers' of the institutions, or perhaps because they were responsible for the institution's most important asset, seem to have attracted most criticism. Complaining that books in an Institute library were reserved for members that 'were a little better off' a correspondent in 1860 claimed:

'. . . I know you gentlemen on the committee cannot imagine the slights a man in a dirty working coat has to put up with.' (41)

He asked for a little more civility from the librarian. And yet another correspondent wrote:

'. . . you are so divided into classes that a working man in his working dress does not look at home in your Reading Room among those who appear to place themselves so much above him.' (42)

The solution decided upon was not integration, by adopting a strategy which would lead to a diminution of class divisions, but one which exacerbated them. The solution was to provide a separate reading room:
'Some complaint on the part of mechanics has been made of the want of Reading Room accommodation for persons in working dress; and it has been suggested as a remedy for this that a second-class Reading Room should be provided at a lower rate than at present.' (43)

On the evidence available, the complaint was about attitude, and not about the lack of a separate reading room for people in working dress. And it is not recorded whether this action further divided members or not, or whether the reduced rate also contributed to a reduced status: in short, whether the second class reading room predisposed a second class membership. Since the librarians were at least literate, often professional men, and not rarely of the labouring aristocracy or superior artisan class, it is not unlikely that they judged themselves at some social distance from many of the working men and women who availed themselves of their libraries and reading rooms. Exploitation of librarians was however a consequence. Moreover, it is likely that many of them were all too aware of this. It has been shown for example that at many of the institutions in Surrey the librarian was expected to clean the rooms and light the fires on the evenings when lectures were scheduled - in addition to maintaining the library, and frequently the reading room. This clearly led to disagreements. Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution had a long period of great difficulty in retaining a librarian. On the other hand, Cranleigh Literary and Scientific Institution seem to have solved the problem by not having one at all. Instead, they chose to pay a scholar from the National School to attend to the heating and cleaning. However, even this did not allay trouble for, following complaints that members were smoking in the reading room, the practice was prohibited but members would be 'permitted to smoke in the lavatory where there will be a table of
newspapers.' (44) There is no evidence to support or deny the view that the lavatory assumed the function of a second class reading room! Exploitation was born of a 'charity' or 'philanthropic mentality' on the part of those controlling adult education enterprises, to which was added a certain knowledge that the librarians' own class consciousness could be exploited. Furthermore, an element of self-help, or self-interest and reward for enterprise was encouraged. Thus the librarians were often given a small commission for collecting Members' subscriptions. (44b)

Thus far it has been argued that the labelling of people into classes was a feature of society from at least the late eighteenth and well into the twentieth centuries. Such labelling was consequent upon the acceptance of a 'natural order' and confirmation was sought by observations of physical and mental behaviour which were said to characterise different classes of people. It has been strongly argued that the emphasis on science teaching - and in particular the natural sciences, in institutions designed for the working man, was an attempt to legitimise this origin of the social order. (45) This view would gain some support from the opening address given before the Richmond Literary and Scientific Institution in 1837:

"Our object is to cultivate that knowledge which is derived from the study and contemplation of nature, and the agencies by which the operations of nature are conducted . . . the study of natural history . . . teaches that nothing is made in vain nor without due adaptation of its organs to the station in which it is placed." (46)

But there were other shades of opinion which could include Robert Owen's assertion that 'man's character is formed for him, not by him' and as indicated above, Smiles' observation that 'what some men are, all without difficulty might be.' Thus, if looking about them, they perceived an order, a ranking of people, the important difference was that they believed it to be man-made, and not a divine or natural ordinance. For example, different
assessments of the outcomes of education for the working classes might be cited. Education could lead to discontent, could be prejudicial to morals and happiness and, worst of all, could encourage anarchy:

'I had rather see my servants dead drunk, than I would see them going to a Mechanics' Institution; you are all a set of radicals in disguise; you want to upset the King and the Constitution . . .' (47)

A no less hysterical but at the same time more persuasive observation was made by Robinson:

'As education has increased amidst the people, infidelity, vice, and crime have increased. At this moment the people are far more vicious and criminal, in proportion to their numbers, than they were when comparatively uneducated. The majority of criminals consist of those who have been 'educated.' (48)

Although Robinson's statistics may be accurate (though it is doubtful) his correlation is spurious. If these examples are typical so too are the statements of those who would take an opposite view. Just as some commentators could envisage the complete breakdown of established society, where 'each in his place would not pay willing honour to his superiors'; where the sensual appetites of the working classes would prevail and where the 'slumbering giant' of immorality, crime and violence would awake and consume all, there were others who believed that the stability of society was threatened by a class of people who were inadequately informed:

'Alarming disturbances of social order generally commence with a people only partially instructed. The preservation of internal peace, not less than the improvement of our national institutions depends on the education of the working class.' (49)

If only the working classes better understood the principles that underlie the establishment of order and sound government. Might they not see that it was other members of their class who were their real enemies and that
social mobility was possible through self-help? (50) Thus Adam Smith observed that with education the working classes would be less liable to:

'. . . the delusions of enthusiasm and superstition, which among ignorant nations, frequently occasion the most dreadful disorders . . . They are more disposed to examine, and more capable of seeing through the interested complaints of faction and sedition, and they are, upon that account, less apt to be misled into any wanton or unnecessary opposition to the measures of government.' (51)

The variety of opinion is not exhausted. Many other views could be added, such as those of many of the promoters of mechanics' institutions who hoped to permeate members' thinking with their own values. And there were others such as Robert Owen who looked upon education as a means by which an entire change in the character and condition of the human race could be effected. (52)

Despite differences in motive, there was a measure of agreement amongst these latter that education for the working classes was essential. And it was important to instil sound ideas early into the young. As the promoters of a gratuitous institution in Guildford testified in 1852:

'The Committee . . . would see the object they have in view, is to give the boys of the poorer classes of society a useful education, believing that much of the present vice and intemperance of the working class, can be traced to a lack of education in their youth.' (53)

In Kingston upon Thames at about the same time, the value of the establishment of a Ragged or Night School (which was attended by adults as well as children) was attested to in an address given to the Grand Jury no less:

'Mr Baron Pratt . . . referred to the value of such a school, and showed that by Government returns, those who, like most of the children of the very poor, were totally ignorant, formed nine tenths of the criminal
Again, the statistics may be accurate but the question to be asked is 'who defined the criminal class', since many of the categories of crime in the nineteenth century merely described desperate responses to social conditions which the state had either failed to recognise or done little to alleviate. Clearly Baron Pratt was expressing what had become the contemporary wisdom, for only twenty years earlier, in evidence to the Sadler Committee (55) the gentlemen and clergy of Egham had made a bitter attack on the educational value of National Schools. They demanded their abolition on the grounds that children were herded together to learn 'all species of fraud and deceit', becoming:

'disrespectful to their parents and superiors, insolent to the middling classes of society, and overbearing and downright impudent to their equals.' (56)

The way in which children were being educated was 'such that it is impossible that they should be taught their duty either to God or to man.' (57) This terrible state of affairs could be remedied however. It was suggested that small schools should be encouraged, in which the children should be taught "Industry, Honesty, Sobriety and Respect". The teachers were to take their charges to church every day, part in the morning and part in the afternoon, and the money devoted to the National Schools given to these smaller institutions.' (58)

A less belligerent observation, certainly not without humour, was made about the same time regarding the increased opportunities for education and in particular its influence on young women in Egham. This elderly correspondent to the Windsor Forest Magazine complained in 1834 that 'the march of intellect as people term it, is a tremendous march for pace, but not for improvement ... we are getting too learned, dangerously learned'
and by way of illustration, observed the effect of learning on two of his favourites:

'There is Miss Myrtle Rose by name, and the prettiest girl in the parish, she has turned botanist, forsooth, and if I present her with a "forget-me not," a flower I consider of all others the most proper to be presented to a lady, she begins to examine the pistil and stamens; and when I tell her, in a neat impromptu, that it is an emblem of love, and consecrated to the tenderest emotions of the heart, she declares that it is a Pentandria Monogynia; and immediately enter into a long dispute about the nectarium and corolla, the receptaculum and the pericarpium. Her sister Mary is a confirmed mineralogist, and puzzles you by calling the most common things by their most uncommon names. If you admire her diamond ring or pearl necklace, she assures you that the one is nothing but a bit of chrystalised charcoal, and the other neither more nor less than the wen of a certain kind of oyster.' (59)

He goes on to say that it is too bad, for they are subversive of our more pleasurable feelings. The age of civility has truly passed for, as he remarks:

'though I see beautiful forms rising around me, and feel beautiful thoughts glowing within me, I am obliged to admire the one in silence, and suppress the other in sorrow; for I cannot call Rosa an Hexandria Monogynia, nor assure the lovely Mary that her beautiful eyes are lumps of levigated charcoal.' (60)

It is apparent that each of these arguments for or against an increase in opportunities for education are a variation on the theme of social control even if, as in the latter example, it is only to regret that things cannot stay as they are. Of course this latter example also raises the possibility that the writer had decided views about the education of women in particular. For whatever reason, whether it was to maintain the status quo, or in order for duty towards God and towards man to be instilled, or with the purpose of liberating working men and women from the tyranny of poverty and ignorance, what was actually taught, the way it was taught, and by whom
it was taught, became as the century progressed, the new arena for the struggle to control. The curriculum would be informed by all shades of opinion but the outcome would be a curriculum which defined roles just as surely as adherance to the principles of a 'natural order.' It might be argued that the curriculum established then has only changed at the fringes in the years that have followed, and continues, through its definition and the mode of its transmission, to exercise those same ingredients of control. (61)

Thus the remainder of this chapter is devoted to issues of the curriculum and the agents of its transmission - the pedagogues.
The nineteenth century saw the growth of a vast proletariat with, as the Hammonds claimed, 'no property but its labour.' (1) This new phenomenon, born of increased industrialism and urbanisation, was marked with poverty and social disintegration and, in the eyes of the middle-classes, with moral degeneration. What was of more immediate concern was the existence of a large unmanaged urban working class, potentially disruptive of the social order, and a threat to national stability. It was gradually realised that the repressive apparatuses of the state would not lead to that harmony between members of society, which the middle and propertied classes sought. Thus, for instance, after the Plug riots of July and August 1842, the Home Secretary was moved to say that 'the police and the soldiers have done their duty, the time is arrived when moral and religious instruction must go forth to reclaim the people from the errors of their ways.' (2) This would not be achieved however through stricter religious observance, nor through an increased missionary zeal on the part of the clergy. It would be through education that inner restraint would be established, for with knowledge would come understanding, and tendencies to anarchy would be contained. As Adam Smith had claimed, when the working people are educated 'the less liable they are to the delusions of enthusiasm and superstition, which, among ignorant nations, frequently occasion the most dreadful disorders.' (3) The same concern for order and moral improvement is evident in the Reverend Edward Higginson's support for the Derby Mechanics' Institute:
'that intellectual culture which must be the result of such Institutions as we are now contemplating, will easily direct the mind to a knowledge of all the obligations which man owes to his fellow men. Respect for the laws and a ready obedience to them; that due subordination of rank on which the well-being of every gradation in society depends.' (4)

And so the teachers of the people were to be the new missionaries. The teachers were to be 'a kind of secular priesthood dedicated to the work of civilisation.' (5)

If it is true, as Tropp asserts, that until 1846 there was a period of chaos, when the general stereotype of the teacher was that of a person inefficient, illiterate and good for nothing else, then from 1842 to 1862 (until the effects of the Revised Code were felt) there was a steady rise in the status of the teacher. (6) This was not without its problems however. As the century progressed there were complaints that the poor might be receiving a better education than the middle classes, and there were complaints that the teachers were being over-educated. (7) On the one hand, the teachers' role was made clear; they were to be raised in, and not out of their station in life. At the Battersea Training College for instance this intention was clearly stated, for it was hoped that there they would inspire teachers with a large sympathy for their own class. To achieve this, the teachers assisted personally 'in such carpenters' and Masons' work as was required . . . and the diet was studiously simple.' (8)

As Kay-Shuttleworth explained, 'the conceit of the pedagogue is not likely to arise among either students or masters who cheerfully handle the trowel, the saw, or carry mortar in a hod to the top of a building.' (9) This would make them practically acquainted with 'that class of the community among whom they have to labour.' (10)

Thus the history of the teachers of the people in the nineteenth and early twentieth century is one of struggle for status and professionalism. On the other hand, there were fears that the teacher, unless his role was
carefully prescribed, could become self-assertive; could begin to question the existing structure of society. In short they could lead the poor to a state of harmony and order, but equally, they could ally themselves with the working classes (as indeed they did in the latter part of the century) and thus pose a threat to that same social order. Again, to quote Kay-Shuttleworth, the teacher might become, 'not the gentle and pious guide of the children of the poor but a hireling into whose mind have sunk the doubts of the sceptic and in whose heart was the worm of discontent.' (11)

It is thus no surprise that increasing demands from teachers for an improvement in their status should coincide with deliberate attempts to lower their status, or at least to socialise them through the agency of the training colleges to accept a prescribed role and this lowly status. The situation was hardly improved with the introduction of the Revised Code in 1862. As the headmaster of Dorking British School and author of numerous historical books of verse explained at the time of his resignation in 1867:

'My reason for wishing to resign the Mastership of the Dorking British School is that, while for all other trades and professions the remuneration has very largely risen, that of the Government teacher has decreased, so that it is impossible to maintain a family in the gentlemanly position that his education fits him for, and which it is necessary for him to fulfill to command respect and enforce good example. Much less can he provide for that season of weakness and decay which from the nature of his work so early ensues.' (12)

Some attention has been given to the role and position of teachers in the nineteenth century because it might be expected that the prevailing attitudes no less underscored the work of teachers in adult education institutions. Indeed the issue of a summons against the parents of a schoolchild, Amy Balchin of Guildford, 'on the score of finery of dress', the clergyman's cry that the schoolmistress 'must not dress above her station', and the instruction to artisans attending the Richmond Mechanics'
Institute that they should wear 'decent apparel . . . in no way denoting their trade or profession' indicates a persuasive pre-occupation with role and status, consistent throughout the century, and not limited merely to the schools. (13) The missionary role of the teacher in the nineteenth century was then no less in evidence in the provision of much that was deemed adult education. Independent, indigenous, working-class educational initiatives were alike, in the north and well as the south of the country, more often than not a reaction against this ideology. (14) In Surrey for instance, it was most in evidence in the controversies between rival institutions in Croydon, Guildford, Kingston and Richmond; and in the seeming inability to unify the numerous institutions at Sutton.

These brief observations are, at this point, sufficient to establish the notion of the teachers' missionary role. A fuller discussion is undertaken below. (pp 315-325) The missionary ideology is nevertheless most obvious in the curriculum of adult education enterprises. It is therefore necessary, and more appropriate, to discuss this curriculum before examining the mode and characteristics of its transmission.

(a) CURRICULUM

In looking at the curriculum it must be noted that this was not a term commonly used to describe the content and process of adult education in the nineteenth century. It is used here to help clarify the discussion which follows. In this, the term 'curriculum' follows that as defined by Griffin as 'its teaching and learning practices: what is learned, by whom, how, and for what purpose.' (15) Thus it does not concentrate on a catalogue of subjects but attempts to show the relationships between content and process in the transmission of values.

The curriculum of adult education was varied. Nevertheless, broadly defined it might be said to consist of classes, lectures, and what contemporary
observers called 'entertainments'; this is to say, concerts and popular lectures spiced with entertaining interludes. Generally speaking, classes were arranged in basic subjects such as reading, writing and (less frequently) arithmetic, to which might be added music, elocution and sometimes drawing. As has been recorded above, the formation of classes was not generally as successful as had been hoped — though there were exceptions and, for instance, Tylecote describes the quite exceptional character of classes of instruction in the early years of the Manchester Mechanics' Institute. (16) Unquestionably however, they were singularly unsuccessful in Surrey, a circumstance that has been discussed elsewhere. (see pp 212-213; vol 2, 30)

Lectures, in the early years at least, characterised the programmes of most institutions; in particular the main mechanics', literary and scientific institutes, and only lost their importance as the balance of the curriculum gradually gave way to entertainments, ventriloquial performances, and social functions. Turning first to the provision of lectures, the interests of clarity will best be served by pointing out certain common features.

An examination of evidence from other parts of the country allied to a particular study of the data from the county of Surrey leads to the identification of six distinct features common to the programmes of adult education institutions. They are:

1. politics and controversial religion,
2. the laws of economy and the laws of nature,
3. phrenology,
4. science
5. music, drama and entertainments
6. basic education: inculcating the habits of the mind

Attention will now be given to each of these features in turn.
Institutions throughout the country were almost unanimous in banning lectures and discussions on politics and controversial religion from their activities. There were two main reasons for this. The first and by far the most commonly stated reason was that institutions should provide neutral ground, and therefore, non-controversial material for their members, and should not risk alienation by seeming to favour sectional interests. It was for this reason that the Croydon Mechanics' Institute changed its name only one week after its foundation and why in 1843 its management committee refused amalgamation with another institution in the town. (see pp175-176) It was for this reason that the Derby Mechanics' Institute, following a lecture on socialism, felt it an act of justice to let its lecture hall for lectures opposing socialism. (18) In common with these examples the Richmond Literary and Scientific Institution made its position very clear. As the secretary remarked:

'I consider an Association like this invaluable as an antidote to politics - for amidst all the contentions of parties, and the strife of conflicting opinions, which serve but to engender animosities, and arouse all the worst and most debasing feelings of our nature, which but too frequently tear asunder the ties of kindred and rend the bonds of friendship, how cheering and consoling it is to think that there is some neutral ground upon which contending parties may meet and be at peace, where all the social virtues may be displayed, and every Christian grace take root and flourish.' (19)

There was however another reason, obscured by the virtuous statements claiming neutrality, but one which comes perhaps closer to the truth. As Tylecote puts it, 'the political interests of the working man were not however, so much neglected in Mechanics' Institutes, as an attempt made to secure that his conception of them was the same as his masters.' (20) What was feared was the possibility that satisfying the political interests of
the working man would give access to free thinkers, Unitarians, atheists, radical politicians and the like, for it was clear that since religious allegiances coloured social and political issues it was not possible to separate the two in discussion. It will be noted that the object of exclusion from the programmes of Institutes was 'controversial' politics and religion, for in both cases, politics and religion of an 'acceptable' kind were admitted. As will be shown below, political economy reinforcing the political and social institutions of the day, together with natural theology confirming the natural order of society with each man in his allotted place, were both subjects the adult education institutions pursued with vigour. The speciousness of the reasoning can be easily detected. At the opening of the Guildford Institute in 1846, Charles Mangles was reported as being pleased that the diffusion of knowledge among the people was the aim of the institution:

'He loved it because its objects were wholly and fully apart from political objects. It was very refreshing to him, it must be refreshing to them all, to meet on grounds entirely free from party or political considerations which at other places engrossed such a large share of attention and frequently involved so much controversy.' (21)

Mangles was a local Member of Parliament and fervent churchman. He was also glad to see that there would be no religious controversy - and then occupied the remainder of his long address showing just how important religion was in the lives of people (this is to say the Anglican faith) and attacking the Roman church, pointing out how it had denied Galileo's scientific observations and so forth. (22)

A similar dissimulation is evident in Mr Fidler's quite extraordinary defence of the debating society intended for the Richmond Literary and Amicable Institution. It well deserves quoting in full:
'Some well-meaning and worthy persons have been seduced to believe that Debating Societies are nurseries of sedition and insubordination; but nothing can be more foreign to the truth than this idea; instead of which they must, in the very nature of the thing, have a manifest tendency to the contrary; whatever of complaint or opposition men have to urge, their feelings are allayed and their tempers pacified when they can give vent to their feelings; the volcano of the mind dissipates its fury without convulsion or violence when it finds a way to issue forth unobstructed, it is only when bound in the subterranean caverns of its birth, that earthquakes precede an irruption [sic] of this kind, to which we assimulate [sic] the perturbed spirit of discontent; and moreover, when we are allowed to talk of our condition, the very licence is in itself a kind of amelioration, if there be any reason for complaint, and from experience we can affirm that many will go away as well satisfied with declaring their opinions in this place of popular resort, as if they had been heard in the councils of the realm; not than any practical benefit results, but because the burthen [sic] of the mind has been lightened, and its irritable feelings allayed, and hence is discontent held in Peto or utterly subdued.' (23)

The whole tenor of this passage is one of accommodation, of containment. The effect on discontented minds would be assuasive. Thus is a strategy of social control dressed up in liberatory clothing. The Institution claimed not to be activated by party zeal or prejudice and, though 'persons of principles not strictly accordant with free debate' might have delivered opinions repugnant to the feelings of other members of the Institute, these opinions would be refuted 'and the truth more conspicuously appear'. Despite this assertion, Rule 10 of the Institution stated that 'all Theological and Political subjects be positively prohibited from being made subject of debate.' (24)

There were clearly difficulties in enforcing the ban on controversial religion and politics, and indeed the histories of adult education institutions record many instances where lecturers strayed from their advertised and agreed subjects into controversial areas. Mr Seeley's repeated censures at Kingston might be recalled. So too might George Dawson's lectures to the Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution. Mr
Drewett, proprietor of the 'Surrey Comet,' who had joined the Kingston Mechanics' Institute in 1856, in an article in 1925, observed that:

'The Institute was founded as non-political and non-sectarian; but I found myself associating with many who held political and church views quite opposed to those which my father held and in which I had been brought up.' (25)

However, he admits to having come to no harm and says of a Mr J J Collings, a stalwart Congregationalist, Liberal, and steadfast supporter of the Institute, that he 'used often to speak freely upon local affairs, and spared not the municipal authorities in regard to their management of the town.' (26)

There were others who would have forsworn the ban on religion and politics though these would seem to have been in the minority, and in Surrey at least seem to have appeared towards the end of the century when the worst fears of impending anarchy, sedition, and other public outrages had subsided. A letter to the 'Richmond and Twickenham Times' in 1881 from the Chairman of the Richmond Athenaeum appealed for a 'talking shop, not a thinking shop . . . we can all read at home, and hear scientific lectures . . . Richmond wants something different, a place where the lecturer is followed by the critic:

'Do not exclude politics, or you will soon be wasting your eloquence on a 'beggarly array of empty benches.' If this is doubted, try a political debate at every other meeting, devoting the rest to some of the other suggested subjects, such as entomology, meteorology, homeopathy and, best of all, eschatology, and then count the attendances.' (27)

Certainly a 'talking shop' was important to the working man. The history of the corresponding societies, Hampden Clubs, secular Sunday Schools,
Chartist Halls, and the educational enterprises associated with Owenism and the co-operative societies, all bear testimony to the importance the political and religious context had in the lives of working men. Indeed, in mid-century, James Hole had observed that 'no teacher in this country will gain the ear of the working man, unless he is willing to have his opinions and statements canvassed, to invite the utterance of conflicting opinion, and to give truth.' (28) And yet the ban on controversial subjects was a persuasive and persistent characteristic of that adult education which was provided for the working man. In 1921, a member of the Committee of the Epsom and Ewell Literary and Scientific Institution, in paying tribute to the late President of the Institution, deemed him a 'vessel of concord' not liking 'discord, dissension and strife.' He (the Committee member) in looking over the first four years of the Institute, had been trying to find out what was the aim and object of the late President's proposal, from the first, to exclude religion and politics from the subjects of their studies, essays and lectures. He came to the conclusion that his reading of the history of the English people, and of the history of religion, and of the divisions and subdivisions in both spheres, were the sources from which came the idea to exclude religion and politics from the scope of their survey. He thought their President was right. (29) The late President was Sir Edward Coates Bt. M.P., and the eulogy was delivered by the Rev. J Shaw, Anglican minister and Tory County Councillor! Lest it be thought that this latter incident was the expression of a nineteenth century attitude in its final agony, reference is due to a letter distributed in November 1982 by the Manpower Services Commission which threatened the withdrawal of funds for those courses where 'political and generally controversial content' was included. (30)

So much for what was excluded from the curriculum. Turning now however to
what was included, attention must be paid to those subjects which invariably characterised institutions of adult education.

2. **The laws of economy and the laws of nature**

The so-called laws of political economy and of natural science shared many similar purposes. They would ensure that the working man's political and social interests coincided with those of his master's. They were expressed as fundamental principles, uncontroversial and neutral. Thus it could be claimed that they operated for the benefit of all classes of society. The truths of political economy had been gleaned from the writings of Adam Smith, and in particular from Malthus and Ricardo – though in justice it must be said that the doctrines of the latter suffered from the vulgar interpretations of the governing classes. (31) As interpreted, these laws provided a scientific basis for the current economic arrangement of society and for the moral attitude to the poor which pervaded the minds and actions of the rich. The problem was one of communication: of assuring that these truths would be brought to the notice of the working man; to be explained and, since their logic was undeniable, to be accepted. What was needed was enlightenment. If only the working classes would recognise these truths then they would see for themselves that alternative political systems, such as those based on socialist ideals, were artificial and 'unnatural.' They would be less liable to 'the delusions of enthusiasm and suspicion, which among ignorant nations, frequently occasion the most dreadful disorders (and would be) less apt to be led into any wanton or unnecessary opposition to the measures of government.' (32) The main agency for the transmission of these values would be the institutions for adult education. The mechanics' institutes in particular were seen as the prime means by which
the truths of political economy could be brought to the people; a strategy strongly advocated by Henry Brougham. (33) Thus education took on an explicit political function, the more ironic because the subject of controversial politics was banned from the programmes of these institutions. Once enlightened, a unity of interests would develop between master and workman which in turn would ensure the smooth running of society. As Kay-Shuttleworth advised:

'the ascertained truths of political science should be early taught to the labouring classes and correct political information should be constantly and industriously disseminated among them.' (34)

Thus the labouring classes would recognise that the preservation of public order was in their own best interests for:

'The misery which the working classes have brought upon themselves by their mistaken notions on this subject are incalculable.' (35)

The Quarterly Journal of Education of 1831 had made a similar observation, stressing the need for a 'really good and useful system of instruction':

'They should, first of all, be made acquainted with the motives which have induced every society emerging from barbarianism to establish the right of property; and the advantages resulting from its establishment, and the necessity of maintaining it inviolate. . . .' (36)

Furthermore:

'The circumstances that give rise to those gradations of rank and fortune that actually exist ought also to be explained: it may be shown that they are as natural to society as differences in sex, of strength, or of colour.' (37)

However, despite an energetic propaganda; despite vigorous attempts to communicate the said 'laws and truths', for the most part the strategy met
with little success. First of all, it had been argued that giving education of even the meanest kind to the working classes would 'unfit them for their station in life.' To give them economic and political education, even if this were restricted to orthodox political economy, might lead to widespread disaffection. Even as late as 1887, a celebrated Kingston historian could lament:

'. . . it is one of the incidents of our very progress in science and invention, that the facilities for the spread of good, can also be made the channels of evil. The nostrums, the false doctrines, and the profanities of the evil-minded, are scattered with an audacity that would only be tolerated in a free country with an unlicensed press.' (38)

As Francis Place observed, the rich and powerful dreaded the consequences of teaching the people more than they dreaded the consequences of their ignorance. (39) On the other hand, a diet of orthodox views with no opportunity for free discussion was not attractive to the more intelligent workmen and was not likely to lead to that unity of interests which was sought. Added to this, to the majority of the working classes, 'the subject as presented was far too advanced to be comprehensible' and 'to a minority of artisans who were capable of mastering its tenets it was suspect, and they turned elsewhere for guidance.' (40)

In looking at how these subjects fared in Surrey, it is appropriate to consider them together with the subjects of natural history and natural theology, since the reasons for the inclusion of the latter in the curriculum of adult education institutions share similarities with those advanced to justify the inclusion of political economy and from which they cannot easily be divorced. These similarities will become apparent as the discussion proceeds.

The central notion shared by many of the promoters of institutions was that the study of natural history would reveal the 'natural order'. As Shapin
and Barnes assert:

'The moral lesson to be learnt via the inculcation of natural theological science was one of acceptance, of appreciating the systematic connections which made a seemingly unaccountable world accountable in moral terms.' (41)

For example, at Richmond Literary and Scientific Institution, theological discussions which would lead to controversy were prohibited, but not natural theology, which was considered value-free and neutral. William Chapman explained his position thus:

'Natural Theology . . . I regard as essentially the moral or application of all those studies which we propose to encourage - for whether we attempt to trace the system of the universe and the Laws of Planetary Motion . . . or contemplate the Great Globe and all that it doth inherit, the wonderful species of animal life and the no less striking varieties of Inorganic Nature; his heart must be cold, and his affections dead, who could gaze on all these without feelings of deep devotion and gratitude to Him whose wisdom, power, whose goodness created them and has preserved them for our use.' (42)

Here again however, working men were not convinced, and so the strategy shared a similar fate to that which had over taken political economy. This is not to say that the working classes did not show an abiding interest in the natural sciences. This would be far from the truth, for there are many recorded examples of the workman-naturalist, and indeed many enduring natural history, horticultural and botanical societies, being the initiatives of the working classes, and frequently pre-dating the mechanics' institutes. (43) It was often when these societies came under middle-class control that they lost their appeal to the working classes. Such was the case when the Manchester Mechanics' Institute absorbed the local Natural History Society. Tylecote observes that, after only seven years, the Institute 'failed to keep alive in its midst that interest in natural history which was a feature of working-class life in the district.'
Despite this, natural theology appeared much more consistently in the programmes of adult education institutions than did political economy. One reason was that, under the guise of natural history, it would appeal to the traditional and innocent interests of the working classes. On the other hand, it was in practice more often used by the promoters of institutions as a vehicle to carry the rationalistic message of the natural order. It was this latter aspect which failed to win the enthusiasm of the working classes. Much the same can be said for science in general for, if not the raison d'être, its effectiveness in the process of control was at least an additional motive for its inclusion.

Though evidence is by no means complete it is still possible to note the exceptionally low incidence of lectures on political economy at institutions in Surrey. In 1825, Henry Drummond of Guildford founded a Chair of Political Economy at Oxford. Thus it is not surprising that his Presidential Address given at the opening of the Guildford Institute in 1846 should be on this subject. One other example is worthy of comment because it suggests that even within political economy it was only the orthodox which formed a worthy subject for communication. It is therefore possible that elements of unorthodox political economy were introduced by Mr White into his lectures on the 'Philosophy of Machinery' given at Kingston and at Richmond in 1841. Only one reference to these lectures has come to light and it is a matter of speculation as to the nature of the lecturer's transgression which so roused a local chronicler to anger. (45) Though it is possible that some aspects of political economy were shrouded within the title of Mr Gould's Presidential lecture on 'Parliamentary Eloquence', given at Kingston in 1841, the abiding impression regarding the county as a whole is that lectures on political economy did not feature very highly.

Natural history and natural theology fared better, however, and though
lectures on Botany, or 'The Natural History of Insects', or 'The Organs of Circulation in Plants and Insects' might be value neutral, the same cannot be said for many others. There is no mistaking the control elements in such subjects as 'The Laws of Animal Economy' (Guildford and Richmond 1841), 'Evidence of Design in Animal Creation' (Richmond 1842), 'Philosophy of the Earth and its Wonders' (Reigate 1847), and the lecture given at Godalming in 1841 entitled 'The Immensity of the Divine Perfection'. To these can be added the numerous and very popular lectures given by Dr Cantor at Guildford in the 1840s on such subjects as 'The Intelligence and Moral Construction of Man', and those on 'Natural Philosophy' at Richmond at about the same time.

The characteristics of the adult education curriculum described above do not however stand alone. A similar control ideology is to be found in the enthusiasm for the pseudo-science of phrenology. The importance of phrenology should not be trivialised; it warrants particular attention, not least because the governing classes, in manipulating an interest which so captured the popular imagination, effectively invited the working classes to participate in their own seduction.

3. Phrenology

Notwithstanding the fact that it had neither sufficient scientific support nor educational value, other than of a questionable kind, the subject of phrenology had a vast popular vogue in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. This is perhaps not too difficult to understand since the need to embrace a scientific system which would replace everyday judgements of the faculties of the human species has been a fascination for people since the dawn of history. Phrenology is part of a much older tradition which can be
traced back to the ancients and was as compelling to the ancient Greeks as it was to the men and women of the nineteenth century. An older relation was physiognomy; much respected by Aristotle, proscribed by Elizabeth I and George II, and popularised in the late eighteenth century by J K Lavater. (46) Physiognomy was regarded as a mode of discriminating character by the outward appearance of a person. Thus for example it is said that Caesar detected the presence of the spurious Alexander 'by his rough hands and surface'. (47) The Greeks believed that the four basic elements, the sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric and melancholic, were exposed through the human face, and though modified through later Mediaeval Cell Doctrine (and even some attempts to associate it with astrology) it formed a basis of belief which lasted well into the nineteenth century and must be seen as antecedent to present day psychology. However, with the development of phrenology the 'coup de grace' was given to physiognomy since the former absorbed whatever was likely to have lived on in the older science. A willingness to accept persons by their external appearance endures to this day at the commonsense level and so it is perhaps not surprising that Kay Shuttleworth should have embraced to some extent what was after all an attempt to found such everyday impressions on rationalist principles. He described the pauper children of Norbury, Surrey, thus:

'The low-browed and inexpressive physiogomy or malign aspect of the boys is a true index of the mental darkness, the stubborn tempers, the hopeless spirits, and the vicious habits on which the master had to work. '

(48)

Phrenology rested on a number of principles the most important of which was that the mental powers of man could be analysed into a definite number of independent faculties and that these could be diagnosed by examination of the outward appearance of the skull. This then was a contemporary interpretation of an older empirical philosophy; an interpretation
formulated by F J Gall, introduced into England by J K Spurzheim, and popularised by George Combe. (49) This is particularly important since, merely by default, many current writers give the impression that phrenology was a new and somewhat trivial phenomenon invented by middle-class social engineers. (50) It is true that phrenology fitted admirably with the nineteenth century pre-occupation with harmony and balance. The phrenologist's view of man was of a human state where all the forty two faculties were in a state of balance. As a present day apologist observes:

'Phrenology endeavours to define character by self-awareness, control and balance in order to manifest symbiosis with life and harmony within oneself. The starting thought is man . . . He can in turn be improved in order to create harmony.' (50b)

On the other hand, as Harrison claims, phrenology appeared to radicals and secularists to offer an alternative to the usual theological explanations of human behaviour; that it was a 'democratic science', that it appeared possible to regulate education and legislation upon rationalist principles. (51) However, this would not account for the enormous popularity of the subject with members of society as a whole. Since this question will be further elaborated below it is sufficient at this stage to note that, having the appearance of a science, phrenology was sufficiently convincing to attract adherents from all walks of life. For the majority it was amusing and entertaining and satisfied that peculiar predilection of men and women through the ages to seek to anticipate events or to direct behaviour to a given end. If its main scientific descendents are psychology and the science of mental testing, then it must also share its lineage with such present-day pursuits as the study of graphology, astrology, and the paranormal.

Thus, in the country as a whole, lectures on phrenology were among the first to be promoted by emerging adult education enterprises. This was no
less true of Surrey. Every major institution in the county regularly invited lecturers on the subject—in most cases the celebrated Dr Epps. (52) Indeed the inaugural lectures at both Godalming and Guildford institutions were given by Dr Epps; at Godalming, three lectures in 1836 with a further one on botany in 1837, and at Guildford in 1834. The Guildford lectures were summarised as follows:

Lecture 1

Description of the brain, the skull; a discussion of man's superiority depending on his mind. Then comparisons between the shape of certain heads; Joseph Hume, Benjamin Franklin, i.e., relationship between characteristics of their heads and their brains; also of North American Indian, and a man who was executed for forgery. Different characteristics of heads 'Principle is that the form of the head is corresponding to the form of the brain.'

Lecture 2

Love of approbation and Self-Esteem considered as animal feelings. On politeness 'the evils originating in society from the rule of these animal feelings.' (53)

An underlying concern to diagnose and therefore control unruly elements is hardly disguised.

Support for the subject of phrenology was not however unanimous. The theory was often criticised, and since the subject lent itself easily to burlesque it was often parodied and satirised. (54) At Richmond, a lecture entitled 'Anti-phrenology' was given at the Mechanics' Institute by a Mr A Lee in 1839. Nevertheless, early in the following year a lecture on phrenology was given at the same institute by Mr C Donovan. A particularly amusing attack on phrenology comes from a correspondent to the Windsor Forest Magazine of 1834. Though it is amusing it should not obscure an important consequence of the adoption of phrenological principles; a consequence of which the writer is keenly aware. This is to say its use as a confirmation of the biological basis of mental traits and hence a legitimation for control.
This correspondent, an elderly Chertsey resident, complained of the deteriorating behaviour he was forced to witness in the young since they had become more learned. What was even more distressing was that the young used their learning (and in particular their knowledge of phrenology) to defend such bad behaviour. One young fellow stated that, in his opinion:

'it was not wilful mischief, but owing to the person having the organ of appropriativeness very fully developed.' (56)

This person had, it seems, been snapping the fingers off statues in Windsor Castle grounds in order to keep them as 'reliques'. The writer continues:

'Upon enquiring what he meant, he said I was no craniologist, and then off he went into a long harangue about bumps, thumps, the organs, cerebrum, cerebellum, and the Lord knows what besides; and had the audacity to wish to remove my wig, that he might see what organ I possessed.' (57)

This was the last straw. The elderly man, whom it seems was a cripple, requested his tormentor to desist or he would 'point out his organ of impertinence with the head of (his) crutch.' (58)

Times had changed. In his younger days such behaviour would have brought condemnation both from friends and society. Now it was defended under the plea of having 'organs of propensity that way.' This was too much for, as he observes:

'I suppose by and by, whatever outrage may be committed, we shall be told that it was no fault of the party, but owing to their being under the prevailing influence of some organ or another, according to the crime. So that, nowadays, a man does not steal or pilfer, oh no! he has the organ of appropriativeness very fully developed - confound their learning!' (59)

Still, certain advantages might ensue: it could save a lot of time, trouble and money; Perhaps more use could be made of the science:
'There can be no occasion for judge and juries now; for if a man be accused of committing murder, or any other outrage, take him at once to some disciple of Messrs. Gall and Spurzheim, and if he be found with a pretty considerable bump upon his cranium, away with him to execution without delay. By this means the expense, bother, and trouble of trial, &c. will be all saved: and perhaps I may live to see it put in practice.' (60)

The writer's latter comments were not as bizarre as they might seem. The idea of using phrenology to diagnose character and as a means to the eventual enlightenment of criminals was widely circulated. Of particular importance to this present account is the clear indication that phrenology could be used as a means of social control. The phrenological bust was used as a symbol of order. Undoubtedly, phrenology offered the governing classes the possibility of a rational explanation of human behaviour. It offered a new deterministic theory which had all the more appeal because it did not distinguish between ranks or classes of persons. It gave the appearance of democracy. Furthermore, its immense popularity among the working classes recommended it to those for whom:

'Industry is the great principle of duty that ought to be inculcated on the lowest class of people, as it is the best and most effectual barrier against vices of every kind; as it occupies the mind, and leaves no vacancy for licentious thoughts and mischievous projects.' (61)

It kept the working classes occupied during their non-working hours. Like the stomach, a mind at rest is not a mind at peace. The invasion of non-organised time is a time-honoured strategy in the armoury of social control, for it has to be remembered that the proverb 'The devil makes work for idle hands' was not invented in the nineteenth century. However, had this been the limit of its appeal, then it is unlikely that it would have fared any better than did political economy or natural theology. Its success was due largely to the fact that phrenology was entertaining. Thus at one level it could be treated as a parlour game and disbelief in its
scientific tenets suspended. It was full of contradictions. It was democratic but not egalitarian; no subject had been more lauded as a science and yet no scientific basis was ever more fragile; it appealed to the Owenite call for 'man to know himself' yet its determinism was at odds with Owen's claim that 'by judicious training the infants of any one class in the world may be readily formed into men of any other class.' (62) It appealed to radical and reactionary alike. But, more important than anything else, phrenology was fun, and for the working class members of mechanics* and similar institutions it was much the more attractive alternative to the unrelieved lectures on botany, physiology and the like, which had in no small part characterised these institutions.

Nevertheless, in pursuing it for its entertainment value, the working classes conspired with those in power in legitimising another means for their control. Phrenology was used to provide a method of education for the young and for their control. It was used to label the behaviour of adults. It could account for all varieties of insanity, and sufferers could be treated with 'moral medicine'. And most important, since the female head was smaller and the female brain weighed less than that of the male, then this it was believed, accounted for their lower intellectual powers. Thus was the reasoning behind the circumscription of the curriculum of women's education given further proof.

4. Science

The establishment of mechanics* and similar institutions did not coincide with any sudden interest in science. An interest in science had never been absent from English adult education and indeed had been growing apace during the hundred years or more prior to the establishment of the London
Mechanics' Institute. This and similar institutions did however become the focus for the popularisation of science which occurred from the beginning of the nineteenth century, and a focus for the public lectures, and in some cases the societies, which had proliferated from the second half of the eighteenth century. (63) Many of these early societies could more properly be described as mutual improvement societies, since they often relied on papers read by their members, though they might also take advantage of itinerant lecturers who made themselves available as a result of the popular enthusiasm and interest in science.

The fact that there was so much interest, so many agencies of the middle and working classes motivated to provide science education of one sort or another, leads to the possible identification of a number of different motives — though the overall picture is one of confusion and disorganisation. As Archer wrote:

'The situation was complicated by the fact that the cause of science was represented by a number of distinct armies whose leaders were in no agreement as to the reason why they thought science should be taught, what should be included under the term, to whom it should be taught, or what were the right methods of teaching it.' (64)

Kelly refers to the 'insatiable curiosity of the age' which was responsible for the great public interest in science. (65) Elsewhere it has been suggested that 'without some diffusion of scientific and mathematical knowledge among the commercial and manufacturing middle class, the industrial revolution could hardly have taken place.' (66) This is not quite the same as suggesting that the industrial revolution created an interest in science. (67) However, a number of 'armies' had a distinct purpose. Paine and Carlisle saw in science the antidote to Christian mysticism; whilst a contrary view, presented by such men as George Combe, drew support for Christianity from the study and dissemination of
the 'natural laws' of science. (68) Yet others, represented by such as Henry Brougham, urged that the teaching of scientific principles would lead to a more creative and innovative workforce. Some compromise between these latter views was, according to Henry Drummond, the reason for including science in the programme of the Guildford Institute:

'The brewer in the days past knew the fact that the greatest amount of saccarine matter was extracted from the malt when the liquor was neither too hot nor too cold but he did not know why, and the way he used to test the temperature of the liquor was to blow on it and then see if his face was reflected on the surface. Science has taught him a more certain method.' (69)

A similar reason was given by Benton Seeley for the inclusion of science lectures at Kingston. (70) This motive is given a more deliberate focus when, in 1853, the newly-founded Department of Science and Art stated its purpose as being 'to increase the means of industrial education and extend the influence of Science and Art upon productive industry.' (71) It has been recorded elsewhere that industrial education was not synonymous with technical education, and that scientific instruction was generally limited to theoretical as opposed to practical considerations. Science education was normally delivered in the form of lectures, and lecturers were expected to adhere to their agreed syllabus or programme. When this was not done there was the likelihood of conflict, letters of complaint and so on, thus threatening the institution's avowed neutrality. (72) At other times the institution would not accept responsibility. An example was Kingston upon Thames, where members of the lecture sub-committee agreed to engage a lecturer but had not thought fit to communicate this to the committee of management. As Seeley wrote:

'We ought not to close this article without a word respecting some lectures on Chemistry by a person called Miller. One does not allude to them in order to pass judgement, but merely to state that, whatever were
the merits, neither blame nor credit ought to attach to the Institution, as the Committee did not engage the lecturer.' (73)

The subjects of science were taught in an elementary way. This is to say, there was no discussion, no debate, no questioning. There was rather an exposition of selected clear-cut facts and opinions, and it has been suggested that 'those features of knowledge which exposed its theoretical and conjectural qualities, and hence weakened its credibility, were systematically eliminated.' (74)

Be this as it may, evidence from the county of Surrey would confirm other experiences from the north of the country, and elsewhere, that in general the lectures in science appealed to only a minority. (75) There are many reasons advanced for this, not least that the promoters had over-estimated the educational background of all but a tiny minority of their intended students. And it has been suggested that by the time they came to realise this and alter their original schemes they had already lost the working classes and could not recover them. (76) It is however equally likely that working class disaffection with mechanics' institutes (and not just science lectures) was in part due to the policy of preventing free discussion. It is even more likely that the educational background of the working classes had been underestimated; that their untapped abilities had not been appreciated. As King asserted, 'their minds are as capable of acquiring knowledge as those of other people. All men of science have risen out of working men. They only want leisure and opportunity.' (77) However, these 'men of science' were characteristically practical men of science. What was prescribed in mechanics' institutes was theoretical, carefully selected aspects of scientific culture designed to legitimate 'natural' order and obedience. It would have needed more than man's native wit to divine this purpose. One further condition for working class disaffection must be added. Working men, as Engels asserted, appreciate 'solid education.' (78)
but after a long, hard, unrelieved day of toil, what they wanted least was a sermon on obedience - however it was dressed up. Neither did they want uninspired lecturing. What they would appreciate most was a discussion with their peers on matters of more immediate concern to them; the sort of matters that filled newspapers. Although they could take a share of 'solid education' they wanted the tedium taken out of it. And they also wanted entertainment. This is attested to by Seeley at Kingston, Chapman at Richmond, and Hodgson at Croydon, who variously regretted that the attendance at lectures was low when they were not of an entertaining nature. This was a common complaint in other parts of the country. Thomas, writing of the Home Counties, observed that, 'some scientific and technical subjects remained popular in lectures, particularly when dramatic demonstrations were involved as with electricity or photography.' (79)

Lectures could be entertaining even if this had not been the intention. At Kingston it was recorded that a James Whenman, member of the committee of the Institute, caused the following incident. As Drewett recalls:

'He was the cause of a terrible explosion one night when Mr Strachen, then manager of the gas works, gave a lecture on the manufacture of gas. All went well until towards the end, when Mr Whenman suddenly broke in with "Why don't you give us better gas?" The effect was startling; the lecturer made as if he would go for the interrupter and it was some time before the commotion was quelled.' (80)

For many institutes, lectures spiced with entertaimes were to become the norm, and some, such as Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution, after the first few years adopted this style in the extreme. (see Appendix 12k )

A glance at the programmes of institutions in Surrey (see Appendices) is sufficient to confirm that science subjects were not a predominant feature; though most professed a commitment to science in their aims. Godalming Mechanics' Institute doggedly stayed the truest - and had a shorter life!
Godalming refers mainly to lectures on science during the whole of its existence; lectures on Botany, Animal Instinct, and inevitably, on Phrenology – delivered by Dr Epps. On the other hand, Mr McPherson, who lectured on travel and geography, was so popular that he was invited to lecture three times in one year. In the first five years of the Croydon Institution science predominated, but in 1843, following a decline in its fortunes, there was an immediate change, for of about nine lectures only three (on natural magic and pneumatics) were offered on science subjects. The remainder were on architecture, music, and literature. Dobbs, writing on the breadth of the programme which characterised the London Mechanics' Institute, claimed that:

'The subjects introduced during the first year of the parent Institute range from 'jurisprudence' to the 'structure of chimneys', from 'hydrostatics' to 'Greek and Roman antiquities', and from 'mummies' to Savings banks.' (81)

Thus it is no surprise to see a similar programme offered at Guildford Mechanics' Institute at its establishment in 1835, since its committee had corresponded with Dr Birkbeck in order to seek his advice. Therefore, less than half the lectures were on science subjects. (see Appendix 12e)

In common with institutes elsewhere, a concentration on science lectures at Surrey institutions lasted for only about five years after their establishment. (82) Thereafter, the curriculum was concentrated on a variety of literary and cultural subjects, and on music and dramatic entertainments.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century a new emphasis was given to the teaching of science, in particular as it related to the development of Technical education. This is fully discussed elsewhere (pp219-235) hence further elaboration would be inappropriate at this stage.

Attention must now turn to the curriculum that remained after the initial
enthusiasm for science had been lost or at least attenuated. Since the pattern of provision parallels that found in most other parts of the country, discussion will for the most part be centred on the county of Surrey.

After science

The main reason that the emphasis on science was disregarded by adult education institutions was that, throughout the county, financial problems beset them within a year or so of their establishment. Part of the problem concerned the large fees which had to be paid to visiting lecturers and the relative failure to consistently attract sufficiently large audiences. In a number of cases, such as those at Kingston, Richmond and Croydon, Institutes they over-reached themselves by investing in new prestigious buildings. It must be said that at Croydon, and at Guildford, though the new accommodation was not purpose-built, it swallowed up a disproportionate share of financial resources and it is likely that these institutions too would have failed had they not altered their ways of thinking. It was also eventually realised that satisfying the public taste was important to success, and it is significant that it was usually at this point in a institutions history that rival establishments, purporting to represent the educational needs of the working classes, made their appearance. A reference to the histories of the majority of institutions in Surrey, and in particular Croydon, Dorking, Epsom, Guildford, Kingston and Sutton, would provide sufficient testimony. The need for elementary classes was also recognised and great efforts were made to establish them. That they were generally unsuccessful is recorded elsewhere (pp288,409) but one particular illustration will serve as a reminder. After numerous appeals, the Croydon committee of management admitted that:

'The Committee announce with regret that no class for
Thus popular lectures and entertainments became the order of the day; the latter predominating as the century progressed. Lectures on such fashionable subjects such as phrenology and mesmerism (84) took their place alongside those on historical biography, architecture, literature, and comparative religion. Most popular were the lectures given by Clara Lucas Balfour, on the contributions of famous women to society; this is to say, 'Remarkable Women of the Present Century' (Godalming 1860), or 'The Most Distinguished Female Sovereigns of Europe' (Reigate 1846) and 'Home influences and Early Impressions' (Guilford 1858). Audiences were attracted more to the person of the lecturer than to the subject of the lecture itself. For instance, Henry Vincent was popular whether he lectured on 'The Progressive tendencies of the age and the Intellectual and mental elevation of the People' (Guildford 1850) or 'Wycliffe' (Godalming 1860). The very popular and able George Dawson could ruffle feathers when he lectured on 'Bunyan' (Croydon 1856) and on 'William Cobbett' (Guildford 1863) but he continued to be in demand. To these can be added the name of the Reverend R Connibee, who lectured throughout the county on 'World Religions.' Connibee was not alone in offering religion as a subject. There were lectures on Mohammedanism, Buddhism, and the religions of ancient Greece and Rome. This was not of course 'controversial religion,' the discussion of which was banned, because no discussion was allowed. Although for the most part the different religions received scholarly treatment, the purpose was usually to show how ill they compared with Christianity. (85) Thus they
reinforced the rationality of Christian belief, the unquestionable 'laws of nature' and hence the legitimation of the social order. For instance, though the Reverend Connibee could lecture on 'The Rise, progress and character of Mohammedanism' (Guildford 1846) he was also to be found at Godalming in 1838 lecturing on 'Animal Instinct.'

English literary culture was well represented, with lectures on popular writers and poets. Even here, however, it was found necessary to avoid the uninspired lecture and, as the advertisement for a literary evening at Reigate Mechanics' Institute in 1866 illustrates, such lectures could be replaced by something more akin to entertainment - though unashamedly offered through a syllabus format. (see Appendix 12h) Indeed, a feature of many of these lectures was their eclecticism; pursued in the interests of entertainment (or in the interests of courting popularity) but assuring their triviality. An example such as the lecture given on 'The origin of Gypsies' and on 'Swedish Hospitality' delivered by General Bratish at Guildford in 1842 aptly illustrates this feature. (Appendix 12f.)

5. Music, Drama, and Entertainments

Perhaps never in its long history was the English theatre more debased than it was in the first half of the nineteenth century. The theatre pandered to the lowest possible taste and was associated with drunkenness, coarse language, and licentious behaviour. As Charles Kingsley wrote:

'We were passing the door of the Victorian theatre; it was just half-price time - and the beggary and rascality of London were pouring in to their low amusement, from the neighbouring gin palaces and thieves' cellars.' (86)

And so it seemed to most people. It must be recalled that the ruling classes, not excepting those promoting mechanics' and similar institutions,
characterised the working classes as too much occupied with the objects of sense; whose thought was inconsequential and whose minds were thus vulnerable to pernicious influences. It followed that drama and the theatre were viewed with caution by some and outright hostility by others, since it could only serve to excite the senses and predispose emotionalism and ungovernable behaviour. So much was the theatre and what it represented abhorred by some that, where local theatres were used as venues for the delivery of popular lectures (as for instance at Croydon and at Guildford) lecturers might decline an invitation to appear as vehemently as they would were they to be asked to lecture in a public tavern. (87) Apart from the prevailing anxieties regarding public order and decency, this hostility had its roots in the religious puritanism which had proscribed the theatre during the time of the Commonwealth.

Rule 25 of the Richmond Mechanics' Institute included a note which stated that it was 'not essential for the objects of this institution to promote lectures in Music or in the Drama. This sentence was later crossed out (not erased) from the Minute Book and so it is not clear when a change of mind took place - as it assuredly did. (88) It was not just the fear of the effects of drama and theatrical productions on the susceptible minds of the working classes which prompted such rules. Much more to the point, the subjects were often regarded as unseemly or downright immoral. More important still, in the context of adult education institutions, controversial issues could be aired through the medium of the drama. Views could be broadcast which might be unacceptable to the promoters and other members of the institution, and this could lead to disharmony and confrontation, in addition to violating the avowed neutrality of the institution. It was also sometimes asserted that such activities were not in keeping with those which an institution dedicated to the promotion of science and useful knowledge should be embracing. This attitude also finds
support in evidence from other parts of the country. At Derby in 1861 for instance, the Managing Committee recommended the sale of theatrical scenery, it being felt that 'scenery for Operatic or Dramatic purposes is somewhat incompatible with the objects of a Mechanics' Institution.' (89) Theatrical productions continued however until 1864 when recent performances were described as 'not of such a character as should be countenanced by a Mechanics' Institution whose mission it is to endeavour to elevate and not to vitiate the tastes of the people.' (90) Whereupon, the Theatrical Sub-Committee, which had been formed to inspect performances and had the power to stop them, decided to disallow performances which had:

'so harmful effect on the mere children which appear to be the principal ingredient in the audiences, and are bringing the lecture hall into such disrepute, and your Committee believe that such a result will be applauded by that part of the public on whose sympathy the Mechanics' Institute is mainly dependent for its existence and whose support it will do well to encourage.' (91)

The mention of children would appear to have been added to the armoury of those who looked on theatrical performances with disfavour. However, in Surrey, objections seem in the main to have been shortlived. As Timbs of Dorking observed:

'Much difference of opinion exists with respect to the tendency of theatricals in country towns. Those who deprecate them as corrupters of the people do not look at the philosophy of the subject, but rather at the abuse of it. This error in judgement precludes all liberal views, because who is not aware that the purpose of every human institution may soon be controverted by a few misanthropic beings. The stage, doubtless, affords the lessons in civilised society, but it is alike liable to misapplication, and when corrupt it becomes the effective organ and seed of licentiousness; but the sentiments of this polished age will, doubtless, keep a curb, and prevent fine taste from degenerating into vice and immorality.' (92)
Not only this, promoters of adult education institutions soon realised that if they wanted to hold on to their precarious membership they would have to respond to the enthusiasm of the working classes for entertainment. And so, before long, most institutions in Surrey were interspersing lectures between dramatic and musical entertainments - if the former were not themselves made more entertaining. Some institutions had few misgivings about the theatre. In the year that the Guildford Mechanics' Institute was founded, lectures were offered by James Searle on 'The construction of the Drama' (93) and as early as 1843 the daughter of Charles Macready, perhaps the most notable actor of his day, performed the Countess of Eppenstein in Sheridan Knowles' 'Love, or the Slave of Corinth.' (94) Both George Grossmith and his son performed in the old theatre, Charles Dickens gave readings, and 'Box and Cox' was presented there in 1868. Indeed Guildford developed a strong tradition of drama, and in the last quarter of the century the rivalry between the Working Mens' Institute Dramatic Society and the Surrey Volunteer Rifles, each of whom had theatricals and a fete on the same day (Coronation Day), was often reported. (96) These were soon features of most parts of Surrey, and though often the dramatic entertainments were little more than the recital of humourous sketches, or the performance of dramatic episodes by way of illustration, there were some, such as Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution which, on occasions, attracted the services of Kate and Helen Terry. (97)

Music, despite its original proscription by the Richmond Mechanics' Institute, was generally more acceptable - although its ability to excite the passions was not denied and, especially during the early years of the century, called for particular scrutiny. The change of heart at Richmond was quite spectacular, and it was precisely its appeal to the passions which recommended it. Not doubting that all knowledge, all science and every art may be rendered serviceable to the great end of advancing
civilisation and refinement, the Secretary of the Richmond Literary and Scientific Institution, William Chapman, in an address in 1838, thought that music was pre-eminently fitted for the purpose:

'The beginning of this great moral and social improvement must be made somewhere - the first step may be taken in various ways; but what pursuit but Music will have such easy access to the hearts and feelings of all classes, ages, and professions? None can be brought so easily within the reach of the low as well as of the high, the ignorant as well as the educated, the poor and the rich, the sick and the hale, the miserable and the happy-all! all can enjoy music, and profit by it!' (98)

The writer then goes on to make some very extravagant claims for music:

'It resounds throughout all nature - it dwells in the secret recesses of the soul - it fosters very noble feeling, every generous sentiment - courage, friendship, pity, love, devotion - it cheers the cottage - it adorns the palace - it hallow the sanctuary - it renders this earth a paradise . . .' (99)

The recruitment of music into the armoury of social control was commonplace. At Guildford, in 1835, Mr Purday reasoned that his lectures would:

'show that music may be generally cultivated and that much good may result on a general cultivation of the art. That it has never had great influence upon the manners and conduct of society.' (100)

Though he disagrees with Chapman about the positive effects of music, his observation does nevertheless highlight the general concern that it might influence behaviour. However, despite some powerful advocacy, Guildford decided against employing Mr Purday because it was argued that a Mr Phillips was already providing similar lectures.

Choral societies involving the working classes in particular, were a growing feature of cultural life throughout the nineteenth century. Many institutions offered singing classes, the members of which were introduced
to J P Hullah's system of sol-fa notation. Guildford, like Richmond and Croydon developed strong choral societies. When the amalgamation of the two institutions at Guildford took place in 1843 it was their choral societies which were the first to join forces. At Richmond, Mr Hetherington's choral class was highly valued and in 1840 and 1843, when the Institute was having financial difficulties and was losing members, this class maintained a consistently high membership.

The anxiety was ever present that musical activity might deteriorate to the level of immorality or that content might include the singing of radical broadsheet ballads. Even light, or mirthful songs, sung in parts (or as they were called, 'Glees') were often disallowed; though as the century progressed objections to these too were relaxed, so that for instance the Orpheus Glee Union could be made welcome at Croydon in 1860, and the English Glee Union at Guildford in 1866. Glees were clearly sung by the Music Society at Kingston in the 1840s, and Benton Seeley makes the following observations regarding them:

'This Society it seems occasionally sings glees. If it were known that these contained what was immoral, it would indeed be well for the Committee to put a stop to such proceedings. But to say that because glees are sung therefore these glees are immoral, would be somewhat illogical and illiberal. - Doubtless there are many specimens of this style of music pleasing and harmless. Let our musical friends take care to sing only such, and we think they will disarm prejudice, and aid in advancing the aims of the Institution.' (101)

As with other forms of entertainment, music gained a firm foothold in the curriculum of adult education institutions as the century progressed. The choral class, and the Benhilton Entertainments were the mainstay of the Sutton Institute, and by the late 1870s, the Cremona Musical Union was paying regular visits to Ewell; the Brousil Family of singers to Croydon, and in the mid 1850s and 1860s Ellis Roberts (Royal Harpist) was offering
'Echoes of the Harp' at Croydon, Guildford, and other institutions in Surrey.

Entertainments of all kinds gradually dominated the programmes of institutes. Sometimes the masking of entertainments and the pretence that they were something else 'as people mask bedsteads when they are obliged to have them in sitting rooms, and make believe that they are book-cases ...' (102) was occasionally carried to the extreme. Dickens' reference to the lady who sang 'Comin' through the Rye' after a preface of general remarks about wheat and clover, recalls Lizzie Stuart's entertainments at Godalming and Guildford in 1857-1860 entitled 'A peep at Scotland through her Songs.' (103) It was not always so of course. For instance Sterndale Bennett and Coleridge Taylor conducted the Croydon String Players class at the turn of the century, confirming its distinguished reputation; and at Haslemere, William Badger's band earned similar distinction, having existed from about 1838 until the end of the century. (104) However, the main feature, this is to say scarcely concealed entertainments and lectures sandwiched between entertainments, eventually characterised most institutions in Surrey. It was a formula that kept them from extinction. A comparison of the programme at Croydon in 1860 with that proposed for 1918 clearly indicates that this institution believed that it had found a successful formula and was thus unwilling to vary it. (see Appendices 12k and 12q)

6. Basic education; or, inculcating the habits of the mind

On a number of occasions the difficulties of establishing classes of instruction for adults has been alluded to and a number of observations made. It is not the present purpose to repeat these discussions but instead to look very briefly at the purpose of including such classes in the
curriculum of adult education enterprises, particularly as it reflects the prevailing concern with order and control.

Most commonly, classes in reading and writing were promoted — though not so much the latter because, particularly at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the governing classes did not consider it important that the working classes should be able to write. Thus the emphasis was placed on the teaching of reading.

Often the moral tone of reading matter offered to adults was stern and unsubtle, pressing home the dangers of the vices to which the poor were seen to be naturally prone; such as lying, profaning God's name, and pilfering and stealing. (105) But there were others which appealed to reason and gentle persuasion. Such a one was Lyndley Murray's very popular 'The English Reader'; a work 'tending to season the minds of children with piety and virtue and to improve them in reading, language and sentiment.' (106) It will be noticed that there is no mention of writing as part of the seasoning. It has to be re-stated that, since the education commonly seen fit for adults was of an elementary kind, twentieth century distinctions between child and adult education are not helpful when enquiring into the nineteenth (particularly the early nineteenth) century curriculum. Murray's little book of grammar was one of the first volumes to be purchased by the Godalming Mechanics' Institute in 1836. There was nothing similar published with the adult in mind. Fables, excerpts from great prose, and carefully selected poems were used to inculcate acceptable habits of the mind. The obvious 'good sense' of the chosen passages tended to influence the reader into an acceptance of the natural order — or, to use Murray's phrase, 'to season them.' For example, what might be more vulgarly expressed by the adage 'you can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear' is gently seasoned by John Gay's poem 'The Butterfly and the Snail; or, elevation renders little minds proud and insolent', which describes the
snail's castigation of the butterfly:

'I owe my humble life, good friend; 
Snail was I born, and Snail shall end. 
And what's a Butterfly? At best, 
He's but a caterpillar drest; 
And all thy race (a numerous seed) 
Shall prove of caterpillar breed.' (107)

Beware then of conceit. Any reasonable person can see that a butterfly is but a dressed-up grub. Furthermore, the natural order of God's providence could not be altered by education:

'Consult the moralist, you'll find 
That education forms the mind. 
But education ne'er supplied 
What ruling nature has denied.' (108)

Thus begins Cotton's 'The Lamb and the Pig; or, nature and education.' The message of the tale is clear. A lamb will always be a lamb, and a pig will always be a pig - no matter what their experiences. A gentle washing in a stream will restore the virgin whiteness of the lamb. As to the pig:

'The females o'er his dress preside; 
They wash his face and scour his hide. 
But daily more a swine he grew, 
For all these housewives e'er could do.' (109)

Nature was God's creation, and He had created things as they are. Lest anyone be anxious at a seemingly unjust God, a God who consigned so many people to a life of poverty and wretchedness, whilst preserving a wealthy and carefree life for the few, there was a ready explanation. The poor need not be unhappy with their lot. Despite the promise of a better life in heaven, should they be God-fearing, they had much else to be thankful for. It was misguided to envy the rich, for equally they had to suffer their lot. Their problems were no less: merely of a different kind:
'The virtuous poor man may also rejoice; for he has many reasons. He sits down to his morsel in peace; his table is not crowded with flatterers and devourers. He is not embarrassed with a train of dependents, nor teased with the clamours of solicitation. Debarred from the dainties of the rich, he escapes also their diseases. The bread that he eats, is it not sweet to his taste? The water that he drinks, is it not pleasant to his thirst? Yeh, far more delicious than the richest draughts of the luxurious. His labour preserves his health, and procures him a repose, to which the downy bed of sloth is a stranger. He limits his desires with humility; and the calm of contentment is sweeter to his soul, than all the acquisitions of wealth and grandeur. (110)

This remarkable paragraph could hardly have found favour with the most 'seasoned' member of the working classes. It would be a mistake however to accuse nineteenth century society's members of inventing this Janus-face of happiness, since it was a principle long established. There are those like Horace who observed 'Nihil est omni/Parte beatum' (no lot is in all respects happy) (111) and others, like Boethius, who saw misery in the possibility of happiness:

'for in all adversity of fortune the worst sort of misery is to have been happy.' (112)

Like wealth and like poverty, happiness was relative, and in a well-ordered, divinely prescribed society, social stratification was both necessary and just. There was an undeniable logic in the rational organisation of nature. All men could not be rich of course, but neither could they all be poor. And the appeal of a natural order, for which there was ample evidence, was proof of God's benificent purpose. The evidence was there for all to see: witness the birds and animals. A natural hierarchy was self-evident for indeed 'a flea has smaller fleas that on him prey, and then have smaller still to bite 'em.' (113) It was important therefore that the poor should understand the 'naturalness' of their predicament and this was pressed home in the carefully selected literature which formed the
texts the working man was expected to read. But it was also important that
the rich could justify their own predicament; for there is little doubt, as
the examples above testify, that as the century progressed they suffered
from a certain guilt consciousness and sense of obligation towards the less
fortunate. One way to assuage this was through philanthropic gestures.
Another was to show how the laws of nature operated to maintain the
hierarchical homeostasis of society through an appeal to natural theology.
Yet another was to demonstrate that they too suffered from privations and
onerous duties — though of a different and less punishing kind, for:

'The poor man sees not the vexations and anxieties of
the rich, he feeleth not the difficulties and Perplexities of power, Neither know he the
wearisomeness of Leisure; and therefore it is he repineth at his own lot.
But Envy not the appearance of happiness in any man,
for Thou knows not his Secret Griefs.' (114)

There was however a proviso lest the credulity of the poor might be unduly
stretched and lest they might judge that riches only grew in the soil of
Hell:

'Yet if thou suffer not the allurements of fortune to
Rob thee of justice, or Temperence, or Charity, or
modesty, even riches theirselves (sic) shall not make
thee unhappy.' (115)

Thus the rich man does not need to be unhappy (the poor will have noticed
this) provided that he live a virtuous life, and so by implication, since
the same rule applied to the poor, their unhappiness would be assuaged by
virtue. The relative aspect of unhappiness was a persuasive conceit, and
yet attempts to lend it authority often lead to contradiction. It is, for
example, curious that a section of society which had been so generously
labelled 'sensual, non-rational, and ruled by the passions' should have
that propensity denied at a time when it might have been their greatest
comfort. This is to say, at a time of mourning. For example, a writer in Chertsey in 1817 pointed out that the poor have some advantages over the rich and famous even when mourning the death of a loved one, for 'the transition from palace to the tomb is greater than that of a cottage.'

(116) Summarising the poor man's advantages:

'he has not the time and leisure to be swallowed up in sorrow; he must go, or be starved, "to his work and his labour until the evening."

Thus is the sentiment inspired by the Book of Psalms, and therefore legitimated at the highest level. He continues:

'there is something in exercise and labour, or any lawful pursuit, that relieves sorrow, and prevents it from drinking up the spirit . . . but a rich man that is accustomed to luxuries and indulgence - to pleasing pursuits and studies, and sedentary employments, has time and leisure to brood over his afflictions and cherish them without any hindrance; so the mind becomes engrossed and lost in the horrible occupation of grief . . . The poor man has by far the greatest share of freedom; he grieves, it is true, but we see that he recovers of his affliction in general much sooner . . . and constant labour or employment, procures and sweetens his repose.'

(118)

Then, as a final flourish, the writer recalls the case of the Marchioness of Tavistock who died of grief having too much indulged her sorrow on the death of her husband and of whom Dr Johnson remarked 'she would not have done so if she had kept a shop'! (119)

Such then was the character of the reading matter presented to adults for their enlightenment. Whether selected passages from the scriptures, religious tracts, or examples such as those illustrated above, the purpose was to inculcate characteristics of sobriety, modesty, virtue, and in particular a reverence for, and a conviction in, the 'uncontrovertible' natural laws. As the secretary of the Kingston Literary and Scientific Institute summarised it, 'fear God, honour the King, and meddle not with
those that are given to change.' (120) It is hardly surprising that the working classes should exhibit a marked preference for staying away. Some further aspects of this debate will be taken up again in the final chapter of this account and thus further discussion would be inappropriate at this point.

So much then for the curriculum. But what of the pedagogues? What of those agents of cultural transmission, those missionary agents; the teachers and the lecturers? Some general observations are called for since the character and the perceived role of the pedagogue are clues to the interpretation of the curriculum.
A persuasive mythology has taken root in the twentieth century regarding the quality of schools and schooling in the nineteenth century. This is in no small measure due to the works, and in particular the fictional works, of Charles Dickens. However, though there is little doubt that there were many bad schools and schoolteachers (existing many years after the publication of Nicholas Nickleby, the book on which the myth has been predicated) a more objective, total, or at least carefully sampled study of education in the nineteenth century might produce a more balanced picture. Thus it has been argued that 'fresh empirical verification and assessment of the Dickens verdict on nineteenth century conditions in Britain is surely overdue.' (121) This in no way attempts to devalue the enormous contribution to education of Dickens the social crusader, nor to deny the value of Dickens the propagandist and ardent supporter of adult education, but merely to warn that such evidence cannot be assumed to represent a balanced view nor the common pattern of education provision in the nineteenth century. His was a partisan view which he never denied. It is more likely that Dickens was anticipating R E Pahl in seeing the dense urban areas, in particular of the north of England, as areas 'an understanding of which helps in the understanding of the overall society which creates it.' (122) Dicken's descriptions more accurately contribute to the debate on the distribution of power in society as a whole than to any accurate picture of education in the country as a whole. Certainly viewed in the context of the times, no evidence has yet emerged from Surrey to suggest that there existed many establishments like Dotheboys Hall.
Neither is this merely to a matter of scale, for education had been developing apace in Surrey from the latter half of the previous century. Disregarding the endowed schools such as those at Guildford and Kingston; there are records of a great many Ragged Schools, Dame Schools, Poor Law Schools and of Sunday Schools, which by 1851 had become very numerous, there being twenty two such schools in the Chertsey Union alone. These schools were carrying on an established tradition for there are records of twenty seven towns and villages founding charity schools before 1724. From the second decade of the nineteenth century National Schools were established in forty eight towns and villages; half of them before the mid eighteen thirties. There were many British Schools, and a number, such as Godalming established the Royal Lancastrian Free School (later British) as early as 1812. To this list can be added numerous private schools and academies (authentic targets of Dicken's censure) such as Mr Wisbey's and the Misses Haynes' establishments at Chertsey, or Mr Lansdell's institution at Dorking. And there were many more. To reinforce what has been said elsewhere, Surrey was by no means an educational backwater. This is important in considering the context within which adult education developed. Certainly the quality of education varied from place to place but evidence suggests that for the most part there were a sufficient number of interested parties concerned to keep a careful watch on it. Indeed at a time when there was widespread opposition to the principle of extending education to the masses, and at a time when sectional interests in the Church were concerned to influence the content of education, it would be erroneous to suppose that schools were not kept under scrutiny. Thus there are reports of attempts to remove schoolmasters (and mistresses) from their schools. As early as 1682 the master of a school in Farnham was removed for 'frequently absconding himselfe and neglecting the scollars.' Likewise, a lady teacher in 1857 did not escape censure. Commenting on the
Kingston Vale school an HMI recorded:

'The mistress is what is understood by the quite intelligible though undefined term of a "lady" in kind - and of excellent moral influence, but not a teacher. She is the kind of person of whom it is very difficult and trying to one's kindlier instincts to say this - but it is true.' (126)

Parents and pupils were no less likely to show their dissatisfaction. Neither were they likely to restrict the show of their dissatisfaction to the merely verbal. Tropp observes that 'assaults by pupils and parents of pupils were common' (127) as a teacher/inspector testified:

'seventy women rushed into the school; the stairs were full besides and outside at least fifty women had collected. These were the mothers and friends of the girls who had fought. Having abused me in no measured terms . . . they proceeded to fight . . . The women swore and shrieked . . . those outside responded. Never surely was such a noise heard before. I did not believe that human beings resident in this Christian metropolis could so behave.' (128)

This behaviour was not limited to metropolitan or the least affluent areas of the country however. The teacher's role as 'dirty worker' (Rainwater 1967) was exposed even within the relative sanctuary of middle class education. There it was that the teacher's authority role, the teacher as an instrument of power rather than as an agent of a particular social class, attracted such abuse. Thus the following incident, though perhaps an extreme example, can be found in Surrey. Its inclusion here amply illustrates the ambiguous position of the teacher; the fragile esteem which was barely tolerated by those who felt they were his betters. His social position was carefully ascribed. Should he attempt to rise above it, should he exceed his authority, he would surely be chastised:

'Our friend the pedagogue was a firm believer in the efficacy of corporal punishment, and it is said of him that on one occasion, after a free use of the cane, a
big unruly Dorking scholar, considerably taller than himself, acting, it would seem, on the proverb that "one good turn deserves another", snatched from the tutor's hand the instrument of correction and tried its effect on the schoolmaster himself.' (129)

It seems that the anger of the other scholars became ungovernable, and what happened next borders on the burlesque:

'. . . siezing the master, they bound him hand and foot and carried him off to a large copper, into which they cast him. The lid was immediately put on, and some of boys sat upon it to keep it down. The hapless schoolmaster cried aloud for mercy, but mercy there was none. Some of the boys now looked about for fuel, and, finding an old grogram gown and some aprons, they thrust them into the copper hole and set fire to them, thus giving to their unhappy master what they termed "a good warming." (130)

The incident described above is nonetheless exceptional, for the majority of educational establishments in the county met with favour. (131) Even the oft maligned Dame Schools do not seem to have matched Tropp's description as providing rudimentary education by widows, discharged soldiers and bankrupts, with no system of training and 'no educational technique for the teacher to acquire and no system of inspection.' (132) Thus are these schools generally characterised. However, it would be wrong to suppose that all were so discredited. A writer in 1878 recalls pedagogues in the Dorking Dame Schools of the 1820s with favour:

'They were . . . kind-hearted persons, and generally considerate in the exercise of their vocation. So favourable, indeed, was the opinion entertained of the proprietors of these unpretentious establishments, that to them was confided the preparatory education of the sons and daughters of the tradespeople in general.' (133)

This then was the educational territory within which adult education enterprises thrived; a territory peopled by many schoolmasters whose perceived role and narrowly prescribed position in the social scale provide
important phenomena which must be taken into account. Many of these schoolmasters would, like Mr Prels and Mr Pyne in Guildford, Mr Dart in Godalming, Mr Bramwell in Sutton and Mr Paull in Croydon, play an important part in the lives of these institutions as teachers, lecturers and sometimes committee members. One such was Mr Stracham of Kingston, lecturer at the Mechanics' Institute and teacher and Superintendent of the Kingston Ragged Schools, of whom it was said:

'Hurrah for Stracham and Dawson
    Who gave the young their store;
The children love such teachers
    And wish that they had more! (134)

The views of the children themselves are nowhere recorded. However, it was for such men as these that the Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution appealed in 1861; for thought it was believed that amongst the seven or eight hundred members then enrolled not a few would be willing to unite in classes for instruction, the problem was how to obtain the right teachers. As was pointed out, 'to begin the system, without the failure which so often comes quickly after the beginning, requires a gentleman or gentlemen with that self-denial, accompanied with peculiar qualifications and good talent, for whom your Committee have hitherto sought in vain.' (135) Though in many cases the enthusiasm of institutions to promote class instruction was motivated by a need to save money on the fees normally paid to lecturers, it is also true to say that many saw, as did James Hole (1855), that the education of the working man through class instruction was likely to be the most valuable.

If little is known of the qualifications and teaching methods used by class teachers in Surrey, then even less is known about the kind of student which made up their classes. It is very likely that the situation in Surrey paralleled that experienced in the north of England. This is to say that, though many of the teachers were 'men of ability' (136), their classes were
likely to attract, in the main, the superior artisan and apprentice from the shops rather than the operative classes. (137) This is borne out by Griffiths' conclusions on her evidence from the Guildford Mechanics' Institute. (138) In this respect therefore, the teachers role in fashioning the character of nineteenth century adult education was no less important than that of their celebrated counterparts, the lecturers

The Lecturers

Despite the desire to see the formation of classes, the staple fare of most institutions, large and small, were their programmes of lectures. From a consequent demand for lecturers there arose a new breed of professional men and women many of whom developed lucrative careers for themselves travelling the country given the lectures for which they had become celebrated. Thus the names of a number of the lecturers engaged by Surrey institutions would be very familiar to people living in other parts of the country. Names such as George Dawson, John Epps, Henry Vincent, Clara Balfour, J Silk Buckingham were among many recognised by audiences in the north, the midlands and the south. These lecturers were well paid; receiving an average of £5 per lecture. Despite this, there were some individuals who demanded more. Thus Dr Dionysius Lardner, having received an invitation from the Guildford Mechanics' Institute replied agreeing to give the lectures but observed that as he was already delivering three lectures on alternate nights at the newly opened Mechanics' institute in Newcastle he looked forward to a similar arrangement at Guildford. These lectures would cost twenty five guineas, and he added:

'. . . if I should find it possible to undertake what
your Committee desire I could not do it for less terms. Even on them it would be quite indispensable that the three lectures should be delivered in the same week.' (139)

Conscious of his importance and aware of his own fastidiousness he sought some justification by observing that the Committee should consider that 'the circumstances of lecturing at all at institutions outside the metropolis is a novel experiment in the cause for the diffusion of knowledge for a person in my position to make. (140) Nor was this all, for it seems that apart from being well paid, many of these lecturers were exceedingly pampered. They expected to be treated as celebrities. When Dr Epps first visited Godalming in 1836, elaborate arrangements were made for his reception and lodging in the principal hotel in the town. (141) On being engaged to lecture at the Guildford Mechanics' Institute J Silk Buckingham, informed the Committee that he would not dine until he had reached Guildford and urged the institute to 'request the waiter at the White Hart to have a mutton chop ready and put down for me when I come as I shall have just time to wash and dine before going to the theatre.' (142) It might be noted that the lectures usually commenced at eight in the evening. At this time lectures were held in the old theatre in Guildford and Dr. Lardner's extreme reaction to performing there has already been noted above. (p. 66) Likewise, J Silk Buckingham, ever mindful of his creature comforts, said that, 'as the stage is exceedingly liable to draughts of wind from behind I shall be glad if you will have the drop scene down and the side or edges of the canvas nailed and clipped to the wings or boards.' (143) So too, a lady lecturer Miss Macaulay made a particular request of the same institution for 'a warm room to dress in at the theatre and a carpet on the floor.' (144) However, there is no doubt that these popular lecturers were particularly talented and could win and keep their audiences. It could not have been an
easy task for, as Tylecote has observed, 'the audience which faced a lecturer at a mechanics' institute was not a compact body of mechanics, like-minded in pursuit of knowledge, inspired by a worthy sense of ambition, as they were so often depicted at the outset, but an assembly of individuals, differing in occupation, varying in character, capacity and knowledge, alike chiefly in suffering from severe handicaps in training and circumstances.' (145) Despite the gradual realisation that the best method of bringing education to the industrious classes was by class instruction, the habit of employing lecturers continued throughout the century; though in time such lectures came to be offered between interludes of entertainment or were themselves delivered with some measure of entertainment. This was as true of Surrey as of other parts of the country, for the former never had even the modest success with the formation of classes as did the northern towns and cities.

Although there is a good deal of evidence as to what the lecturers intended, and a good deal of data describing the content, there is very little evidence as to how the lectures were delivered. On the basis of their reputation and hence their popularity a number of lecturers must have been able to convey much that was of interest to their audiences. For example, notwithstanding that the great days of the Chartists were by then over, Henry Vincent could overawe the people of Godalming and Guildford in the 1850s and 1860s. George Dawson could create a great stir in Croydon in 1856 as a consequence of his lecture on Bunyan. This is described by the Secretary of the Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution who, in 1856, read a letter he had received from the Reverend J G Hodgson, as follows:

The Vicarage  
24th January 1856

Dear Sir - Some friends of mine upon whose judgement I can implicitly rely, have informed me that they were greatly shocked at the irreverent and flippant tone in which passages of scripture were introduced by the
lecturer on Bunyan on Tuesday evening - as interested in the Institution, and still more concerned for the religious welfare of the inhabitants of Croydon I do earnestly press upon the Committee the importance of exercising great caution in the selection of lecturers - and I would venture further to suggest that it would be well to confine the lectures to strictly Literary and Scientific subjects.

I am, dear Sir, Yours faithfully,
J G Hodgson (146)

The lecturer was a non-conformist divine of Birmingham, who was noted as much for his eloquence and popularity as a lecturer as for his unconventional views on religion. The Secretary replied, expressing his regret that the Reverend Hodgson and his friends had been offended, that his observations would be given respectful attention, and thanked him for his interest and support of the Institution. The Reverend Hodgson was, after all, the President and a Trustee of the Institution! In contrast, speaking of Clara Lucas Balfour, the President of the Reigate Mechanics' Institute could say how fine was such female cooperation and, reflecting on the current happy state of the institution, observed:

'Towards this agreeable state . . . the lecture of an amiable and accomplished woman, with which we were favoured a week ago, must inevitably contribute, because it could not have been heard by the ladies who were present without great emotion; the thorough conviction that the moral and intellectual influence of Good women is all important in Society and that this should be associated as much as possible, not only in this institution, but in everything affecting the well-being and the prosperity of every social object, more especially in all such as concern the judicial and intellectual education of the young.' (147)

A well-earned accolade for Mrs Balfour, who lectured throughout the country on women's questions and, less notably, on literary subjects. A contemporary, Emily Faithfull, lectured at the Guildford Institute in 1870 on the 'Claims and Position of Women.' She lived at nearby Headley and in 1860 had set up a London printing establishment, publishing the Victoria Magazine from 1867. Emily Faithfull went a little further than Mrs Balfour
in putting the claims of women, and in trying to extend their limited
sphere of labour; though neither can be said to have influenced the cause
of women, as for instance the womens' suffrage movement, to any great
extent. Nevertheless, Clara Balfour was an extremely popular lecturer at
the Surrey institutions as elsewhere. She was for instance invited to
Guildford to lecture at least once, and often twice, each year from 1846 to
1863.

Not all lecturers had similar success, and it is clear that one consequence
of attempts to engage the services of talented local people (at reduced
fees, and sometimes gratuitously) could not be relied upon. After a
lecture at Kingston by a Mr Jones (with 'illustrations by vocalists from
London') the secretary of the Literary and Scientific Institution advised
him for his own good to discontinue lecturing. (148) Of course it is not
certain whether this judgement was or was not shared by those attending the
lecture. A series of lectures at the same institution in 1842 attracted
similar criticism:

'We advert first to the three lectures on the
Philosophy of Machinery, delivered by Mr White. That
gentleman has a happy mode of expressing himself, and
even in the dry detail necessary in some parts of such
-a course, managed to interest his audience and keep up
their attention. He also exhibited some beautiful
working models, and showed an extensive practical
knowledge of his subject - but here our praise must
stop. By the frequent allusion to topics not
necessarily connected with machinery, and now and then
a dash of high-flying fancy respecting universal
harmony, human perfection, etc., Mr White materially
impaired what otherwise would have been one of the
best, most pleasing and useful courses that have been
delivered to our members. (149)

Since no copy of Mr White's syllabus nor advertisement for his lecture
exists, the contents of a series 'Philosophy of Machinery' must be left to
speculation. Whether or not universal harmony and human perfection would be
a proper part of such lectures cannot be ascertained. To suggest that Mr
White had somehow offended his critic's known Tory-Anglican sensitivities is again speculative though not without foundation.

However, there is no doubt that despite the eventual development of classes and the beginnings of technical education; and despite the overpreponderance of musical and dramatic entertainments, the popular itinerant lecturer made a handsome living, peddling his lectures and demonstrations from one institution to another in Surrey and elsewhere.

In conclusion

Chapter IV described the provision of adult education in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries both from 'above' and from 'below.' Opportunities for Art and technical instruction, which towards the end of the nineteenth century increased in pace, were also discussed. In Chapter V, explanations were offered for the numerous strategies of labelling which were employed to legitimise a curriculum thought suitable for the working man. A discussion of this curriculum and the mode of its transmission concluded Part Two.

It is now necessary to return to the concepts of power introduced in Chapter II so that they may be discussed together with the evidence and the data introduced into this account. This will lead to a number of conclusions and possibilities for further enquiry.
NOTES and References to PART TWO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>IV.</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>Adult Education from Above</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii.</td>
<td>Adult Education from Below</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii.</td>
<td>Science, Art and the Industrial Spirit</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>The Labelling of Mental Abilities</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii.</td>
<td>The Labelling of People: Class Differences</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii.</td>
<td>The Apparatuses of Power and Control</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER IV i. Adult Education from Above

(1) Dobbs A E (1919) *Education and Social Movements 1700 to 1850* London p181

(2) Tylecote M (1957) *The Mechanics' Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire Before 1851* Manchester University Press pl


(8) The London Mechanics' Institute: Rules and Orders (1823)

(9) Kingston Literary and Scientific Institution (1839) in Seeley B (1841,2)'Seeley's Kingston Miscellany' was the main (unofficial) publication of this Institution.
(10) Shapin S and Barnes B (1976) *op cit*

(11) Inaugural Address by William Chapman, Honorary Secretary of the Richmond Literary and Scientific Institution, 10 May 1837. Printed by Darnell, Richmond. p7

(12) *ibid* p16

(13) *ibid* pp7-8

(14) Richmond Mechanics' Institute, *Minute Book*, 12.11.1838

(15) Richmond Mechanics' Institute, *Minute Book*, 1.10.1838


(17) Fidler, T (1831) *Rules and Bylaws of the Richmond Literary and Amicable Institution and a History of Such Societies*. Richmond. p17 Mr Fidler had assembled a few friends in the School Room on Friday 28 January 1831, in order to establish this Institution.

(18) Harrison J F C (1961) *op cit* p324


(20) Kelly T (1957) *ibid* p212

(21) Mechanics' Magazine VI11 (1827-28) pp447-8: quoted in Kelly (1957) *op cit*

(22) Croydon Times 27.7.1929. (reviewing the history of technical education in Croydon)

(23) Cranley Literary and Scientific Institute, *Minute Book*, Rule 1, 21.9.1849

(24) Cranley Literary and Scientific Institute, *Minute Book*, September 1856


(26) Harrison J F C (1961) *op cit* p69

(27) Kelly T (1957) *op cit* p212


(29) Rose (1876) *Memories of Old Dorking* Dorking

(31) See advertisement for Mutual Improvement Classes, with reprint of Charles Dickens' 'Address to the Annual Meeting of the Institutional Association of Lancashire and Cheshire', 3 December 1838. In Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution, Minute Book, 1858. See also Appendix 12a.

(32) Richmond Mechanics' Institute, Minute Book, 10.6.1842

(33) Richmond Mechanics' Institute, Minute Book, 1.12.1838

(34) Godalming Mechanics' Institute, Minute Book, 1836-1843

There is a brevity about the entries, many of which contain many inaccuracies; 'Cooms Phisology on Human Species' for example. The entries during the later years are sometimes very difficult to decipher, and against one particular entry someone has written beside the Secretary's name, 'a poor.'

(35) This consistently high standard of presentation, and in particular the copperplate hand in which they were written was not, despite twentieth century myths, a common form in the nineteenth century, but was a style most commonly associated with clerks. (see Appendix 4 )
Chapter IV (11) Adult Education from Below


(2) ibid


(4) The debate about the relevance of the school curriculum, since prestige still attaches to 'the best', is at the heart of the work of Eric Midwinter (1972a, 1972b). Informed by Freire's notion of 'banking', many writers, notably Huberman (1974) and Knowles (1978), have argued for a student-centred liberatory approach to learning. For a recent discussion see Entwistle H (1978) *Class, Culture and Education*, Methuen, in particular Chapter 4 'Culture and Education' for the suggestion that praxis is implicit in the thought of Matthew Arnold.


(6) Smiles S (1859) ibid

(7) Craik G L (1830) *The Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties* S. D. U. K. p27

(8) Ranyard E R (1842) in Seeley B (1842) *op cit* p41

(8b) Craik G L (1830) *op cit* pp16-17

(9) Arnold M (1935) *op cit* p70

(10) Smiles S (1859) *op cit*

(11) Briggs A (1958) *op cit* pp21-22

(12) Ranyard E R (1842) in Seeley B (1842) *op cit* p36

(13) Smiles S (1859) *op cit*


Friendly and Benefit Societies

(1) Harrison J F C(1961) **op cit** pp3-20

(2) Perkin H(1969) **op cit** p382


(4) ibid

(5) Rolston G R(1956) Haslemere in Surrey Published in association with Haslemere Educational Museum. p87

(6) Membership of Friendly Societies grew rapidly. In 1801 the number was estimated at 7000 in England and Wales; in 1815 the number had grown to over 1,000,000, and from 3,000,000 in 1949 to 4,000,000 in 1872.


There are records of friendly societies as early as 1634.

(8) Bailey M(1963) **op cit** p10

(9) Rolston G R(1956) **op cit** p87

(10) ibid

(10b) Hobsbawm E J(1959) **Primitive Rebels** Manchester University Press p161

(11) Rose C(1876) **op cit** p63

(12) From an appeal 'To the Honorary Members and Subscribers of the Late Friendly Society.' A meeting held at the Catherine Wheel, Egham in 1827. In Wetton C C(1827) Chertseyana (being a variety of papers locating to the Parish of Chertsey and the adjoining Parishes.) Chertsey Museum.

(13) ibid

(14) Act relating to Friendly Societies called, after its sponsor, Rose's Act. This was the first of many Acts for the encouragement and regulation of such societies. Though many trade unions succeeded in carrying on as Friendly Societies (and thus avoiding the laws on Combination) there was little enthusiasm for suppressing these bodies.

(15) Thompson E P(1963) **op cit** pp458-9
(15b) Chertsey Vestry Room: 17 April 1819. In Wetton C C(1827) op cit

(16) Thompson E P(1963) op cit p262


(19) Wetton C C(1827) op cit

(20) Harrison J F C(1961) op cit p53

(20b) Gosden P H J H(1973) op cit p32


(22) Quoted from the Rules of the East Surrey Mutual Benefit and Building Society. In Church's Illustrated Sutton, 1869, p2

(23) Rose C(1876) op cit pp62-63

(24) George Sturt (who wrote under the pen name of George Bourne) quoted in Bailey M(1963) op cit p10


(26) Bailey M(1963) op cit p9

(27) Ibid

(28) Moule D and Thompson G(1902) Picturesque Surrey London p101

(28b) Connell J(1978) op cit

(29) Harrison J F C(1961) op cit p54


(31) See note 22, p131, Vol 2

(32) Thompson E P(1963) op cit p463
Libraries


(3) Kelly T(1966) Early Public Libraries The Library Association p228

(4) Webb R K(1955) op cit p13


(6) Kelly T(1966) op cit p228


(8) Kelly T(1966) op cit p96

(9) see Smith G(1910) 'Dr Thomas Bray' Library Association Record Vol. XII pp254-5

(10) Phillips E(1885) Geological, Historical and Topographical description of Reigate and surrounding Districts J R Hooper (Ed) Reigate p56

(11) ibid. That this was a lending library is confirmed by McLure E(1888) 'A Chapter in English Church History' pp132,220 Quoted in Kelly T(1966) op cit p254

(12) Parish Church of St. Nicholas. No volumes remain.


(14) Victoria County History of Surrey Vol.3 p451

(15) Timbs J(1823) op cit pp69-70

(16) ibid p67


(19) Seeley B(1841) _op cit_ p38

(20) Poster and leaflet in Egham Museum

(21) Tylecote M(1957) _op cit_ p288

(22) Bakewell and High Peak Institute. Established in 1846. Rules pl3. Local History Section, Derby Public Library. In Chadwick A F(1971)_op cit_. The language used in these Rules (such as the word 'excite') reflect the tendency to label the working man's behaviour and intellectual abilities as inconsequential and sensual. See Chapter IV.

(23) Reigate Mechanics' Institute, _Rules_. In Surrey Record Office, Kingston upon Thames.

(24) Chesterfield Mechanics Institute Booklet(1829) Local History Section, Derby Public Library. In Chadwick A F(1971)

(25) Seeley B(1841) _op cit_ pl

(26) Chapman W(1838) Address delivered to the Richmond Literary and Scientific Institution, 14 March. Steili:London and Richmond

(27) Richmond Mechanics' Institute, _Minute Book_ 15.3.1839

(28) _ibid_ 23.3.1839

(29) Godalming Mechanics' Institute, _Minute Book_ 25.4.1842

(29b) Dickens Charles(1868) _The Uncommercial Traveller_ Hazell, Watson and Viney p596

(30) Godalming Mechanics' Institute, _Minute Book_ 14.12.1841

(31) Kelly T(1966) _op cit_ p226


(33) For example, the Mutual Improvement Societies at Hale, Haslemere, Weybridge and Woking, and those attached to the churches (mainly Unitarian or Congregational) such as at Ewell and Godalming

(34) Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution, Prospectus 1917. Public Library, Croydon. It is curious that in 1856 the Institution was claiming 4000 volumes on its own shelves. See Minute Books in Croydon Public Library.

(35) Richmond Mechanics' Institute (combined with Richmond Literary and Scientific Institute)1843. _New Rules_, MSS in Public Library, Richmond upon Thames.

(36) Terms of Employment of Curator of Egham Literary and Scientific Institution, 1890. In Egham Museum. See Appendix 15

(37) Godalming Technical Institute and School of Art; _Prospectus and Annual Report_ 1897. Waverley Adult Education Institute Archives.
(38) Copy of a letter (private correspondence) in Chertsey Public Library. At this time the Library contained approximately 400 volumes (Census 1851)

(39) Samuel Smiles, quoted in Briggs A(1958) op cit p20

(40) Cranleigh Literary and Scientific Institution, Minute Book 28 May 1855

(41) Guildford Mechanics' Institute, Minute Book 27 March 1843

(42) Godalming Technical Institute and School of Art, Annual Report 1897

(43) Kelly T(1966) op cit p213


(45) Cranleigh Literary and Scientific Institution, Minute Book, 28.5.85

(46) Guildford Mechanics' Institute, Minute Book 27.3.1843

(47) Godalming Technical Institute and School of Art, Annual Report 1897

(48) Kelly T(1966) op cit p213

Mutual Improvement Societies

(1) Howitt's Journal 1 (1847) Weekly Record 17 April 1847 p32 quoted in Harrison J F C(1961) op cit p52


(3) Guildford Friends Adult School, Minute Book 1889-1903. Muniment Room, Guildford

(4) Thompson E P(1963) op cit pp 798-9

(5) Thus it is not surprising that Samuel Smiles regarded the mechanics' Institute as the 'educational methodism of our day'

(6) Thompson E P(1963) op cit p82-3


(8) Harrison J F C(1961) op cit

The West Riding Union of mechanics' Institutes was founded in 1837. In 1841 it became the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes. James Hole was Honorary Secretary from 1848 to 1867. Similarly, in 1848, a Union of Lancashire and Cheshire Institutes was formed, with Thomas Hogg as Secretary.
CHAPTER IV (iii) Science, Art and the Industrial Spirit

1 Northern Star, December 26 1840

(1) Godard J G(1884) George Birkbeck: the Pioneer of Popular Education
    London: Bemrose p29

(2) See Harrison J F C(1961) op cit p53. Also Thomas R A(1979) op cit, in
    discussing the Mechanics' Institutes of the Home Counties, observes
    that distinctions between various types of institutions cannot also be
    neatly drawn, and that subscription rates for mutual improvement
    societies and mechanics' institutes were frequently the same. See
    especially p70.

(3) Chadwick A F(1971) op cit p56

(4) Harrison J F C(1961) op cit p44

(5) Musgrave P W(1970) in suggesting that technical education was deferred
    partly because of the failure of mechanics' institutes which was
    'primarily due to the lack of literacy among those who needed such
    knowledge' (p105) is accepting a commonly believed myth. Kelly T(1962)
    is much more optimistic, estimating that perhaps three quarters of the
    population had some knowledge of reading. (pp147-148) This assessment
    of the state of literacy is accepted by Webb R K(1955) who suggests
    that even in the agricultural South, the level of literacy is not
    likely to have been below 50%. (p22) Both writers accept that there
    were regional variations, and indeed Chadwick A F(1971) op cit,
    quoting from a Select Committee Report, refers to claims from many in
    Derby that nearly 'all hands could read' and many could write:

        'they can almost all read, a great many of them can write also.'
    (D Fox; evidence to the Select Committee on Mills and Factories

    Quoted in Simon B(1974) op cit p239

(7) Certainly independence was the declared aim, but it was often used to
    filter out conflicting ideologies. Writing of the Leicester Mechanics'
    Institution, established in 1833, Patterson records that 'despite the
    Institute's profession of political and sectarian neutrality (it was)
    regarded from the first as being a radical affair - as indeed it was.
    The Conservatives were dubious or hostile from the outset.' Patterson
    A T( ) Radical Leicester: A History of Leicestershire 1780-1850

(8) Tylecote M(1957) op cit p283
    Salt quotes the words of the Sheffield disciples of Robert Owen who
    aggressively rejected the spirit of 'patronising middle-class
    philanthropy' as follows:

    'On the anniversaries of all public institutions it was usual to
    beg the assistance of the public and say 'the smallest donation
    will be thankfully received.' Such is not the case at the Hall of
    Science, as no thanks will be rendered. Those who DARE to think
    for themselves are simply reminded that they have a duty to
perform.'
Quoted in Salt J(1960) 'The Sheffield Hall of Science' The Vocational
Aspect of Secondary and Further Education, No.25, Vol.XII, Autumn. p133

(9) Harrison J F C(1961) op cit p51

(10) ibid

(11) See Chapter IV section iii, 'Education from Below'

(12) The full wording is:
'That a sum, not exceeding twenty thousand pounds, be granted to His
Majesty, to be issued in aid of Private Subscriptions for the Erection
of School Houses, for the Education of the Children of the Poorer
Classes in Great Britain, to the 31st day of March 1834; and that the
said sum be issued without any fee or other deduction whatsoever.'
Commons Journal, vol.lxxxviii,pp692-3

(13) In 1851, there were no fewer than 1545 evening schools for adults,
with 39783 pupils. Census of Great Britain(1851) Education:England and
Wales,pp lxviii-lxix

(14) Kelly claims that sometimes such classes were conducted by the parish
clergy, and gives a number of examples. Kelly T(1962) op cit p155

(15) In 1836, a Government grant was obtained for the establishment of a
Normal School of Design, for the purpose of teaching Art and Design as
applied to industry and commerce. This eventually became the Royal
College of art. In 1852, a Department of Practical Art was established
to succeed the Normal School of Design. A Science division was added
in 1853 when it then became known as the Department of Science and
Art. The new department flourished first under the President of the
Board of Trade, until 1856, when it was transferred to the control of
the Lord President of the Council.

(16) The Science Museum: the First Hundred Years (HMSO 1957) p l.
Quoted in Kelly T(1962) op cit p179

(17) Report of the Department of Science and Art(1868-9) (Donnelly's
Report) p63

(18) Kelly T(1962) op cit p198


Spirit Cambridge University Press p6

(21) Chapman, William(1837) Inaugural Address, given at the opening of the
Richmond Literary and Scientific Institution Darnell:Richmond p8

(22) Seeley B(1842) op cit p42

(23) Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution, Prospectus January 1861

(24) Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution, Annual General Meeting,
Minute Book, 17 October 1861
(25) Guildford Working Mens' Institute, Drawing Class Minute Book Muniment Room, Guildford

(26) ibid


(28) Bailey M(1963) 'Life let us Cherish', in Farnham Papers No 2, Crowe A L(ed) WEA Farnham

(29) Musgrave P W(1970) op cit p66 claims that A J Mundella, in 1881, when Vice President of the Committee of council, took credit in the House 'for being the first to mention the words "technical education" in this country.' Thus citing Hansard, 3rd Series, Vol.260, Col. 537

(30) Musgrave P W(1970) op cit p66. See also T Huxley's Address to the London Working Mens' College, 1854. 'Liberal Education and where to find it' in International University Reading Course(1921) William Black:Nottingham and London, p279-185. Also Huxley's evidence to the Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction(1870) Q7283 (J G Greenwood)


(32) Sir Bernard Samuelson was to Chair another Royal Commission in 1881. It is of interest to note that the earlier Commission was appointed to enquire into Scientific Instruction and the advancement of Science, whilst the later Commission was asked to report on Technical Instruction.


(34) 'The workshop is the only real school for a handicraft.' T H Huxley(1893) Collected Essays Vol.III London pp411-412


(37) Ashby E(1972) op cit p108


(40) ibid p78

(41) Craddock's Godalming Directory (1861)
(42) Craddocks Godalming Directory (1873)

(43) Bailey M(1963) op cit p29

(44) Guildford Working Mens' Institution: Annual Report, October 1862. Guildford Muniment Room

(45) Guildford Working Mens' Institute: Annual Reports, 1859 -1865


(47) Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution, Prospectus 1866. Croydon Local Studies Library

(48) Croydon Microscopic Club Proceedings: 1870 Croydon

(49) Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution, Prospectus 1874

(50) Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution, Prospectus 1877

(51) Croydon Parish Magazine, February 1888

(52) Croydon Advertiser, 10 March 1888

(53) Leaflet 'Technical Education in Croydon' Croydon Local Studies Library p2

(54) The National Association for the Promotion of Technical Education had been formed in 1886. All the members of the Samuelson Committee were members, as was A J Mundella.

(55) (Sir) Arthur Acland was first Secretary of the Oxford Extension Committee. Other members of the National Association for the promotion of Technical Education were John Henry Roscoe and Phillip Magnus. See Argles M(1959) 'The Royal Commission on Technical Instruction 1881-4' in The Vocational Aspect of Secondary and Further Education, No.23, Vol.XI. Autumn 1959 pp97 - 104


(57) Archer R C(1921) Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century Oxford University Press pp3 - 8


(59) This contrasts with the broad Marxist analysis, arguing that it made capitalist sense: 'This scale of take-up for an adoptive act and a windfall which could be distributed as the burgers wished testifies to the pressure of objective economic conditions and the success of the technical education ideology.' Brook L(1973) op cit pp32-33

(60) Armitage W H G(1964) Four Hundred Years of English Education Cambridge
(61) Stimulated by the London City Livery Companies, and appointed in 1877 to draw up a scheme of technical instruction, the result was the founding of the City and Guilds of London Institute.

CHAPTER V  i. The Labelling of Mental Abilities


(3) Thomas Wyse (1836) Education Reform: or, the Necessity of a National System of Education London, pp310-11

(4) 'The Consequences of a Scientific Education to the Working Classes of this Country pointed out; and the Theories of Mr Brougham on that Subject Confuted.' in a letter to the Marquess of Lansdown. By a Country Gentleman, London 1826


(6) Combe G (1848) Lectures on Popular Education Edinburgh Combe was the leader of the secular school movement and believed in 'really useful knowledge'. He was also England's leading phrenologist. See Combe G (1824) Outlines of Phrenology Edinburgh


(8) Locke A ( ) A Short History of Woking Woking p55

(9) Anon (1867) A History of Our Village, or, A Few Notes About Shepperton London: Darling and Sons


(11) Simon (1965) op cit has observed that what Mason meant by 'self-knowledge' was 'not what psychology in the twentieth or even phrenology in the nineteenth century might interpret it to mean.' p21.
Self-knowledge meant knowing oneself. If a man but know himself, he will accept the station in life ordained for him. See n52 below.


(14) Sir William Lawson, Cumberland (Temperance Lobby) Hansard 5 August 1890

(15) Ward Mrs Humphry (1918) A Writer's Recollections Smith Elder pp133-134

(16) Shapin S and Barnes B (1976) op cit p55


(20) A.R.Dom.Miss. quoted in Harrison J F C (1961) op cit p17


(22) see Dunlop J (1838) op cit

(23) Thompson E P (1963) op cit p250

(24) Agricultural State of the Kingdom (1816) p95 quoted in Thompson (1963) op cit p250


(26) Many writers refer to this, and perhaps the best example from Surrey is the Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution, which made many strenuous efforts to involve the working classes in management - though they reserved their invitation to clearly defined areas.

(27) Prior C E (1856) The Objects and Advantages of Literary and Scientific Institutions Bedford pp10-11


(29) Chadwick A F (1971) ibid Letter from Mr Alcock 29.2.1860, pA70

(30) Thomas R A (1979) 'The Mechanics' Institutes of the Home Counties c1825-1870' The Vocational Aspect of Education Volume xxxi, No 79, August p70

(31) Letter from the Secretary of the Botchergate Working Mens' Reading Room, to the Secretary of the Carlisle Mechanics' Institute, 12.7.1849. Source, Carlisle Journal July 13th. 1849.
(39) Webb estimated that between two thirds and three quarters of the working classes were literate in the late 1830s. Stone claims that the mechanics, skilled operatives and artisans, were almost totally literate. Accurate estimates are hard to come by, for very often claims to literacy were made on the person's ability to sign the marriage register. See Webb R K(1955) op cit, and Stone L(1969) 'Literacy and Education in England 1640 - 1900' Past and Present No.42 February 1969


(42) Engels F(1845) op cit p239

(43) Kydd S, Northern Star, December 25th 1847. Quoted in Simon(1960) op cit p257


(46) Engels F(1845) op cit p229

(48) Lewis O(1966) 'The Culture of Poverty' Scientific American, 215 pp.xiv, xlvii-xlvi
Thornton A H (1983) 'The Smilesian Philosophy' in Stephens M D and Roderick G W (1983) *Samuel Smiles and Nineteenth Century Self-Help in Education* Nottingham Studies in the History of Adult Education. In contrasting Smilesian self-help with present day collectivism Thornton is setting up a false dichotomy. He confuses individual effort with individual liberty, and he provides no evidence for his claim that 'too much dependence results in enfeeblement (though of course this observation echoes a persistent nineteenth century attitude) nor for his claim that George Edwards' progress would now be 'as likely to provoke disapproval as admiration.' (p13)


Klein J (1965) *Samples from English Culture* 2 vols. RKP

Malthus T R (1878 edn.) *An Essay on the Principles of Population as it affects the future Improvement of Society* Bk. 4, Chapter 9, pp439–440


CHAPTER V ii. The Labelling of People

(1) Quoted in Hodgen M T(1925) Workers' Education in England and the United States London p50

(2) Owen Robert(1813) A New View of Society and other Writings Everyman Edition(1949) p72

(3) Perhaps the most significant of these is E P Thompson(1963) op cit. A full account of different theories of class can be found in Giddens A(1973) The Class Structure of Advanced Societies Hutchinson. For a recent historical study which looks at peoples' everyday usage of the word 'class', see Marwick A(1980) Class, Image and Reality Collins


(5) Thompson E P(1963) op cit pp9-10

(6) ibid

(7) Marwick A(1980) op cit p19


(9) Harrison J F C(1961) op cit p8


(11) Tylecote M(1957) op cit ppl08-109 Recording that working men often nursed a private sense of superiority about their practical knowledge. An example is given of mechanics at Ashton-under-Lyne who did not want to have their trade taught to anybody.

(12) Letter from an ex Committee man of the Derby Mechanics' Institute in reply to the Committee of Enquiry, 6 March 1860, in Chadwick A F(1971) op cit Appendix A70

(13) Richmond Mechanics'Institute, Minute Book, Rule 29 1838


George Searle Phillips Transcendentalist, Secretary of the Huddersfield Mechanics' Institute 1846-1854. Co-editor of the 'Truth Seeker', a periodical advancing the views of reformers such as James Hole, F R Lees, Ebenezer Elliot, Henry Vincent and others.

(15) Perkin H(1969) op cit p26
(16) Quoted in Godard J G(1884) *op cit* p73

(17) *ibid* p74

(18) quoted in Godard J G(1884) *op cit* p96

(19) *ibid*

(20) Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution, *Minute Book* 23 November 1843

(21) see Tylecote M(1957) *op cit* particularly p284, and Harrison J F C(1961) *op cit* p86 who claims that by the 1840s Mechanics' Institutes were frequently advertised on these grounds.

(21b) Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution, *Prospectus* 1860

(22) Connell J(1978) *op cit* pp20-24

(23) Rose C(1876-77) *Memories of Old Dorking* Dorking p60

(24) Noting that they were 'kind hearted persons, and generally considerate in the exercise of their vocation.' Rose(1876-7) *op cit* p58

(25) Member of the Committee of Schools: St Mary's Ewell. 23 March 1861. Quoted in Stone N(1961) *One Hundred Years of West Street: the Story of a Village School* Epsom p8

(26) Robinson, David 'The Nobility' *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 1825, xviii, p337

(27) Member of the Committee of Schools, Ewell. in Stone N(1961) *op cit* p8

(28) Connell J(1978) *op cit* p23

The scale was related to the number of children in the family:
- families with one child: 3d a week
- families with two children: 5d a week
- families with three children or more: 6d a week
- and children above labourers condition: 4d a week

(29) Harrison J F C(1961) *op cit* p7

(30) Farish W(1889) *Struggles of a Hand Loom Weaver* Chester p46


(32) *ibid*

(33) Hudson J W(1851) *The History of Adult Education* New Impression London 1969 pvi

(34) *ibid*

(35) Pilditch P(1927) 'The early days of the Richmond Athenaeum and Now.' Lecture delivered at the opening meeting of the session 1927-28, November 7th 1927. p9
(36) Chadwick A F (1971) _op cit_ Appendices A4 - A10

(37) Perkin H (1969) _op cit_ p144

(38) Lowndes G A N (1937) _The Silent Social Revolution_ OUP pp207-8

(40) for instance, letters to the Committee of enquiry: Derby Mechanics' Institute 1860, in Chadwick A F (1971) _op cit_. Appendix A70-A72

(41) Letter from an Old Subscriber: 6 March 1860, in Chadwick A F (1971) _ibid_ Appendix A71-A72

(42) Letter from Mr Alcock. 29 February 1860, in Chadwick A F (1971) _ibid_ Appendix A70


(44b) See for instance Appendices relating to Cranleigh, Croydon, Egham and Godalming institutions.

(45) Shapin S and Barnes B (1976) _op cit_, argue that the proponents of 'popular education in science might plausibly believe that knowledge of a certain kind could control people.' p55

(46) Chapman William (1837) Richmond Literary and Scientific Institution: Rules and Opening Address. 10 May 1837 Richmond p16


(48) Robinson David (1827) 'The Faction' _Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine_ xxii p427

Robinson was a frequent contributor to Blackwood's. His reactionary Toryism and his defence of the status quo is legend - as is his undoubted ability as a political writer.

(49) Kay-Shuttleworth J (1862) _Four Periods of Public Education_ Lowland Green p61

(50) The inevitability of the status quo was advocated by John Mason's 'Self-Knowledge', published in 1745; written whilst Mason was residing in Dorking in Surrey. A respected local historian claims that this 'pastor of the non-conformist community . . . had no grand thoughts, had no majestic utterances, and lacked imagination.' J Rowe (1855) _A Handbook of Dorking_ Dorking p18

The possibility of change is, alternatively, the message of Samuel Smiles' 'Self-Help', published in 1859, and following upon G L Craik's successful 'Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties', which had been published in 1831.

This seeking to educate the workers to identify their real enemies is a form of cooptation. An interesting observation of this process in practice can be found in Cockburn C (1977) The Local State London The Pluto Press, especially Chapter 4

The working class movement was inspired by Robert Owen but, perhaps more important, he 'caused the acquisition of knowledge and an ideal of education to be written into the programme of the working class movement.' Silver H (1965) op cit p191


Merryweather . (1887) Half a Century of Kingston History Kingston p58

Report of the Select Committee on Factory Children's Labour 1831-1832 (The Sadler Committee)

Turner . (1926) History of Egham Egham p238

ibid

ibid p239

Uncle Ben's Letter, to The Windsor Forest Magazine. No.2. November 1834 Chertsey pp89 - 93

ibid

Chapter V (iii) The Apparatuses of Power and Control

a) the curriculum  b) the pedagogues

(1) Hammond J L and B(1917) op.cit p59

(2) Sir James Graham, Hansard vol.67, col.78 1842


(4) Higginson E(1825) in Chadwick A F(1971) op. cit. pp9-10

(5) Grace G(1978) Teachers Ideology and Control RKP p11


(7) This debate is fully explored by Tropp A(1970) op cit pp193-222


(9) Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State of Popular Education in England (The Newcastle Report) 1861, xx1 A p11

(10) Kay-Shuttleworth J(1862) Four Periods of Public Education London p480

(11) Kay-Shuttleworth J(1862) op cit p401

Tylecote quotes Shuttleworth's warning that if the higher classes do not diffuse intelligence among the lower 'their misery vice and prejudice will prove volcanic elements, by whose explosive violence the structure of society may be destroyed.' The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes Employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester 1st Edition(1832), p72. In Tylecote M(1957) op cit p44

(12) Box, John(1867)' Headmaster of Dorking British School 1862-1867. Author of Metrical England a History text book in verse. This was an ingenious system of presenting historical facts, which Box followed up with Historical Rhymes. For example:

'Ere Jesus came on earth for men
Five and forty years and ten,
Julius Ceasar crossed the sea,
Trooping from pleasant Italy.

His main system made use of metrical feet to codify historical dates and events. In Surrey Record Office, Kingston
The managers of Wanborough School, Guildford, refused entry to Amy Balchin in 1883 'on the score of finery of dress' (School attendance Committee, Guildford Union) but adults were advised at Richmond to appear at meetings in 'decent apparel and not denoting his trade or profession' (Richmond Mechanics' Institute, Minute Book 1838) whilst Tropp cites a letter to the Education Guardian of 1861 on the matter of advising teachers in training not to dress above their station. Education Guardian, March 1861) quoted in Tropp A(1957) The Schoolteachers: the Growth of the Teaching Profession in England and Wales from 1800 to the Present Day Heinemann p60

Evidence for this is recorded in Tylecote(1957), Harrison(1961) and particularly in Simon(1974), Chapters IV and V.


Tylecote M(1957) op cit pp156-173

It was changed to 'Literary and Scientific Institute'. A similar reason was given by this institution when it was invited to amalgamate with a local (proposed) Mechanics' Institute.

Chadwick A F(1971) op cit p164

Chapman W(1837) op cit p15

Tylecote M(1957) op cit p88

Newspaper report (unidentified) 1846; in Scrapbook K, Guildford Mechanics' Institute Archives.

ibid

Fidler T(1831) op cit p18

ibid p23

Drewett W(1925) 'The Mechanics' Institute', article in the Surrey Comet, 11 April 1925

ibid

Pilditch Phillip, Sir, JP, MP(1927) 'The early days of the Richmond Athenaeum and now' Lecture delivered at the opening meeting of the Athenaeum for the session 1927-28 at the St John's Hall, Richmond. 7 November 1927

Hole James(1853) An Essay on the History and Management of Literary, Scientific and Mechanics' Institutes p66

Styche T E J(1973) A Brief History of Epsom, Ewell and District Literary Society. Epsom pp10-11
There was a vast difference between what Malthus taught and what the governing classes learnt from him. Similarly, Ricardo was variously interpreted by radical and reactionary. As the Hammonds (1917) claimed, 'their ideas, when adopted by other minds, hardened into a rigid and inexorable theory from which both of them would have shrunk.' Hammond J. L and B (1917) op cit p204

Smith Adam (1786) op cit Bk. V, Chapter 1, Art ii, pp350-353

Harrison records that Brougham intended the new London Mechanics' Institute should be not only technical and scientific in character but should also be based on acceptance of the 'truths' of orthodox political economy. Harrison J F C (1961) op cit p79

It might also benoted that Joseph Strutt, in founding the Derby Mechanics' Institute, shared a similar view. See Chadwick A F (1971) op cit.

Kay-Shuttleworth J (1862) op cit p63

Goldstrom J M (1972) Education: Elementary Education 1780-1900 David and Charles p78

Merryweather (1887) op cit p89

Wallas G (1898) Life of Francis Place London pp358-59

Harrison J F C (1961) op cit p83

Shapin S and Barnes B (1976) op cit p60

Chapman W (1837) op cit pp15-16

See for instance Harrison J F C (1961) op cit n2, p49

Tylecote M (1957) op cit p163

Seeley B (1841) op cit p 12. See also this study p 324 for a full account.

Johan Kaspar Lavater (1741-1801) Poet, Physiognomist and cleric. See his Physiognemische Fragmante zur Beforderung der Menschenkenntnis und Menschenliebe 1775-78

Gustav Fechner (1860) Elements of Psychophysics Holt, Rinehart Winson

Charles Darwin (1872) Expression of the Emotions (illustrating physiognomic principles) and


Josephus Antiquities of the Jews xvii, 12 2
(48) Poor Law Commission, 5th Annual Report, pp146-060: Training and Education of Pauper Children. (1841) See Note 8

(49) Franz Joseph Gall(1758-1828) anatomist and physiologist. Cooperated with Johann Christophe Spurzheim(1776-1832) who became his pupil in 1800. See Spurzheim J C(1815) The Physiognomical System London. In turn, George Combe became Spurzheim's pupil and was responsible for the diffusion of the theory and practice of Phrenology throughout Britain. He edited the 'Phrenological Journal', a quarterly which between 1823 and 1847 ran into twenty volumes. See Combe G(1836) A System of Phrenology Edinburgh.

(50) Shapin S(1975) 'Phrenological knowledge and the social structure of the early nineteenth century' Edinburgh Annals of Science, No32, pp219-243

(50b) Cooper H and P(1983) Heads, or the Art of Phrenology London: The Phrenology Company

(51) For instance, Harrison says that 'for the first time it appeared possible to put the right man in the right place.' Harrison J F C(1961) op cit p116

(52) Dr Epps, well known physician and homeopathist.

(53) Guildford Mechanics' Institute, Minute Book 1834

(54) For example, 'The Phrenologists', a farce by Wade (1830), 'The Headpiece, or Phrenology opposed to Divine Revelation' by James the Just, and 'A Helmet for the Headpiece, or, Phrenology incompatible with Reason' by Daniel the Seer.


(56) 'Uncle Ben's Letter.' Windsor Forest Magazine, October 1834. Chertsey Public Library

(57) ibid

(58) ibid

(59) ibid p92

(60) ibid

(61) Gentleman's Magazine, October 1797, pp119-120


Archer R L(1921) Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century Cambridge University Press p113

Kelly T(1962) op cit p99

Lawson J and Silver H(1973) op cit p219

see West E G(1975) Education and the Industrial Revolution Batsford especially pp 3-7

Combe G(1857) The Teaching of Physiology and its application in Common Schools Edinburgh pp13-14

Drummond, Henry(1846) Address delivered at the opening of the Guildford Institute, 31 March 1846. From a newspaper report (unidentified) in Scrapbook K, Guildford Institute of The University of Surrey.

See this work, Chapter IV, Part Four,

The Science Museum: The First Hundred Years. HMSO 1957 p1

Examples have been given in this Chapter of Mr White's lecture at Kingston; George Dawson at Croydon, and from elsewhere, the lectures on 'Socialism' at Derby.

Seeley B(1841) op cit P31

Shapin S and Barnes B(1976) op cit p58

see Tylecote M(1957) op cit, and Harrison J F C(1961) op cit

Quarterly Review 1863. Quoted in Harrison J F C(1961) op cit p65

William King(1828) The Cooperator No.8 1 December 1828


Drewett W(1925) op cit p7

Dobbs A E(1919) Education and Social Movements 1700-1850 London p177
(82) Harrison (1961) claims that after about five years 'a remedy was sought in the introduction of literary and cultural subjects' (p67) and Tylecote (1957) nowhere emphasises the predominance of science, and indeed points to the important social role played by institutes. Thomas (1979) on the other hand, claims that in the home counties science lectures remained popular 'particularly when dramatic demonstrations were involved, as with electricity or photography.' (p105)

(83) Croydon Literary and Scientific Institute, Minute Book Annual General Meeting: 28.10.1839

(84) See Parsinnen T M (1977) 'Mesmeric Performers' Victorian Studies, Vol.21, No.1, p91

(85) An example of this strategy can be found in the St Giles Lectures, delivered in Edinburgh and Glasgow in the winter of 1881-82. See Faiths of the World, published by Blackwood in 1882

(86) Charles Kingsley (1862) Alton Locke Macmillan

(87) See the incident involving Dr Dionysius Lardner, fully described in this work, Chapter IV

(88) The erasure is of a later date but might well represent a change of heart between the time of the inaugural meeting and the printing of the Rules.


(90) Derby Mechanics' Institute, Minute Book, Theatrical Sub-Committee, 15 February 1864. Quoted in Chadwick A F (1971) ibid p234

(91) ibid

(92) Timbs J (1823) op cit p64

(93) J Hockley also gave lectures on 'Hamlet' and 'The Tempest' in 1838, and was given permission from Charles Macready to do so.

(94) Guildford Mechanics' Institute, Minute Book, 7 July 1843
William Charles Macready (1793-1873) Actor and sometime manager of the Covent Garden and Drury Lane theatres.

(95) Reminiscences of Dr George C Williamson, writing in 1922 to 'Surrey Weekly News'. Guildford Institute, Scrapbook K

(96) see Guildford Institute Scrapbook K for a record of the dinner given by the Institute Dramatic Class at the Working Mens' Institute in 1888

(97) Croydon Literary and Scientific Institute, Minute books, passim.

(98) Chapman, William (1838) op cit p19
Guildford Mechanics' Institute, Minute Book November 1835. Purday was so anxious to deliver his lectures that he wrote asking the Committee to 'try two lectures and if they do not succeed I will only take my expenses.' Minute Book, 27.11.1835

Seeley B(1841) op cit p15

Charles Dickens(1867) op cit p596

Lizzie Stuart was very popular and it is possible (since the reference is to her Scottish songs) that she was the young lady Dickens charicatured.

Rolston G R(1956) Op cit pp87-88

see The Child's First Book (1820 edition) SPCK pp14-15

Murray Lindley(1817) Introduction to the English Reader London and York. Frontespiece

John Gay, quoted in Murray Lindley(1817) op cit p168

John Cotton, quoted in Murray Lindley(1817) op cit p169

ibid p 171

From 'Economy of Human Life' quoted in Murray Lindley(1817) op cit p155

Horace Odes 11,xvi, 27

Boethius Consolation of Philosophy Book 11, Prose 4

Johnathan Swift Poetry and Rhapsody

from An English Exercise Book A Fisher, 1770. Quoted in Gordon (1978) op cit

ibid

Address to the Poor upon the Death of the Lamented Princess Charlotte who died November 6 1817. Printed Address, C C Wetton, Egham p4

ibid pp4-5

ibid pp5-6

The Marchioness did in fact die of jaundice.

Seeley B(1842) op cit p
Most of the larger towns had a number of private academies. Some seemed to come and go, such as the one run by a Mr Vine at Chertsey, though Belsize Grange seems to have been prosperous in the 1840s.

A petition from the inhabitants of Farnham to turn out their schoolmaster and to desire the Bishop to put another in his room. Surrey Record Office, Kingston.

Letter from F R Standford to J Clutton of 9 Whitehall Place, containing a Report from Mr Brookfield, Her Majesty's Inspector, upon the Robin Hood District School, Kingston Vale. 15.7.1857. Surrey Record Office, Kingston.

Admittedly, though all the Directories and all the letters to local newspapers, etc. appear to be in favour of the schools and other institutions of education in the County, such comments are not representative; they rarely reflect the views of students or members of the working classes in general.
(139) Dionysius Lardner, Guildford Mechanics' Institute Correspondence Book 13 November 1835

(140) ibid 20 November 1835

(141) Godalming Mechanics' Institute, Minute Book 5 November 1836, and passim

(142) J Silk Buckingham, Guildford Mechanics Institute Correspondence Book November 1835

(143) ibid

(144) Miss McAulay, Guildford Mechanics' Institute Correspondence Book November 1835

(145) Tylecote M(1957) op cit p94

(146) Croydon Literary and Scientific Institute, Minute Book January 1856

(147) Dr Thomas Martin, on the occasion of his receiving a gift from members of the Reigate Mechanics' Institute (of which he was President). Surrey Record Office, Kingston. The lecture referred to was probably one of two given by Mrs Balfour entitled 'Philosophy and Biography' on 25 November and 9 December 1847 respectively.

(148) Seeley B(1841) op cit p159. See also the present work, Chapter 1IV p67

(149) ibid p12. The lecture was given in January 1842
PART THREE

RETURN TO CONCEPTS

CHAPTER V

Summary discussion and conclusions
In bringing this study to a conclusion a number of issues require further elaboration. For this purpose it will be helpful to recall the heuristic model of power, and the specifically relevant aspects of power relations which were introduced in concluding Chapter 11.

This model of power permitted the accommodation of a power structure (Hunter) alongside a pluralist perspective (Dahl). It also accommodated both elitist and social class concepts of power. Thus, despite there being a hierarchical power structure in nineteenth century English society, aspects of power were seen to be exercised, by the rulers and the ruled, at every level of interaction. The model also presented power as a causal relationship, where the effects were conflict or integration. (Duverger 1971) Those who were ruled would show a tendency towards conflict, whilst those who ruled would seek integration and in so doing invoke the repressive and ideological apparatuses of the state.

Three aspects of power were identified, each of which seemed particularly relevant to a study of nineteenth and early twentieth century adult education enterprises. These were:

(a) the role of power as a source of conflict and as a source of integration,
(b) the persistence of strategies of accommodation, cooptation, and cultural invasion,
(c) the central role of power in education, mediated through its curriculum, transmission, and through the agents of transmission, the teachers.
It is now proposed to discuss each of these aspects of power in turn, and in so doing, make reference to the model of power where appropriate. Discussion will be conducted under the following headings:-

Evidence from below.

Power strategies.

Labelling: labelling theory.

cooptation and cultural invasion;

the myth of the natural order,
the myth of the efficacy of self-help,
the myth of the cultural ideal,

authority and influence.

Religion.

Examinations.
The scientific basis of behaviour.

Management.

Conclusions.

Final comments.

Evidence from below

In the introduction to Chapter 1 of this study, some considerable attention was paid to the matter of weighing evidence gained from below; from the clients and would-be clients of adult education institutions, rather than from the patrons or promoters of such enterprises. This has been achieved wherever possible. Unfortunately, with regard to Surrey, it soon becomes clear that such evidence is not readily forthcoming; nor is it always reliable. First of all it is not forthcoming because the major sources of such evidence, this is to say letters to local newspapers and entries in the minute books and correspondence books of adult education institutions, are very sparse. For most of the nineteenth century the local Surrey newspapers and journals, such as directories and miscellanies, were owned by and under the control of local businessmen with aspirations to social as
well as literary respectability. Thus primary evidence such as that derived from letters to newspapers and such other publications is often suspect, due often to editorial bias or manipulation. In the first place, newspaper proprietors exercised editorial control over what was published so that they could, for instance, mobilise bias to include letters which might suggest popular support for some measure or system of beliefs with which the proprietor was in favour; excluding all letters to the contrary. On the other hand the proprietor could select a letter in order to expose the writer to ridicule and perhaps discredit some point of view or strategy with which the proprietor was not himself in favour.

Identifying such 'mobilisation of bias' (see pp104-105) is essential to the study of power in any society since those adversely affected 'either do not understand the process by which they were disarmed or are so preoccupied with their defeat that they have little interest in how it was affected.' (4b) This strategy is clearly evident in the letters published in Seeley's Kingston Miscellany, further investigation of which leads to the discovery that the writers were close friends or associates of the publisher. (1) A particular example is a letter headed 'Confessions of a socialist' for which Mr Seeley (self-appointed chronicler of Kingston Literary and Scientific Institution) pleads 'would there were more.' The writer tells how he was seduced by the promises and false doctrines of socialism and how it stamped on him 'a public odium which my real and genuine nature would never have begotten' (2) Written in an elegant, flawless, style, it could hardly, in the 1840s, have been written by a 'labouring man' as was claimed. In view of Seeley's hatred of 'beguiling and designing Owenites' it is not beyond the realms of possibility that Seeley wrote the letter himself. The credibility of letters to local newspapers such as that written by 'Corderoy' in 1901 are even harder to establish. There had been a thriving science/technical education provision centred on the Guildford
Working Men's Institute for some forty years, and it was now proposed to build a technical institute as a memorial to the late Queen:

'Sir, I noticed in your paper a few back a letter about the proposed technicle(sic) institute as a memoriam to her majesty. Now candidly, I think it is all rot! What can us want with an institute of that sort? They only does a great deal of harm to the rising generation. I am a mechanic, getting on certainly in years and I've seen enough to be able to speak from experience. When I was a boy I was apprenticed to my trade and learnt it thoroughly. Consequently I think myself a good workman. Since there have been technicle (sic) schools you dont ever see apprentices. If they want to do a job of work nowadays they must go to school. Hunt up a book about it and they consider themselves an authority upon it. My idea about these schools or institutes is this, that the few who want to dabble in everything, be jack of all trades will manage to learn what they want to know without getting to an institute and those who dont want to learn other people's trades shouldn't be enticed to learn it. And those who dont want other people to learn their particular trade so that he might lose all his work shouldn't be made to support a technicle (sic) institute." (3)

Corderoy goes on to say that the building of a memorial theatre would be a better use for the money. Certainly, by the end of the century working men were more likely to be literate and generally better educated, but it is the inconsistencies, particularly in style, which render it suspect. It has the feel of a letter written by a well educated articulate writer trying to write in the supposed semi-literate style of the working man. It does not have the feel of authenticity. On the other hand the letter is complicated by the writer's wish to hold on to the power his practical expertise has given him. This was typical of the tradesman who, nursing a private sense of superiority, jealously guarded the power this gave him; not wanting the secrets of his trade to be freely available. This had been a common enough reaction to the establishment of mechanics' institutes in the century and one which repeated itself with the development of technical institutes at the turn of the century. (4) This power to mobilise bias had not been lost on Mary Tufts of Farnham over a century earlier, and though the crude
literacy of her letter and its inconsistencies would be similarly suspect in the context of the nineteenth century, her point is well made. She had been asked to sign for the receipt of Poor Relief:

'Thog I be repurzented as an ignirunt litterat wuman as can nether rite or rede yet I thank God I can do both and thog mahaps I cant spel as well as sum peple as set for authors yet I can write trooth and plane Inglish wich is mor nor ani of um all has dun . . . If tha had axed me to rite my name I would hav but tha onli bid set my mark as konclooing I cood not rite my nam but tha was mistakn. All as bin sed except what I have here written is a dam kumfounded ly.' (5)

Thus, letters to the press by erstwhile 'labouring men and women' are not to be trusted as such and therefore their use as evidence from below must be judged with extreme caution - though of course in other respects they represent valuable data. A less direct, and therefore very effective, exercise of power has been described as 'non-decision making', by which latent or manifest challenges to the values or interests of the decision-maker are stifled before they reached the decision-making arena. (see pp 104-106) Put another way, they never get put on the agenda. Letters to the editor, and of course all copy, are part of the 'agenda' of newspapers. Many newspaper proprietors in the nineteenth century often invoked the existing 'mobilisation of bias by exploiting some issues and by suppressing others. At other times, challenges to this 'bias' were denied legitimacy by being branded 'socialist' or 'secular' or 'immoral'. Admittedly, in Surrey to date, evidence of this particular strategy of power is meagre. Evidence culled from entries in minute books and correspondence books of institutions for adult education is less so. However, even here it suffers at times from the same bias as does newspaper evidence. It has been shown that politics and controversial religion were denied a place on the agendas of institutions. Issues were mobilised on, and often off, the agendas of meetings; correspondence from members might
be acknowledged or denied. Thus a considerable amount of evidence from these sources must be interpreted intuitively. For instance, there is more of significance in what was not recorded in the minute book of the Godalming Mechanics' Institute at the time of its closure in 1843; of the Cranleigh Literary and Scientific Institute at the time of its attempted revival in 1872; of the Kingston, Richmond and Epsom institutions at the time of their amalgamations and attenuated circumstances in the mid 1800s. Only at Croydon and Guildford are there complete and substantial minute and correspondence books, and even here these histories are mediated very largely through the persons of the secretary or chairman of the institution; men hardly to be identified with the bulk of those who represented 'evidence from below.' (6) It would be unwise to accept such records as evidence from below without being cognisant of possible bias and its mobilisation.

However, there were other constraints on the expression of true working class feelings; constraints which are akin to a 'culture of silence' (Freire 1972) and which contribute to a paucity of evidence emanating from below. Discussion of this phenomenon was introduced in Chapter V (pp250-251) and is further elaborated below (pp 373-381). In summary it has to be admitted that the constraints discussed above result in a lack of confidence in observations supposedly 'from below' and further result in a history inevitably dominated, if not exclusively so, by the observations of those in positions of power and control. It is therefore appropriate at this point to reconsider and summarise relevant strategies of power.
Power strategies

It was not the writer's present purpose to enter the debate on dimensions of power in society as a whole but instead to examine such dimensions as they affected the development of adult education in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, since education can never be politically neutral, those dimensions of power used as effective strategies in education would be expected to replicate similar strategies prosecuted in society as a whole. Thus there would be a search for universal patterns of power and power relations within an historical perspective; a search which would provide a focus, a raison d'être, for a history having special reference to the county of Surrey.

Patterns of power emerging from the data from the county of Surrey do not appear to be significantly at variance with those derived from data from other parts of the country. The most obvious is seen in the desire on behalf of those who promoted institutions for adult education to seek harmony and balance and, ostensibly at least, to encourage the integration of all classes of persons in society. It will be recalled that this insistence on harmony and balance was a lesson learnt from natural theology. It might also be recalled that much of the enthusiasm for phrenology and for systems of examination was very largely because each held out the possibility of a rational-scientific vindication of the 'laws of nature.' The desire for harmony could be more accurately described as a desire for minimal civil disorder. This desire was made explicit in the rules establishing the aims of most institutions:

'All such institutions are for the promotion of Literature and Science - whether the Members are poor or rich - Mechanic or Nobleman.' (7)

As the chairman of the Richmond Mechanics' Institute observed, the objects
of the institution were:

'. . . to draw into one Bond of Unity, the intelligent Mechanics of Richmond and its vicinity' (8)

The exclusion of controversial subjects, the emphasis on civilisation and refinement in the programmes of institutions was designed to inculcate habits of moderation and virtue; habits that the 'natural' rulers had long sustained. The secretary of the Richmond Literary and Scientific Institution was adamant:

'Among the middling classes, order decency, sobriety, courtesy, honesty and justice, are not now matters of boast or of merit, but of necessity and habit . . . .' (9)

This appeal to all classes was also intended to counter criticism that the institutions appealed only to middle class patrons and to middle class definitions of culture. As a strategy it was effective since it was used to characterise breakaway organisations such as working mens' institutions, mutual improvement societies, and other working class organisations, as being class specific. It has been observed above that very few significant differences could be detailed between the aims and conduct of those institutions calling themselves 'Literary and Scientific' and those calling themselves 'Mechanics'. The choice of the former name was not made lightly. The Literary and Scientific Institute claimed that it made its appeal to all classes of society; the Mechanics' Institute addressed only the mechanics. Thus it was claimed that it was the latter institution which was socially divisive: it was the latter institution which sought to maintain distinctions between classes of people. This distinction was frequently argued. (10) Of course it was also a symptom of a greater concern with the problem of order, with the need for harmony, or, in
Duverger's terms, 'integration' (11), which permeated many facets of the life of institutions of adult education. In particular, three strategies can be identified:

i. labelling, ii. cooptation iii. cultural invasion

Each will now be discussed in turn.

i. Labelling

In Chapter V, i and ii, the labelling of people into classes and the labelling of the mental abilities of the working classes were discussed. It would be without purpose to revive the arguments here. However, a number of issues require further elaboration.

First, the question must be asked, 'who did the labelling?' or, 'by whom were people labelled into classes and by whom were their mental abilities ascribed?' It is tempting to answer, 'by the governing classes', but it has to be remembered that class is a relationship - not a thing. And class is dynamic; this is to say the relationship is constantly changing. There were sufficient differences between people in the nineteenth century for them to recognise for themselves a finely graded map of society. Thus there was a plurality of governed and governing classes. These classes were based on 'the differences in legitimate power associated with certain positions, i.e. on the structure of social roles with respect to their authority expectations.' (12)

The plural term classes has been used throughout this study because that is how nineteenth century men and women described their social relationships. Thus the tendency towards a clustering of social relations into two groups, capitalists and proletarians, which Marx had claimed would accompany the
evolution of capitalism is absent from this analysis. There was indeed a sub-class or society of people which Marx had himself identified but which he found it difficult to accommodate in his analysis. These were the non-capitalist, professional middle-class. As Perkin has pointed out, this class played a part out of all proportion to its numbers and had a profound influence 'both on the demands made by the other classes and the language in which they expressed them and on the way in which the laws were framed and administered.' (13) This class, in Surrey as elsewhere, attracted support from similarly intellectual members in the upper ranks of society; such men as Lord Onslow and Sir Henry Drummond. Its particular membership included William Cobbett and George Sturt from Farnham, Dr Thomas Martin, from Reigate and Professor Hutchinson from Haslemere. There were in addition numerous lawyers, clergymen, teachers, writers and hacks such as the Chapmans of Richmond, the Wettons of Chertsey and Egham, and Seeley of Kingston, who were often themselves struggling for professional respectability. They were a formidable class, and despite the common bond of philanthropy, significantly exerted a measure of social control over the working classes. They were also significant in one particular way. They were often 'well-connected' with other members of their class; with the intellectual aristocracy and with certain members of the aristocratic and capitalist classes. Together they dominated the thinking of working class society, shaping the infrastructure and rendering its voice silent. Not only was the authentic voice of the people silenced but any who dared to break this silence were seen as revolutionary, or at least a threat to established order. When the working man was too frequently dependent on the goodwill of this class for his employment and for the welfare of himself and his family it was prudent to be silent. By way of example, it is only necessary to refer to the pedigree of Mrs Humphry Ward, which included the intellectually aristocratic Arnolds, Huxleys, Trevelyans and Forsters,(14)
to be aware of a latent power and to be aware that, despite all attempts to bring education and social amelioration to the working classes, she was still a formidable lady in whose presence it was wise to be prudent. This phenomenon of power has never been adequately elaborated. Its existence hardly diminishes the stature of the Humphry Wards, or indeed the Edward Baines or Joseph Strutts and others, but its study would make a significant contribution to a fuller understanding of power.

It has been shown that this class, no less than the governing classes in general, labelled the behaviour of sections of the working classes as unacceptable, where this infringed their own class consensus regarding what constituted acceptable modes of behaviour. They treated such unacceptable, or deviant, behaviour as an objective fact; as unproblematic, requiring merely a search for the best correctional methods to eliminate it, or at least keep it in check. Therefore, such differences in attitudes that might exist between those members of the governing classes with sympathy and those without sympathy for the plight of the working classes were observed for the most part in their choice of correctional methods. As an attempt at social control these methods might produce one of two results. It is not likely that they would result in the elimination of deviance because in a dynamic society there would always be new forms of behaviour to be labelled deviant. They could however lead to the attenuation of deviant behaviour. On the other hand they could lead to its amplification. There is no convincing evidence either way. Nonetheless, nineteenth century persons concerned with the problem of order might have congratulated themselves on avoiding the perils of unrest; might have congratulated themselves on avoiding the excesses of civil disorder which the continent of Europe had witnessed. The 'slumbering giant' of the working classes had not arisen to destroy them. On the other hand, there was little to suggest attenuation of
the 'deviant' behaviour observed at home. On the contrary, drunkenness and prostitution became an even bigger problem as the century progressed. Many of the institutions of adult education gradually gave up their battle for the minds of working people and gave to some of them the novels, music, and entertainment they craved.

There is however a consequence of labelling behaviour that was shared by both the governed and the governing classes. This consequence is 'unity' or 'solidarity'. Turning first to the working classes, Merton has argued that if a part of the population are denied access to common success goals appreciated by the population at large, then those affected are likely to compensate for this by turning to behaviour that is not socially acceptable. In other words, as Lemert has noted, 'it becomes a means of defence . . . the original causes (of their being labelled deviant) give way to the central importance of the disapproving, degradational, and isolating reaction of society.' (15) In nineteenth century England, not only did this confirm the cognitive poverty and fatalism (on which, among others, Engels was to comment) but it also led to that unity or solidarity those similarly placed could generate for their own defence.

On turning to consider the governing classes, a similar strategy can be identified. As the effects of greater industrialisation and urbanisation on the lives of working people were brought more and more to the notice of the governing classes, they could not fail to display some uneasiness and guilt- consciousness. There is evidence enough for this in the middle-class enthusiasm for philanthropy, good works, and 'East Ending.' (16) Most of these works were however merely ameliorative. In some cases, as Dickens related, they were seen as a social skill to be learned by socially aspiring young ladies. (17) These works, however laudable, did not strike at the roots of the matter; this is to say, at the reasons for working class misery and discontent.
If the prevailing structure of society was to have any legitimacy then the unity of those who maintained it must be seen to be firm. Thus labelling working class behaviour as deviant might have the very satisfying effect of drawing together the middle classes in a bond of unity. Put another way, deviance was necessary to society because it reaffirmed the solidarity of those whose common interest was the preservation of the status quo. As Durkheim, in another context, put it:

'Crime brings together upright consciences and concentrates them.' (18)

Labelling theory

In Chapter V considerable attention was paid the the concept of labelling. It was suggested that labelling serves to create a deviant social identity, with the result, as Goffman asserts, that the norms of acceptability of those so-labelled are also created.

However, labelling theory has been criticised by such writers as Gouldner as being more concerned with the underdog; characterising those who have been labelled deviant as passive nonentities, not responsible for their own predicament and ill-inclined to do anything about it. It has to be remembered however that deviance is not inherent in behaviour per se, but is the outcome of its being labelled so. The behaviour of some social groups might well be confirmed by the labelling process. The labelling of others might not. Certainly, as Merton suggests, 'the self-fulfilling prophecy is, in the beginning, a false definition of the situation evoking a new behaviour which makes the originally false conception come true.' However, in Surrey as elsewhere, those so labelled were often inclined to do quite a lot about it. The differences between
them and the labellers was that they realised that their behaviour was consequent on the ways in which they were obliged to live their lives. Their effort was therefore directed towards improving their social and economic lot. If they too saw education as a great liberator it was an education in varying degrees different from that which the governing classes offered. Furthermore, the working classes did not constitute a homogeneous group. The phrase 'class-consensus' was used above. In its middle class form it accounted for agreement as to what represented deviant behaviour. However, the concept must be broadened, for if a considerable number of the working classes had not been associated with that middle class consensus the strategy of labelling would have had little effect. If they seemed passive, might it not be that they were in agreement with the labellers? As was observed above, (Chapter 5,i p356) the cultural myths of the dominator interject the values and the lifestyle of the dominated. (cf.Freire 1972) It has to be remembered that, within the ranks of the working classes could be found the socially aspiring; the artisans and clerks; the embryo Charles Pooters, who preserved a penurious gentility. (19) Even today, as Entwistle asserts, 'there is also a common patronising judgement, often shared by status-dissenting members of the working class itself, that the lower classes are essentially stupid.' (20).

In conclusion, it must be conceded that the observations above are tentative. No adequate theory of labelling as applied to nineteenth century phenomena can be generated without investigating the everyday meanings men and women ascribed to those phenomena and without taking into account the analysis of those meanings by the researcher. Sadly, distance of time and of place lead to an inevitable concentration on the latter.
Cooptation and Cultural Invasion

Cooptation

In Chapter 11 the notion of cooptation was described as an enduring feature of power relations. Reference was made to Machiavelli's strategy of ennobling one of the people in order that the nobles would have a representative among the people, behind whose cloak they could achieve their ends. Derived from a similar mould was Pareto's 'absorption'; by which means, a minority from the masses are absorbed into the prevailing elite. Marx recognised the importance of cooptation, as have more recent writers, one of whom, Duverger, has absorbed its basic functions into his concept of 'integration.' It will now be shown that cooptation, or one of its variants, has been a particularly important strategy of power in education.

Cultural invasion

This refers to the tactics used by the governing classes in penetrating or invading the cultural context of another group; thereby imposing their own view of the world, whilst ignoring the culture and creative potential of the invaded group. (Freire 1972a) Thus, as Murdock observes, the strategy of the governing class is clear:

'... their particular ideas, values and modes of expression tend to receive insistent and pervasive publicity, and thus they come to permeate the consciousness of subordinate groups, and to provide at least some of the categories and standards through which they organise and evaluate their social experience. It is in this sense then, that we can talk about the culture of dominant groups as the dominant culture.' (21)

It was noted above that this might lead to a culture of silence and of
poverty.

Cultural invasion shares many of the features of cooptation and so they might properly be discussed together. Thus what is required is a summary discussion on the processes of cooptation and cultural invasion employed as strategies of social control in nineteenth century adult education. It is possible to identify three myths on which the strategies depended; they were:

i. the myth of the natural order of society,

ii. the myth of the efficacy of self-help,

iii. the myth of the cultural ideal.

The myth of the natural order.

For cultural invasion to be successful the invaded man must, according to Freire, be convinced of his own inferiority. As has been shown, working class inferiority in the nineteenth century was reinforced through the labelling of class and through the labelling of mental abilities; and through the curriculum of adult education institutions; in particular through lectures on natural theology and science. Each man had his allotted place, and the cooptation of the teacher into a missionary role was an important and effective strategy in gaining working class compliance with the myth. Thus the status of teacher was fixed precisely within this 'natural' social hierarchy, so that he could neither lead nor be led. The good teacher should:

'live in a humble sphere and yet have a noble and elevated mind . . . inferior though he may be in station to many individuals in the parish, he ought to be the obsequious servant to none . . . not given to change his position because it gives him the power of doing good.' (22)

The teachers were, like Machiavelli's 'ennobled', the scarcely disguised agents of the governing classes. As Grace has claimed, 'the teacher was the
focal point of class antagonisms which he was expected to ameliorate and contain. (23) Not surprisingly, the teachers often bore the brunt of working class abuse, examples of the most bizarre of which have already been described. (pp 317-318)

There was of course always the possibility that a too-educated teaching force might choose to lead a disaffected working class rather than contain it. Nevertheless, the cooptation of militant or erstwhile militant leaders is a classic tactic of non-decision-making. (24) The governing classes were on safer ground with natural history and science. Natural history had always been a particular and popular pastime of working people. However, its study could lead to some questioning about the so-called 'natural laws' which might then lead to social disorder. The chosen tactic was again the cultural invasion of this mode of expression; the governing class wresting control over what was studied from the hands of the working classes. And so they came to dominate the curriculum of most institutions providing for the education of adults. The agenda for any educational enterprise is its curriculum, and one of the most effective power strategies, that of non-decision making, is effected when items are deliberately excluded from the agenda. (25) Thus, any revolution of thought which might be accomplished through exposure to the natural sciences posed no threat to the existing order since the curriculum was constructed 'with the requirements of that existing order broadly in mind.' (26) Curiously, Harvey does not consider counter-revolution a characteristic of the teaching of the natural sciences and yet cooptation and cultural invasion are particularly effective counter-revolutionary tactics.
The myth of the efficacy of self-help.

Commenting on the current growing number of professional recreation workers who try to find new ways for citizens to occupy their leisure, Parker comments:

'. . . this implies a situation in which only a cultivated few know how to use leisure . . . The moral aims to be pursued emphasise that only certain kinds of leisure are to be promoted and that they are intended as a means of social control.' (27)

Shor, observes that what the school, family, and job cannot invade, the mass culture industry then covers. He further makes the point that the 'invasion of unorganised time in daily life will be completed through the concept of lifelong learning.' (28) Each of these perspectives supports Freire's view that domination involves invasion of the cultural context of the invaded. This is no less true of the past. The invasion of the unorganised time of nineteenth century working men and women was conceived as a strategy of social control. The tactic often took on a form of camouflage; cultural invasion in the role of the helping hand. The invaders wished the invaded to use their time in acquiring 'useful knowledge'—which the invaders defined. As Mr Mangles of Guildford confirmed, the Institute in the town would gladden the working man, for 'when his days toil is over, instead of wending his way to those places of greater excitement where his habits would become depraved' he would find his way to the Institute and so he esteemed it an honour to be permitted to advocate the claims of such an institution. (29) A prescriptive formula of lectures and classes might attract a proportion of people, but it was believed by many that one of the most effective ways of keeping the working classes fully occupied during their unorganised time was by encouraging them to help themselves. This required resort to manipulation and, as Freire says, one of the methods of manipulation is to inculcate individuals with the bourgeois appetite for
personal success. Thus the rhetoric of self-help urged men to better themselves. It has been suggested above that 'what some men are, all without difficulty might be' was myth. But it had in it just enough truth to make it plausible. Samuel Smiles, with whom the concept is most often associated, was well aware that only a few would rise above their own class but insisted that it was through the elevation of the few that the elevation of the masses would eventually be achieved. The myth of self-help spelled out the possibility for the ascent of the working man. For this to function, as Freire insists, 'the people must accept the word of the bourgeoisie.' They accepted the word of Samuel Smiles. As a strategy for social control it could hardly have been bettered. The locus of success or failure was clearly settled upon the individual. Thus if his goal was not achieved it was because of his unrealistic expectations. It had the effect of internalising failure; a process not absent today, and described by Burton Clark as 'cooling out.' (30) It also made working men and women responsible for their own predicament; transferring attention from the real causes of failure, the ill-regulated machine that was nineteenth century society. Mathias neatly sums it up:

'These self-help movements reveal very clearly a certain diagnosis of the cause of social problems. At their most naive and pretentious they implied that poverty and dependence of the able-bodied sprang from an individual moral failing, a personal responsibility, which might be cured by a moral campaign for the social redemption of the individual by his conversion to the true social values.' (31)

As Mathias goes on to say, according to this analysis the two main private responses, this is to say charity and self-help, were all that was needed to overcome current social problems. (32) Perhaps more importantly, working class failure to achieve would confirm their supposed inferior mental capacities and reinforce the notion of a 'natural order.' This was often
the object of the exercise. Thomas records that, at Woburn in Bedfordshire, the Literary and Scientific Institute functioned to cement the social structure and reinforce the normative patterns of its members. The members were told that it was pointless to be pre-occupied with self-improvement because, for the vast majority of them, it would not be possible to achieve a different status from the one ascribed. (33) Nevertheless, through self-help, and by the encouragement of mutual improvement societies (within and without the major institutions), the governing classes coopted the skilled operatives and mechanics; the potential leaders of any working class unrest. In cultural invasion it is essential that those who are invaded come to see their reality with the outlook of their invaders rather with their own, for the more they mimic the invaders, the more stable the position of the latter becomes. (Freire 1972b) Strategies to ensure this, sustained many of the educational programmes aimed at the mechanic. Shapin and Barnes summarise the tactic thus:

'These essentially liberalising strategies all attempted to build an alliance or a community of interest between the bourgeoisie and the upper section of the working classes, the labour aristocracy. In contrast to crude attempts at coercion or suppression, liberalising strategies involved politics of 'cultural aggression' which by bribe or indoctrination would ensure that the 'natural leaders' of the working classes identified with and affiliated to those above rather than those below.' (34)

* In this context it is important to note that at the founding of the London Mechanics' Institute, J C Robertson and Thomas Hodgskin (editors of the 'Mechanics' Magazine') resisted attempts, led primarily by Francis Place and Henry Brougham, to solicit support from middle-class Whigs and Radicals. As Hodgskin asserted 'men had better be without education . . . than be educated by their rulers.' However, Place and Brougham were successful, and after that time onwards, control of the Mechanics' Institute passed out of the hands of the mechanics themselves. It should also be noted that the London Institute was to become the model (with all that implies) for the Institutes nationally.
The myth of the cultural ideal

In cultural invasion it is essential that the values of the invaders are imposed on the invaded. It has been suggested above that the governing classes dominated the thinking and silenced the authentic voice of the working classes. The manner in which the attitudes and behaviour of working class men and women was labelled as sensual and inconsequential was discussed in Chapter V. Having thus stigmatised a whole way of life, 'all the characteristic institutions, folk lore, 'common sense', and mentalities of the class, its culture (or cultures) in the broad anthropological meaning of the word' (35) it was necessary to transform those stigmatised so that they would become compliant, docile, and ready to accede to the demands the evolving industrial society would place on them. The almost universal proscription of controversial subjects and the domination of the natural sciences in the curriculum of adult education enterprises was one attempt at so transforming the working classes. Another was through the efficacy of self-help. However, there was yet another; the cultural ideal. Self-help celebrated the individual and there were some, like Matthew Arnold, who asserted that excessive individuality might sweep the nation into anarchy. The individual's development would be stunted and enfeebled should he disdain to carry others along with him in his march towards perfection. Another strategy had to be found, and this Arnold identified in the notion of 'Culture'. This he saw as the 'pursuit of our total perfection by means of getting to know, on all matters which concern us, the best which has been thought and said in the world.' (36) He, too, was concerned with order, and shared with many of the governing classes a fear of the potential of an uneducated working class. He insisted that culture was 'the great help out of this present difficulty' since it had 'a special utility for the circumstances in which we find ourselves and the confusion which environs us.' (37)
This civilising aspect of culture was a constant cry of those responsible for deciding the programmes, or those constructing the programmes, of institutions for adult education. In this respect the extraordinary claims for the study of music made by William Chapman of Richmond may be recalled. (p.306) So too, Mr Purday's claim at Guildford that music 'never had a great influence on manners and conduct of society' was, from a negative standpoint, a plea for its civilising qualities. (p.306) If Arnold thought that the 'best' would be civilising enough, there were others who required that the message be more explicit. Thus it might be recalled that, despite the almost universal intent to provide science for the citizen, programmes of institutions (often from their founding) were predominantly made up of literary subjects; their purpose scarcely concealed such as in the title of a lecture given at Guildford in 1852 on 'The uses of poetry and the mission of the poet.' Arnold did not see culture in class terms; he was equally critical of the three main divisions of society which he called Barbarians, Philistines, and the Populace. Culture would 'seek to do away with classes' for 'the men of culture are the true apostles of equality.' (38) Thus, in shedding sweetness and light on all, individual will would be controlled in the name of an interest wider than individuals; in 'firm state-power.' Thus was legitimised a strategy of social control which at once made the poverty of working class culture conspicuous whilst seeking to replace it with selected aspects of middle-class culture. It was a particularly persuasive and enduring strategy. It is significant that Lenin, saw the function of power within culture for, in controlling the revolutionary aftermath, he similarly extolled education as an agent for the transmission of culture, 'the study of human knowledge' without which it was not possible to become a communist (39) A concept of culture not unlike 'the best that has been thought and said' - though Lenin and Arnold make unlikely bedfellows! Arnold believed that culture would form a sounder basis on which to act; it
would lead men to 'civilised' action. Mrs Humphry Ward said of her uncle Matthew Arnold that he was a 'modernist before his time.' If this is so, then Entwistle's suggestion that he foreshadowed the recent revival of praxis is plausible:

"The notion of praxis, then, points to the reformulation of the conception of culture . . . as the best that has been thought, said and done, where what is done is the dialectical outcome of a juxtaposition of 'the predicament' with some conception of the good life." (40)

Similarly, it might be said that he foreshadowed Freire's concept of cultural invasion.

This latter discussion leads to a further conclusion resulting from a comparison of the ideas of Smiles and Arnold, and one not without relevance to the education of adults in the nineteenth century. Account might be taken of the notion that Samuel Smiles, celebrating individual pursuit of the good, emphasised the process of learning as opposed to the content. Matthew Arnold, on the other hand, celebrating an interest wider than individuals merely in pursuit of the best, emphasised content as opposed to process. Put another way, whereas Smiles valued the process of struggle in learning under difficulties, Arnold valued the content of learning for its civilising influences. Since, as it has been argued elsewhere, education from below was more often characterised by process than by content, this would tend to restore Smiles to a more radical position than most contemporary interpretations have conceded.
Authority and Influence

Westoby observes:

'One key distinction between power and authority lies in the attitude of those over whom it is exerted. In order for a form of authority to be said to exist it is necessary that those over whom it is exercised should in some sense assent to it. Power, on the other hand, may be exercised in the teeth of the objections of those to whom it is applied.' (41)

According to this, the behaviour of the clientele of some nineteenth century adult education enterprises might be further explained. It might be supposed that those members of a mechanics' institution who regarded the control of the enterprise in terms of authority would assent to the enterprise developing along lines which might eventually result in its becoming a literary, philosophic, athenaeum or similar institution. Thus the result would be very often a considerable attenuation of the institution's founding intentions. On the other hand, those members who regarded control in terms of power, might reject overtures to attenuate and instead break away to form rival institutions, or combine with others who might share and wish to preserve the original founding ideal. The first instance exhibits all the features of cooptation, achieved through some form of cultural invasion, enbourgeoisement, or 'integration', whilst the second, in resisting cooptation, exhibits all the features of 'conflict.' (Duverger ) Illustrations are easy to find, and reference has already been made to institutions at Epsom, Guildford and Richmond. Blunden, Harrison, Thomas and Tylecote record other instances where, on each occasion that conflict arose within their ranks, the aggrieved left to form rival institutions. What remained at the parent institution was more often than not an attenuated version of the original. Thus was cooptation gradually achieved. Often the strategy was effective
because it was gradual; it was frequently achieved through a form of incremental decision-making, where a series of seemingly unimportant decisions to change the nature of the institution are eventually exposed in aggregate to be fundamental changes. (Bachrach and Baratz) However, it would be wrong to suggest that what remained of these institutions, in forsaking their original ideals, would now be forsaken by their clients. For cooptation to be complete it must gain the assent of those coopted, otherwise 'authority', and 'influence' would be inaccurate descriptors of the power strategy adopted and 'coercion' or some other repressive descriptor would need to be substituted. If these institutions were not satisfying the needs of anyone, they would not survive. The fact that many of them did survive, and that they often received renewed support from the local gentry (though frequently suffering further crises of identity) suggests that, for some members of society, the institutions were meeting their developing aspirations. There is no reason to believe that the need for self-actualisation was any less real for nineteenth century men and women and so, for many, the changed institution would appear a more promising vehicle for social mobility.

In the examples given, it was the middle class cultural expression that survived but this does not suppose that the working classes were untouched by it. Often re-named Literary Institutes (to emphasise their neutrality) these organisations were certainly sources of power. However, more important for the working classes they were sources for power. The old motto of the 'Northern Star', "Knowledge is Power", begged the question, 'whose knowledge?', for in the nineteenth century (and it is frequently argued even to day) it was knowledge defined by the ruling classes that was power. Not surprisingly, some members of the working classes were quick to recognise and take advantage of this. The question thus arises: is the willing submission to influence a consequence of power exercised? Following
Bierstedt's view that '... influence is persuasive while power is coercive, we submit voluntarily to influence while power requires submission,' (42) the influence of potential rewards such as upward social mobility and self-esteem, might be enough to encourage willing cooptation. The process of cooptation is a prevailing reality and is not restricted to the educational-political arena. For instance the best examples of folk music are coopted into the opera buffa; peasant cookery finds its place in the cordon bleu cookbook. In all cases the result is that the coopted version is set up as the standard for others to follow; so denying its origins. As a power strategy it is as ubiquitous as it is effective. As the schoolboys of Barbiana complained:

'Languages are created by the poor, who then go on renewing them forever. The rich crystallize them in order to put on the spot anybody who speaks in a different way.' (43)

And so it was that aspects of working class culture were absorbed into the middle class programmes of institutions, thus making them their own and in so doing denying their distinctive features to the working class institutions. Cooptation is thus power exercised positively. There is no overt threat of sanctions, and it is not coercive. It is influential and offers potential rewards. It is thus a very potent exercise of power.

In summary, it might be said that where power was exercised (that is, without the assent of those over whom it was exercised) members of mechanics' and other institutions were inclined to vote with their feet; not infrequently to combine with other like-minded groups and institutions or to form an alternative institution. Where authority influenced the willing compliance of those over whom it was exercised, a form of cooptation was facilitated.
In Chapter 1 the question was raised as to the extent to which the working classes collaborated with the 'middling classes' and with the Church in acquiring forms of education. Before addressing this question it is necessary to introduce another directly connected issue. In what Hill has described as the political corollary to Weber's thesis of the link between Calvinism and the growth of capitalism, Elie Halevy called attention to the powerful religious ideology which prevented political revolution in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In particular he referred to Methodism as 'the last protestant movement':

'We shall witness Methodism bring under its influence, first the dissenting sects, then the establishment, finally secular opinion. We shall attempt to find here the key to the problem whose solution has hitherto escaped us; for we shall explain by this movement the extraordinary stability which English society was destined to enjoy throughout a period of revolutions and crises; that we may truly term the miracle of modern England, anarchist but orderly, practical and businesslike, but religious, and even pietist.' (44)

The idea that this extraordinary stability stemmed from a spirit of moderation characteristic of the English is attested to by Trevelyan. He claims for instance that following the English revolution of 1688 even 'enthusiasm' became 'bad form' among the governing classes. (45) He goes on to say:

'These ingrained habits of toleration and respect for law sank deep into the English mind during the hundred years that followed the Revolution, and had their effect when the stresses of a new era began - with the democratic movement, the French Revolution and the social problems of the great industrial age.' (46)

An observation recalling that the 'enthusiasm' of Wesley bore no similarity with the 'armed and persecuting creed' of the earlier puritan.
Trevelyan believed that, living in an age of toleration, (this is to say following the Revolution Settlement) 'Wesleyans had no need to assert their tenets by force.' (47) Thus:

'The habit of respecting constitutional rights acted as some check on the violence of the anti-Jacobin reaction, and the same habit of mind carried the radical and working class movements into legal and parliamentary channels. The victims of the industrial revolution at the beginning of the nineteenth century sought a remedy for their ills by demanding the franchise and Parliamentary reform instead of general overturn; this happy choice was due in part to our national character but largely also to our national institutions, in which the opposed saw a way of escape.' (48)

And so the forces of moderation were not supplied solely by the English national character but also by access to English national institutions; by which he meant 'the great emollient of the common ills of life', the humanitarian movement. However, it is as likely that the prime institutions ensuring moderation were the religious bodies, this is to say, Church and Dissent. There is no doubt that the re-awakening of spiritual consciousness that accompanied the Methodist revival was not, as Dobbs asserts, confined to the sphere of religious practice and beliefs. 'Puritanism', he asserted, 'had given birth to movements and reactions in politics and was connected with underlying streams of social and economic tendency.' (49) Though Thompson argues against the euphoric picture of Methodist fellowship, he does give it grudging merit for replacing the old community lost through industrialisation. Of equal importance, working men learned from their experience of Methodist organisation. As was indicated above (p.16), working men learned to read, and often got their first taste of oratory and their first experience of debate at the Methodist class meetings. Even the Hammonds, two of the severest critics of Methodism, had to admit that 'by the life and energy and awakening that Methodism brought to an
oppressed society' it might make many men better citizens (that is, more compliant) and some even better rebels. (50) The influence of Methodism was indeed two edged:

'Though it has been justly claimed that the religious movement exercised a steadying influence on political agitation and formed a defence against the cruder forms of infidelity which were mingled with the spirit of sedition, there was sufficient connection between disturbances in either sphere to explain the attitude of alarmists who included methodism and radicalism under a common ban of denunciation.' (51)

Nevertheless, Methodism was not the lone influence. The Anglican church was equally active, and it might be said that its antagonism towards non-conformist bodies, more than its direct appeal through the publication of religious tracts, contributed more than anything else to the weakening of the power of the people, since a community divided against itself is never powerful. In Surrey this could be seen for instance in the constant harangue of Roman Catholics and non-conformists in Chertsey and Egham; in Charles Mangles' attack on catholicism at Guildford, and in the Rev Sapte's stern injunctions at Cranleigh; not to say the bitter battles between the British and National Societies at Godalming - not least over access to the Godalming Institute's programme of classes for pupil teachers. The role of the Church and of non-conformity in promoting or denying adult education in the nineteenth century is worthy of separate study, for there are notable contributions from Surrey. However, at this time it is sufficient to make but the following summary observations.

Any study of adult education in the nineteenth century would confirm the view that directly or indirectly the religious bodies were the most tenacious and effective agents of social control, and the most persistent influence on education for both children and adults throughout the century and beyond. The squabbles between church and Sunday Schools (those 'hotbeds of sedition') could be instanced, as well as those over Hannah More's
tracts. In addition there was the antagonism over libraries not under the control of the church, and similar antagonisms between the church and Adult Schools and between the British and National Societies - to which could be added the influence of the methodist class meetings and organisation. All this is sufficient testimony. Add to this the influence of the church on the curriculum of universities (and on the setting up of University and King's Colleges) and on the curriculum of adult education institutions with their appeal to natural science and theology, and its influence would seem to be all-embracing. It could thus be confidently claimed that progress towards secular public education was made impossibly slow because of the domination of religious bodies. It is claimed by Engels that the wilful neglect of an education other than that provided by religious bodies more interested in 'winning away a poor childish soul here and there from some other sect', or more generally, in diverting the energies of unrest, actually created an alternative practical education indigenous to the working classes and derived from the conditions in which they lived. (52) There is some truth in this, for it was not successive governments which delayed a universal compulsory, state system of education but the interminable squabbles of the religious bodies. (53)

Examinations

Reference must now be made to the place examinations held in the armoury of power relations. Throughout this account, reference has been made to the examinations of the Science and Art Department, the Society of Arts, and the City and Guilds of London Institute. From the mid-nineteenth century,
the published programmes of many institutions for adult education showed two clear divisions: lectures and entertainments comprising the largest division and classes of instruction comprising the other. It was these latter, the classes of instruction, which were often supported by grants from the Science and Art Department (the South Kensington grants) and others, and which led to the proliferation of examinations as the century progressed. However, as is common when discussing nineteenth century education, the education of adults cannot properly be understood unless it is placed within the context of education generally. Thus it will be helpful to outline the main landmarks in the development of examinations. The Benthamite prescription which aimed at 'maximising aptitude' and 'minimising expense' was exemplified in the strict drilling and testing which characterised the Bell and Lancastrian systems for educating the young. The pupil teachers were subjected to a similar regime throughout the five years of their training, after which they could enter the competitive examinations for a Queen's Scholarship which, after two further year's training, would result in the candidate becoming a certificated teacher. In an earlier chapter it was claimed that the social status of the teacher was clearly defined, and reinforced during training. It was also claimed that the curriculum and inflexibility of the examination of teachers in training was designed to fit them for roles as social and cultural missionaries. There was a strong element of social control in such training which in turn was designed to prepare teachers as agents of control. Similar effects of examinations can be seen elsewhere. The reforms of the public schools following the report of the Clarendon Commission (1864) in effect destroyed the rights of the poor to attend the established public schools by recommending that entrance should in future be by public examinations. The stated purpose was to make them more available to the sons of the poor. In effect, the poor had not the basic
education to succeed in the examinations and so the public schools became exclusive. The system known as 'payment by results'; this is to say, the payment of grants to schools if, on examination, the children showed adequate proficiency in reading, writing, and arithmetic, was introduced, or so it was claimed, in the interests of efficiency. In effect it was a very powerful system of control since it limited the curriculum to 'safe areas.' and rendered schools and schoolmasters accountable. More important to this present account, it adversely affected opportunities for the education of adults. The system was introduced following the report of the Newcastle Commission(1861). There was subsequently a decline in the numbers attending evening classes, for those now attending had to present themselves for examinations in other basic elementary subjects. It might also be noted that grants paid to older children were abolished and those to training colleges considerably reduced.

The Oxford and Cambridge examinations, or 'Locals' as they were called, which were established in 1858, might be regarded as the beginnings of the secondary school examination system. Taken together with the reform of the public schools, these measures limited the opportunities for the working poor - though in both cases the stated intention was to make entry more egalitarian. Examinations were, it was claimed, impartial. This feature appealed particularly to those non-capitalist members of the intellectual elite whose ideal society was, as Perkin has argued, 'a functional one based on expertise and selection by merit.' (54) In much the same way, the Northcote-Trevelyan reforms of 1855-70 had the effect of confirming the upper classes in their position of power and control.(55) Thus another strategy was now employed by which the working classes could be contained and controlled, for, in prescribing examinations, the governing classes were also prescribing the curriculum. Of particular importance, was the belief that examinations were egalitarian, and
politically neutral. Any differences between the mental abilities of men and women would merely confirm what it had been the purpose of natural theology to explain. As a consequence, the growth of examinations which had blossomed in the middle of the nineteenth century became a confused riot towards its end.

After the 1870 Education Act, headmasters, whose remuneration depended on the number of pupils in school, in an effort to attract them and keep them, entered as many as possible for the examinations of Oxford and Cambridge (the 'Locals'), London Matriculation, and the Royal Society of Arts. The proliferation of examinations led to a search for more 'efficient' examinations and to an emphasis on concepts such as physical and psychological readiness, which began to feature at the beginning of the present century and which drew later support from the Hadow and Spens Reports. (56) Examinations were effective as a strategy because they were based on pseudo-scientific reasoning, in which there was a certain amount of truth. Close scrutiny of the history of examinations would certainly produce evidence consistent with the view that they were thought of as a means to greater efficiency but also that the evident enthusiasm for them did not represent a thirst for education so much as a desire to restrict entry to positions of power. This is no less so in the context of adult education. It was noted above that institutions received grants and prepared students for the examinations of the Society of Arts, the Science and Art Department, and the City and Guilds of London Institute. In many cases the motive was in part an economic one. Guildford Institute had, for instance, made this quite clear, since its secretary hoped that the Institute would thus acquire lecturers free of charge. The Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution and the Guildford Working Mens' institute were among the first in the country to take advantage of the Society of Arts and South Kensington Grants. The reports of the Guildford Working Mens'
Institution Drawing Class, from 1848 to 1865, consist almost entirely of catalogues of examination successes, prizes and tests. Characteristically, the examinations were on the whole in pure, not applied, science. Indeed, the City and Guilds of London Institute had claimed that it would be unwise to establish any place for teaching the actual carrying out of the individual trades. It is not surprising therefore that the institutes had difficulty maintaining the attendances which were necessary to qualify for the South Kensington grants. (see pp 222, 224) It might also be noted that when the Society of Arts founded their first strictly technological examinations, students were little encouraged to take advantage due to their employers' fears of losing trade secrets. The issue of grants by these bodies amounted to another form of 'payment by results.' One effect was that, since the maximum income level for grant purposes was £200 which was throughout the nineteenth century sufficiently high to allow the lower middle class to take advantage - it was this class which benefitted most. Moreover, despite the fact that those with examination certificates stood to be at a premium in the labour market there was, as Thomas has observed, little obvious upward social mobility as a consequence:

'A member of the drawing class at Banbury M.I. succeeded in raising himself from the workman's bench to the far higher position of a professional draughtsman.' Subsequent to gaining certificates in arithmetic, Samuel Aves, a clerk, and James Lambert, a machine boy, at Hertford, became a collector for the gas company and a printer's assistant respectively. Owen Lewis, a carpenter in Slough, was awarded a certificate in geometrical drawing and subsequently became an architect's clerk' (57)

Nevertheless, many of the institutions for the education of adults in Surrey urged the greater use of examinations. Even a small rural village such as Peper Harow could inspire the Bryce Commissioner to write in complimentary terms of those local farmers and gardeners who had successfully taken the examinations of the local lecture syndicate of the
As the Newcastle Report stated, 'till something like a real examination is introduced into our day schools, good elementary teaching will never be given to half the children who attend them . . . Everyone who has been at a public school knows how searching and improving is the character of a careful examination . . . ' (58) That this might be better achieved after acknowledging the social factors in learning, and in particular by the amelioration of the conditions under which the working classes pursued courses of study, is nowhere conceded. Hutchinson makes a similar observation with regard to adults:

'By a process of natural selection, through the interminable stages of the Department's examinations, students should move from their local classes, through their schools of Art, until the fittest of them arrived at the Central School in South Kensington. But despite the sponsorship of employers of the Department's certificates, artisans had little chance of getting these since "Art", especially Victorian Art, was a time consuming occupation and the tired artisan realised that he had no chance of covering the necessary ground in the evenings.' (59)

Thus the effect of examinations on the working classes was to put anything but the most elementary education even further from their grasp.
Science and the Scientific Basis of Behaviour

Evidence derived for the data in Surrey supports the view that science education was seen by the promoters of mechanics' and similar institutions as a particularly appropriate strategy of social control. This was so for the following reasons:

a) through an understanding of natural science, the designated target (the mechanics and 'superior' artisans and skilled operatives) would come to realise that there was design in nature. And nature was God's creation. The result would be an acceptance that the inequalities of life were a consequence of God's creation and were thus not man-made.

b) like similar non-coercive strategies, such as the promotion of phrenology and examinations, it was value neutral. (see below) This was particularly important, and throughout this study examples have been given of the many expressions of anxiety lest institutions were seen to be less than neutral agencies.

c) the unorganised time of the working classes could be 'invaded' by the subjects of science, therefore there would be fewer opportunities for licentious living and for the plotting of revolution.

Such science that was taught was achieved by practical example. There was no opportunity for theorising or for speculation. The object was to show how things were in nature. Attention was paid above to the notion of the 'mobilisation of Bias.' (pp92-93) This strategy was effectively used to mobilise the existing bias of the political system. As such, it is a non-decision. The strategy shows all the characteristics of manipulation. First the working classes were labelled by those in power as sensual and inclined to inconsequential behaviour. Then they were exposed to selected 'truths' of natural theology and therewith manipulated into accepting the
authority of these 'truths' as explaining their behaviour and its consequences. Recalling the discussion of manipulation in Chapter II, it might be claimed that the recipients (in this instance members of institutions of adult education) were likely to be unaware of their own manipulation, thus they effectively had no choice and so were the victims of force, though Lukes describes this power as latent. If, following the conceptual model (pl24), power relations can be presented as a set of causal relations, then the effects of the strategy described above can be observed. For some it would be possible to accept the tenets of natural theology and so be integrated or coopted out of the Area of Contention. Others would remain there in conflict and would preserve that unique culture which had led to their being stigmatised and labelled. (see Chapter V,ii,iii)

The Scientific basis of behaviour

It was claimed above (pp 237-252) that informal theories of the mentality of the working classes were constructed from observations of their behaviour. It was also claimed that many nineteenth century individuals hoped that in the pseudo-science of phrenology would be found a rational interpretation of human behaviour and experience which would replace informal theories and thus legitimate appropriate action to curb its excesses. Dobbs suggested that phrenology anticipated the science of teaching, while Shapin and Barnes maintained that Jensen's work on genetics and educational achievement is in the same tradition. Certainly phrenology and contemporary mental testing share pseudo-scientific antecedents, and the publication of handbooks of self-instruction, which facilitated the enjoyment of phrenology as a parlour game, parallels the popularisation of intelligence testing by at least one contemporary
Phrenology is now often seen as a quaint 'ultra-idea' of a bygone age. However, its importance as an element of social control lies principally in its mass appeal rather than in the validity or otherwise of its scientific tenets. These were no less accepted by the working classes themselves and so they were willing hostages to their own cooptation. It is also tempting to claim that the principles of phrenology did not command the same scientific rigour as was expected of the contemporary psychologist of mental testing, but this would be far from the truth. Indeed the naivety of nineteenth century psychological theories have been no less exposed by hindsight than have those of phrenology. As one theory dies, another is born; for there seems to be a need in man to discover some rational, egalitarian, explanation for the differences in people. It was a need felt no less deeply by those who, in the last century, deferred to a 'natural order' for an explanation. The nineteenth century social engineer, conscious of the gross inequalities which surrounded him, can hardly be blamed for attempting to buy peace for himself. Thus his enthusiasm to embrace phrenology was a less than critical enthusiasm to embrace an uncontroversible theory. This willing suspension of rational judgement was a small price to pay for a theory which might give legitimacy to his actions. To repeat, as one theory dies another is born and so, analogous to the nineteenth century experience, is the growing emphasis currently on other than those intellectual capacities which intelligence tests purport to describe. This is seen as necessary since the latter do not produce the egalitarian outcomes which were forecast. Thus the recent non-meritocratic focus on 'cultural style' (Wilson 1966) is an example of attempts to sustain egalitarian objectives by arguing that other social values are at least as important as intellectual and cognitive ones. The element of social control is nonetheless familiar:
'Lower ranks are enabled 'to feel a greater equality with their superiors' without their being any disturbance of the socio-economic and political status-quo.' (61)

Despite claims of scientific rigour, this might be no less a dubious theory than its nineteenth century precursor.

Science and Technical Instruction

This study has contributed data from the county of Surrey describing the role of science in the curriculum of adult education institutions. These data have tended to confirm two additional phenomena one related to political economy and the other to technical instruction. Science, in the curriculum of nineteenth century adult education, might be extended to embrace political economy. (see pp283-288) There were many who believed that orthodox political economy, being 'rational' and therefore beyond contradiction, should be taught to the working classes. The reasons for this were almost exactly those advanced for the inclusion of natural history. Once the self-evident 'truths' were understood, working men would, in their own best interests, become less antagonistic towards those in power and therefore more compliant. In both cases it was carefully selected, non-controversial aspects of the subject which were taught - and all in the interests of social and political neutrality. As Althusser has observed, education transmits power and privilege while displaying a comparative neutral attitude. As the century progressed, by these and other means, education gradually replaced religion as the dominant ideological state apparatus. A stubborn confidence in the 'liberalising' nature of science prevented the governing classes from embracing technical instruction for themselves. Emphasis was on the intellectual and moral values of science. Its practical application, in the factory and workshop, was beneath the dignity of the governing classes. They were, and to a great
extent continue to be, concerned to preserve the 'English way of Life.' (Weiner 1982) It has been shown that technical instruction was largely of a theoretical nature. The workshop was the rightful place for practical training. Thus, for the greater part of the nineteenth century, technical education meant science education. However, as Marcuse and Gramsci have observed, technology (and therefore the transmission of technological skills) has a considerable potential for social control. Technology it is said will change the nature of hegemonic control, a control that will, because of its rationality, neutrality, and comparatively pleasing nature, encourage men and women to collude with the ruling classes in their own cooptation. Nineteenth century social engineers were slow to realise this potential.
Lack of emphasis in this study on the exercise of power in the day to day management of nineteenth century institutions will have been noticed. The reason for this is very largely due to the lack of reliable data. Studies of adult education institutions in the northern counties, the home counties and elsewhere, frequently refer to the management of institutions but usually in only the very broadest terms. This probably reflects similar problems to those encountered in Surrey. Thus in order to reach any significant conclusions on management, an exhaustive study of the biographies of individual men and women would be required. It would be necessary to know where members of institutions could be located in the finely graded map of nineteenth century society.

It would also be necessary to know their social and political affiliations as well as their social aspirations. Names appear on lists of committee members of institutions but more often than not the only spokesman is the Secretary or, occasionally, the Chairman; more rarely the President. There is often a discrepancy between action and intent. For instance, the majority of institutions were established for the working classes and not by them; 'by the middle classes for specified sectors of the working classes.' (62) Nevertheless this should not have prevented members of the working classes from sharing in the management of institutions. So claimed John O'Neill when writing to the secretary of the Botchergate Working Mens' Reading Room:

'I think the shortest, best, and most common-sense way of getting to know the wants and wishes of the working classes would be to give them a fair share in governing the society professedly having its existence for their benefit; for it is but reasonable to suppose that working men are more likely to make laws applicable to their circumstances than the very best-intentioned men moving in any other sphere.' (63)
Hudson observed that committees chosen '... from the donors and patrons who being non-participators in the intellectual advantages offered by each institution, although very suggestive, were not the best qualified to meet the requirements of the members.' (64) Working class participation was often claimed and often encouraged. As Thomas records, the institute at Banbury, as late as 1867, was offering union to members of the Recreation Society of the Britania iron works, at concessionary rates. (65) The fact is, that with a predominantly middle class membership, it was not likely that many, if any, working-class members would appear on their management committees. The Secretary of the Croydon Literary and Scientific Institute observed in 1845 that though there was no objection to the committee being chosen entirely from the working classes 'experience proved the difficulty of getting mechanics to join their committees.' (66) This was not helped however by their maintaining three categories of membership, a tactic not uncommon elsewhere. For instance, at Marlow, it caused such friction as to lead one member to say that institutes must not be 'the vehicles by which the people are taught meekly to bow their necks to the yoke of injustice.' (67) Tylecote records a common fear experienced by the promoters of institutions:

'At Liverpool one third of the Committee was composed of the labouring classes but fear was expressed of the possible frivolous tendencies of operatives if left to govern alone.' (68)

The reference to 'frivolous tendencies' is a significant indication of middle-class labelling of working class proclivities.

Despite many laudable declarations to the contrary made by promoters of institutions, the social class make-up of the membership - and indeed quite often the truer feelings of the promoters themselves - assured a predominantly middle-class membership of their committees. Despite the fact that F D Maurice modelled the Working Mens' College on R S Bayley's...
similar venture at Sheffield (a venture which celebrated working-class involvement) he did not follow by similarly putting its management into the hands of its working class members. As he remarked:

'I would not let them have the least voice in determining what we shall teach, or how we shall teach.' (69)

On the other hand it must be noted that a particularly potent form of 'non-decision making' is participatory democracy. It gives 'the opposition the illusion of a voice without the voice itself, and so stifles opposition without having to alter policy in the least.' (70) This raises the question as to whether the seeming lack of enthusiasm of the working classes to play a part in the management of institutions was rather more than just a propensity for 'frivolous' pursuits.

Mrs Humphry Ward, when describing the Elsmerian institute she used as a model for her later Settlement in Bloomsbury, wrote:

'Each department is worked by committees under a central council. . . . But each committee contains working men; and it is the object of everybody concerned to make the working man element more and more real and efficient.' (71)

At least her sincerity was tested when she found that her own view of the purpose of University Hall (her first venture) conflicted with the view held by her students. When they set up Marchmont Hall with an alternative educational programme, she was at first distressed and disappointed. However, she was, as her daughter Janet Trevelyan claimed, 'adaptable', and she began to support the venture wholeheartedly. Nonetheless, a glance at the list of General Committee Members and Members of Council at her Passmore Edwards Settlement shows a singular lack of encouragement of working class involvement.

The practice in Surrey confirms many of the features described above, and
there is no reason for confidence in more than a marginal working class involvement in the management of institutions.

Conclusions

It was stated at the outset that the purpose of this study was to identify phenomena of power, and its exercise, in adult education in nineteenth and early twentieth century England. It was further stated that no attempt would be made to re-define concepts of power, but that phenomena would be discussed with reference to the conceptual analysis outlined in Chapter 11. No logico-deductive strategy would be employed in approaching data. Thus any subsequent theory would be generated by the data. It is now appropriate to consider how far the integrity of this approach has been maintained. It will then be possible to summarise the main conclusions of the study.

Previous studies of nineteenth century adult education institutions have in the main concentrated on chronicling histories. Nonetheless, in doing so they have frequently, though in general terms, referred to the exercise of power. This was observed to be prominent where working men and women attempted to share in the management of institutions; less obviously in the proscription of politics and controversial religion, and even less so in the prescription of certain subjects for inclusion in their programmes. As the data from Surrey emerged it appeared to be consistent with evidence from previous studies. This raised a number of questions. For instance, was the source of power located in some kind of power elite; was it therefore a top-down model? Was its character coercive, or repressive, or did it take
other less aggressive forms?

Despite an avowed intention of the writer not to permit any of his own emerging speculative theories to intrude upon the data (it was hoped that the account would show a gradual evolution of theory) certain phenomena were so persistent that they assumed the status of hypotheses to be tested. A real concern therefore was that the intention to let theory emerge from the data might be violated. However, though conscious of this caveat, the following conclusions can nevertheless be drawn.

There was a power elite, with, as Duverger proposed, a ruling group using its power in the interests of integration. This can be seen from the almost commonplace assertions that institutions of adult education were 'for all classes of people.' It can be observed in the assertions that such institutions were 'neutral', and in the enthusiasm for natural theology and the 'truths' of political economy; the study of which would lead to harmony and compliance. On the other hand, as was shown above, those of the working classes not disposed to integration were inclined to react in a spirit of conflict. It must not however be supposed that this acknowledges an elitist or one-dimensional view of power. There were other dimensions operating concurrently. There was, for instance, a non-capitalist intellectual ruling class; a class which ruled more specifically by ideology. And there were governed and governing classes at every level in the finely graded map of society that nineteenth century men and women recognised. There is ample evidence for this in the statements of both the promoters and the recipients of adult education; where the plural term 'classes' is used almost universally and where these classes often distinguished themselves from one another by their lifestyles and their social and political affiliations.

The main strategies of power have been identified as labelling, cooptation, and cultural invasion, strategies which Althusser identified as
operating massively and predominantly by ideology. The transmission of this ideology was, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a function of the church. Gradually this function was adopted by education, operating through a curriculum of adult education institutions which sought to reserve its content to relatively non-contested areas and through the missionary role of the teacher. Thus the arena in which these strategies operated transferred from the pulpit to the classroom. Their purpose was to mobilise the existing cultural and political bias in society, thereby thwarting latent or manifest challenges to the values or interests of the ruling group.

The model of power relationships illustrated on page 124 stands unaltered. It might be argued that not all members of the working classes had aspirations for social mobility. There is, however, little evidence that they had not. In any event, social mobility does not necessarily equate with upward mobility; it does not mean accepting the values of those currently of the ruling classes. It is an expression of change. This expression could lead to contention, and thereafter to integration or prolonged conflict.

The history of adult education in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries suggests a pattern of power relationships which were dynamic and which were exploited by those who ruled, for the purpose of integrating or coopting the minds and the bodies of many of the working classes.
Finally

The simple notion which first stimulated this study came from a commonplace belief that power had been exercised in various ways and had affected to a greater or lesser extent the availability and character of adult education, particularly adult education institutions, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. From this grew a curiosity regarding the nature of this power; how it was affected, the nature of the interests of those it served, and the character and effectiveness of the strategies employed in its exercise. This coincided with a suspicion that there might be more available data relevant to a history of adult education in the County of Surrey during this same period than previous studies had indicated. Would the data of power in Surrey confirm or deny conclusions drawn from other sources? It was from these unspectacular curiosities that this present account took shape. Thus, there were no hypotheses to be tested. The study would be a voyage of discovery. Having completed this voyage it is now necessary to make certain brief observations. The first concerns the integrity of the research style, the second, the discovery of data, and finally, some possibilities for further enquiry.

Integrity of style

To what extent was this non-participatory role attenuated as data emerged to confirm or deny categories of meaning? To what extent did the accumulation of data gradually influence background expectancies? To some extent this must be expected, unless as Hindess warns:
'the sociologist is to be accorded the capacity, denied to ordinary mortals, to describe objects and events without the intervention of background expectancies or of tacit knowledge.' (72)

By its nature, the question must remain unanswered. However, to militate against the tendency to allow the intrusion of the author's background expectancies, phenomena are frequently reported in full and, with the same purpose, are often included in the account where their relevance might otherwise be questioned.

Discovery of data

At the time this study was begun there was little or no published data relating to adult education in the county of Surrey. Data immediately available was discovered to be meagre, unco-ordinated, and fragmented over a number of locations. For some time, additional data was not forthcoming. Eventually it began to emerge, though some of it from the most obscure sources, such as that found in the roof space of Godalming Technical Institute. Another source was a private collection at Egham, to which the author was permitted only limited access. Most was gleaned from a painstaking search of the unindexed directories and local histories in the collections of fifty three Surrey libraries. However, each new discovery generated additional sources of data much of which often only became relevant when it was of sufficient quantity to permit cross-referencing or to reinforce some hitherto minor phenomenon. To date, there is already sufficient to confirm the initial view that there was more data relevant to adult education in Surrey than previous studies had indicated. As a result, certain distinct perspectives on adult education, which are beyond the scope of the present study, would benefit from further investigation. To carry out such investigations is the present author's future intention. A number of these perspectives are indicated below.
Possibilities for further enquiry

It must be repeated that the focus of the present account was on the identification and exercise of power, and was not intended to provide a complete history of adult education in Surrey in the nineteenth century. The account does nevertheless provide a substantial history which the addition of the following would make complete.

(a) The role of the religious bodies in promoting adult education

Throughout this study constant reference has been made to the influence of religious bodies; Anglican, non-conformist, including the Society of Friends, and even the Irvingite church. Mention has been made of the work of the Unitarian and Congregational churches. Reference was made to the religious 'climate' in certain areas. The antagonism between Church and non-conformity in Godalming for instance, and between Church and Roman Catholicism in Egham. The influence of religion on the curriculum of institutions, and the domination of the clergy on many of their management committees has been frequently commented upon. A thorough and exclusive investigation of church records, together with a study of the biographies of those churchmen concerned with adult education would significantly add to the present account.

(b) The Working Mens' Institutes and Clubs

In many of the larger Surrey towns the Working Mens' Institutes were synonymous with other institutions for adult education. Wherever they existed however there was an unmistakable shift in emphasis towards a curriculum more in tune with the aspirations of the working man. The distinction between these organisations and the Working Men's Clubs is often difficult to discern. Indeed the transition from one to the other often took place unnoticed. A study of the Working Mens' Institutes and Clubs which concentrated on differences and similarities as between themselves and between them and other institutions regarding their purpose and their curricula would be it is believed, of considerable value to the overall history of adult education.

(c) Women and Adult Education

To a great extent this account has avoided separate discussion of the provision of adult education for women or indeed the role of women in maintaining institutions for adult education. Mention has been made of
several celebrated female lecturers. However, the fact that the
engagement of female lecturers at institutions could cause some
disquiet, as it did at Guildford and Croydon for instance, perhaps
suggests that this was not normally considered a suitable role.
Attitudes to women were not merely evident in the ascription of
subjects thought suitable for women, or what is currently described as
'gender specific curricula'. Attitudes to the admission of 'women and
boys under 14 yrs' to lectures, and the common instructions that men
only should be invited to give the readings at institutions are
further indications. On the other hand women were better suited to
singing or acting at institute soirees and concerts. Phrenology had
demonstrated that the woman's brain was smaller and so it followed
that she was less intellectually capable. There were nevertheless a
number of inconsistences. A woman, Mrs Huxley, was the Local Secretary
of the University Extension committee in Surrey. Women outnumbered men
as students of magnetism and electricity and certain drawing classes
at Godalming in the last two decades of the nineteenth century,
and of a total of 59 students in 1896, 33 were female.
Certainly, this is an area of enquiry that demands further
consideration in the context of the County of Surrey.

(d) Educational work of Friendly and Benefit Societies

Some attention has already be paid to the above societies. They were
very numerous in the County. A thorough study of their educational
role, in particular the indirect educational effect and symbolic
effects of their rituals and celebrations might add another important
dimension to the study of nineteenth century adult education.

(e) Young Adults

Throughout this study occasional references have been made to the
educational provision for children. However, little has been said
regarding the 'young adult', not least because of the difficulties in
categorising the 'young adult'. (see pp 81-85) The question becomes
particularly pertinent in the context of the development of technical
instruction from the last decades of the nineteenth century. For
example, of the students attending Godalming Technical Institute in
1896, 70% were between 13 and 19 years of age. Of these, 50% were aged
between 13 and 16 years. And there is evidence that provision had been
developing over a number of years. Thus the 'young adult' might
represent a distinct category of student. Separate study of this area
of adult education provision might add significantly to the present
account.

(f) University Extension and Workers Educational Association

Very little data on University Extension or Workers Educational
Association provision was forthcoming. From occasional references
these organisations appear to have provided courses in Surrey, though
precise details or not given. There were local committees set up to
organise University Extension courses, and there is evidence that
such a committee, in 1890, set forth a scheme to carry university
extension to the rural districts. This scheme was referred to as the
'Guildford Experiment.'
Separate enquiry, added to those initiatives already mentioned, would provide further data relevant to the study of power in nineteenth and early twentieth century adult education.

Concluding summary

Close attention to the history of adult education in Surrey in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reveals similar phenomena to those characteristic of other areas of the country. Most significantly, there was an indigenous and varied adult education pursued from 'below' i.e, established by working class groups. Furthermore, there was a continuous disaffection with all forms of adult education provided by philanthropic bodies or by socially sensitive members of the local gentry, that is, provided from 'above.'

The independence and informality of these indigenous educational enterprises was viewed with alarm by those of the governing classes whose interest lay in the maintenance of the established order of society. Since education had now become the arena of class struggle the apparatuses used in the conflict were of necessity ideological. The power of education, and perhaps more significantly, the power to deny education or circumscribe it, was appreciated by all contesting parties. The governing classes proceeded as follows.

First it was necessary to ascribe some notion of deficit in the working population; some notion that could be used to legitimise strategies of control. This was effectively achieved through the process of labelling. by
which the mental abilities and cultural expression of large sections of society were stigmatised.

This strategy was sustained by three myths ie, of the natural order of society, the efficacy of self-help, and of the cultural ideal. Like all myths, each contained within it an element of truth and so attracted a number of socially aspiring working men and women, without whose willing cooptation, strategies of control would have been much less successful.

The 'self-evident truths' upon which the myths were founded were explicit in the curricula of adult education institutions and were transmitted through their missionary agents, the teachers.

Consequently there was a continual conflict with the 'philanthropic' providers of adult education which was most marked in the periodic establishment of counter-institutions which sought to advance working class educational priorities.

After the 1840s the radicalism of the earlier part of the century gradually gave way to demands for an education provided by the state. Access to education became more important than the content, and the working classes paid less and less attention to the sources and exercise of power transmitted through a knowledge distorted by the governing classes who increasingly provided it.

If, in the early years of the nineteenth century, the working classes selected from 'provided' adult education only what they considered useful, they at least pursued a working class definition of knowledge. However, in seeking the benefits of society through the currency of a middle class definition of knowledge, they lost that radical independence and vitality that was characteristic of indigenous enterprise.

It is believed that the evidence introduced into the present account supports these conclusions.
NOTES and References to PART THREE

CHAPTER VI Return to Concepts: Summary Discussion 412
(1) see letters signed 'Sml Ranyard' in Seeley (1840, 1841). Ranyard was both friend and supporter of Seeley. His letters were regularly published since they complemented Seeley's instruction to members of the Kingston Institution, 'Fear God, honour the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change.'

(2) ibid

(3) Letter signed 'Corderoy' to Guildford Free Press 6 April 1901

(4) Similar instances are reported in Tylecote M (1957) op cit esp. p108

(5) Letter from Mary Tufts, in Chandler, A (1965) Heretofore in Haslemere Hutchinson p77

(6) see Griffiths B (1978) op cit for comments on the membership, also Guildford Muniment Room, file 122/1/2 1843-1844., for Guildford Institute. W Chapman's almost bizarre use of the English language is evident in his reports at Richmond. Again, Croydon Institute was forced to admit (despite efforts to the contrary) that they were not appealing to the working man.

(7) Croydon Literary and Scientific Institute, Minute Book; on the occasion they were invited to amalgamate with a proposed Mechanics' Institute. 23.11.1843

(8) Richmond Mechanics' Institute, Minute Book 1.10.1838

(9) Chapman W (1838) op cit p18

(10) The Croydon Institution claimed it existed for 'the first in rank and the richest' and 'the poorest and most humble'. Both Hackney and Southwark had found the word 'Mechanic' a 'stumbling block to many.' Mechanics' Magazine, VIII, 1827-8, pp 447-448

(11) Duverger M (1972) op cit Chapter 6

(12) Dahrendorf R (1959) Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society RKP p148

(13) Perkin H (1969) op cit pp 252-270

Perkin claims that most theories have treated this group as middle class and that Marx was aware of them to his own embarrassment; treating them as a mere adjunct of the ruling class.

(14) Mrs Humphry Ward was the daughter of Thomas Arnold associate of Cardinal Newman and compiler of The Catholic Dictionary. She was
grand-daughter of Dr Arnold of Rugby. Two of her uncles were Matthew Arnold and W E Forster. Her brother-in-law was T H Huxley and so her nephews were Julian and Aldous. Another brother in law was G M Trevelyan. Apart from this, her friends and co-authors numbered among them Marc Pattison, T H Green, and J R Green, Bishop Stubbs, Dean Stanley, W E Gladstone, Henry James and Benjamin Jowett.

Prentice-Hall p5

(16) This refers to the habit of visiting the poorer parts of London by fashionable young ladies. In 'Robert Elsmere', Mrs Humphry Ward describes Madame de Netteville's do-gooding thus: '... she is East-Ending for a change. We all do it nowadays. It is like Dizzie's young man who liked bad wine, he was so bored with good. (Mrs Humphry Ward(1888) op cit p523)

(17) Charles Dickens, in 'Sketches by Boz', (1836, Chapter IX), describes 'aspiring young ladies' who 'suddenly grow desperately charitable.' Writing in 1823, J Timbs of Dorking, having eulogised on the labourer's wife, observed:
how often does thehand of private beneficence descend from the paternal mansion to minister to thy wants and necessities! and how often does the charitable zeal of amiable benefactresses exhort thee by personal bounty, when dropping under sickness and misfortune. Such meritorious acts of benevolence prove how incompatible with true charity is the mistaken mode of fashionable almsgiving. Timbs(1823) op cit p145

(18) Durkheim E(1947) The Division of Labour in Society
New York p102

(19) Charles Pooter was the creation of George and Weedom Grossmith. He appears as the central character in their humourous book 'The Diary of a Nobody' As a London clerk, Pooter tries to keep up appearances and to sustain a genteel lifestyle, though his income is little more than that of an artisan. He and his wife are the butt of a lot of cruel humour.
Grossmith, G and W(1892) Diary of a Nobody London

(20) Entwistle H(1978) Class, Culture and Education Methuen p78


(22) Kay-Shuttleworth,J(1862) Four Periods of Public Education
Lowland Green p368

(23) Grace G(1978) Teachers Ideology and Control RKP p31


Chapter 7, especially pp 45 - 46
(26) Harvey D(1975) Social Justice and the City Edward Arnold p127

'And if I might, with sanguine prophesy, anticipate the effects of this Institution, I should say, that instead of the dirty and intoxicated husband, entering his abode at a late hour of the night, receiving the reproaches of a wife whose patience he has outraged, and assailed by the cries of the children he has neglected, we shall behold the happy entrance of a clean and intelligent Artizan - returning home from the School, or the Lecture, and received by the smiles of the companion of his life, and the caresses of his interesting babes . . . '

Charles Hindley. An address delivered at the establishment of the Mechanics' Institution, Ashton-u-Lyne, 22nd June, 1825.


Cynthia Cockburn formed a similar diagnosis in her study of a Local Authority:
'The technique seems to have involved getting working class families to recognise that they are failing, out of their own income and capacities, to provide facilities for their children to acceptable standards.' Cockburn(1977) op cit p113

(32) ibid p212


(34) Shapin S and Barnes B(1976) op cit p56


(37) ibid pp xxii and 202

(38) ibid p70

(39) Lenin V I "zadachi soiuozov molodezhi" in O vospitanii i obrazovani pp435-6 quoted in Lilge F(1968) Lenin and the politics of education

(40) Entwistle H(1978) op cit p126


(46) ibid p243

(47) ibid p242

(48) ibid p243

(49) Dobbs A E(1919) op cit p120

(50) Hammond J L and B(1917) The Town Labourer 1760-1832 Longmans p287

(51) Dobbs A E(1919) ibid


(53) Hurt J(1967) op cit Note Chapter 1 in particular

(54) Perkin H(1969) op cit p298

(55) The Northcote-Trevelyan reforms of the Indian and Home civil service introduced a competitive examinations system for a rationalised bureaucracy.


(57) Thomas R A(1979) op cit p106


This popularisation extends to inexpensive computer programs:
Eysenck and Wilson(1984) *Know Your Own Personality*
Eysenck and Sargeant(1984) *Know Your Own PSI-Q*
Both published by Mirrorsoft: Ivan Berg Software

(61) Entwistle H(1979) *op cit* p19

(62) Shapin S and Barnes B(1976) *op cit* p55

(63) Carlisle Journal July 13 1849

(64) Hudson J W(1851) *op cit* p58

(65) Thomas R A(1979) *op cit* p68

(66) Croydon Literary and Scientific Institute, *Minute Book* 28 November 1843

(67) Thomas R A(1979) *op cit* pp103-104

(68) Tylecote M(1959) *op cit* p62


(70) Coleman J S(1957) *Community Conflict* New York p17


APPENDICES

THE DATA

and

BIBLIOGRAPHY
APPENDICES

Preface 1

Appendices: Contents 1

Adult Education in Surrey (Map) 3

i. In the context of Surrey 4

ii. The Surrey Institutions: 12

Bagshot ........................................... 17
Chertsey ........................................... 18
Chobham ........................................... 21
Cranleigh ........................................... 21
Croydon ........................................... 25
Dorking ........................................... 34
Egham ............................................. 39
Epsom ............................................. 43
Ewell ............................................. 47
Farnham ........................................... 49
Godalming ......................................... 55
Guildford ........................................... 64
Haslemere ......................................... 77
Kingston upon Thames ............................. 81
Redhill ............................................. 88
Reigate ............................................ 89
Richmond upon Thames ............................. 93
Sutton ............................................ 103
Woking ............................................ 111
Weybridge ......................................... 111

Later Nineteenth Century Institutions: 113

Richmond, Haslemere, Norwood, Windlesham,
Leatherhead, Ashtead, Cranleigh, Witley,
Farncombe, Busbridge, Cattershall,
Chiddingfold, Alfold, Peaslake, Oxted.

iii. Science, Art, and Technical Instruction: 117

The Surrey Prospectus.

NOTES and References to PART FOUR 129
Appendix

3 Buildings used by institutions for adult education in Surrey 156

4 Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution: Minute of letter received from the promoters of a Mechanics' Institute, 23 November 1843 169

5 Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution: Reply to the letter received from the promoters of a Mechanics' Institution, 28 November 1843 170

6 Godalming Mechanics' Institute: extract from Minute Book 171

7 Reigate Mechanics' Institute: Advertisement for the Reading Room 171

8 Richmond Mechanics' Institute: Advertisement appealing for donations towards financing the new building for the Institute 172

9 Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution: Rules and Regulations 173

10 Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution, Terms of Membership, 1860 174

11 Epsom Literary and Scientific Society: Presidents and Secretaries, 1898 175

12 Class arrangements, Lectures and Entertainments held at Surrey Institutions 176

13.1 Summary of libraries in the County of Surrey 193

14.2 Books, journals, and newspapers in the libraries of Surrey Institutions 195

15 Letter from the Manpower Services Commission to Waverley Adult Education Institute, 22 November 1982 202

BIBLIOGRAPHY 204
Evidence from various sources in Surrey forms an integral part of this work and what follows is a brief description of adult education in the County. For present purposes it is taken to include those areas south of the Thames which, after 1888, became part of the new county of London. This permits the inclusion of Richmond, Kingston, Sutton and Croydon, without which any discussion of adult education in Surrey would be without the benefit of a number of significant enterprises.

Introduction

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Surrey was, for the most part, untouched by the industrial revolution. This is to say lack of industrial development had left the county relatively unspoilt. It is important to be aware that, for instance, Farnham and Guildford were quite small county towns, whilst Haslemere and Woking were little more than urban villages, and Camberley did not exist at all. The villages of Surrey were mainly agricultural and had not yet become metropolitan villages. However, two changes of note affected the county during the century. The first was that, following enclosures and the industrial revolution there was a rapid decline in local craft industries; industries which supplemented the earnings of agricultural workers. Despite its predominantly rural nature, Surrey had been an important manufacturing county; producing gunpowder, paper and cloth. There were thriving glass-making, tanning, ironmaking, and coopering industries. At the beginning of the century the Wandle Valley was one of the most industrialised districts in the country, rivalled only by the developing textile industries of Lancashire and Yorkshire. A second change resulted from the county being 'discovered' by the new gentry from
London; by what Cobbett described with undisguised hatred as 'Jews and stock-jobbers' who were invading and changing the face of the county. This was an invasion which led to the establishment of businessmens' houses and contrived artificial landscapes. During the nineteenth century the great families of Surrey were for the most part replaced by bankers, stockbrokers and sundry businessmen from London. This migration to Surrey of the Victorian middle-class, which included writers, artists, architects and painters was prodigious. In this context it is of interest to note that though in 1890 the writer, adult educator and social investigator Mrs Humphry Ward had moved to Haslemere and built a house there in order to write her novels in peace and quiet, she was obliged to return to London two years later complaining that 'but two year's residence had convinced me that Surrey was almost as populous as London and that real solitude for literary work was not to be found there - at any rate in the corner of it where we had chosen to build.' (1) The country houses of these new gentry (including writers of novels) became in fact 'an established part of the life of the Victorian middle-class and changed the face of Surrey in a single generation.' (2) In 1912, George Sturt, Surrey's own social historian, wrote:

'The old life is being swiftly obliterated. The valley is passing out of the hands of its former inhabitants. They are being crowded into corners, and are becoming as aliens in their own homes; they are receding before newcomers with new ideas, and, greatest change of all, they are yielding to the dominion of new ideas themselves.' (3)

It could be argued of course that a share of the blame must go to migrants such as George Meredith, George Elliot, Alfred Tennyson, Matthew Arnold, Edward Lutyens, G F Watts, and even Cobbett himself, together with that host of writers and propagandists who, out of love of the county, unintentionally assumed the role of travel agent in bringing the rural
idyll to the notice of London's 'Jews and stock-jobbers.' As for the indigenous labouring folk, whether they suffered the extreme privations of the 'broom squires' of Hindhead (4) or the genteel poverty of the peasants of Albury (5) what is clear is that, in a county where an alternative to agricultural employment was hardly possible, the majority of the people were constant neighbours to poverty. Mrs Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere had visited the hamlet of Mile End (near Peper Harow) in Surrey:

'Inside, the hovel was miserable indeed. It belonged to that old and evil type which the efforts of the last twenty years have done so much all over England to sweep away; four mud walls, enclosing an oblong space about eight yards long, divided into two unequal portions by a lath and plaster partition, with no upper storey, a thatched roof, now entirely out of repair, and letting in the rain in several places, and a paved floor little better than the earth itself, so large and cavernous were the gaps between the stones.' (6)

Though there was also thought for the personal details:

'The dismal place had no small adornings - none of those little superfluities which, however trivial, are still so precious in the dwellings of the poor, as showing the existence of some instinct or passion which is not the creation of the sheerest physical need.' (7)

Although Mrs Humphry Ward was a novelist her observations are no less credible on that account; no less credible for instance than those of Timbs who recorded his testimony at the beginning of the century. Having just marvelled at the 'cottage happiness' of the rural poor of Dorking in Surrey he is then bound to admit:

'A parting glimpse of these peaceful abodes drew my attention to the condition of their inmates. One of them I found to be a labourer with a family of children, whose average wages were 14s. to 16s per week. On this scanty pittance no fewer than eight individuals relied for sustenance - a disproportion attributable to the present unprecedented depression in agricultural affairs. Frugality and forebearance are the only means by which he can wrest himself from the
Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries 'the most obvious characteristic of life for the agricultural workers and their families, who formed the majority of all the parishes at least until the last decades of the century, was a deep-rooted poverty.' (9) Thus in looking at the provision of adult education in Surrey this must be constantly borne in mind.

The discussion which follows, confined to the discontinuities already established, is intended merely to provide a context for the numerous references and reported evidence scattered throughout various chapters of this account and is not therefore intended as a detailed history.

Concentration on the main institutions of adult education, that is the Mechanics' and Literary and Scientific Institutes, would be misleading. Certainly, rudimentary forms of adult education were associated with the Friendly and Benefit Societies and with the Sunday Schools; as well as with the churches, particularly the Congregational and Unitarian churches.

Friendly and Benefit Societies

There were many of these societies existing quite early in the century in most of the towns and villages of Surrey. As early as 1795 there were three such societies in Farnham, with 270 members. A society in Dorking had 400 members in 1799, and there are numerous references to the existence of branches of the Oddfellows, Good Templars, Foresters, and similar national institutions in the local records of most towns and villages. These societies represent the most widespread expression of working-class self-help and a full discussion is undertaken in Chapter IV where they are discussed in the context of other similar enterprises.
Sunday Schools

In the case of Sunday Schools it is often quite difficult to separate work undertaken with children from work undertaken with adults. Discussion is further complicated by the fact that if the criteria which mark out an adult in contemporary society are applied then, in the nineteenth century, many were in important respects, adult by the time they were twelve years of age. (10)

Though the 'laudable institution of Sunday Schools' were established in Chertsey by a Mr Whitewick in 1787 (11) and a Sunday School and library existed in Esher in 1789 (a local benefactor having left £850 for the purpose) (12) and the Congregational Church in Haslemere was operating a Sunday School in 1792 (13) one of the earliest where there is clear evidence of adults being in attendance is to be found at Dorking:

'The earliest, which dates from 1807, is that maintained by the Congregational church, West Street, and was originated by a relative of Robert Raikes of Gloucester, the founder of the system.' (14)

It seems that about this time, or very shortly after, the Sunday School in the newly-built Town Hall in Haslemere admitted adults. There is a record of penny readings, lectures and concerts having taken place there. (15) At Ockham, in 1836, a school was founded by the daughter of Lord Byron, with workshops where adults and children could learn carpentry and the use of the lathe. Indeed, by mid-century there were Sunday Schools in a great many towns and villages in Surrey, many of which were associated with the Congregational and Unitarian churches. At Godalming for instance these churches had strong mutual improvement societies and good libraries connected with their Sunday Schools. Such was the growth of Sunday Schools that by 1851 there existed twenty two in the Chertsey Union alone. (16)
These schools were often associated with other enterprises. At Kingston, in 1853, a 'Ragged or Night School' was founded. The teachers were unpaid and their object was to teach reading 'so that the poor might become acquainted with the word of God.' (17) This night school developed into an important resource for adults and was strongly supported by the promoters of the Kingston Mechanics' Institute. There were other enterprises. In 1861, a new school was built at West Horsley 'for the education of children and adults ... of the labouring manufacturing and other poorer classes.' (18) At Malden in the 1860s, there were penny readings and lectures in the schoolroom. The only record available is of a lecture on 'Irish History and Literature.' (19) There were schools with lecture halls and libraries at Epsom and Ewell. One founded in c1860 by the Congregational church in Ewell boasted a mutual improvement society, classes, and a library. (20) A discussion group and library was founded in the vicarage at Merstham, and in 1852 a gratuitous evening school was commenced at Guildford in the belief that 'much of the present vice and intemperance of the working class can be traced to the lack of education in their youth.' (21) Many of these enterprises were based on the Sunday School idea.

The work of the Sunday Schools did not merely foreshadow the work of the major institutions of adult education; the mechanics' and Literary and Scientific Institutions, but often ran parallel with them, sometimes, it might be observed, in an atmosphere of aloofness, and sometimes in a atmosphere of outright conflict.

Other influences

There were other influences; the Coffee Houses, such as the one described by Swete which existed in Epsom until the early nineteenth century
and which is now a public house, and the one established at Cattershall, Godalming, in 1884, which boasted a lecture programme and a library. Nor must the influence of the public houses be minimised. They were often the centres of village life where working men might share the reading of newspapers (or have newspapers and pamphlets read to them) and where working men might come into contact with radical thinkers and be able to discuss contentious and other issues of interest. The influence of the public house in central Surrey is emphasised by Connell and must allow that a great deal of adult education was casual and represented 'education by collision.' (22)

Mutual improvement societies were a common enough feature of adult education in Surrey throughout the nineteenth century. It has been shown that they might be associated with church organisations, particularly Unitarian or Congregationalist; or with independent working class groups often using village halls; or with the major institutions, where they were urged as a means of involving members in providing education for themselves.

Neither must the libraries and museums be forgotten. Evidence that libraries were seen by working men as the most important aspect of adult education (and the greatest attraction of the mechanics' institutes) parallels that found in evidence from other parts of the country. They were a resource, jealously guarded, and rarely absent from any enterprise, however modest, which aimed at the education of adults.

Museums provided yet another resource for the education of adults. A number of them were associated with Mechanics' and Literary and Scientific Institutions, such as that established at Guildford in 1843. (see p72-3) Others, however, were private institutions. They were often quite modest enterprises, but the best of them contained scientific apparatus and working models, often in addition to geological, botanical and other
specimens. There were museums at Godalming and Farnham but the most notable and enduring is that established by Jonathan Hutchinson at Haslemere in 1888, the Haslemere Educational Museum. (see p79-80)

The major institutions

Turning now to the major institutions, the mechanics', literary, scientific and other similar enterprises, it is proposed to mark out four periods describing their development in Surrey. No particular significance is attached to these periods for, though there is a likeness to similar patterns found elsewhere in the country, the evidence is too scanty to admit to any general theory. The purpose is to bring this introduction to a close by providing a context within which the disparate initiatives in Surrey can be seen as part of a more general pattern; thus facilitating the detailed discussions in the earlier chapters of this account.
(ii) The Surrey Institutions

Introduction

The pattern of provision in Surrey closely follows that set in other parts of the country. It has been suggested above and elsewhere (Chapter IV,1) that though half of the major institutions preferred to style themselves 'Literary and Scientific' institutions rather than 'Mechanics' institutions their founding intentions were very similar and paralleled those found in the counties of the north of England and elsewhere. A number of institutions failed after a few years and either amalgamated with others or were re-established, sometimes under another name. Often the same leading local figures were involved in the old and new institution. Often they were involved simultaneously in a number of institutions, occasionally rival ones. Some enterprises, such as at Kingston, appear to have been described by the public sometimes as 'Mechanics' and sometimes as 'Literary and Scientific' institutions; indicating that perhaps in the eyes of the public there was very little difference to be observed between the two. Certainly, an examination of the aims and activities of the so-named 'Working Mens' institutions, such as those at Epsom, Farnham and Guildford, reveal no significant differences between them and other institutions for the education of adults. There is evidence consistent with that pertaining elsewhere that the early institutions, such as at Epsom, Dorking and Godalming, failed due to lack of middle-class support, and that others began to decline as they began to overreach themselves. For instance Kingston and Richmond built fine prestigious homes for their institutions,
which they could not afford. Indeed, Kingston never did occupy the whole of
their new building from the day it was completed. Croydon on the other hand
purchased superior accommodation which they soon had to sell to the owner
of a private language school. Their eventual resort to 'entertainments' and
sham lectures in order to attract members mirrors Dickens' Dullborough Town
Mechanics' Institute; where they were called not 'entertainments' but
illustrated lectures'. This was evident at many institutions in Surrey but
perhaps no more blatently than at Croydon Literary, and Scientific
Institution. (23) And of course they all, without exception, forbade the
discussion of religion or politics: all claimed to be in the interests of
neutrality.

Thus, adult education was developing apace in Surrey in the nineteenth
century. The histories which follow are not the result of an exhaustive
survey, and are occasionally without the benefit of a number of sources of
data. (24) They are for instance without the benefit of a comprehensive
search of church records in the County; a task outside the scope of this
account. Nevertheless, it is abundantly clear that Surrey was not a
backwater insulated from knowledge. As Connell observes:

'... had they too been isolated the Captain Swing
riots of 1830 would have been incomprehensible, as
would the stirring of demands following Joseph Arch's
organisation of an Agricultural Workers Union in the
mid 1870s.' (25)

More important perhaps, these data from the county of Surrey provide fresh
sources of evidence for any debate about the sources and exercise of power
in adult education in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
The Mechanics', Literary and Scientific Institutions

Before 1840

The earliest of the major institutions appears to be the Reigate Mechanics' Institute which was founded in 1830. Though Styche claims that in Epsom 'some kind of institution was in existence in 1830', it is possible to record with more certainty that Richmond upon Thames, established an Amicable and Literary Society in 1831. By 1835 there were two institutions in Guildford; a Mechanics' Institute and a Literary and Scientific Institute. There then followed, in 1836, the Mechanics'Institutes at Godalming and Dorking - at which time Epsom founded its Literary and Scientific Institution. 1837 saw the establishment of Mechanics' Institutes at Chertsey and Richmond upon Thames, and Literary and Scientific institutions at both Richmond and Redhill. Then followed Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution, in 1838, (first called 'Mechanics'') and in 1839, a Literary and Scientific Institution at Kingston upon Thames (which later was to be called 'Mechanics'')

Thus, before 1840, there were thirteen enterprises sharing the aims of 'Mechanics' or 'Literary and Scientific' Institutes. This is to say, whose aims and functions shared similar characteristics. (see pp 171-173) If the Richmond Amicable and Scientific Institution is ignored (which was very short-lived) then it can be observed that out of twelve institutions
six were established as 'Mechanics' Institutes' and of the other six, one, Croydon, originally styled itself 'Mechanics' and Literary and Scientific', whilst another, Kingston, later became a Mechanics' Institute, and two others, Guildford and Richmond Literary and Scientific Institutions, coexisted alongside Mechanics' Institutes already established in their towns.

1841 - 1860

In 1843 the Godalming Mechanics' Institute ceased to exist (or as the Secretary recorded in the Minute Book)'and so it died.' (26) The same year saw a number of amalgamations. Guildford Mechanics' Institute and the Literary and Scientific Institute merged, as did the Richmond Mechanics' and Literary and Scientific Institutes. Some form of amalgamation took place between the Kingston Literary and Scientific Institute and other local institutions so that by 1850 the major institution in the town was referred to as a Mechanics' Institute. Also, between 1841 and 1851, the Chertsey Mechanics' Institute became a Literary and Scientific Institution. However, in 1844, a Mechanics' Institute was founded at Farnham. And in 1849, Literary and Scientific Institutions had been founded at Cranleigh and at Epsom and, in the following year, at Haslemere. By 1851 there was a Mechanics' Institute at Weybridge, whilst at Dorking the Mechanics' Institute, which was now defunct, was re-formed in 1855 as a Literary and Scientific Institute. In addition, Working Mens' Institutes were founded at Dorking and at Guildford.

Thus, by the 1860s, though there had been numerous amalgamations, re-formations, and changes of name, each of the above towns and villages maintained their institutions and a number of others having been added.

1861 - 1880

The next twenty years saw the establishment of the Godalming Institute in
1860. In addition, 1862 saw the founding of Bagshot Institute, and in 1864, the founding of a Literary and Scientific Institute at Sutton. Then in 1863, a Working Mens' Institute was established at Farnham, followed in 1870 by the setting up of the Farnham Institute (not to be confused with the Working Mens' Institute).

After 1881

Perhaps the most notable enterprises after 1881 were the establishment of the Lady Peake Institute at Cranleigh in 1885; the Haslemere Educational Museum, founded by Jo, nathan Hutchinson in 1888, and the Leatherhead Literary and Scientific Institution, founded in 1892. There were however many other foundations. Institutes were established at Ashtead, Ewhurst, Headley, Lingfield, Long Ditton, Peaslake, Shackleford, Windlesham, Witney, and Wrecklesham. All of these latter institutions were quite small but there were a number, such as at Ashtead, Windlesham and Witley, which boasted lectures, classes, and 'large libraries.' Certainly institutions of all sizes and all hues proliferated throughout Surrey, and even the men and women of the smallest village had some access to adult education. For example, writing of Haslemere in 1888 (when the population was less than 2000), it could be said that the town possessed many of the institutions normally expected only in much larger towns. (27)

Finally, though science and art education had been growing throughout the century, a new phase in the development of technical instruction dawned with the establishment of Technical Institutes and Schools of Art, such as those at Epsom and Godalming, in the mid 1890s. These developments are paid particular attention in Chapter IV,iii.

Having described the overall pattern, discussion of the provision for the education of adults in each of the main towns and villages of Surrey will now follow.
Bagshot

Bagshot Institute was established in 1862 by James Hodges of Penny Hill, Bagshot, and given by him to the public. (1) The Institute was the centre for many events in the village and from its early days vestry meetings were held in its rooms and continued until 1900 after which time they were removed to Windlesham, since by then the Bagshot rooms were considered to be too small. The Institute comprised a Lecture Room, Reading Room and Billiards Room, and was managed by a committee of five residents. There was a regular weekly programme of lectures on a variety of subjects, many of which were intended for working people. A local newspaper reporting on a lecture on 'The Management of Bees' observed that there were 'a considerable number of the working classes present.' (2) And the same newspaper could claim that 'all ranks and classes of its members' were 'uniting most heartily in supporting not only with their money but also with their personal services.' (3) The programme of the Institute was the familiar mixture of education and entertainment, as the following description testifies:

'On one occasion, for instance, Mr Frimbly gave two comic recitations, Mr Poulter read two of the Ingoldsby legends, and Mr Robertson two humourous extracts from 'Charles O'malley', while Messrs. Cranham, Hone and Knight rendered the 'Canadian Boat Song' and other songs, accompanied by Miss Mears on the piano. Another evening, two plays ('Honesty is the Best Policy' and 'Boots and the Swan') were performed by the Misses James of 'Lambourne House' and their friends, while John Waterer junior obliged with a song in the interval.' (4)

On yet another occasion, the Secretary was able to announce that the lectures would be resumed 'under a more enlightened arrangement', a joke referring to the fact that gas had been laid on in time for a lecture on
'Coal Gas' which was to be given by a Mr McLeod of the Royal College of Chemistry. On this occasion it was reported that the room was 'brilliantly lighted up and filled by a numerous and fashionable audience.' (5) The Institute flourished and when the village choir gave their second annual concert in connection with the Institute, the room was crowded to excess; while at a 'conversazione' there were as many as 500 people present. (6) Such was its success that in 1900 a new Public Hall was built at the Institute at the expense of the Duke of Connaught.

Chertsey

Despite considerable early educational activity in Chertsey, very few records survive with regard to the provision of education for adults. Some idea of the rich educational climate can be gained from the fact that, as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century, Sir William Perkin's Free School, which had been founded in 1725 for the education and clothing of 25 boys and girls, also provided, however minimally, for local men and women. As will be shown below, this provision developed apace in the mid nineteenth century. In the early years the focus of any educational activity for adults was to be found in the Coffee House; an establishment which was still flourishing in 1865. (1) Added to this, the Parish Library of All Saints was available to the public from 1731. A number of Sunday Schools had been established, the first on 6 May 1787 by a Mr Whitewick 'who was the first promoter of Sunday Schools in the Parish' (2) and who was also active in supporting a number of ventures for working men and women in the town. The Sunday Schools were significant providers of education in Chertsey and in 1851 it could be recorded that there were twenty two such schools in the Chertsey Union. (3) All this
educational activity might be expected to stimulate initiatives for working adults. On the other hand, since the teaching of adults was already a significant peripheral activity of those engaged in the general educational provision it had the effect of slowing down further initiatives towards separate provision for adults.

There was a Friendly Society in existence at the beginning of the century and, in 1810, it was joined by a Female Friendly Society, of which Mr Whitewick was a trustee. There was also a Chertsey Savings Bank established in 1818. However, the first organisation directed exclusively towards educating the working poor seems to have been the Addlestone Society for Reading, Hearing and Circulating the Holy Scriptures and for the Relief of the Poor, which was established on 8 July 1820. (4) The purpose of this society is perhaps evident from its title, but it did set out to teach adults to read - though it was less concerned to teach them how to write. The Rules forbade the discussion of 'religious controversy' and 'party (i.e., political) spirit' and sought to maintain that neutrality in these respects which later institutions made central to their thinking. A little after this time a number of private schools and academies made their appearance. (5) and though they, like Mr Wisbey's Academy, and Wellington House Academy, provided business and professional education for young men and women, they could hardly have been accessible or have appealed to the working classes of Chertsey. The only initiative at this time with the latter group in mind was the Society for the Improvement of Small Savings; established in 1825. It was not until 1837 that Chertsey established an institution designed primarily for the education of working class adults. The Chertsey Mechanics' Institute was founded in 1837. At least, early records claim that such an institution met in Steer's Bakery, Chertsey. (6) A Mechanics' Institute is also listed by Coates in 1841. (7) However, the Census of 1851 refers to a Literary and Scientific Institution being in
existence in Chertsey, and certainly an institution of that name is known to have existed in 1856. (8) Steer's Bakery was situated at numbers 118-120 Guildford Street. In 1851 a Literary and Scientific Institution was said to be thriving and had taken over the lower rooms of the Town Hall. (9) All this would suggest a Mechanics' Institute meeting in Guildford Street in 1837, and a Literary and Scientific Institution meeting at the Town Hall in 1850. On the other hand, a change of name and venue might have taken place. The issue is further clouded by a claim that number 122 Guildford Street (adjoining Steer's Bakery) 'was built in 1838 to house the Literary and Scientific Institution.' (10) The coincidences are too great to allow for two separate institutions. Furthermore, despite its fine record in providing education, it is unlikely that Chertsey could have sustained two similar institutions. It is possible of course that, as at Kingston, the two terms were used interchangeably. And so it is reasonable to suppose that a Mechanics' Institute existed from 1837, and sometime in the 1850s a Literary and Scientific Institution was established; perhaps from the remnants of a defunct Mechanics' Institute.

Little is known of the activities of the Mechanics' Institute but the Literary and Scientific Institution had a lecture programme, a reading room, mutual improvement society, and a 'good library.' (11) There was also an evening school for adults in Chertsey about this time - perhaps in association with the Institution. In 1856, the Institution was apparently having difficulties and was in danger of closing. Its library held about 500 volumes, and an independent organisation known as the Chertsey Reading Room and Library showed an interest in acquiring them on the Institution's demise. (see pp 204-205) However, in 1857, the Chertsey Parish Library, of some 500 to 600 volumes, was made available to members of the Literary and Scientific Institution, and to parishioners. (12) The storm was weathered and the Institution was flourishing in 1869, when a rural fete which
it held at Woburn Park was commemorated in a painting by Frederick Townsend. (13) In 1872 the Institution published a list of books in its library. (see Appendix.13g ) Nothing more is known of the Literary and Scientific Institute after 1872, nor indeed of any similar organisation in Chertsey. It was left to Sir William Perkin's school to provide for the education of adults in the basic subjects, to which, by 1894, was added science and technical subjects. (14)

Chobham

A small institute was in existence in 1851, having a membership of about 20. There were occasional lectures and there was a small library of around 50 volumes. The membership fee was 5/- per year, or 2/6d per quarter. (1)

Cranleigh (called Cranley)

At a meeting held in the Cranley National Schoolroom on 21 August 1849 it was resolved that a society should be formed, having for its object the promotion and diffusion of a knowledge of Arts, Sciences and Literature. This was to be achieved by means of lectures and a library. The said society was to be called the Cranley Literary and Scientific Institution. The officers of the Institution would be a President, Treasurer, Secretary
and Librarian (in one). The management of the Institute would be vested in a Committee of five members of which the above would be ex-officio members. The Reverend Henry Sapte chaired this meeting and was subsequently elected Chairman. There was to be no political or theological discussions allowed. Lecturers would be appointed by the unanimous consent of the Committee, and there would be a catalogue of books for the use of members. The Secretary/Librarian would attend every Monday for two hours for the 'reception and delivery of books.' Members could borrow two books at a time but fines were very heavy for loss or non-return or for otherwise breaking the Institute's rules. Fees would be 2/6d a quarter in advance.

A good if traditional start was made therefore and the Institute apparently prospered during the following three years. Evidence is very scant, but from records kept by the Institute from the year 1853 it is clear that a programme of lectures had been successful and that a reasonable library had been built up. Little can be deduced about the particular character of this Institute other than that it was permanently under the careful scrutiny of Henry Sapte and that its library and its reading room were considered to be its most important assets. (see Appendix.13d)

However, all was not peace and harmony. For instance, on 5 December 1853 it was reported that 'the Secretary of the Institute was grossly assaulted by a Mr Gumbrill, and application was made to a magistrate for a summons.' (1) The reason for the assault is not known, for no further record of this incident has come to light - though a Mr Gumbrill was elected to the Committee in 1856!

Clearly in 1856 the Institute was thriving, for in May of that year it was decided to establish a reading room, for which members would pay 1/- per quarter, and non-members 2/- per quarter. It would be open each evening from 7 pm to 10 pm; except Fridays and Sundays. This was the first of the Cranleigh Reading Rooms, and it only lasted for two years, until September
1857 when, because 'only six members now continue to subscribe' it was closed 'for the protection of the property of the Institute and of the National School.' (2) It had started off well enough; providing a dozen or so newspapers and periodicals, and it was thought fit to pay 5/- a quarter to one of the schoolchildren for cleaning and arranging the Reading Room. However, it seems that eventually games began to be played in this room. All went well until the Committee decided that whist and cribbage could be added to the games played. The Reverend ex-Chairman heard of this and it is reported that:

"In consequence of a communication on the subject of card playing from Mr Sapte it was proposed . . . that card playing be henceforward discontinued in the Reading Room which was carried." (3)

1857 was clearly a crisis year and whatever problems were simmering away came to the boil in the Spring of 1858 when it seems that a Committee Member, a Mr Poore, wrote directly to Mr Sapte (who was then President of the Institution) 'misrepresenting irregularities which were supposed to exist instead of laying the complaint before the committee.' thus he 'forfeited the confidence of the Members of the Institution.' (4) Indeed in March 1858 another Committee Member gave notice 'that at the next Committee meeting he would propose a resolution that the Institute be finally closed or re-established on a better basis.' (5) This decision was apparently postponed, though it is not clear why. However, at the next Annual General Meeting there was a much stronger Committee elected; a Committee which included the Reverend Sapte, Mr Poore (who had written the original complaint and who presumably had not forfeited the confidence of members) and Mr Credson, who had proposed the changes. Henceforth, meeting were to be held monthly, quarterly, and annually.

Records of the Institute cease from this date and it is not clear how the Institute fared during the next fourteen years. However, when records were
again kept, this is to say in 1872, much larger attendances were reported. The Reverend Sapte was still a member of the Committee – though there was no mention of any other of the Committee members of 1858. Indeed it is not at all clear whether reports of that time concern the old Literary and Scientific Institution or some re-formed or revived enterprise, for it now launched a new initiative; a second Reading Room. On 14 November 1872 it was resolved 'to establish a Reading Room to be called 'The Cranleigh Reading Room.' (6) Members were to elected by the Committee. Each member was obliged to pay 6d a month or 1/6d a quarter in advance. The Reading Room was to be open each day of the week except Sundays, Good Friday and Christmas Day: from 7 pm to 10 pm; 6 pm to 10 pm on Saturdays. The Rules were harsh; no alcohol, no betting or gambling, no smoking (other than in the lavatory 'where there will be a table of newspapers') and forfeiture of payments, and fines for misconduct. (7) The Reading Room was opened on 25 November 1872. This venture seems to have met with little success, for it closed during the following summer months, and though on 15 October 1873 it was resolved to re-open the Reading Room, and circulars were 'sent round to the principal inhabitants desiring subscription', there is no evidence that it ever did.

This then marks the end of the Cranley Literary and Scientific Institution. It had lasted twenty four years, during which time it had been dominated by the Reverend Henry Sapte. Cranleigh had to wait another thirteen years, until the founding of the Lady Peake Institute (see p114-115) and Appendix.3k), before adult education again flourished in Cranleigh.
The first phase

On October 13th 1838, a group of men met at the home of Mr Langford and decided to form an institution to be called the Croydon Mechanics' Institution. The declared aim was 'the diffusion of useful knowledge especially among the working classes.' However, on October 19th they again met and decided to change the name to the Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution. Their purpose in making this change is not explained though in the light of their almost feverish defence of neutrality in religion and politics and in their general attitude to the social classes which they frequently exhibited it seems probable that the use of the word 'mechanics' compromised this neutrality. For instance, only nine days after the inaugural meeting, the Secretary of the Institution urged that '... the cooperation of so many persons in all classes of society is the best proof that the steps they have taken were such as were calculated to place the Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution on a firm and lasting basis.'

In the following April, the Committee saw fit to change the Rules so that now their stated aim was 'the diffusion of useful knowledge among all classes of society.' Thus a move away from 'especially the working classes' and so more neutral. This preoccupation has already been noted above (pp174-175) where the Committee's attitude to a suggested amalgamation in 1843 with a local Mechanics' Institution was discussed. At a meeting on the 12 November 1838 a Committee was elected, with Lord Elsdon as President and the Rev. Henry Lindsay as Vice President. The remaining members were representatives of the local gentry and clergy, and included George Robert Smith M.P. Two days later, Dr Truman gave his inaugural lecture on 'Inorganic Matter.' This lecture was given gratuitously - on the
understanding that Dr Truman was offered a second lecture, for which he received a fee of £5.12.6d. The early lectures were for the most part on science subjects; 'Organic Matter', 'Galvanism' and 'Histography', and 'Printing and Printing Machines'. There were however, lectures on 'Ancient Persia' and on 'Music.' In the latter case the lecturer was a woman, and nowhere in the records of the Institution is there a suggestion of that doubt which troubled the Guildford Mechanics' Institute when a female lecturer was first proposed. (see p67) Indeed Mrs Ware's lecture was an indication of the pattern of a curriculum that was to develop at the Institution; this is to say Science and the Arts, sandwiched between concerts, drama productions and general entertainment. However, this seeming lack of prejudice against a female lecturer might be seen as yet another indication of the Institute's protestation of neutrality and impartiality.

Thus the Institution got off to an auspicious start; having gratuitous use of rooms at the Town Hall, built in 1809 on 'Wastelands' belonging to the Parish. By October 1839 there were 400 members and there were six hundred volumes in the library. A Bye-Law of the Institution laid down that all works on party politics or divinity 'except on the external evidences of Christianity' should be excluded from the library, as should all novels, romances, and 'books having an immoral or irreligious tendency.' (10) Despite this, the Institution in its first year acquired works by Jane Austin, Dickens, and Fenimore Cooper; as well as 'The Parlour Novelist.' The first books purchased were the works of Shakespeare and Goldsmith, though the Committee rejected the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher. They were also pleased to accept the works of Josephus, Adam Smith, and Bamford's 'Passages in the life of a Radical.' All members could suggest the titles of books for purchase by the library but the decision on which book was actually acquired was the sole responsibility of the Committee. The history
of this library is of particular relevance and is given more detailed attention below. Despite the fact that the Committee was informed at the end of its first year that the Institution could no longer have gratuitous use of rooms at the Town Hall and must in future pay a rental of £4.4.0d a quarter, the money was forthcoming and the Institution continued to flourish, so that by May 1840, a search was being made for larger rooms. French classes had been started (though the formation of mutual improvement classes, which the Committee strongly urged, had not materialised) and the library was growing apace. Accommodation was acquired in a large house, having the library and two rooms on the ground floor, and the remainder let to Mr Morris the librarian for a rent of £30 per annum. (11) In October of 1840 the Committee could report that the Institution had taken over the whole house. Such was their success that they began negotiating for an old theatre situated in Church Street. (12) From this moment it seems the Institution ran into trouble. First, they were forced to hire out the use of the lecture hall 'for purposes not unconnected with the objects of this Institution.' (13) There were serious complaints about the librarian and about members' conduct in the library, so that in October of 1841 the Committee again urged members to form classes of mutual instruction claiming that 'most of the lectures given in the Institutions of the Northern Counties were given gratuitously.' (14) By October 1842 there was a marked decrease in the number attending lectures. It seems that the Committee were anxious to discover how other institutions managed their lecture programmes, and in November of that year received a letter from Mr Martin of the Reigate Institution. (15) pertaining to successful lectures at that institution. (16) In August 1843, because of further financial difficulties consequent on the unreliability of receiving fees when collected quarterly, it was decided in future to accept only annual subscriptions. This seems hardly to have helped the situation for there
were many complaints and a subsequent further loss in membership. The fortunes of the Institution would appear at this time to have been at their lowest, and in November 1843 the Committee received a suggestion from the promoters of a Croydon Mechanics' Institute that the two institutions amalgamate. (17) This was rejected. (see pp 175-76) At the Annual General Meeting of the Institution in August 1843, the Committee reported that the lectures were still poorly attended, and it was resolved that in future they would be planned as a series. This plan for a lecture series, coupled with an annual subscription, and a resurgence of vigour perhaps stimulated by the threat from the rival Mechanics' Institute resulted in a temporary reversal of fortunes. In the autumn of 1844 the Institution was recording more success. This was short-lived, for just one year later the Secretary was moved to record that attendances at lectures were again very bad 'excepting in cases where the lectures have been profusely illustrated or have amounted to little else than mere exhibitions.' (18)

The library, the Institutions' most important asset, had grown to about 1500 volumes, but there were again troubles with the library and the librarian - and the Institution was losing money. It was decided not to re-appoint a librarian, and in September 1846 it was decided that 'no lectures would be given at the expense of the Institute.' (19) Fees were increased, and the library continued to grow, so that in 1847 it could boast of 3000 volumes. However, by the Autumn of the following year, all lectures had ceased. An adjournment meeting was held at which an offer for the Institute building was considered. Following this, the Committee considered returning to their original home, the Town Hall, explaining that 'to diminish the outlay of the Institution . (it) could not be justified in carrying on the Institution in the present place . . . but should not entirely be given up.' (20) Thus came the end of what might be regarded as the first phase of the Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution. It had
started off well enough but had over-reached itself, and seems, in the absence of any enthusiasm on the part of members to form classes for mutual instruction, to have confined its activities to an expensive programme of Lectures and to the acquisition of a library. Poor attendances at lectures, allied to problems with the library and successive librarians, exhausted the financial resources that were required to maintain the activities of the Institution and were needed for the hire and purchase of accommodation.

The second phase

From that moment in September 1849 when the Institution returned to its old home in the Town Hall things again began to improve, and so a second phase can be described. The records were very imperfectly kept for the next few years and so it is difficult to obtain an accurate picture of the proceedings of the Institute at this time. Indeed it is not without interest that a local Directory refers to the 'New' Literary and Scientific Institution (21), which would suggest some re-organisation or re-birth. This is supported by the Report of the Institution's Annual General Meeting of 1863, which is described as the 'Ninth Annual Report' – though in all other respects there would seem to be continuity with the institution which had been founded in 1839. What is clear however is that the Committee had given way to demands for the 'popular lecture', for entertainments, and the 'soiree.' The pattern was set for the long term future of the Institution. Success followed success. By 1856 it was claimed that the library held 400 volumes and in the same and succeeding year that the fortunes of the Institution had grown such that a lack of accommodation was again a problem. Rooms in the old Institute in Crown Street (the old theatre) were again being hired and the Institution was looking for a new building. Over
the next few years it was to be host to a number of celebrated lecturers, members of a new class of men and women; of a new profession. One of the first, a lecture on Bunyan, was given in January 1856 by George Dawson, who has been described as 'one of the most popular lecturers of his time.' (22) It did not go off without incident however. Some friends of the Institute's President were offended at the 'flippant terms in which passages of scripture were introduced' (23) and the Committee were asked to confine lectures to strictly scientific and literary subjects. 1858 saw the acquisition of new rooms in George Street, and a building fund was set up. This year was also to see the establishment, at long last, of mutual improvement classes; an event which was launched by the publication of a speech Charles Dickens had made at the annual meeting of the Institutional Association of Lancashire and Cheshire. (24) Elementary singing classes, based on the Hullah system of notation, were established in addition to elocution, lectures, and a good library and a reading room. Two years later, the new Public Hall in George street was opened, and the Literary and Scientific Institution took up residence. Its aims were now translated as providing 'opportunities of acquiring sound and useful knowledge, of cultivating a taste for Literature and Science; and of promoting a friendly intercourse among all Classes of Society.' (25) Thus it continued its tradition of impartiality. The Committee engaged the services of a librarian and assistant secretary, who would devote their whole time to the service of the Institution. (26) Now was also added a Local Board of Examinations in connection with the Society of Arts, so that 'facilities may be given to members to study and compete for Certificates and prizes.' (27) In 1862 the Committee recorded 7000 attendances in the reading room in just nine months, and an average attendance at lectures of 557. (28) Over the next few years the pattern settled down: thus lectures, concerts, theatrical productions, and anything even faintly esoteric sandwiched between
'entertainments' were offered. There were, in addition, concerts by the Brousil Family, Sterndal Bennet, Gustav Holst, and Coleridge Taylor - not forgetting Ellis Roberts, organist to HRH The Prince of Wales. And there were dramatic renderings from Kate and Ellen Terry, and readings by Conan Doyle. Indeed very rapidly the proportion of lectures to entertainments diminished. A comparison of the programme for the 'Conversazione' of August 1860 with the programme of 'Lectures and Entertainments' of 1918 is ready illustration of a long-established trend. (see Appendices 12k,12q) However there were other developments. A School of Art was founded in 1866, and offered the examinations of the Science and Art Department, and a clear development of technical instruction can be traced from 1862. These developments are more appropriately examined in Chapter IV,iii, pp227-229. Before turning to the third and final stage of the development of adult education in Croydon it is appropriate to summarise the history of the Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution's library, particularly since it can be argued that such a successful venture might well have delayed the provision of a public library for the town.

The library

In the early years of the Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution there was constant trouble with its librarians, and indeed some explanation for this is offered elsewhere. (see p266) On the 26 November 1838, but one month into the history of the Institution, a Mr Sims was appointed librarian. He was to be paid 6/- per week. It is not clear what his precise duties were, nor his terms of employment. Three months later the Committee reported that 'in the opinion of this meeting Mr Sims is incompetent to the duties of librarian . . . and that he be discharged.' (29) On the 18 February, this is to say one week later, a John Johnson was appointed. He would be paid £5.0.0d per quarter, but he had to clean all the rooms, light
the fires and stoves, and get all the rooms ready on lecture nights. Whether these latter duties had not been accomplished by Mr Sims is not known. However, Mr Johnson, it can be seen, was to be paid about £5 per year more than had been paid to Mr Simms. Less than one year later, Johnson resigned. No reason is given, and a new librarian, a Mr Morris was appointed. Morris would have the same salary as Johnson but the Committee let a number rooms at the Institute to him for living accommodation at an annual rent of £30. Ten months later, in November 1840, the Committee received complaints about Morris. It seems that the library was oftentimes inaccessible to members, and the librarian permitted unauthorised use. In writing to Morris the Committee particularly objected to 'the practice of smoking in any of the apartments of the Institute at any time.' (30) All went well for a further two years, until in January 1843, Morris was again criticised, and then again in June of that year when, as a result, the Committee asked for his resignation. However, it seems that Morris was prepared to stay at a considerably reduced salary. It must be recalled that he was living on the premises - and the Institution was in serious financial difficulty. No doubt the arrangement suited both parties. The Committee agreed. However, on the 28 August 1843, Morris resigned. Three days later, a Mr Trask was appointed, at £26 per annum. There is no further record of this gentleman except that he left the Institution some time within the next two years for, early in 1846, the Committee were again looking for a librarian. A Mr Gardner had been a temporary librarian but he kept closing the library up without permission. The Institute's financial troubles were by now critical and, in July 1846, the Committee decided that 'under the present situation of the society's affairs it is not desirable to appoint a librarian for a period beyond Michaelmas next.' (31)

In September 1848, Mr Cox was the new librarian. However it seems that he had been rude to a sister of a Mr Page (an influential local resident and
patron of the Institute.) Mr Cox explained, Mr Page relented, and the librarian was reinstated. This coincided with another unfortunate period in the life of the Institute, and in the following September of 1849, it had returned to occupy its original home, the Town Hall. Its fortunes changed for the better, as did relationships with future librarians. In 1860, Mr Pusey was the librarian. The Institution was now occupying rooms in the new Public Hall, and the Committee was confident:

"In order to make thoroughly effective the greatly increased advantages of the New Building, the Committee have engaged the services of a Librarian and assistant secretary, Mr W H Pusey, the whole of whose time will be devoted to the welfare of the Institution." (32)

This however was going to cost money:

"It will be evident that, to carry out the arrangements with a liberal spirit, necessarily involves a much larger expenditure than hitherto, and adds to the responsibility of the Committee; but on the other hand they have every confidence that a liberal support will be given, by a large number of ALL CLASSES BECOMING MEMBERS OF THE INSTITUTION." (33)

Support was forthcoming and, by 1907, the library was able to make available ten thousand volumes, through its association with Grosvenor's and Smith's and Mudie's libraries. Even though Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution might have expected a great deal from their investment in a librarian they did nevertheless, from the very beginning, recognise a need to pay for his services.
Later history

Towards the end of the century a number of independent initiatives were established; though sometimes these became enmeshed with the activities of the Literary and Scientific Institution, particularly its School of Art, its technical education classes, and its University Extension programme, which had commenced in 1880. Croydon Adult School was established in 1880, and a separate initiative in technical education was established at the Sunflower Coffee House in 1884. However, though the Institute auctioned off its library of newspapers and periodicals in 1905, and later the Public Library took over its function of providing for the reading public of Croydon, there are references to the activities of the Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution until 1927, when it seems it could no longer compete with the attractions of the picture houses and other commercial ventures. Thus the Institution had functioned on behalf of the people of Croydon, without a break, for 89 years; from 1838 to 1927.

Dorking

The exact date of the establishment of the Dorking Mechanics' Institute is difficult to ascertain. 'The earliest organisation founded especially for the elevation of the operative classes that I remember in Dorking was the Mechanics' Institute.' Such was the claim of an elderly Dorking resident writing in 1876. (34) He goes on to establish that 'more than forty years have passed since lectures were delivered under the auspices of the Dorking Mechanics' Institute at the old Infant Schoolroom.' (35) Thus it can be
reasonably claimed that the Institution was in existence before 1836. The Institute reading room was within the precincts of the Old Queen's Arms Inn, in West Street. In this respect the Institute had similar beginnings to the Institution at Egham, where rooms at the Red Lion Inn were used. Lectures were usually given in the old Infant Schoolroom in East Street, and it might be noted that only two other institutions for adult education in Surrey began their lives in schoolrooms; Cranleigh, and Godalming. At Cranleigh it was the National School, and at Godalming it was the British School, associations which had an influence on the character of these institutions. Of Dorking schoolroom, Rose observes that 'Churchmen and Dissenters for a series of years united in their support for this last named school, and it is to be much regretted that at last a spirit of ecclesiastical rivalry brought about its dissolution.' (36) It can only be supposed that this rare accommodation was, certainly at its beginning, to the advantage of the Dorking Mechanics' Institute. The only available record of the curriculum of this Institution comes again from Rose, who recalls a spirited meeting and being 'thrilled there by the eloquent denunciation of the West India Apprentices Act by that friend of the Slave and Slavery Abolition, John Scoble.' (37) Lectures 'characterised by considerable ability, were delivered by gentlemen in the neighbourhood, and by others from a distance. Among those of the former were one or two of a clever and highly interesting character on the structure and functions of the human eye, by the late Mr W Chaldicott.' (38) It might be noted that Mr McPherson, that very popular and successful lecturer who was engaged by Godalming and Guildford Institutes, and who lectured on Geography and travel under the title 'Illustrations of a Tour Round The Globe', lived in Dorking.

Characteristically, the Institute soon began to cater for the superior artisan and tradespeople of the district and for a time it progressed
satisfactorily having the support and interest of some professional gentlemen and influential inhabitants of the town. However, thinking that it might succeed still better, it changed its name to the Dorking Literary and Scientific Institution. (39) However, this does not seem to have been a move for the better and 'ultimately the interest that was at first manifested in the Institution declined, and at last it was given up.' (40) Just when this happened is again not clear, but an anonymous writer in 1855 records that 'within the last few months a Literary and Scientific Institution has been started under the happiest auspices.' (41) This new society had 'sprung from the ashes of another, which lately occupied the same building called the Rotunda, and which though unsuccessful was enabled to retire from the field with flying colours and to contribute a liberal sum in aid of its successor.' (42) It is a matter of speculation whether the 'ashes' were those of the Mechanics'-Literary and Scientific Institution. If so, the conclusion must be that this latter Institution was no longer using the old Schoolroom and was instead using the Rotunda. Since the move to more prestigious accommodation so often, as at Croydon, Kingston and Richmond, coincided with the demise of an Institution, or at least its re-organisation, it is possible that the change of name at Dorking coincided with the Institution's move to the Rotunda. Rose however somewhat clouds the picture by claiming that after the Mechanics' Institute had been given up it was followed by a short-lived Mutual Improvement Society and a soon-extinct Young Men's Christian Association. (43) However, in 1855, a Dorking Literary and Scientific Institution was founded, and it was observed that 'if we can judge from the prospectus ... it will differ little, if at all, from its brethren, which enjoy for the most part a flourishing existence in various towns of England.' (44) There was the usual library, reading room and lectures; and there was class instruction. However, this Institution was also short-lived. Already, at
the time it was founded it had competition from a number of private book societies and clubs (45) and from the Red Lion Inn, where lectures and concerts were held. It is interesting to consider whether this latter was the 'rump' of the original Mechanics' Institute. More significantly, it had competition from the newly founded Working Mens' Institution, which met in rooms in the High Street, in the centre of the town. This Institution was, reputedly 'designed for another class in society', this is to say for working men. (46) The Institution was founded in 1855 or thereabouts, for an anonymous writer in 1855 refers to it as being under good management and deserving of encouragement.(47) This is confirmed by Bright who, writing in 1883, refers to the 'last annual report, which was the twenty-seventh.' (48) The Institution thrived, and in its first year a plea was made by one sympathiser for 'gifts of books or money, or even better still an occasional lecture on some interesting topic.' (49) In 1882 it could boast a library of over 1600 volumes, a reading room where there were newspapers and periodicals, magazines and railway guides; many of which had been donated by Sir Arthur Cotton. The Institution also provided opportunities for Chess, draughts, and bagatelle. It was described in 1883 as 'one of the most useful and enduring organisations of the town.' (50) to which Bright adds:

'In this remark there may be an allusion to the fact, that many institutions of an educational and religious character have appeared and disappeared during the existence of the Working Mens' Institute. Many of these have begun with enthusiasm; and after a time divisions of opinion have occurred, or interest has languished, and nothing was left but for their few steadfast friends to meet at their decease, and with heavy hearts make a collection to meet the deficit, and in fact, to pay the funeral expenses.' (51)

Certainly many institutions for the education of the people had come and gone in Dorking since the 1830s, and the same writer was moved to say that
'it is not to be imagined that the air of Dorking is particularly fatal to institutions of this kind, since other towns show a similar mortality. (52) The end of a Literary and Scientific Institute for Dorking was not yet at hand however. In 1870, Lady Anne Adele, widow of Henry Thomas Hope, (53) gave a parcel of land,'}

'Situate and abutting on Chart Lane, Dorking (for)...
An institution for the promotion of Science, Literature and the Fine Arts for Adult instruction the diffusion of useful knowledge for a Library or Reading Room or any other of such purpose.' (54)

This enterprise was soon referred to as the Chart Lane Institute and, apart from Lady Hope and other influential residents, the venture gained its support from John Evelyn of Wooton Hall, who was Chairman of the Trustees, and Thomas Hughes, M.P. who was Vice Chairman; both of whom were supporters of Christian Socialism. The Institute was opened on the 7 November 1871 and seems to have had a successful early history. Indeed after thirteen years of existence the Committee could congratulate its supporters on its success. Alas, only four years later it was reported with regret that

'... its position seems to prevent its being appreciated by the townspeople and the intention of its generous founder, W.J. Evelyn, is defeated... it is considered too far away from the centre of the town... it is only used by the Young Men's Friendly Society.' (55)

It was hoped that such a fine building might be put to some useful purpose. (see Appendix. 3n.) Thus for a time, attempts to provide adult education for the people of Dorking came to an end - though it has to be noted that at this time the Working Mens' Institution was still thriving. In the early 1890s the independent Dorking High School took up residence in the Chart Lane building.
The Red Lion Assembly Room, the property of and in the precincts of the Red Lion Inn, Egham, was used for a variety of purposes for most of the nineteenth century. It seems to have taken on the characteristics of a Public Hall. It was the meeting place for numerous organisations, for public events of every kind, and before 1820, the venue for a Friendly Society. Indeed there were a number of Friendly Societies meeting in Egham at the beginning of the nineteenth century; at the Nags Head and at the Catherine Wheel. However, the Red Lion was the most popular and thus the venue most often used. (51) Exactly when an institution designed specifically for the education of adults was founded is not clear. Turner refers to such an institution 'deserving of a word of recognition'. This institution, he continues, 'the Literary and Scientific Institution, took its present form in 1846, and Queen Victoria, as Lady of the Manor, gave her countenance and assistance to the project.' (52) A reference to 'its present form' would suggest some kind of institution before 1846. If this is so, then it is more than likely that it met in the Red Lion Assembly Room. Support for this comes from the activities of the Wetton family, who were influential local printers with establishments in Egham, Chertsey and Maidenhead. They were connected with numerous educational enterprises in the Egham and Chertsey areas, supporting and helping to establish Sunday Schools and in particular, National Schools. Of greater relevance however is the establishment by C C Weeton of a Subscription Reading Room at Egham in 1805. This library and reading room was most certainly connected with the institution founded later in the century and, notionally, it might have been the focus of any institution founded before 1846. The Reading Room was
'appropriate to subscribers' and was 'furnished with the daily morning papers as well as the provincial ones, and affords a desirable acquisition to Gentlemen and Families in the Neighbourhood.' (53) The institution mentioned by Turner was in fact established at the Red Lion Inn on 1 January 1847. The stated aims of this, the Egham Literary and Scientific Institution are familiar:

'To promote the advancement of Literature and Science, and the acquisition of general knowledge, by means of a Library, a Reading Room - classes of mutual instruction - the discussion of subjects not connected with politics or religion - and the delivery of public lectures.' (54)

There were rules which forbade conversation in the Reading Room 'except from nine to ten o'clock in the evening' (55) and rules regulating the fair circulation of newspapers. (56) The Institution was under the management of a Committee, which would be 'strictly impartial and shall not be informed by any political or religious considerations.' (57) There was an attempt to gain the support of ordinary working class members of the Institution, and a strategy was employed to gain their direct involvement:

'A book to be called the Members' Minute Book shall be kept in the Reading Room, in which an entry may be made of any subject which a member may wish to bring to the notice of the Committee. All entries so made shall be brought before the committee by the secretary or one of the secretaries, for consideration at their next meeting.' (58)

However, in 1854, Colonel Salwey, a leading member of the local gentry, purchased the Assembly Room on behalf of the Literary and Scientific Institution, and a building fund was set up. It can be supposed that the Institution had had seven years of success. This success would now be crowned by the provision of purpose-built accommodation. An event reminiscent of similar experiences at Croydon, Kingston and Richmond. The generosity of Colonel Salwey, and the support of other local gentry and
clergy guaranteed the success of the venture. The new building adjacent to
the Red Lion Inn in the High Street was opened in 1855. (59) From the
beginning a programme of lectures alternating with concerts and dramatic
and musical evenings was offered - a tradition it long sustained.
The building housed a library and reading room, the former being its most
prized asset. In the late 1870s the Institution boasted a circulation
library 'containing upwards of 1500 volumes, in addition to books of
reference.' (60) Also, it was claimed:

'. . . the above Society subscribes to Messrs W H Smith
and Sons' Circulating Library by which means the
Members of the Egham Literary Institute have access to
the whole field of Literature covered by one of the
largest circulating libraries in the world.' (61)

Hereafter, the history of the Institution becomes confused, for, about this
time another similar enterprise made its appearance in Egham, occupying
premises in Tite or Middle Hill. In 1882 it would seem that there was a
need for a gymnasium in Egham. The Committee of the Literary Institute (as
distinct from the Literary and Scientific Institution) engaged the services
of a well known local clockmaker, Herr Esser, late of the Duisberg
Gymnasium, to address a public meeting on the subject. The meeting was
arranged for 7 November 1882, and would take place in the 'large room of
the Egham Institute.' (62) The outcome of this meeting is not known.
The Literary Institute is not to be confused with the Literary and
Scientific Institution. This is to say that it was not the same institution
under another name, for advertisements for the older institution continue
throughout this period. Nevertheless, it was from the Literary Institute
that the Egham Technical Institute developed in 1898. It is not known
whether relationships between these two institutions were amicable, though
evidence suggests that they were. For instance, a Mr Budgen was on the
Committee of the Literary and Scientific Institution, whilst his son was on
the Committee of the Literary Institute. (63) Thus both institutions co-existed for some time. Returning to the Literary and Scientific Institution, the Rules were revised in 1877 and reprinted as revised in 1898. It was reported to be a 'well supported Literary and Scientific Institution' in 1887. (64) In 1890 a new Curator was appointed who would live on the premises of the Institution in the High Street. (see Appendix.15) In 1897 the lessees of the Institution were all successful local businessmen and professional persons; merchants, builders, auctioneers - and a certain Edward Budgen, described as a Gentleman. (65) In 1912 the President was Baron Anthony de Worms. The Literary Institute on the other hand, despite its developing technical education, offered a traditional programme of lectures and concerts which characterised its sister (if not rival) institution. Certainly this was so as far as the programme of the Egham Debating and Literary Society (which met each Monday in the Literary Institute) was concerned. (see Appendix.12r) While the Literary Institute developed evening continuation classes together with technical and art education, and so was eventually absorbed into a developing County system, the Literary and Scientific Institution continued and was still offering an educational programme in 1926. Indeed it was observed that '... the society, with its library, has had a somewhat chequered existence, but has managed to survive and reach a more flourishing position.' (66) This institution's demise came in 1944 when its building and its other assets were disposed of. The building still exists and is the home of the Egham Museum. (see Appendix.3s) What was meant by a 'chequered existence' can only be surmised. The Institution most likely suffered the same changes in fortune as were experienced at other institutions in the county, and for much the same reasons. However, despite this and despite the existence of other institutions with not markedly dissimilar aims, the Egham Literary and Scientific Institution existed for
Writing prior to the wilful destruction of some primary data (67) Styche claims that 'it is not known when the Institute was first opened but records indicate between 1830 and 1835.' (68) The Institute thus referred to is the Epsom Literary Institute. There is some confusion in the way writers use the titles of this and later institutions interchangeably. However, this early foundation is supported by a claim in the Epsom Herald of 1935 that:

'The Literary Institute after being in existence about 50 years . . . began to show signs of financial decay. At this period there existed a small band of young men who had organised a club, named the Epsom Town Working Mens' Club . . . Overtures were made by their Committee to the Committee of the Literary Institute, with a view to amalgamation.' (69)

This amalgamation is known to have taken place in 1880 - thus settling the foundation of the Literary Institute in the early 1830s. An elderly gentleman who had lectured at the Institution wrote in 1903 that the Epsom Literary and Scientific Institution was established in 1849. (70) Again, it is claimed that the meetings of this Institution were held 'in the Literary Institute,' (71) further suggesting the prior existence of the latter. Sadly, no records exist of this early venture and so this history must commence at a slightly later date; with the foundation in 1849 of the Epsom Literary and Scientific Institution. Little is known of the aims of this
enterprise but there is little doubt that they were focused on a library and reading room for, in describing the town of Epsom in 1860, a writer was able to observe the existence of '... a Literary and Scientific Institution in which lectures on different subjects are given. The chief newspapers are taken in, and some periodicals; while the library has many excellent works, either purchased from the funds, or presented by kind donors who have the welfare thereof at heart.' (72) Indeed a number of the volumes housed in this library would probably now be considered quite valuable. There was, for instance, a copy of Stowe's 'History of London' - now believed to be in the Guildhall Museum. The Institute occupied rooms in the High Street which were it seems hardly suitable; a condition which brought a plea for means which would 'permit a more solid and comfortable building to be erected for the use of this valuable institution.' (73) However, sometime in the 1850s this must have been attained for, in 1901, it was recorded that 'the Institute of earlier days may still be seen in the High Street - a pathetic sight, its classic stucco front looking very dilapidated and its sides plastered with posters. Fifty years ago the building held a fair library and reading room.' (74) This building was demolished with the widening of the High Street in 1935, but the Epsom Herald of that year affords a further description:

'It consisted of a large room capable of seating about 150 people (without the stage) and a library, which when it came to a close, consisted of well over 2000 books ... The large room was used exclusively as a reading room, supplied then with all the current papers, except at times when there were lectures, concerts, and even a spelling bee.' (75)

There was also an entrance porch, projecting well over the pathway, and a long garden on the east side.

The Epsom Literary and Scientific Institution got off to a good start; it had the support and patronage of the local gentry and clergy, and there
is a record of a 'fancy fair' held in July 1852 in Woodcote Park 'in
the interestsof the Institution' at which 'the Baroness de Tessier and
other ladies in the neighbourhood furnished and provided at the stalls.'
(76) By 1862 the Institution had developed along characteristic lines; a
library and reading room, with lectures interspersed with concerts and
entertainments. (see Appendix.121) Silence was strictly observed in the
reading room 'except at times when some local event made a stir' and, in
the early days before the installation of gas, 'two portly members with
four tall brass candlesticks and lighted candles would take their places at
the door, in readiness to receive the tickets of those entitled to enter.'
(77) To what extent Epsom was associated with enterprises in Ewell, the
neighbouring village, is difficult to ascertain. The Census of 1851 lists
an Epsom and Ewell Literary and Scientific Institution, and an advertisment
for a series of readings for December 1862 again includes Ewell in its
title - this despite significant independent initiatives taking place in
Ewell. (see below, p47)
In any event, the Epsom Institution progressed well enough for a number of
years until it seems there developed two incompatible groups among the
membership. Generally, it was said that the Institution had become too
'literary', this is to say, concentrating on literary 'readings' and so on.
The Institution began to decline. The verdict of the Epsom Herald was that
this was due to 'want of young members to be interested in the old order of
things' (78) but a local historian's conclusion was that it was 'through a
growth of an element among some of the members contrary to the proper
conduct of the institution.' (79) Whatever the reason, matters came to a
head in 1880. There had been an independent organisation of young men in
the town which had established a club in 1864; the Epsom Town Working
Mens' Club. They met in accommodation attached to the Old Mission Room in
the High Street. It seems that their ideals were in sympathy with those of
a substantial element in the Literary and Scientific Institution. Thus:

'Overtures were made by their Committee to the Committee of the Literary Institute, with a view to amalgamation. After some negotiation the amalgamation was agreed to, and, with the consent of the landlord, the remainder of the lease was assigned to the new organisation on the condition that the building was put in good repair, inside and out. The Committee undertook to be responsible for this, and also for the payment of all outstanding debts.' (80)

And so, in 1880, the Working Mens' Club and the Institute amalgamated. The Institute building came into disuse, 'the books it contained being sold by auction.' (81) For the next eighteen years, opportunities for the education of adults was restricted to the Working Mens' Club, and to initiatives associated with local churches. In this respect the church of St Martins in Epsom, which had established a Sunday School in 1860, might be mentioned. The Congregational church in Epsom was particularly active, seeing the opening of its new Lecture Hall in the Upper High Street in 1880. And of course there were numerous circulating and subscription libraries in the town. (82)

The next phase commences in 1889 when, at a meeting in the old Town Hall, a number of residents met to discuss the formation of a Literary Society. Lord Russell, the Lord Chief Justice of England, gave a speech launching this new venture. This might be taken as an indication of the character of the Institution it was hoped to develop. This initiative, resulting in the formation of the Epsom Literary and Scientific Institution, had the declared intention of upholding the long tradition of non-sectarian, non-political, non-controversial involvement in the education of adults. The first President was Sir Edward Coates, and, 'this vessel of concord' assiduously chose 'from the first to exclude religion and politics from the subjects of their studies, essays and lectures.' (83) The aims of the Institution were
to meet weekly to 'discuss classics, contemporary literature, and even the many discoveries and advancements in the scientific world of the 1890s.' The Institution grew in strength, membership was taken very seriously, and essays were written for which prizes were awarded. By 1907, though the Institution had no home of its own and met in the old Town Hall, or the Lecture Hall in Station Road, it could claim 570 members. Its character soon settled. Its Presidents were to include Sir Edward Coates (already mentioned), Sir Edward Mountain, the Rt Hon. Lord Chuter Ede, and it continues to thrive to this day under the Presidency of Lord Aukland. Lecturers have included Bernard Newman, Jill Balcon and Sir Arthur Bryant. However, this takes this history beyond the discontinuities set for this study.

In summary, the Literary Institute (if indeed it was so named) functioned without a break for about 50 years - though it seems to have been reorganised or absorbed with a change of name in 1849 to the Epsom (and Ewell) Literary and Scientific Institution; amalgamating with the Epsom Town Working Mens' Club in 1880. In the 1890s, when a new Literary and Scientific Society was establishing itself, there developed a number of local initiatives aimed at providing technical and art instruction, culminating in the establishment of the Epsom Technical Institute and school of Art in 1896.

Ewell

The village of Ewell had a long tradition of providing education, both for
children and for adults. In 1773, a Mr Bromfield had made provision in his will for the distribution of £350 for the education of 10 poor children. Later, there was a National School, lectures in the King's Head Hotel, and a school with a gallery 'corresponding very closely to Wilderspin's original conception.' (86) In the second half of the nineteenth century support for educational enterprises in the village came particularly from the Rev. Joseph Shaw, and the squire and parson, Sir George Glyn. There were 'Temperance Lectures' between 1862 and 1868:

'...we learn of a Lecture on Ancient Egypt - illustrated from the Monuments by the Oxygen Lantern.'

The Congregational church was, in the 1860s, providing a mutual improvement society, classes and lectures. In 1879 a new Lecture Hall was built, adjoining the church. The foundation stone was laid by the Earl of Rosebery on the 24 July 1879, and the building was officially opened on the 14 November 1879. The Lecture Hall is described as follows:

'The Hall, which is an exceedingly cheerful building, is in the domestic gothic style of architecture, and is 58ft. by 32ft. There is a committee room on the right and a recess and kitchen on the left. There is a hammer beam roof. The large end windows are of tinted cathedral glass with crimson lines, and the platform at the end of the building is circular, a special feature. The building will seat about 400, and is capable of accommodating about 450 when occasion requires. It is heated by a Gill stove, and lighted by eight star burners, besides several bracket lights. The exterior of the building corresponds with the adjoining chapel. (88).

The village had, in addition, always been associated with the Epsom educational initiatives, in particular the Literary and Scientific Institution. In 1933 this institution began to call itself the Epsom, Ewell and District Literary Society. It is now the Epsom and District Literary and Scientific Society.
Adult education in Farnham was founded on a number of institutions existing in the nineteenth century. The town was not an educational backwater for, apart from the Friendly Societies of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and the mutual improvement societies (mainly associated with the Congregational church) there existed an unusual number of schools. (1) However, the earliest precise history of adult education relates to the Mechanics' Institute.

Though its origin is not recorded, the Mechanics' Institute was in existence in 1844 and was, according to Kelly, thriving in 1857. Thereafter, the history of this particular institution is confused. In 1853, a Farnham Young Mens' Institution was founded. This institution had a room with a museum next to the old Town Hall, and also had a Reading Room in the old Grammar School. Whether this enterprise was a re-formed Mechanics' Institute, was an amalgamation with it, or that two institutions just had certain things in common, is not very clear but in 1863 there is a reference to the Farnham Young Mens' Association and Mechanics' Institute. (2) In July of the same year a Mr Tily (of the Young Mens' Association) was described as a secretary of the Mechanics' Institute. (3) However, Newnham (c1920) confuses the issue still further by asserting that the Young Mens' Association later had their Reading Room at the Farnham Institute – a much later foundation. The Mechanics' Institute met in the Bailiff's Hall in The
Borough, a building which had originally been known as the Goat's Head Inn stables.

Little more is known of the Mechanics' Institute other than that the building in which they met was barely suitable:

'The Bailiff's Hall, like the rest of the Goat's Head, had fallen into a rather bad state by 1830. By mid-century, as the Mechanics' Institute, it had been re-fronted and greatly improved. It was, according to one critic, as if to keep up the balance between the physical and the intellectual; a rather dreary affair in which the darkness of the lecture hall was little lighted by either lights or learning.' (4)

However, 1863 saw the establishment of another significant enterprise in Farnham. This was the Farnham Working Mens' Institution. It began its life at the Oastler Inn, then the Goat's Head Inn (at which the early friendly societies had met) and later at the Corn Exchange, finally finding a permanent home in Castle Street. The building in Castle Street dates from the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Subscriptions were raised in 1813 for the establishment of a National School on the premises, and it was this school which, for many years, hosted the Farnham Working Mens' Institution. It was not the most suitable building. The old school was 'dark, without classrooms and unfit for the purpose for which they were assigned.' (5) Indeed it was observed that 'there was no large hall for concerts and lectures, though by courtesy, the castle was sometimes used. (6)

The purpose of the Institute was mainly recreational and aimed at the 'moral and social welfare of the working man.' (7) There was however a library and a reading room, and there were classes in shoe-mending and carpentry. In addition, there was an annual excursion. Its most significant ventures were however the Choral class and Elocution Section. Of the former, it was said that its efficacy would be 'much increased by the
harmonium which has just been added to the property of the Institution.'

(8) This enthusiasm for music has been met with before, at Richmond, and
indeed the same William Chapman, who was Secretary of the Richmond
Mechanics' Institute, having moved to Farnham, exerted his influence and
soon established a choral class at the Institute, under the direction of Mr
Wonnacott. The elocution section was a particularly significant venture and
had for its secretary Mr William Chapman. The importance of both these
ventures is acknowledged in a newspaper report of 1864:

'We know how this institution was established and the
class of men which compose it. They are hardworking
industrious men who wish to have a proper place
provided for their meetings and where a few hours might
be spent in comfort and enjoyment. Most favourably did
things move on but it was quickly felt that something
more was needed to complete the institution and
enable it to stand on a level with others of its kind -
and that was the establishment of an elocution and
choral section.' (9)

The Elocution Section was established on 20 May 1863, with Mr S Baker as
secretary and William Chapman as Chairman - though by May 1864 Chapman was
also performing the duties of secretary and librarian. (10) This section
seems to have maintained a curious independence from the general activities
of the Working Mens' Institution, by co-operating in a most formal way.
Readings (called 'Penny Readings', and reported as such by local
newspapers - since one penny was charged for admission) were given to the
class, and periodically at 'open meetings' when other members of the
Working Mens' Institution and the public were admitted. It appears that
this independence was carefully defended. For instance, a new Rule,
introduced in 1864, states:

'Let no member of less than three months standing be
permitted to give a piece on open night without having
previously given it in class on each of the three
meetings preceding such open night.' (11)
The elocution and choral sections were undoubtably successful. It was said that an entertainment given in order to raise funds for the church tower for St Andrews attracted 'the largest audience we have ever known to assemble in the town.' (12) This is perhaps surprising when it is recalled that such entertainments included renderings of 'The Sythian ambassador and Alexander on his preparation to attack their country' and 'Demosthenes address to the Athenians.' It also raises the question of whether many of the members were 'working men.' On the other hand, the recitations were leavened by the inclusion of 'The Young Lady with nothing to wear' and similar monologues.' (13) The management of the Elocution Section was particularly heavy-handed, as Rule 9 illustrates:

'That readings and recitations be voluntary, but if any member, having his name down for such, be absent when called on, he should stand at the head of the list for the succeeding meeting, and in the event of his not then appearing to answer his name he shall be fined one penny, and not be allowed to recite again till the fine be paid.' (14)

First attempts at collaboration with other institutions appear in December 1863, when the secretary of the Young Mens' Association was approached regarding the two organisations jointly presenting an entertainment to celebrate Shakespeare's tercentenary. The Young Mens' Association declined the invitation, saying firstly that the number of recitations under such circumstances would be uncontrollable, that the meeting with such a number would be necessarily long to an inordinate length, and lastly that there was really no room available to hold such an immense audience as such a platform would be certain to draw. (15) Lack of a room of suitable size was a constant problem. As a local newspaper observed in urging the building of a public hall:

'... we hope the day is not far distant when Farnham will stand on an equal footing with other towns in the county, many of which are of less importance than our
own.' (16)

Indeed one week after this comment was published builders were called in to check the floor of the building in Castle Street to ensure that it would stand the weight of such large audiences as were attending.' (17)

Not everything went smoothly however, and at a very successful entertainment (repeated the following month to raise funds for the projected exhibition of Art and Industry) an observer was moved to say:

'The entertainment was one of the best of the season but we regret to state that the pleasure of the evening was frequently marred by the disorderly conduct of some persons in the back seats near the entrance. It is to be hoped that none of these were members of the Institution such conduct being a disgrace to those who exhibited it and deserving the reprobation of all well-disposed persons.' (18)

Attempts at co-operation with other sections of the Working Mens' Institution and with the Young Mens' Association were eventually successful. In a letter from Mr E Dudeney, for a time secretary of the Elocution Section, to the Working Mens' Institution in 1864, it was pointed out that it had been decided to have two entertainments in celebration of Shakespeare's tercentenary. Thus a large number of performers would not be engaged on the one evening and therefore the two bodies could now cooperate. However, the esteem in which the Elocution Section held itself and the patronising attitude it adopted towards the working men is evident in the observation:

'We think that as the working men appear to excel in comedy they might take that part of the playing entirely into their hands.

Two comic scenes will be needed for presentation those thought of are:
Much ado, Sc3. Act 3.
But of course the choice will be with yourself and members subject to the approval of the Shakespearian Committee.(of the Elocution Section)' (19)
In the next year, the Elocution Section of the Young Mens' Association was approached with a proposal that it should join the Elocution Section of the Working Mens' Institution in holding their meetings at the same time and in the same place. (20)

Accommodation continued to be a problem and in 1866 the secretary of the Elocution Section of the Institution reported that he had endeavoured to obtain the use of the newly-built Town Hall for the occasion of an entertainment but that the director would not let it for any purpose until after the opening concert, the date of which had not been fixed. The use of the new National Schools, which had been built in Church Passage, had therefore been obtained on the approval of the class. It was resolved on a motion that the entertainments should in future be given in the new National Schools. (21)

In 1865 a School of Art was established, meeting first in the Bailiff's Hall (as had the Mechanics' and Working Mens' Institutions). In 1868 there was yet another exhibition of Art and Industry. The School of Art re-established itself in new premises in South Street, which were begun in 1874 and were completed in 1878. The Art Master was Joseph Hill, and the School received grants from the Science and Art Department, South Kensington. (see pp.227-9) The School of Art and the Working Mens' Institute continued to thrive. The curriculum of the latter changed very little; concentrating on practical crafts and entertainments.

The year 1891 saw the establishment of the Farnham Institute. This had been built in South Street, with money raised by public subscription. It was just two doors away from the School of Art. At this time the Working Mens' Institute remained a separate body from the Farnham Institute and in this same year (1891) the chairmen of the Committees of these two Institutions met with the Art Master of the School of Art and the Head of the Grammar
School, in order to reply to the circular from Surrey County Council regarding the financing of technical instruction.

After this time, the Farnham, Institute gained in importance and in 1901 could claim 350 members and a library of some 3000 volumes. (22) The School of Art continued with its work and together with the Institute provided technical and art instruction. In 1901, with the Working Mens' Institution in decline, Farnham Adult School was established in Castle Street, claiming to be unsectarian and non-political. It began with a programme of lectures on plant life, William Cobbett, and the Pilgrim's Way.

Farnham Institute still survives under its new name, the Farnham Club. The School of Art moved to West Street in 1939, but the other institutions survived only so long as they could attract people to their readings and their entertainments. Their educational functions declined with the growth of technical and art instruction following the Technical Instruction Acts and the availability of 'Whisky Money.' (see pp 234-235)

Godalming

A particularly noticeable feature of the Godalming Mechanics' Institute is that it evinced a character somewhat closer to the spirit of local working class people than might be observed at similar institutions in the County at this time. The everyday language and synoptic entries in the Minute Book, together with a few references in local Directories, combine to present a picture of an institution which is intuitively commonplace. On the other hand, the town had a credible history of concern for the
education of its residents. A number of Dame schools and Charity schools had existed during the late eighteenth century, and the Unitarian Church established a Sunday School and mutual improvement society early in the nineteenth century.

The Godalming Mechanics' Institute was founded on 8 March 1836 at a meeting in the Town Hall attended by twenty-nine people under the Chairmanship of Mr Thomas More. At this meeting £2. 16. 0p was 'placed in the hands of Mr Norris until a Treasurer be appointed.' (1) One week later, again meeting in the Town Hall, sixteen more men 'as suitable persons to become Members of the Institution' were elected. (2) Copies of the Articles and Rules no longer exist, but it is known that 300 copies were printed by Stedman's, a local firm, and the first twenty-two copies were sold at 3p each on 2 April 1836. (3)

For some reason the Town Hall was not a suitable or convenient home for the Institution. It might be supposed that the cost of hiring these premises was beyond their means. Thus, on 8 April, 'Mr Dart kindly offered his School Room Gratis until the Institution could get one to suit.' (4) It was also proposed that Mr Dart should 'have copies of the Articles and Inclose (sic) one to different gentlemen that is in favour of the Institution.' (5) Samuel John Dart's schoolroom was in Pound Lane, and pre-dates the British School, founded in 1812, and the National School (the 'Bell' School) founded in 1813. So, future meetings were held in John Dart's Schoolroom, though not right away it seems. Six weeks after the decision to take up Mr Dart's offer, the Committee of the Mechanics' Institute again unanimously agreed to use the room and as if to emphasise the decision, the entry in the Minute Book is boldly underlined. The reason for this delay and apparent reticence is not known but it might be that a number among the members were not enthusiastic about taking up the offer. The intervening four meetings were held in 'Wesley's Chapel' in Bridge Road. There was at
this time considerable antagonism between the Anglican and Non-conformist churches, the former referring to the latter as 'enemies of the Church.' This was an antagonism which continued well into the twentieth century. However, whether this antagonism affected the decisions of members of the Mechanics' Institute must remain mere speculation. All was eventually agreed, and on the 1st July 1836 it was agreed that '. . . thanks be given to Mr Dart for his praiseworthy exertions on behalf of the Institution.' (6) The Institute quickly established itself. Within one week it had increased its membership to 42; each member paying a subscription of 2/- per quarter. There was a President, Vice President, Treasurer, Secretaries, Librarian, a Collector (whose job it was to collect subscriptions) and a Committee of ten members. Little is known of the expressed aims of the Institution though there is no reason to suppose that they differed greatly from similar ventures elsewhere. Certainly its activities were concentrated on Lectures, a Reading Room, and in particular, a Library. Though the Minute Book indicates that income in the first two months was little more than £5.10 and that £2. 11s of this was due to Mr Stedman for printing the Rules and Orders, the Committee had commenced a Library for the Institute. The first purchases were 'Tait's' Magazine' at 1/- a month, 'Magazine of Popular Science' and Pinnock's Guild to Knowledge at 2/6d and 6d a month respectively. In addition, a bookcase had been ordered from Mr Moores (a local carpenter and Committee Member) which would be 5 feet long and 7 feet high. The Committee also paid 6/2d for a copy of 'Cooms Phisology (sic) on Human Species Applying to Preservation and Health.' (7) Though it is true that many of the acquisitions for the library were gifts from members and well wishers and were thus an indiscriminate collection, a considerable number were purchased by the Institute, and so a useful library was soon built up. (see Appendix.13a) What is certain is that a survey of these acquisitions gives no clue as to the particular aims or the ethos of the
Institution. There is in fact only one record of a gift of books being rejected. No details are given other than that '... the meeting considered that Mr Coltman's Books unworthy of their purchase, and they were forthwith to be returned.' (8) It should be noted that novels and plays were not absent from the library collection and, certainly in the early years, there was certainly no preponderance of books on science subjects. In the last years of the Institute's life the books purchased did have this bias however, though this is not necessarily particularly significant. The greater proportion of books received as gifts had been on general literary and arts subjects. Thus Institute purchases might merely have sought to redress the balance.

The Reading Room was second in importance to the library, and by August 1836 the Committee was proudly proclaiming that its meetings were to be held in the Institute Reading Room - presumably at Mr Dart's school. Sadly, the only newspaper known to have been available in the Institute was the 'Atlas' newspaper, which was discontinued after only one month. Tait's Magazine was available, as was The Athenaeum (until it was replaced by The Monthly Chronicle) and, from March 1839, The Mechanics' Magazine and Knight's Penny Magazine.

Lectures at the Institute showed a clear bias towards the sciences; Astronomy, Botany, Animal Instinct, for example. The 'natural order' of society was confirmed by a lecture on 'The Immensity of the Divine Perfection', and of course there were the lectures on Phrenology given by no less a person than Dr Epps. For such a modest institution, the Committee were aiming high. Records of the Dr Epp's lectures, and in particular the arrangements made for his visit, communicate a lack of organisation and an almost 'homespun' manner of going about things which may provide a clue to the Institute's style of management, and indeed reasons for its eventual decline. Thus it is valuable to relate the circumstances of his early
visits to Godalming; to an Institute perhaps lacking in experience.

On 5th November 1836 the Committee agreed 'it will be advantageous to the Institute to engage Dr Epps to give 3 lectures on Phrenology' (10) and on 29th November 'that Dr Epps, no 12 Great Russell Street, Bloomsy, should be written to as regards coming to Godalming to give Lectures on Botany.' (11) The change from Phrenology to Botany is nowhere explained. On 6th December the Institute received a communication from Dr Epps 'stating his terms for the lectures 15£ with an additional one on Botany in Spring Paying his expenses.' (sic) (12) In the event it seems that three lectures were to be given on Phrenology and a further one on Botany. Two hundred and fifty Bills were printed as were two hundred and fifty admission tickets. There are no further records of these lectures though it can be safely assumed that they took place since there were elaborate plans drawn up for meeting Dr Epp's train and carrying him by carriage to a local hotel. Comment has been made elsewhere on the standard of hospitality expected by these celebrated lecturers. (see p.321) However, planning was elaborate but it was also muddled. Dr Epps' proposed lecture for the Spring throws this into focus. First he was asked, at very short notice, to postpone the lecture because no publicity had been organised. He was given an alternative date but, without waiting for confirmation, Bills and tickets were printed. In the event Dr Epps could not give his lecture on the date suggested and so another date was fixed — again it appears without reference to the Doctor — and again Bills were printed and tickets were printed. There followed a muddled series of communications and indeed there is no record of the lecture ever having taken place!

All the above occurred in the early years of the Institute, at a time when it appears to have been financially sound. In June 1857 it was resolved that 'Sir Walter Scott's works comprising his novels be purchased for the Society.' (13) This comprised of forty volumes which, later that same
year, the Committee decided to have bound. These marked the best years for the Institute, for from the end of 1841 there were signs of troubled times to come. First it was decided that visitors to lectures would in future be charged 6d (the first hint of financial troubles), and once again the Institute was looking for accommodation. Throughout its existence the Institute was to be plagued by lack of an appropriate place to meet. Mr Dart's room had been temporary, and early in 1839 new rooms were hired from a Mr Phillip. Between then and 1842 the Institute had taken up accommodation in Mr Garrett's house – proudly referring to it as 'the Institute Room' (14) However, in April of that year he gave them notice to quit, and at a meeting held on 25 April 1842 it was proposed that the Institute take the front room of Mr Hackman's house. Money was however in short supply and for a time (until the new room at Mr Hackman's was opened) the library was closed.

There was a new beginning. More books were purchased, Mr Coltman's books were rejected, and the occupation of the new room in Mr Hackman's house seemed to augur well. However, in May 1842, it was reported that Mr Potter having communicated to the meeting that C Hall Esq. would deliver a lecture on the Philosophy of the Marvelous (sic) for his usual fee of £2, the meeting were 'unanimously of opinion that the funds were too low to engage him.' (15) Then Mr Norris, Treasurer, founder-member and dedicated worker for the Institution resigned from office. There was now not one of the original founder-members on the Committee. At a meeting held on 28th June 1842 there were only five members present. Furthermore, the Institute was being pressed by Mr Hackman for payment of rent, and at a meeting held in September (at which there were only six members present) it was agreed to 'give Mr Hackman 1/9d a week for lighting and providing a good fire on 3 nights a week, say from the hours of 8 to 10 o'clock – from 13 September to 25 December. This in addition to the 20/- agreed to be given to him at
The Institute struggled on for a further year. A new Committee was elected in March 1843 and a lecture programme was planned. However, by June of that year financial problems again beset the Committee and it was decided (possibly to ascertain that all who had attended the lectures had actually paid their subscriptions) that all members would in future have a card which they must produce at lectures. Sadly, the end came quickly. On 20 October 1843 the following final minute is recorded:

'It having been impossible to get subscriptions and that the Expense exceed the Income it was proposed that the Books and property belonging to the Society be sold and the Debts paid -'

And then, in large bold print, the words:

'AND SO IT DIED

October 20 - 1843'

The Mechanics' Institute had existed for seven years and, following its demise, Godalming had then to wait another seventeen years for an institution which could take its place. However, there were other initiatives prevailing in the town and district. The Unitarian and Congregational churches continued to maintain their Sunday Schools, their libraries and mutual improvement societies, and a Godalming Young Mens' Association was established sometime before 1860 providing lectures and a library.

The next major initiative, to be called the Godalming Institute, was established in February 1860. In contrast to the Mechanics' Institute, Godalming Institute was founded and supported by local businessmen and gentry. Its aims were clearly stated:

'. . . for the promotion of Literature, and the study of Science and Art . . . A commodious Reading Room with
Meetings were held in the new Public Hall, which had been opened in 1860. The Reading Room was open every day from 6 to 10 pm, and a library was established which within six months boasted 500 volumes on its shelves.

The President of the Institution was the Mayor of Godalming, and among the Vice Presidents were numbered J B Stedman (whose firm had printed the original Mechanics' Institute Articles) Mr Welman, a local architect, and Fred and Robert Mellersh, Bankers, Surveyors and Solicitors. Thus the Institute had the weight of commercial expertise and patronage at its disposal.

Members subscribed 10/- per annum and this entitled them to free admission to the lectures and to the Reading Room and Library. An additional subscription of 2/6d per annum entitled a member to introduce a female (or youth under the age of fourteen) to the lectures. Periodic lectures and entertainments were free to members.

The Institute was soon on a sure footing, providing the familiar fare of lectures and entertainments; the former including a number delivered by the Clara Balfour and J H Pepper. However, classes of instruction were a feature of the Institute and were established early in its history. By 1875 there was a well-established class in 'Instruction in Vocal Music', and the Godalming Art Classes had been formed 'in connection with the Science and Art Department, South Kensington.'

There were night classes on Tuesdays and Fridays, and special 'Ladies Classes' on Wednesday and Friday afternoons.

By 1880, the Institute was open daily from 9 am to 10 pm. The membership fee was by then 21/- per annum, 10/- for evening members, and 5/- for
ladies. (26) To the Godalming Art Classes had been added classes in Science, and these were held in the British School, Bridge Road. The classes included Art, Magnetism and Electricity, and Geology. Other classes, which included Physiography, were held in the National School, Moss lane. It seems that there was a separate system of fees for these classes - which were mainly intended for teachers and pupil teachers. The fees charged were, 5/- for adults eligible for 'South Kensington Grant', for all subjects at Thursday and Saturday classes; otherwise 2/6d each class. (27) In 1883, Art classes were moved to the Friends Meeting House, whilst Science classes continued to be held at the National School and at the Institute. Why classes were not now running at the British School is not known but it seems that, despite adding Building Construction to its curriculum and therefore appealing to local tradesmen, from 1880 there was difficulty in attracting sufficient members. In 1886, the British School was again in use, and a Smoking Room had been added to the Institute. (28) In 1891 lectures under the Oxford University Extension Scheme were given in the winter months at the British School; Mrs Huxley being the Local Secretary. (29)
The Godalming Institute continued to provide a library, Reading Room, Lectures and Entertainments, but gradually these latter gave way to an emphasis on technical and art instruction. When the Godalming Technical Institute and School of Art opened in Bridge Road in 1896, the functions of the Godalming Institute were transferred. Its Library formed the basis of the first public library for the town. Thus, after 36 years the Godalming Institute came to an end.
On 11 March 1834, a group of five Guildford citizens including one woman, met at Mr Whitburn's auction rooms in the High Street and resolved to form a Mechanics' Institute 'for the promotion of useful knowledge among the working classes.' (1) However, the first crisis came after only ten months of the Institute's existence when a number of its members seceded to form an alternative institution. Thus, at a meeting held on the 28 February 1835, there was a '... resolution passed and Address agreed to at a meeting of those who wish to form a Literary and Scientific Institution for Mechanics' and others.' (2) Meeting one week later, at the Angel Inn, the seceders elected the officers of their new institution and were informed that Mr C Boxall had offered accommodation and the use of an excellent library. (3) Mr Henry Drummond (4) was elected President, and a programme of lectures on vocal music, chemistry, psalmody and mineralogy was devised. A geological and natural history museum was started and, owing very largely to the many gifts donated to the Institution by the Drummond and Percy families together with others of influence, the venture was soon a numerical and economical success.

It appears that the trouble between the two institutions had arisen because Mr C B Wall M.P. (5), having donated £5 to the Mechanics' Institute and therefore entitled to life membership, had been admitted a member in an alleged breach of the Rules. In fact it is clear that from the beginning there were two factions which, though it was denied, represented different ideological stances. In a bitter address at the opening of the Literary and Scientific Institution the question asked of the Mechanics' Institute was 'did they oppose Mr Ward from political motives?' and then continued with the characteristic observation, 'what right had politics in a Mechanics' Institution?' (6) It was apparent that both sides in the dispute began to
protest too much. In a reply to the above address, the Mechanics' Institute suggested that there were 'two stories'; the one told by the seceders and the true one – which would be forthcoming in the reply. (7) The Mechanics' Institute also made the observation that it was happy to encourage the 'support and co-operation of those of the higher classes whose liberal views on all questions lead them to appreciate the importance of disseminating knowledge throughout the mass of the people.' (8) In contrast, it was claimed that the breakaway Literary and Scientific Institute 'would soon become almost exclusively composed of the Middle and Upper Ranks of the Town.' (9) The Literary and Scientific Institute's rejoinder was a letter peppered with quotations observing 'what a tangled web we weave' and commencing with 'only the base believe that only the base matter' and further pointing out that it represented all classes:

'we have no political test but admit Gentlemen as well as mechanics of all opinions.' (10)

Then, in order to emphasise the point:

'We have more of the working classes than you have members altogether.' (11)

This was clearly no way to carry on, and the Secretary of the Mechanics' Institute soon admitted:

'I am quite ready to admit that most of these disputes arose from the inexperience of the best modes of transacting business.' (12)

In a letter to Dr Birkbeck, after acquainting him with the details of the above dispute, the same writer observes of the Literary and Scientific Institute that:

'Some of the more moderate among them have now considerable influence and there are indications which warrant us in believing that we shall very soon be good
Friends and only rivals as to which shall do most good. 
(13)

Indeed, in 1836 there was a joint meeting of the Committees of both institutions with the object of agreeing a formula for re-union. Agreement could not be reached on this occasion and very shortly afterwards the Literary and Scientific Institute signed a six year lease of the room at the Angel Inn.

Meanwhile, the Mechanics' Institute having received a reply from Dr Birkbeck recommending a number of lecturers, (14) had planned a lecture programme and established a library; renting two rooms in Steven's Passage for six guineas per annum. The first lectures were held in Mr Whitburn's auction room, 'the lecture room of the Mechanics' Institute'. These were to be delivered in October and November 1834 by Dr Epps. (15) Mr Silk Buckingham (16) was also invited to lecture on 'Voyages and Travels in the near, middle, and far East.' Clearly concerned for his personal comfort, he advised the Institute that he would 'like to stop at the best Inn, have two good rooms, a sitting room and a bed room' secured for him. (17) Engaging the services of lecturers was not without its problems. The Mechanics' Institute acquired the use of the old theatre in Market Street as a lecture room. When Dr Dionysious Lardner (18) discovered that he was expected to lecture there he expressed strong objections, saying that 'it is useless to explain the grounds of this objection but they will probably be understood by asking any clergyman or professional gentleman of the town who might be capable and willing to deliver lectures in your institution whether they would not entertain the same opinion and I have likewise an objection to any room in a public tavern or hotel.' (19) The Institute replied that they had clergymen in their audiences when they used the theatre. Lardner was adamantly:
'The question is not whether clergymen would object to attend the lectures there but whether they would object to delivering them there.' (20)

One of the lecturers recommended by Dr Birkbeck was Miss Macaulay, whose subjects included History, Drama, and Domestic Economy. (21) The Secretary of the Institute wrote to her explaining that the Committee felt that they had not reached a sufficiently dignified position to be able to treat with deserved contempt the prejudice and ribaldry with which the Institute would, it was feared, be assailed on the announcement of a female lecturer. Replying, Miss Macaulay observed:

'Your letter, though it gives me pain, excites no surprise. It is only one more of the proofs of narrow-minded prejudice with which in my career of usefulness I have had to contend.' (22)

She was, she explained, desirous to bestow her favours on those sons of darkness who most required her services, and concluded that, 'if I were rich I should offer my services without emolument.' (23) The Committee decided that they would not compromise and would instead place themselves in advance of prejudiced views, and Miss Macaulay was engaged. The first of her numerous lectures was given on 16 December 1835 and was entitled 'On the History of Chronology with illustrations of the opposition of characters between Queen Elizabeth and Mary Stuart.' The Mechanics' Institute soon established a pattern which included lectures (which were by no means limited to science subjects), dramatic readings, a library and a reading room. In 1838 Monsieur Prels started a French class, offering his services gratuitously. By the following year there were 500 volumes in the library, including 200 which had been lent by various members (24) and it could be said that the Institute was a modest success. However, the idea of a union of Guildford's two institutions was never far from the minds of their respective management committees and...
their separate music societies joined up to form the Guildford Choral Society. However, though it could be reported in 1841 that there was a membership of 116 and that the library had grown to 700 volumes with a circulation of over 2600 (25) there was anxiety over the financial state of the institution. During the previous session it had presented an ambitious programme of lectures, but the lecturers' fees were a considerable drain on its resources. (see Appendix.12e ) In April 1841 an Address was printed which was intended for circulation among would-be supporters. It was observed that:

'Although the Guildford Mechanics' Institution may not have accomplished all that its friends could wish yet considering the smallness of its funds and the numerous obstacles with which it had to contend, the Committee feels great satisfaction in thinking that it has been the means of diffusing much solid and useful information and of affording many hours of rational amusement combined with instruction to a class of persons who without such assistance would have been unable to obtain it. With this impression on their minds the Committee boldly claims for the institution a more extended support not only from their fellow townsmen but from the ladies of the neighbourhood who were admitted as members feeling assured that something of the spread of education would be the extension of those kindly feelings which must result in liberty to the captive, charity to our neighbourhood, happiness to ourselves and peace to the world.' (26)

It is noticeable that during the past year the attendance at Committee meetings had been very poor. On 1 July 1841 it was reported that no one had attended 'so that no business could be conducted.' (27) The membership was not declining, the library as still being added to, and the lecture programme was no less ambitious. Nevertheless, the Institute's problems were growing, stemming it would seem from the general apathy of members who were content to leave all the work of running the Institute to a few devoted persons; John Cook and the Secretary, Mr Martin, in particular. During the early part of September there were negotiations with the
Literary and Scientific Institution regarding some of their members attending certain lectures in the Mechanics' Institute. Again, this was abortive for on 6 September 1841 the Secretary reported that he had communicated with the Literary and Scientific Institute 'respecting admission to Dr Cantor's lecture (28) at the rate of £4 for 2 or £6 for 3 but that the Committee decline accepting the proposition.' (29) This is not surprising since these were hardly preferential rates. However, a few months later, the Committee contemplated, in conjunction with the Committee of the Literary Institute Choral Society, 'an evening meeting on the 13th of the Members and friends of each Society for the purpose of endeavouring to promote the objects of all.' (30) This time all went well and the joint meeting took place on 13 January 1832. Despite this, membership of the Mechanics' Institute began to decline. Again, at a Committee meeting called for August 1842 there were 'only three Members present, no business transacted' (31) and in October it was reported that the library was in a very unsatisfactory state owing primarily, they were inclined to think, to the apathy which appeared to exist among the members generally. In consequence, the library was closed between 19 July and 12 August for revisions. (32) The situation had become critical. In October the Committee recorded the following telling comment: they were,

'. . . sorry to observe a great deal of apathy is shown by the majority of the Members respecting the welfare of the Institution (which) tendency if not speedily put an end to will endanger its stablity.' (33)

In January 1843 he membership had dropped to 86, and later in the month Professor Prels suggested he would run a joint class for both the Guildford Institutions on 'The Story of the Globe.' This was accepted, and one further step was taken towards a union.

Apart from the evident apathy of Members, the Committee of the Mechanics' Institute felt that there was yet another reason for their present
troubles, not least with the library. The office of Librarian and Collector had been voluntary. Two questions now taxed the Committee, and at a meeting in February 1843 'a conversation arose regarding paid officers being appointed to act as Librarian and Collector and also with respect to a union being affected with the Literary and Scientific Institution.' (34) Both subjects were left for further discussion.

From this time onwards, events moved quickly. Meeting in April 1843, the Committee recorded the view that they were:

'Inclined to believe that the substitution of a paid officer to act as Librarian and Collector will be advantageous to the Institution the duties of those officers being such as can scarcely be expected if they be performed gratuitously for any length of time by the same individual and frequent changes must naturally produce great uncertainty' (35)

This is to indicate that the Mechanics' Institute was by no means facing extinction and was planning for a future with or without a union with the Literary and Scientific Institution. In 1843 a sub-committee was appointed to enquire into the feasibility of a merger of the two institutions. The relative financial states of the two institutions was to be assessed, and a suitable name for the emerging institution had to be agreed. Meetings took place in June of 1843 for the 'special purpose of considering the practicality of uniting the two Institutions.' (36) In a letter from the Secretary of the Mechanics' Institute to the Secretary of the Literary and Scientific Institute dated 4 November 1843, it was observed that:

'. . . the time has arrived when it is desirable to ascertain the practicality of a union being affected with the Literary and Scientific Institute.' (37)

Earlier, the Committee of the Mechanics' Institute had considered,

'. . . union of the Mechanics' Institute with the Literary and Scientific Institute to be highly
desirable and calculated to forward the objects for which they were both originally designed as well as to strengthen the cause by enlarging the powers of the society." (38)

All the officers of both societies, with the exception of Henry Drummond, agreed to resign. The union was affected and a new name agreed. Thus the Guildford Institute came into being. An interesting observation on the gradual attenuation of the Mechanics' Institute's founding intentions, an attenuation which provided the conditions for the evident ease with which amalgamation took place between two institutions which had been so fundamentally different in 1834, is made by Griffiths. Noting the Membership list for the Mechanics' Institute in 1843 she observes that it consisted substantially of tradesmen and professional men, '... nothing to upset the essential respectability of the Institute, unless it was William Strudwick who proudly claimed to be a carpenter, builder and pork butcher.' (39)

The Second Phase

The first meeting of the provisional Committee of the Guildford Institute took place on 2 August 1843. The Institute first met in the old Guildford Theatre. A scheme was immediately launched for the establishment of a public halls company, with shares at £35. The Institute soon had a considerable share holding in the Public Halls Company, very largely due to many generous gifts and requests. This was an apparently auspicious start despite the fact that the membership was still apathetic; so much so that in June 1845 it could be recorded that 'in consequence of the non-attendance of Members the monthly Committee meeting could not be held on this day.' (40) However, in April the Committee had concluded that the funds for the erection of a Public Hall were sufficiently advanced and a contract could be entered into and it was hoped that the building would
soon be commenced and that the opening of the Public Hall would be achieved 'by Christmas next.' (41) The Public Hall was opened in March 1846 and thereafter became the home of the Guildford Institute. Sometime before this, the Committee of the Institute had made application to the Board of Managers of the Public Hall 'for use of: the two front rooms as Reading Rooms and Museum, the use of the Hall twenty-nine nights in the year and of one class room twice in the week - at the rent originally proposed, viz. Fifteen Pounds per annum.' (42)

The Institute marked the opening of the Public Hall with a concert, and with speeches by Henry Drummond, Robert Godwin Austen (43) and Charles Mangles M.P. Many encouraging things were said about the record of the Institute and its promise for the future. Mr Mangles was refreshed to see that it would be free from party or political considerations and from religious controversy, whilst Henry Drummond said that:

'It was the duty of parents to impress upon their children the importance of self-instruction after the period of school instruction had passed. Such instruction far exceeded in value any instruction that was merely imparted. Indeed you might say that the former was the only instruction worth having.' (44)

Considering the paucity of school education for the mass of the people at this time a question might be raised as to the social composition of Henry Drummond's audience and ultimately the composition of the Institute's membership.

The library now contained 1200 volumes and the museum, which had been first opened to public inspection in June 1843, was now added to. It contained a complete series of Roman coins and casts. The casts had been taken from antique gems and marble and were said to be a very pleasing collection:

'There was also a very valuable collection of apparatus, some curiosities, a cabinet of entymology and a number of interesting specimens of natural
history while the minerals and fossils have been pronounced by competent judges as a complete and varied geological collection as can be found in any place except the large provincial towns . . .'

Members should be thankful:

' For many of these valuable and attractive contents of the museum to its munificent patron and President H Drummond.' (45)

The Guildford Institute settled down to the familiar pattern of the genre; lectures spiced with entertainments - though it must be said that its lecture programme continued to be quite formidable, at least until 1853-54. Thereafter, popular entertainments took the ascendancy and by the late 1860s the Institute was issuing separate leaflets on Institute Entertainments. In the earlier years there had been regular visits from Dr Epps, Clara Balfour, George Dawson, G H Pepper, and Henry Vincent. Nevertheless, from the 1850s the element of entertainment overtook that of instruction, even to the point of self-parody. For example, in 1852 George Grossmith (see n46,p143) gave a lecture on 'Lecturing' with the exhausting title:

'A Brief History of the Origin, prosperity or decay of Literary and Mechanics' Institutions and the various circumstances which have affected their stability or popularity - on Public Lecturing as a means of instruction and amusement - Learned Lecturing - Quack Lecturing.' (46)

The programme of the Institute did not consist solely of lectures and entertainments for, in 1853, classes in Elocution, and a Discussion Class were started. And in the following year, classes in Drawing, Vocal Music and French were commenced. (47)

In 1856 some disquiet was expressed concerning the purpose of the Institute and the composition of its membership. It would seem that the Institute was alienating the working man, not least because the membership fee was
considered by them to be too high. At a meeting held in the Public Hall on 
30 December 1856, and chaired by Robert Godwin Austen of the Guildford 
Institute, the following was recorded:

"That this meeting is of the opinion that the 
re-establishment of a Working Mens' Institution is 
desirable on the basis of that which formerly existed 
here, the subscription to be not less than 1/- per 
quarter." (48)

An Early Closing and Working Mens' Institution had been formed in 1853 and 
, though short-lived, might indicate some earlier dissatisfaction with the 
Guildford Institute. Its purpose had been 'to make the Institution as much 
as possible an adult school.' (49) Thus in September 1856 Guildford saw the 
establishment of a Working Mens' Institute. Henry Drummond gave the 
inaugural lecture on 'Political Economy' and Mr Bovill (later Lord Chief 
Justice) was elected President. The aims of the Institute were 'to promote 
and facilitate the acquirement of instruction to the working classes of 
this town and neighbourhood.' (50) It was to provide books and popular 
periodicals such as Punch, Illustrated London News, Reynolds Miscellany 
and Cassell's Family Paper.

The history of the Working Mens' Institute rightly belongs to the history 
of technical education in Guildford. The Institute was the only provider of 
technical education until 1892 when Surrey County Council took over 
responsibility - and even then it continued on Institute premises. Further 
discussion will therefore be deferred to pp.126-7, below. It is at this 
stage more appropriate to discuss the separate direction taken by the 
Guildford Institute.

The Society of Arts connection with the Mechanics' Institutes commenced in 
1848 with the offer to provincial institutes of corporate membership. By 
1852 the Society of Arts had decided to initiate a union of Literary and 
Scientific (including Mechanics') Institutes and wrote to Guildford
enclosing a list of queries. (51) Guildford Institute was in favour of affiliation with the Society but had not really recognised the main advantages. The chief advantage they expected was 'the obtaining of lecturers of known merit at a more reasonable rate with the advantage of providing apparatuses (and) diagrams when required.' (52) They were hoping to pay less than the average five guineas per lecture and in return were not averse to occasional exhibitions, as suggested by the Society of arts, provided that the Society made all the arrangements and the Institute did not incur any financial commitment. (53) Guildford's answer to the question 'is there an opening for the establishment of a Drawing School or Modelling School in connection with our Institute ?' was to say:

"Our population not being large we require further information as to the fitness of the plans which may be adopted by the Society of arts for this neighbourhood, also as to the existing desire for such schools amongst us." (54)

Guildford Institute seems to have taken its time to respond to the Society of Arts' communications. In 1857, by which time they were being challenged by the Working Mens' Institute and the newly-formed Gratuitous Evening School, they set up a committee to 'consider the expediency of establishing classes.' (55) That year they embarked on an ambitious programme of classes in 'Elementary subjects, viz. Geography, Grammar, Reading, Arithmetic, Music and Drawing.' They had however allowed the initiative to pass to the other institutions, in particular the Working Mens' Institute, and the programme lasted only for the 1857-1858 session. Whilst the Working Mens' Institute was growing in importance, the Guildford Institute continued its established role as provider of lectures and entertainments. Emily Faithfull had taken over Clara Balfour's mantle demonstrating the role of women in society (56) while G H Pepper continued to fascinate his audiences with his 'clinical puzzles.' Musical entertainments were provided
by Lizzie Stuart, the English Glee Union, and Ellis Roberts among others. In December 1868 the Institute saw a production of 'Box and Cox.' (57) During the early 1870s, with Earl Percy as President, the Institute could boast 400 members and report that it 'had been in touch with the Committee of Science classes.' (58) Nevertheless, the membership slowly declined in the face of competition from other local institutions and by the late 1880s it was clear that its independent existence was in jeopardy. Meanwhile the Guildford Working Mens' Institute had acquired the premises of the Royal Temperance Hotel in Ward Street. In 1891 it claimed a membership of 856, and a library of 3000 volumes. (59) This Institute was the home of the Science, Art and Technological classes. An appeal was made to the public for help in reducing the existing mortgage on the Ward Street premises, and an amalgamation was affected with the Guildford Institute. The Guildford and Working Mens' Institution, as the new venture was now called, took possession of the new premises in September 1891 and immediately added a new wing for a library and classrooms.

Third Phase

In the same year that the Guildford and Working Mens' Institute acquired its new premises, a meeting was held in the town in order to discuss the provision of technical education in view of the recent Technical Instruction Acts and the finances available from 'whisky money.' (see pp234-235 below). Those present were the managers of the parochial schools, the Grammar School, Archbishop Abbot's School, and the Committees of the Science and Art Classes, University Extension, and the Guildford and Working Mens' Institution. (60) The following year Surrey County Council took over responsibility for technical instruction, although it was to continue to be provided by and on the premises of the Guildford and Working Mens' Institute. The building in Ward Street already housed a library,
reading room, a ladies reading room, museum, lecture room and discussion room. Additional land was found for the new wing, and later, the technical schools were built on to the Institute at a cost of £1000 - of which the Institute had to find £471. (61)

From 1892 onwards the Institute became the main educational and cultural centre in Guildford and housed the largest library in the town, that is until Guildford Borough Council adopted the Library Acts in 1924. The Institute flourished in the first two decades of the twentieth century but began to lose support as the Local Authority took over responsibility for such services as libraries and museums. It also lost support as its functions were superseded by the establishment of a Technical College and by competition from other local societies and enterprises. The Institute struggled on until 1982 when a merger was affected with the University of Surrey.

Haslemere

'As scholemaster Joe Swindells told the Tourist to Haslemere in 1888, it possesses many of the institutions of larger towns . . . .' (1)

This could be said towards the end of the nineteenth century when Haslemere boasted a Young Mens' Mutual Improvement Society, Parish Lending Library, Working Mens' Institute, Literary and Scientific Institute, and Educational Museum. For a town with a population of little more than 2000 this was a remarkable achievement. However, because so much was happening (or had
happened) it is quite difficult to accurately trace the histories of
individual institutions, for records are very sparse and often confuse one
enterprise with another. At the turn of the eighteenth century some
educational work with adults had been attempted by the Congregational
church and, after a small chapel had been built in 1804 it was used as a
Sunday School. In June 1806 a Friendly Society had been formed, with Lord
Midleton as Patron, which it was claimed was a local Mutual Benefit Society
'and merged ultimately with the great national clubs.' (2) In 1804 a new
Market Hall was built and 'here in early days, a sort of Sunday School was
held . . . In later days this room was the scene of . . . entertainments,
Penny Readings, Concerts and Lectures, until the so-called Assembly Room,
behind the "White Horse" was made available.' (3) Thus there was enough
educational activity at this time to suggest the possibility of a
rudimentary institution or at least to predispose the establishment of
those institutions known to have existed later in the century. A Literary
and Scientific Institute was certainly in existence in 1851 (4) and was
still active in 1868:

'A Literary Institute was established here and in
addition to a Reading Room, etc. Members have free
admission to a course of lectures and entertainments
which are delivered in the Town Hall in winter months.'
(5)
In 1871, the same source makes no mention of this institution. A Young
Mens' Mutual Improvement Society had been formed in 1864 and perhaps this,
together with the founding of the Parish Lending Library in 1874 (6)
contributed to the demise of the Literary and Scientific Institution. In
addition to its library, the Parish Lending Library had a programme of
entertainments, music and readings. (7) However, records show that in 1883
lectures and penny readings were held in the Infants Schoolroom at the Town
Hall (lately Market or Public Hall) from 6.30 p.m. to 10 p.m. each evening.
The subscription was 1/- per quarter. (8) At about the same time, John
Stewart Hodgson, of whom it has been said 'no charity, nor individual, if the case was deserving, appealed to him in vain' (9) took an interest in the affairs of the young Mens' Mutual Improvement Society. In 1883 he:

'bought two houses and shops in the centre of the High Street, and, with the help of his friend J W Penfold, set to build a house which would be suitable' (10)

This is to say, suitable as a home for a new institution to replace the Young men's Society. In fact all the early references describe this initiative as a Working Mens' Institution. There was a ground floor library, coffee room, kitchen and Public Hall – which could seat 250 people, and a large room for meetings. And there were 300 volumes in the library. It seems that J S Hodgson, despite his charitable spirit, intended to retain some control over the Institute. This is described with approval by Swanton:

'He left the entire management of the club to its Members; but, realising that such institutions sometimes develop political, religious, or partisan tendencies, become disorderly or otherwise unsatisfactory, he granted an annual tenancy only. He also provided that, after his death, the building should pass to his heirs unhampered and unfettered in any way, in order that its tenancy could be determined at short notice, should the owner for the time being disapprove of the methods by, or the manner in which the club was being conducted, or think that it was no longer necessary or even desirable.' (11)

As the same writer remarks, 'a far-seeing discretion not always exercised by philanthropists. (12) The Working Mens' Institution was opened in 1886. The Institute could call on the services of a number of distinguished men (and women) of literature and science who lived in the neighbourhood. Jonathan Hutchinson lectured on 'Aids to Memory' in 1891, and Annie Besant lectured on 'Politics.' There were contributions from Arthur Conan Doyle, Lord Tennyson, Allen Chandler, George Eliot, Mrs Humphry Ward, and
Professor John Tyndall.

In 1888 'the local museum and library, very far superior in plan and arrangement to the ordinary museum' (13) was established. This was to be called the Haslemere Educational Museum. It was founded by Jonathan Hutchinson FRS, the eminent surgeon, who described his purpose thus:

'We have been content long enough that museums shall be used by a few, and simply gazed at by the many. It is time that we set ourselves earnestly to make them what they should be in our educational scheme.'  (14)

The Museum started out as a small private collection at 'Inval' the home of its founder in Haslemere. There he gave Sunday afternoon discourses and demonstrations which became very popular. The success of this small museum encouraged him in 1894 to erect a larger wooden building in which to house his collections. This building, in Museum Hill, was subsequently extended and improved. After Sir Jonathan's death in 1913, the museum continued under the Chairmanship of Sir Archibald Geikie, the eminent geologist, and still survives as a private institution. In the same year (1888) the Haslemere Natural History Society was formed, and it too used the premises of the Educational Museum. It appears that there was some rivalry between this institution and the Working Mens' Institute, since both were involved in attracting members interested in scientific pursuits. In 1894, there was a rather heated disagreement, each contesting the ownership of a magic lantern which had been donated by Professor Tyndall. (15) In 1891, a new Educational Hall was opened, just off the High Street, where lectures and classes were held, and where in 1893, the Haslemere Slate Club was organised. (16) In August 1894 however a local Technical Education Committee was formed and the owners of the Hall offered to accommodate the whole of the lectures and demonstrations. The Hall was thereafter referred to as the 'Technical Hall', and was in Foundry (sometime 'King's') Road. (17)
The Royal Literary and Scientific Institute was the grand title bestowed in 1838 on the first attempt to establish an institution for adult education in Kingston. The story is told by Seeley:

'A great stir was made not long since, when it was attempted to establish a Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, under distinguished patronage, supported by large annual subscriptions and building shares.' (1)

He continues, no doubt with due regard to a rival institution with which he was already associated:

'They were unwisely looking for too great a harvest and therefore did not observe that here and there the seed had taken root and was struggling upward.' (2)

Nothing came of this venture, but one year later, a number of local businessmen and civic digit ries established the Kingston Literary and Scientific Institution. Its expressed aims were:

'The promotion and diffusion of useful knowledge and Literature, Science and the Arts; by means of a Reading Room-Circulating Library-Lectures-Meetings at which Essays and Original Papers will be read and discussed-the formation of classes for study-and the collection of apparatus and a Museum.' (3)

For a time, lectures were given in the Assize Courts and in the Leopold Coffee Tavern. The Institute showed early success, and since they had ambitious plans, more suitable premises were sought. They were fortunate that a local benefactor, Dr George Taylor, a prominent and popular general practitioner, and one who was interested in the working poor, provided a lease for a plot of land in Clarence Street, and gave £1800 for the building of an Institute. A twenty-eight year old architect named George Gilbert Scott (4) headed the local firm appointed to design and build the new
Institute. Building began in September 1840 and, and on the second anniversary of the founding of the Institute, October 1841, the new building was opened. It was a grand opening; the amateur band of Kingston instrumentalists leading off, and Mr Gould delivering the Presidential Address on the subject of the objects and advantages of Science. Frederick Gould, later to become Mayor and alderman, was only aged twenty-two at this time and, having recently arrived from Bath had been shocked to find 'that there was no opportunity for mental improvement on the part of the young men of the town.' (5) Mr Gould may well be regarded as the founder of the Institution. Seeley describes the new building as having a lecture room on the first floor measuring 30 feet by 20 feet. It was 16 feet high and was warmed by a stove, ventilated by an apparatus in the ceiling and, approached through the Committee Room, had a 30 foot gallery for extra seating. Lecturers had a screen for diagrams, worked by a pulley. The Lecture Room could also be used as a reading room. It was open to members and subscribers from 10 am to 5 pm and was supplied with newspapers and leading periodicals. The library was on the ground floor. A catalogue of books had already been printed and was being sold bound up with the Institute's Rules and the President's 1840 Annual Address.

In the basement was a Chemical Class Room 'fitted up with an excellent pump, and a suitable grate.' The building certainly was quite striking, with yellow bricks for the flat parts and red for those which projected. It was a building which would not dishonour the architect who later was to design the Albert Memorial and acknowledged the foremost ecclesiastical architect in the country. However, in common with so many other institutions, when the new building was completed it was discovered that the promoters of the Institute had overreached themselves. Indeed they discovered that they could not afford to take the whole of the building. The engraving included as the frontispiece to Seeley's 'Miscellany'
tactfully leaves the other tenants' Clarence street frontage in shadow, thereby calling less attention to their presence. (see Appendix.3a) The Institute had started well; had built up a considerable library and, as Mr Gould told the 'Surrey Comet' in 1897, membership had reached 400. The lecture programme was dominated by a wide variety of Science subjects; lectures on 'Air Pumps', 'Fossil Fuel', 'Chemistry', and 'Osteology' for example. But there were others on 'Elocution', 'Parliamentary Eloquence', and 'Climate and Diet' - all without the benefit of lectures on Politics and Religion of course. The people of Kingston were urged to use the Institute library and to forsake the commercial or tradesmen's libraries, for they were 'alas too generally . . . filled with the vilest rubbish in the shape of novels and poems of an immoral tendency.' (6) However, it seems that from the start there was some kind of opposition resulting in the emergence of two conflicting factions. Benton Seeley, town councillor, printer-publisher, and contributer to Seeley's Kingston Miscellany, represented the views of one faction, summarised by the claim 'we boast of being loyal Churchmen . . . Fear God, honour the King, and meddle not with them who are given to change.' (7) The Kingston Miscellany included reports on the proceedings of the Kingston Literary and Scientific Institution - though as Seeley freely admitted, the Committee were not cognisant of the reports. What is evident is that, despite claiming to be unbiased in reporting the affairs of the Institute, he single-mindedly castigated anyone who strayed from the path he deemed was destined for the Institution. In this he was aided by Samuel Ranyard whose 'letters to the editor' were a regular feature of the Miscellany and which extolled the virtues of self-help:

'. . . by cultivating the mind of man, are we not more effectually benefiting them, than by merely providing for the momentary wants of the body, which a higher order of mind would spurn to receive as the fruits of
It is not at all clear what the opposing faction represented though from the reported proceedings of 4 January 1842 a considerable rift had developed. At a Special General Meeting called to elect five Trustees, this disaffected group had for some reason referred to the Rules and declared the election of Seeley and others out of order. The bitterness of the occasion is evident:

'We regret that a sense of duty impels us to notice the unmanly conduct of certain persons, whose aim on this and most other occasions appears to be to quarrel with whatever is done in their absence, or without their sanction.' (9)

This was not a good time for the Institute. Two printed lectures were offered by Seeley and were turned down by the Committee and as a consequence he warned the Institution against agitators for 'it is the rock upon which many Institutions have foundered.' (10) Inferences may be drawn from the fact that, from about this time, the Institution became frequently referred to as the 'Mechanics' Institute' (11) and might suggest that there were some who were guiding it in a particular direction; a direction in which others were not at all in sympathy. Other evidence comes from reports of lectures given at the Institute. It would seem that a lecture on 'Circulation' given freely by Mr Turk had not been well attended. Neither had a lecture on 'Fossil Fuels'—which led Mr Seeley to publish his view that 'Kingtonians evinced such bad taste as not to patronise.' (12) On the other hand, a lecture on 'Singing' was very well attended, though it led to the following observation on the lecturer:

'He is not sufficiently master of the science to make a good lecturer; and if his eye falls on these remarks, we would suggest to him the propriety of discontinuing to lecture on Singing.' (13)
An uncharitable rejection of members' preferences, or at worst an arrogant handing down of education from above - or perhaps a spirited attempt to hold together an institution in which he passionately believed? In any event there were more serious problems. Attendances were very low and money was getting very short. It was decided to allow friends of members admission to lectures for 6d instead of 1/- as hitherto. Children were to be admitted at the same rate, all of which was in the interests of raising income. And there were those who would 'meddle with change.' Yet another article by Seeley, on 'Education', claimed that the young should be educated at home where there is the hand of love and where it can be seen just what the child is learning. This observation was made in the presence of Owenite tendencies amongst some factions of the Institute and elsewhere. He castigates Robert Owen (though not by name) and 'Scotch Social Schools' where they 'pretend to love.' 'I have heard of love at first sight', he says, 'but some in the neighbourhood of our town have been beguiled by these designing men.' (14) There was also a long article on 'Government' which might have healed the wounds but, despite these battles (or because of them) the two factions seem to have diverged even more widely. It is ironical that the height of the Institute's fortunes (the opening of their new building) should also be the occasion for the commencement of a fairly rapid decline.

Poor attendances at many of the lectures was blamed on short-sighted local tradesmen who often would not release their employees until after 8 p.m. 'You gain gold', Mr Seeley told the shopkeepers, 'they lose what rubies could not buy.' (15) From this it might be supposed that the Institution was intended to attract working people. However, after 1842, the history of this particular institution becomes confused; not least because there were clearly other initiatives emerging. In the 1850s there were common references to the 'Mechanics' Institute.' Ayliffe, an octogenarian
writing in 1914, claimed that 'occasionally a public concert would be given in the Assize Courts or at the Mechanics' Institution.' (16) It is not clear whether the Institute was the same as that which had built the Clarence Street building. Drewitt, writing of the Mechanics' Institute of 1852, claimed that the premises were not very well adapted for the purpose since they were owned by a bookbinder who operated from one of the downstairs rooms. (17) Drewitt describes this institution as having a library, lecture and entertainment rooms. However, the Annual Soiree (as Drewitt says 'dignified by that title') was held in the Grand Jury Room of the Assize Courts. This might still suggest that the use of the original building was continued other than for events which required a more spacious venue. The issue is however further confused by Mr Biden. When his 'History of Kingston' was published, he and his friends were meeting as a society of 'a few gentlemen' at the 'Institute building:'

'. . . admission (was) gained by the nomination of two members, the approval of the Committee, and by an assurance from the person nominated that he will, when called upon, introduce either in a paper or an essay or in some other convenient manner, a subject for conversation.' (18)

It might be noted that W D Biden succeeded Benton Seeley as Secretary of the Literary and Scientific Institution. The Surrey Comet and General Advertiser of 1854 carried a notice of meetings of the 'Literary Institution' at the 'Reading Rooms of the Mechanics' Library and Scientific Institute.' Particulars were available from the librarian, Mr Diamond, at the office of the Institution in Church Street where the librarian had a bookbinding business. Clearly the Church Street venture was a separate initiative. This is confirmed by Drewitt who also observed that when he joined the Mechanics' Institute in 1856, he 'found several of (his) contemporaries at the Grammar School among the members . . . most of the founders were associated with non-conformist bodies.' He continued, 'one of
the most steadfast supporters was Mr J J Collings.' Indeed it appears that Collings, a stalwart congregationalist and liberal, was very popular, especially with the young, and that he was a fighter:

'He used often to speak freely upon local affairs, and spared not the municipal authorities in regard to their management of the town.' (19)

He also had a great interest in a Night School, which was held in an old building by the riverside. However, Merryweather claims that the purpose of this venture was 'to mitigate the utter and deplorable ignorance which prevailed among the gutter children of the Back Lanes.' (20) The teachers were unpaid and their object was to teach reading 'so that the poor might become acquainted with the word of God.' (21) Since Collings was associated with both enterprises it might suggest something of the character of the Mechanics' Institute. Without offering any explanation for its demise, Drewitt says that it closed in 1860. Certainly, by 1877, when Chapman's 'Handbook of Kingston' appeared, his list of local libraries and reading rooms did not include the Mechanics' Institute. However, a new institution seems to have emerged. It is reported that 'young men engaged in business had a reading room in Brick Lane.' (22) Furthermore, a Kingston Literary Society was in evidence towards the end of the century:

'The Kingston upon Thames Literary Society, which is the best of its kind in and around London provides an alternative programme of scientific and instructive lectures in St James' Hall on Tuesday evenings in the winter months.' (23)

Members met in the same premises where, in 1883, a Free Public Lending Library had been established, which, in 1887, boasted 4000 volumes. It was also the venue for the Young Mens' Club and Institute which had been founded in 1887.

To conclude a somewhat confusing history some attempt at clarification is
necessary. It seems that two contrasting factions developed very early within the Literary and Scientific Institute; one with a more traditional Literary and Scientific bent - perhaps aimed at the superior artisan, and the other, less ambitious, and aimed at the working man. From the moment that the Literary and Scientific Institution could not afford to sustain its presence in the new prestigious building these two factions divided. The rump of the faction, led by Seeley, reorganised first as the Literary Institution under Biden, later to become the Kingston Literary Society. The rump of the other faction established the Mechanics' Institute which eventually came to an end at about 1860.

Redhill

Little is available regarding the history of adult education in Redhill, though there is evidence of a number of friendly societies existing in the town quite early in the nineteenth century. There was however a Literary Institution in the town around 1837, which had a library, reading room, lectures and a mutual improvement society. All that is known of this enterprise is that it met in the Market Hall buildings. There was a well established Literary Institution in 1860, which met in accommodation in Station Road at the junction with Linkfield Street. Hamilton records that this Institution met in the new Market or Town Hall which had been built in 1860. It had an assembly room to which a second one was added in 1891. It contained a library, reading room, and billiards room:

'The Redhill Literary Institution, here alluded to,
numbers about 400 members, and possesses a library of 3000 volumes, in connection with a reading room, amply provided with newspapers and periodicals, and a commodious billiards room.' (1)

Both Phillips and Hamilton testify to the existence of this institution. Kelly's Directory of 1887 claims however that 'the rooms for the Rehill Literary Institution, formed in 1885, are situated at Station Road at the corner of Linkfield Street.' It is further recorded that the library had 500 books. Thus, an Institution formed in 1837, 'progressing' in 1860, boasting 3000 books in 1880, is claimed to have been formed in 1885 and to have only 500 books in 1887. Though there is some consistency regarding the location of the enterprises, the question arises whether there were two institutions or whether perhaps one institution had grown from another.

Reigate

There is little doubt that the Mechanics' Institute at Reigate was a major enterprise; its existence is referred to quite frequently in the minutes of other institutions in the County and in local directories. For instance, Mr Martin, its founder and benefactor, was invited to Croydon Literary and Scientific Institute in October 1842 in order to advise on the most satisfactory method of organising a lecture programme for the Institute. (1) Despite this, however, very few records now remain. Thus the following history is unavoidably brief.
The Mechanics' Institute was established in 1830, but after some initial success it gradually declined until, towards 1837, it was in danger of closing. At this time, due largely to the efforts of Thomas Martin (2), with the support of Lord Somers and Lord Manson, the Mechanics' Institute was re-formed. It had for its aim 'the acquirement and diffusion of useful knowledge' (3) and it was hoped that it would bring 'by means of good books, some acquaintance with Science, Literature and Art, within the reach of all who had any desire to acquire such information; and also by means of lectures to excite and interest, in those who might not already feel it, for these now necessary branches of knowledge. (4) Unusually, the Rules did not include an item forbidding the discussion of religion or politics. (5) The Institute met in the Town Hall, where there was a lecture room, reading room - where readers were expected to remain bareheaded and silent (see Appendix. 6 ) - and a library. The acquisition of a library was considered most important. Reigate was fortunate in having had a free library of sorts for some time:

'A century and a half before Free Libraries were established in our large towns, this ancient borough possessed one, for in about the year 1700 . . . a collection of books was commenced, and left in trust for the use of parishioners of Reigate and the clergy and Archdeaconry of Ewell.' (6)

This library consisted of about 2000 volumes. In this tradition the Institute quickly built up its library. By 1847 it had already printed its second catalogue of books and was claiming to hold 1500 volumes. This library consisted mainly of books on Science and Natural History (7) though it included such works as Knight's 'Capital and Labour,' Hill's 'National Education' and Claxton's 'Hints to Mechanics', together with those of Wilderspin and Adam Smith. (8) This collection had grown to 2000 volumes by 1872 (9) and to 4000 by the turn of the century. (10)
Lectures were arranged on a variety of subjects and were given by such notables as J H Pepper, who lectured on 'Frictional Electricity' on two occasions in January 1845, and by Clara Balfour, who clearly captivated at least one member of her audience in 1847. Referring to a recent lecture by Mrs Balfour, Mr Martin said how fine was female cooperation. Reflecting upon the happy state of the Mechanics' Institute he observed that Mrs Balfour's lectures, and the influence of all good women, must inevitably contribute. (11) (see p323)

On 14 December 1858 the Institute celebrated its twenty first birthday by holding an evening party at the Town Hall, 'when a large number of members and their friends met, and spent a very agreeable evening.' (12) The Institute had not an ample fortune at this time but had at least a sufficient income, and a membership of 203.

A Natural History class had been formed in 1850 and though at that time it was reported that 'from the want of time and sufficiently well-qualified persons, and other obstacles, the committee (had) not been able to form other classes' (13) in reporting the birthday celebrations but eight years later it was possible to say that classes had been formed for Reading and Discussion and for the study of French and Drawing. (14) The same writer observed that as the instructor in Drawing bore the honoured name of Linnell (15) the students must feel specially called upon to meet such an advantage with proper exertion. (16) In 1661 a new Public Hall was built, at a cost of £5000, and henceforth became the home of the Institute. It is recorded that:

'The principal hall will accommodate 500 persons, and the basement comprises the reading room and other rooms of the Literary Society, which was established in 1837."

(17)

It will be noticed that the writer refers to the 'Literary Society' - presumably because at the time he was writing, 1898, this was how it was
commonly described. In the early 1860s a Fine Arts Club, possibly independent of the Institute, was founded, and competition in the form of a Working Mens' Club made its appearance. Further competition came from an evening school which had been founded in 1850 'for the benefit of Youth having no useful or appropriate employment during the long evenings of the Autumn, Winter and Spring.' (18) Subjects taught included Smithing and Bricklaying. The school also established a reading room. The Mechanics' Institute nevertheless continued to thrive; offering, in addition to its reading room and library, a varied programme of lectures and entertainments - these latter predominating from the beginning of the 1870s. (see Appendix. 12n.) The Committee were prepared to re-instate French classes and Drawing classes, and form classes in Shorthand. However, the increasing competition from the evening school (now called the Youth Institute) was affecting the formation of these Mechanics' Institute classes.

By 1884 there were a number of organisations associated with the Mechanics' Institute, a number of which used its premises. There was a Natural History Club, Young Mens' Christian Association, Choral Society, and Church of England Temperance Society - as well as the Fine Arts Club. It was about this time that the Institute appears to have changed its name to the 'Reigate Literary Institute'; and the Youth Institute seems to have been associated with the new organisation. Despite this however, by 1887, the latter had moved into new premises in West Street and was preparing students for the examinations of the Science and Art Department. (19)

The further history of these organisations is obscure. The Literary Institute was thriving at the end of the century and indeed survived until 1924. In March 1892, the local Technical Education Committee received a grant from Surrey County Council, and in July of that year joined Richmond in requesting that part of their local expenses be paid in advance. This request was granted. (20) A grant was also made to the evening classes held
at the Grammar School, in order to 'meet the needs of the Borough.' (21)

It seems likely that with the development of technical education the educational role of the Literary Institute, as opposed to its role in providing entertainments, gradually diminished - together with that of the Working Mens' Institute.

Richmond upon Thames

'Mr Fidler, having assembled a few literary friends in his School Room, on Friday, Jan.28th, 1831, it was then that there was proposed and unanimously agreed to, that a Society, for the discussion of questions of a moral and philosophical nature, should be established, and the following Resolutions were immediately formed and sanctioned by all the gentlemen then present. (1)

So was launched the Richmond Literary and Amicable Institution, and a Resolution was added that 'the end and object of this Institution be to afford a rational system of Amusement, Instruction and Improvement.' (2)

The Institution would meet in Mr Fidler's School Room in Marsh Gate Road and 'the sum of One Pound, per annum, be paid to the Proprietor of the Room, for fires, lights, &c.' (3) It was to be essentially a debating society. Members desiring to be heard on any question 'other than Theological and political subjects' would make their desires known to the Chairman at least one evening prior to the meeting. The words 'rational' and 'impartial' figure largely in the advertisements for this Institution. Thus, any member could propose a question provided the Committee found it
compatible with their plan of impartiality, and 'strict adherence to morality.' (4) And so the Institution was launched in grand manner, with its Rules and Regulations bound together with Mr Fidler's eloquent 'History of Such Institutions' and punctuated with lofty (and it is felt, sincere) statements about their aims. For example 'man learns of man, and reciprocal interchange of conception adds to the general stock of human understanding' introduces the sentiment that the Institute would not despise the humbler efforts of those favouring it with their attempts. (5) Sadly, no other information on this venture has come to hand, and its fate is entirely unknown. It would be too much to speculate that this Institution changed its name or was absorbed by any of the other enterprises which were emerging at this time - though the name of Fidler does not appear among those of their promoters, officers, or Committee Members.

The Richmond Literary and Scientific Institution was established in May 1837, and its aims were as described by William Chapman in his Opening Address:

'Our object is to cultivate that knowledge which is derived from the study and contemplation of nature, and the agencies by which the operations of nature are conducted.' (6)

This Institution was supported by the nobility, gentlemen and clergy of Richmond. H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge was Patron, and the Earl of Errol was President. Among the eighteen vice-presidents were three baronets, three Members of Parliament, two Q.C.s, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and an assortment of clergymen and civic dignitaries. The Institute was opened by Dr Dionysius Lardner. Meetings were held in hired rooms in George Street, where a reading room and small library was soon established. Despite the emphasis that Mr Chapman had placed on the 'contemplation of
nature', lectures at the Institution were not predominantly on Science subjects (see Appendix.12b). In particular, the Secretary made extravagant claims for the study of music, it being 'pre-eminently fitted' for the 'more general advancement of civilisation and refinement.' (8) The inclusion of Politics and Religion as fit subjects for study was prohibited and, apart from 'civilisation and refinement' moderation was a virtue to be instilled. As the Secretary explained:

'Among the middling classes, order, decency, sobriety, courtesy, honesty and justice, are not now matters of boast or of merit, but of necessity and of habit — unavoidable, if we wish to be comfortable. We may not display heroic virtues; but we appreciate the luxury of moderation, and practise it.' (9)

It was anticipated that members resident in the vicinity would give popular lectures of 'various amusement and instruction' though of course not to deprive the Institute of 'the talent to which our nearness to the metropolis gives easy access.' (10) Thus began the Literary and Scientific Institution and, in common with others, such as at Kingston and Croydon, its early success led to demands for a building of its own, since it would be 'useful to our Society and an ornament to the town.' (11) Comparisons were made with the Staines Institute which, though having fewer members, paying only half the subscription demanded at Richmond, was on a firm and secure basis:

'... they can exhibit a building erected for and devoted to the purposes of the Institution, which has ample space for a Lecture Room, a Museum, and a Library.' (12)

This building had been erected by property shares, for which a moderate interest was paid. However, at this point it is appropriate to defer further consideration of the Literary and Scientific Institution and instead direct attention to another contemporary enterprise.
Only eighteen months after the foundation of the Literary and Scientific Institution a Mechanics' Institute was established in Richmond. Although this venture was led by a number of men of ability (13) it did not have the distinguished patronage of the earlier Institution. The inaugural meeting was held in 'Mr Day's large room' in Marsh Gate, under the Chairmanship of Mr Alpenny. (14) The aims of this Institution carried a different emphasis to those of the Literary and Scientific Institution. Its aims were:

'. . . to draw into one Bond of Unity, the intelligent Mechanics of Richmond and its vicinity, for the obtaining from each other that mutual information so necessary to the well-being of Society.' (15)

It was the intention of the Institute not to limit its activities to a library, reading room and lectures but that 'classes of various instructions be established on such terms, and in such a manner as the Committee shall direct.' (16) It was also decided that teachers would be engaged for the Schools and Classes of the Institution. (17) A Membership subscription of 6/- per annum (or 2/- quarterly), resolutions that two-thirds of each of the Committees shall be taken from the working classes, (18) that every member was entitled to all privileges, (19) and that every officer of the Institution shall be elected by ballot, (20) supports a view that the promoters of the Institution had the artisan, if not perhaps the lower working classes, in mind. Nevertheless, it was thought fit to introduce a Rule that '. . . members of this Institution, shall appear on the nights of Meetings in decent apparel and in no way particularly denoting their Trade or Profession.' (21) This was a curious rule, and hardly helpful since many working people did not finish work until 8 p.m. and might well live some distance from the Institution so that there was no opportunity to change from working clothes. This failure to appreciate the working man's work habits has been met with elsewhere, at Kingston and at Croydon. As was commonplace, there were to be no political
or theological topics permitted 'on any pretext whatever' and 'the Chairman or President is enjoined to enforce this article.' (22) There was also another curious decision. Though just over a year later the Institution invited the formation of a Choral Class, the original Rules included one which claimed that 'it is not essential for the objects of this Institution to promote Lectures on Music or the Drama.' (23) This was a far cry from William Chapman's spirited defence (and indeed promotion) of music at the Literary and Scientific Institution, (see pp 305-306/) and the strong commitment to the drama at Croydon.

The Mechanics' Institute made a good start, and was formally opened on 12 November 1838 when Robert Carr Woods gave a lecture on 'The Comparative Estimate of Relative Advantages of the Sciences.' (24) However, it would seem that lack of suitable accommodation was to be a constant problem. The Institute had originally met in Church Rooms, Church Yard, but in December 1838 approaches were made both for the use of the Infant School Room and also the Literary and Scientific Institution for the hire of their room. Both requests were rejected and it is a significant indication of the Mechanics' Institute's success that the reason given was that it had grown too big to be accommodated. (25) In January 1839, application was made for the hire of Mr Smith's room (the 'Savings Bank') - this time with success, whereupon Mrs Wheatley was appointed curator at £2.12.0d per annum. This appears to have been a period of success. Again, in September 1839, the Secretary wrote to the Reverend Hoare for use of the Infants School Room, but a decision was deferred and in December the Committee were still seeking accommodation. By May 1840, however, meetings were being held in the Infants School Room. (26) The Institute was experiencing success. In September 1839 the Committee had ordered that 'the Reading Room be opened on Monday, Wednesday and Fridays during the season for the study of Drawing, Writing and Reading.' (27) In January 1840, James Hetherington
formed his Choral Class, for which members paid an extra subscription of 1/6d per quarter; ladies and minors 1/-.

(28) In September of the same year, the Literary and Scientific Institution had a change of heart, for they wrote to the Mechanics' Institute offering the use of their lecture hall, and this was accepted for a trial period. (29) Still later, it was decided that children under 14 years of age could be admitted to lectures for a fee of 6d each, and members of subscribers' families could be admitted on the same basis. (30) However, from about this time onwards, things began to go wrong for the Institute.

It could be said that the raising of extra income on the Choral Class and the admission of children under 14 years and members of subscribers' families for a fee of 6d each, was a response to some forewarning of financial trouble. The Choral Class was a successful venture and no doubt the Committee valued it. But there were serious problems ahead. A Mr Baldwin was refused further membership because of 'conduct inconsistent with the interests and harmony of the Institution.' (31) There had been a series of similar incidents, and in February 1841 it was reported that there had been some wanton damage to books and so it was decided that the reading room would henceforth be manned by a member of the Committee, and a rota was drawn up. (32) Despite an impending financial crisis, perhaps because the Choral Class was the only venture earning a reasonable income, it was decided to purchase a piano at a cost of £3,3,0d. However, fortunes seem not to have revived; despite the Literary and Scientific Institution permitting the gratuitous use of their rooms, and by December 1841 the Committee were reporting a 'very poor state of funds.' (33) There arose a disagreement with James Hetherington regarding the Choral Class. The Chairman of the Institute made a request on Mr Hetherington's behalf that an amount of money hitherto paid to a Miss Bell, the accompanist (who had resigned) be paid to him 'for providing others in her room.' However, the
Committee's reply was 'that in consequence of the low state of the funds the request cannot be acceded to.' (34) Mr Hetherington had given loyal service, and he was aware of his contribution to the financial security of the Institute. He felt aggrieved, declined further attendance at the class and requested that 'his name should be withdrawn from the Committee.' (35) The response of the Committee to this loss was to propose the establishment of a lending library, and to start classes in French and Mathematics. (36) However, the trouble did not subside, nor did the financial situation improve, and even the Secretary, Mr Alpenny, threatened to resign. From hereon the situation developed rapidly. Despite inviting Mr Hetherington to re-form his Choral Class so that it include female membership (which did in fact prove successful) and despite the success of the other classes, including one on Public Speaking starting as late as January 1843, there were moves towards an inevitable amalgamation with the Literary and Scientific Institution.

In June 1842 it was recorded that the Institute received 'a communication from the Literary and Scientific Institution (received by) Mr Alpenny requesting to be informed whether the members of the Mechanics' Institution were desirous of cooperating with them in the proposed building.' (37) It is not clear what Mr Alpenny's role was here, but the proposed building, this is to say purpose-built accommodation, was an ambition shared by both institutions and was a development urged by William Chapman in his opening address to the Literary and Scientific Institution in 1837. Later in 1842, the Literary and Scientific Institution again requested cooperation in building a Lecture Room, and in December the Mechanics' Institute was 'negotiating for a plot of land for an Institute building.' (38) In April 1843 the Mechanics' Institute could not immediately find the funds for the hire of rooms at the Literary and Scientific Institute (their gratuitous use having ceased) and there were numerous resignations from the Committee,
including that of the Secretary, Mr Alpenny.

Now is recorded a most curious circumstance for, notwithstanding the vicissitudes described above, the Mechanics' Institute negotiated for a plot of land for a building of their own, and in 1843 the foundation stone was laid. This building would have a Theatre 40 feet by 20 feet, seating 300 persons. On either side of the main entrance to the building there would be rooms measuring 20 feet by 16 feet; one for a library and the other for a museum. (39) (see Appendix.3b) The new building was opened, accompanied by an Address and a concert, in August 1843, and at its anniversary in 1844 received a portrait of Prince Albert which had been donated by His Royal Highness. (40) Thus a new phase in the fortunes of the Mechanics' Institute was ushered in and was accompanied by the publication of new Rules, which, although they were in most respects similar to those of 1838, included a significant exception. The original Rule 3, which laid down that at least two thirds of the Committee should be taken from the working classes, was carefully crossed through on the printer's proof and it can be assumed that this item was deleted from those copies issued. (41)

In 1846, the Mechanics' Institute was confidently predicting a successful future. The Resident Clergy had placed the Parochial Lending Library at the Institute's disposal so that now 'nearly 3000 volumes of valuable historical and other useful works' were at the command of members. (42) The Committee had established within the new building a Classical and Commercial School in connection with the Winchester Diocesan Board of Education, and the reading room and library were open every evening. (43)

Indeed the Mechanics' Institute could claim that:

'The progress of the Institution, and the estimation in which it is held, may be gathered from the fact that, since the opening of the new Rooms, the number of Members has been more than doubled; and it is most gratifying to the Committee to observe that this great increase in the number has been from that class, which the Institution principally intended to benefit.' (44)
Sadly, despite this enthusiasm and confidence, the Mechanics' Institute came to an end in 1849. Why this happened is not clear. In common with other institutions they may not have been able to afford their new building. There seems to have been some kind of amalgamation with the Literary and Scientific Institution between 1846 and 1849. Certainly, many leading figures were associated with both institutions during this period. In 1845 Mr Alpenny (ex Secretary of the Mechanics' Institute) was Secretary of the Literary and Scientific Institution - though he continued to give lectures in the former institution. Mr South, from whom the Mechanics' Institute had hired rooms in 1839, was Treasurer of that institution. William Chapman, then Secretary of the Literary and Scientific Institution, gave an address to the Mechanics' Institute on the occasion of the anniversary of the laying of the foundation stone for the new building. With such obvious close associations why they did not amalgamate at the opening of the new building is difficult to understand. In 1843 the Mechanics' Institute announced that 'by an arrangement recently made, a periodic supply of popular modern works is provided for the perusal of Members - an advantage probably not enjoyed to a like extent by any similar institution.' (45) and in 1845 the Literary and Scientific Institution announced a similar arrangement by which the Institution would be given 'a fresh supply of 25 volumes per quarter.' (46)

A Richmond Young Mans' Society made its appearance in 1849, and a number of books in their possession were stamped 'Richmond Mechanics' Institution'. This leads to the speculation that this latter body may have partly merged with each of the two other institutions. Richmond had seen the emergence and the decline of three significant institutions in the space of eighteen years. Another thirty-two years were to pass before mention could be made of any comparable initiative. In the meantime, the Young Mens'
Institution thrived, and a School of Industry was founded in 1843. The Mechanics' Institute building was sold and first used as a public baths and lavatory, and later as a Public Hall, still later known as the Assembly Rooms. (47)

In 1881, coinciding with the availability of a free lending library, Parochial Library, and the establishment of the Richmond School for Science and Arts and College of Music in Halford Road, there was also established the Richmond Athenaeum. This institution first met in Old College Hall and later in the Castle Assembly Room. It was established by the local nobility, gentry, clergy and professional men, and its purpose was to encourage readings and discussions on all subjects, including politics and religion. In a letter to the Richmond and Twickenham Times of 1881, the Chairman outlined the purpose of the Athenaeum; appealing for a 'thinking shop, not a talking shop.' (48) 'We can all read at home', he said:

'Richmond wants something different, a place where the lecturer is followed by the critic, and the critic has a wholesale fear of the next speaker; a place where hard knocks are given and taken, where the man who talks sense has his reward immediately in the enthusiasm of his audience, and the man who talks nonsense has his reward too. There is nothing so stimulating to thought as debate.' (49)

The President was Viscount Cave, the Secretary Mr W B King. Lectures were given by many eminent and popular speakers varying from Sidney Webb, Mrs Fawcett and the Reverend Ashley Cooper, to Rollo Russell, John Whitaker Ellis (local M.P. and Lord Mayor of London) and the Home Secretary, Lord Cave himself. Success was thus assured and with such influential patronage and an immediate membership of two hundred it is perhaps no surprise to find that this had increased to five hundred by 1907.

However, with the establishment of the Richmond Technical and Art College, opened by the Duke of Cambridge in 1895, adult education in Richmond entered a new phase and so further discussion is deferred to a more
A paragraph in the 1880 edition of 'Church's Illustrated Sutton' makes the following observation:

'Many and varied are and have been the combinations of the working classes for both their individual and their collective welfare: courts and lodges in union with most of the great benefit and friendly societies having for many years been taking root in the town.' (1)

A great deal of the effort to provide education for the working classes in Sutton seems to have been provided by themselves, and a fuller discussion of this is for the moment deferred. First, some attempt will be made to unravel the numerous strands which led to the formation of the major institutions in the village of Sutton.

Information relating to institutions existing before 1867 is sparse. There was a circulating and subscription library operated by M.J. Morgan, and in 1866, at the Benhill Street Chapel, lectures and readings were commenced under the auspices of the Young Mens' Mutual Improvement Society. (2) In 1864 a local directory records that a 'Horticultural Society and a Literary Society have been commenced in Sutton.' (3) The only public hall in Sutton prior to the building of the Town Hall in 1878 was a small Public Room which would seat about one hundred and fifty persons, and was built by Mr Rabbits in 1867. It was at the back of Edwards Terrace, just off the high Street, and on land leased by the Trustees of a local charity. As Mr Rabbits explained:
'I thought I would venture to erect this small and unpretending building, hoping it might lead to the erection of a large and commanding structure worthy of the time, worthy of the means, and worthy of the intelligence of the people of Sutton.' (4)

It was in this Public Room that the Sutton Literary Society, formed in 1864, held its meetings and where, apart from lectures, there were Penny Readings and a mutual improvement society. (5) Mr Rabbit's generosity was greatly appreciated and it was said that the room:

', . . . provides a common ground for all classes, the opportunities for meetings for various secular purposes conducive to the moral and intellectual welfare of Society.' (6)

Even in this brief passage the writer cannot avoid hinting at the common sensitivities towards favouring all classes of people and towards the exclusion of controversial religion. Indeed the room was used for a religious service of a non-denominational character every Sunday afternoon. Lack of suitable accommodation was to be the main handicap to developing an institution for Sutton, one which might compare with those at Croydon or Kingston for example. Despite registering his indebtedness to Mr Rabbits, a writer observed that 'if the public spirit of the locality is not deficient, we expect to see ere long, (Mr Rabbit's building) superceded by one larger and more commodious.' (7) This was to be a recurring theme for the next ten years; ten years which would see a surprising number of ventures struggle for existence and during which time the agitation for a Public Hall for the village would continue unabated.

Notwithstanding, in 1870 it could be recorded that Sutton boasted a Horticultural Society, a Literary Society, a Mutual Improvement Society, in addition to Building, Benefit and Work societies. This in addition to the provision of both National and British schools. (8) In the same year, a Social Science class was established, though it is not clear whether this
was connected with the Literary Society or was an independent venture. It met in the West Street National Schoolroom under the supervision of Mr Knibbs of Banstead. One year later the class was conducted by Mr Bramwell. However, despite the growing number of enterprises, a new Public Hall was not forthcoming, and in his impatience Mr Church accused the people of Sutton thus:

'We still deplore that the efforts of a few gentlemen to obtain for Sutton a large Public Hall were unsuccessful; and, while pointing out this fact, we believe that we are indebted to the inhabitants alone for the present state of things. If those whose livelihood depends on the trade of Sutton are apathetic concerning things of vital importance, why should those who merely sleep in the town interest themselves so warmly?' (9)

A similar apathy was evident a few years later when the people of Sutton were asked to vote on the establishment of a School Board. (10) In 1873 the Public Hall belonging to Mr Rabbits passed into other hands and was used 'principally by the teetotallers' and so 'the enlightened public (were) obliged to have recourse to schoolrooms.' (11) One of the casualties was the Mutual Improvement Society which had met in the Public Hall since 1867. This Society joined the Young Mens' Society at the British Schoolroom in Benhill Street. The lectures there commanded a widespread interest, and a choral class was formed. At the same time a Working mens' Club and Reading Room was established at the Public Hall. This venture had been acted upon the previous year with only partial success, but was now to begin a long history. (12) This institution was open, free of charge, every Saturday evening when coffee, cake, bread and butter, was supplied at wholesale prices. In the Reading Room, daily and weekly newspapers, periodicals and weekly and monthly magazines were available. Every Saturday night there was an entertainment in the shape of two-penny concerts, spiced with readings. As Church enthusiastically commented, they were:
very successful, commanding and deserving widespread approbation. This is all the more worthy when the aim of the promoters is remembered.' (13)

The aim of the promoters was to ween the working man from the evils of the public house, and indeed there was plenty of support for the enterprise.

'Several gentlemen have come forward and rendered valuable help and assistance, one gentleman subscribing books, periodicals, etc. for the whole of the season, another a file of 'The Times,' others various newspapers and publications.' (14)

A piano had been bought, and 'the room was thronged on every occasion.' And so it is curious that Mr Church, who had the greatest admiration for the Working Mens' Club and Reading Room, and who had written that 'too much praise cannot be given to the promoters . . .for the way in which it is conducted as well as for the energy displayed and the vigour imparted to the scheme' (15) should but one year later become one of the Secretaries of a newly-founded institution calling itself the Sutton Reading Room and Club.

A series of lectures and entertainments under the title of 'Benhill Entertainments', which had been functioning since 1869, were at this time losing support, as was the Mutual Improvement Society, both of which met at the Benhill Street Chapel. Mr Church gave considerable support to these latter ventures and so it might be that he wished to emulate the success of the Working Mens' Club and Reading Room. On the other hand he might have anticipated a threat to the Working Mens' Club from a new successful venture in the town and so might have wished to have a part in it. In any event, the Sutton Reading Room and Club was established on the 16th November 1874. The Club was situated in Benhill Street, near the centre of the town, and consisted of three rooms, comfortably furnished, well heated,
well lighted and ventilated. The first was a reading room, the second a smoking and recreation room where members could play chess, draughts, bagatelle and dominoes, and a third, a room where refreshments were sold. There had been promises of a good many books and so a library was started. There would be lectures, entertainments, a sick fund and a savings bank. The Club was open from 10 am. to 10.30 pm. on weekdays and 2 pm. to 10 pm. on Sundays, and subscriptions were 2d per week. No person in an intoxicated condition was allowed inside the building, and the use of improper language, gambling or betting, was prohibited. (16) The Mutual Improvement Society did in fact 'quietly pass away' in 1876. One reason given was that Sutton had outgrown certain wants while neighbouring villages were creating them. Yet another reason, it was claimed, was the existence of Board Schools for if there had been none then 'there would yet be room for the labours of an Improvement Society.' (17) The Benhill Entertainments were also given up with regret. The reasons are not clear but perhaps there is some clue in the following observation:

'Church strifes and wardens' quarrels blight and destroy all that is good and valuable in the associations clustering round the time-honoured, long-loved institutions. A better day must dawn, but in the meantime rationalism, free-thinking, and infidelity are sapping the foundations our forefathers built with no ungrudging fruit. God help us in Sutton! for we need it much.' (18)

This does create a bitter picture. However, the Working Mens' Club and Reading Room still prospered, the Horticultural Society gave its Twelfth Annual Show, and the late Mr Rabbits' Public Hall still hosted Saturday evening entertainments and weekday lectures and meetings of the Teetotalers. The Mutual Improvement Society did not die however, but was instead reformed in 1877 under the management of Mr Tresidder whom it seems, instead of engaging costly lecturers, encouraged 'amateur essayists
and lecturers and would-be entertainers - all with apparent success.' (19)
This same year the foundation stone was at last laid for a new Public Hall for the town. The Hall, costing £3700, was sited in Hill street, adjoining the High Street.

It is now necessary to draw some of the strands of this history together. The new Mutual Improvement Society moved into premises in Vernon Road in 1878, and was thereafter called the Sutton Institute. It extended its lectures, readings and discussion programme and appears to have incorporated much of the prospectus of the Sutton Reading Room and Club - of which no more is heard. It also established an extensive library. (20) Mr Tresidder was President and the Institute seems to have received the support of local businessmen and professional people. In 1880 it had grown so as to be short of accommodation: a site was sought for a new building, and shares were being subscribed for. Numerous branches of this institution (facetiously called 'babies') were established in the district in the hope of extending its usefulness. There was a move to Hadden Road in 1903, and the last mention of the Sutton Institute was in 1914. (21) Thus its history can be traced back through the Mutual Improvement Society at Benhill Street to its origins in Mr Rabbit's Public Hall in 1864: an existence of about 50 years.

The new Public Hall was opened with great ceremony by Sir Henry Peake (see also Cranleigh) and Sir Trevor Lawrence, on July 10th 1897. The Hall was built in the domestic style of Queen Anne (see Appendix. 3P ) Mr Church offers the following description:

'A commodious entrance lobby gives access to the ladies' cloak room on the left and to that for gentlemen on the right, as well as to the gallery on either side; whilst the body of the hall is most conveniently accessible from the same entrance. The building is 25 feet in height below the spring of the roof, 36 feet wide, and (including the platform) 86 feet in length. There is room for 520 seats on the
ground floor, in the gallery for 110 more; this, with the platform, making a total accommodation for about 700 persons. At the back . . . are two committee rooms, which may be thrown into one, giving accommodation for about 80 persons . . . In addition there are a laboratory, kitchen with good cooking stove, store room, heating chamber, and many other conveniences.' (22)

It is difficult to estimate the effect this long-awaited Public Hall would have on the institutions already established in the town. The Sutton Institute has been referred to and thrived for some years to come. The West Street Penny Readings continued successfully for approximately three years, and the Working Mens' Club (now in Benhill Street) continued well into the next century. Working contemporarily with the Sutton Institute during these years it is said to have been 'another of those institutions where recreation and amusement seek to sweeten hours unoccupied in useful toil, and where the news of every day is brought within the ken of all who choose to read, and illustrated serials serve to make a deeper impress on the mind concerning men of noble deeds and scenes of homely interest or foreign strife.' (23)

In 1881 a Technical Committee was formed leading to the establishment a few years later of the Sutton (Surrey) Technical Institute and School of art. It occupied accommodation in the County School in Throwley Road and this, as was characteristic of other parts of Surrey, adulterated the education work of the other local institutions. Nevertheless, this did not discourage the establishment of a Literary and Scientific Institution in 1894, which met in the Public Hall; the existence of which is recorded until 1928. (24)

Finally, one other institution deserves attention. On a Saturday evening in the latter half of 1906, a few men met in Benhill Street Mission Hall (often called the 'Guild Hall'). Their purpose was to start an Adult School in Sutton. However, while some progress was made that year it was in the first quarter of 1907 that the Sutton Adult School was established. The
Adult School and Institute was described as being 'designed as a centre for religious education and recreational activities on a strictly non-party and non-sectarian basis, with voluntary Officers and Trustees elected by members.' (25) A most important Rule stated:

'Party politics shall not be discussed in the Institute and no subsidiary Society or Club shall be formed for any party political purpose.' (26)

The Adult School was a great success and attracted the support of Mr Thomas Wall, a local businessman, benefactor and Patron of the Sutton Institute, who was to become nationally known. (27) Plans were drawn up for a new building. It would consist of a Large Hall capable of seating 600 persons and a Small Hall capable of seating 250. There were to be seven other rooms plus committee rooms, a Social Club room, Billiards Room, Gymnasium, Badminton Courts, Library, Refreshment Bar and (eventually) a car park. Not surprisingly, when the building was opened in June 1910 it was described as 'the largest and best appointed set of buildings for the Adult School Movement in the country.' (28) This institution was to have a long and successful history, publishing its programme of activities and the proceedings of its Committee in a journal called 'The Venture.' The peak of its membership was between 1911 and 1914 when it claims to have attracted 1000 men and 450 women. (29) By the 1950s its programme was in many respects hardly distinguishable from that offered by the Surrey County Council Adult Education service, and the Adult School was having financial difficulties. It weathered the storm and is currently a thriving institution.
Woking

An effort to provide education and recreation for the young men of Woking resulted in the formation, in the autumn of 1867, of a Mutual Improvement Society. This was one of the earliest if not the first attempt to provide adult education in Woking. (1) The society provided instruction in the 'three Rs', grammar, geography, Latin, French and music. Accommodation in the infants schools of Woking and Knaphill was used for the purpose. Newspapers, periodicals, and the use of the Parochial Lending Library were available. There were also facilities for chess, solitaire and other games. Penny Readings were also given, prices for admission being 1d and 3d, with reserved seats at 6d. The Surrey Advertiser credited the curate, the Reverend Moore, as saying that he considered this 'a most instructive and amusing pastime, and that with more light vast good might yet come out of Woking, notwithstanding the unprogressiveness of the natural soil.' (2) The reference to 'more light' was no doubt a hint at the agitation for better lighting which continued over the next twenty years. (3)

Weybridge

A Mechanics' Institute was in existence in Weybridge in 1851 (1) and at that time was comparable with Chertsey Literary and scientific Institution; having about 60 members. There were however a number of differences between the two institutions, differences which indicate something of the character of the Weybridge Institute. For instance, at Weybridge, a quarter of the
members were women, whereas the figure was less than one sixth at Chertsey. Furthermore, subscriptions were 6d per month (or 6/- a year) at Weybridge and £1.1.0d per year at Chertsey. Weybridge claimed to have 350 volumes in its library and had a programme of occasional lectures on various subjects. (2) In the 1870s there was a flourishing Literary Institute, situated on the west side of Church Street:

'This various brickbuilding was put up in 1873 by the Hon P Locke King of Brooklands for the Weybridge Mutual Improvement Society and Literary Institute.' (3)

This building, and the Institution, eventually gave rise to the Weybridge Museum which was opened in 1909 and is currently in existence.

In conclusion

Thus far, the histories of the adult education institutions in Surrey have been described on a geographical basis. In turning attention to the later nineteenth century and early twentieth century institutions it will be more appropriate to describe them chronologically both because they represent, for the most part, an extension of existing provision and because the relevant data is sparse.
Later Nineteenth Century Institutions

Mention has already been made of a number of Institutions established in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Amongst these are the Richmond Athenaeum (1881), Haslemere Educational Museum (1888) and Sutton Adult School (1901). However, a number of other enterprises, distinct from church institutes and those, mainly recreational, activities associated with village halls can be added to the list. A distinction that can be made is that, in part, they shared the aspirations of the larger institutions. This is to say they provided libraries, lectures and reading rooms. An additional factor is that they were established under the patronage of local gentry.

One of the earliest of these was the Upper Norwood Athenaeum, established in 1877 for the purpose 'of visiting places of antiquity and general interest.' (1) This institution was very successful in its early years, and produced annual reports of its meetings and excursions. It appears to have ceased to exist around 1912. In the north east of the County, prior to 1880, local initiatives centred around the Bagshot Institute. After this date, activities (including vestry meetings) were transferred to Windlesham; the Bagshot rooms being too small by then. In 1880 a small brick building was opened at Windlesham for use as a Working Mens' Institute and Reading Room. (2) There were lectures and a small library. In addition, a few miles away, a Working Mens' Institute was given to the village of Lyne by Edward Sterne. (3)

The Leatherhead Institute was established in 1881 and it was there that 'the Literary and Scientific Institute was given by the late Mr Abraham
Dixon, of Cherkley Court, in 1892.' (4) With the establishment of the Surrey County Council Technical Education Committee in 1895, Science and art classes were established at the Institute. The buildings and the Institute remain to this day, though the focus of its activities has changed over the years. Nearby, in the village of Ashtead, 'Mr F Hue Williams undertook the foundation of an Institute and Working Mens' Club.' (5) This was in 1882, and accommodation was first provided in a house adjoining the post office. A building was erected for the Institute in 1889 and was further extended in 1897. (6) This Institution became the centre of village activities and had considerable success. Management was in the hands of a committee 'representing all classes of membership' (7) and the expenses of the Institution were defrayed by members' subscriptions, supplemented by contributions from residents of the village. Its purpose has been described thus:

'. . . when the labours of the day were ended, the local tradesmens' club would meet to discuss the topics of the day . . . This club was really in the nature of an unregistered "friendly society".' (8)

Attached to the Institute there was a slate club and a burial guild.

Perhaps the Peake Institute at Cranleigh can be described as one of the last attempts in Surrey to provide an institution for local people which shared some of the characteristics of the earlier major institutions. This institute was founded in 1885 by Sir Henry Peake, in memory of his wife. There was a library, reading room, billiards room, and a club house. (see Appendix.3k) The building occupied a prestigious position in the centre of the village, close to the National Schoolroom which had been the home of the Cranleigh Literary and Scientific Institution until 1873. The Peake Institute flourished, and continued to do so, well into the present century; until many of its functions were taken over by other public and
private organisations in the village. At present the Peake Institute is used as the local public library.

There were others. A fine Institute was established at Witley, near Godalming, in 1883. The Witley Institute was built by John Foster, and boasted a 'good reference library of about 200 volumes and a lending library of 700 volumes.' (9) There were lectures, classes, and concerts, and there was a slate club.* Evening continuation classes were operating in 1898. (10) This was a successful venture but many of its educational activities were eventually absorbed into the work of the Godalming Technical Institute and School of Art, which had been established in 1896.

There were other initiatives in and around Godalming. In 1880, the Farncombe Reading Room, which was 'near the schools', was founded. This was quite a significant venture. There were lectures, a reading room, and a library based on an earlier Farncombe Lending Library. The Reading room took the daily and weekly newspapers, and was open every evening during the winter months from 8pm until 10 pm. In 1883 a smoking room and a bagatelle board were added. Subscriptions were 6d per month or 2d per week. In 1891 it changed its name to the Farncombe Institute, and added a refreshment bar. Subscriptions were lowered to 1/- per quarter. An almost exact history can be written regarding the Busbridge Reading Room which appears to have been established in 1880. It became associated with the Young Mens' Friendly Society and became the Busbridge Reading Room and Working Mens' Club in 1886. It was open every evening including Sunday. Another venture was the Shackleford Institute, which was established in 1893, for the

* Members paid a small amount each week into a fund. They were then entitled to sick pay, or their families to a small payment in the event of the member's death. The amount left in the fund at the end of each year was divided among the members. They were often called 'Slate Clubs' because their simple accounts could be kept on a slate hung up in the public house where members met.
'purpose of meetings, bible, and other classes.' It was opened by the Bishop of Winchester and received the patronage of Viscount Midleton. It provided lectures, meetings, a reading room, a library (of 400 volumes) and a Working Mens' Club. And finally, the Cattershall Coffee Tavern was opened in 1884, in Meadow Godalming. There were lectures and a reading room and it is recorded that 'it has a fine bar, reading room, smoking room, hot and cold baths.' (11) The Chiddingfold Institute was opened in 1896 and the Alfold Reading Room in 1906.

Elsewhere, there was a Working Mens' Institute established at Peaslake in 1891 by the Misses Spottiswode of Drydown (12), and in the late 1880s an Institute and Reading Room at Oxted, which claimed a library of 500 volumes. The heyday of the large institutions was long over, however, and these small institutions themselves gradually gave way to the influences of other organisations, beginning to concentrate their efforts on concerts and social activities. Indeed a number still survive as village clubs.
The Surrey Prospectus

In June 1891, Surrey County Council resolved that 'an application be made through the Technical Instruction Committee to the Science and art Department to recognise the following subjects as being necessary for the industries of the County of Surrey, viz., Dairywork - Domestic Economy, including Cookery, Needlework, Laundrywork; and under the heading of manual instruction - Hedging, Thatching, Shoeing, Ropemaking, Ditching, Drainage, Brickmaking.' (1)

The evident practical bias in this request was too much for the Science and Art Department and so, on the 25th of June, a reply was received from the Department pointing out that 'the Technical Instruction Act (Clause 8) expressly bars the teaching of the practice of any trade or industry.' (2) (see pp219-235 passim) However, the newly-appointed Organising Secretary of the Surrey Technical Instruction Committee was clearly up to the task. Thus he again wrote to the Department:

'The teaching of the use of agricultural tools to a class by means of demonstrations appears to be a different matter from the drilling of individuals into a manual dexterity in their trades by means of apprenticeship or otherwise, which seems to be what is aimed at in Clause 8.' (3)

Apparently this point of view was conceded and on the 5th of August a letter from South Kensington confirmed agreement to the Surrey proposals.
In December of the same year, the Science and Art Department similarly agreed to the inclusion of, and therefore made grants for, Horticulture, Modern Languages, Shorthand, Carpentry, Woodcarving, and Slojd. (5)

Seemingly, an oblique interpretation of the rules remained a characteristic of Surrey. The 1904 Annual Report of the Godalming Technical Institute and School of art records the following:

'With regards to the Art Work it may be stated that, within the limits imposed by the Board of Education, it has been the aim of the Committee, on the suggestion of Mr Burnand, the Art Master, to encourage the direct application of Art to industrial purposes rather than the making of pictures, and they hope that the scope of the work in this direction may be widened.' (6)

As a result of this strategy, many of the students were employed by the widow of the painter and sculptor G F Watts in the decoration of the cemetery chapel at Compton, near Guildford. Others had commissions for black-and-white work as well as for carving. (7) To be precise, though emphasising that theory and not practice should be taught, the wording of the Technical Instruction Act(1889) nevertheless did allow for such oblique interpretations where such was 'required by the circumstances of its district.' (8) It must be said that by the 1890s, the term technical 'education' was beginning to replace the term technical or science 'instruction.' Furthermore, though it might be gradually accepted that the lower ranks of society might be taught some elements of the practice of their particular trades and professions, the upper ranks would for the most part remain aloof. As Ashby has said:

'It was admitted that the study of science for its useful applications might be appropriate for the labouring classes, but managers were not attracted to the study of science except as an agreeable occupation for their leisure.' (9)

a circumstance which, it is alleged, has contributed to the decline of
British industrial competition. (Weiner 1981) This characteristic must be borne in mind when judging the contribution Surrey was endeavouring to make. The Technical Education Committee of the Surrey County Council was established in January 1891. Henry Macan M.A. was appointed Organising Secretary at a starting salary of 40 guineas a term. However, such were the demands of the job that just one year later his salary had increased to £500 per year. (10) The Committee's brief was to 'consider the whole subject of the application of any sum which may be received by the County as its proportion of the residue of the additional duties under the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, (1890)' (11) £12,928 had already been received and a further £2000 was expected. Furthermore, the Committee desired to ascertain what provision was already being made for Technical and Manual Instruction, also what were the special needs of the different localities. They also wished to be furnished with information as to the assistance available in each locality. With this object in mind, the Committee issued a circular to all persons or institutions likely to be able to give such information. Thus Surrey County Council did not adopt a policy of automatically granting funds to existing institutions, permanent institutions and strong local committees; a strategy which had elsewhere resulted in disorganisation and duplication of provision. (Blunden 1980) Replies to the Committee's circular ranged from 'an elaborate document' from Richmond, to a brief acknowledgement from Dorking, indicating that they would leave the matter to the Committee's discretion. Some localities, such as East Molesey were 'of the opinion that the whole amount should be devoted towards the relief of the General Rate of the County', whilst Epsom, though conceding that it expected to supplement funding by local contributions, nevertheless requested 'an aid of a rate.' And yet others, such as Kingston and Surbiton, thought that 'following the principle of local self-government funds should be allocated as they wished.' (12)
Despite this, however, there was a broad measure of agreement that technical instruction was desirable. It must be noted that many areas of the County already had well developed provision for science and art/technical instruction. As the Worplesden School Board testified: it, 'recognises the great advantages to be gained from technical or manual instruction to the rising industrial classes if carried into effect on a broad basis for those primarily proposed to be benefitted, and regards that at the present time there is no available means in agricultural districts for achieving so desirable an end.' (13)

In Surrey, there was also the fear, common in many agricultural districts, that 'unless the artisans are better educated in the staple trade of our district they will migrate to the places where the work people enjoy these advantages.' (14) Thus a reply from Oxted and Godstone urged, 'that the establishment of such classes would be the means of raising the standards of the farm labourers, and thus tend to prevent them migrating into the towns.' (15) In certain districts a number of local providers and potential providers met in order to reply to the County Council circular. At Godalming, the Town Council, the Managers of the five elementary schools, the Managers of the Science and Art classes, and the 'Committee of University Extension' met with a request 'to organise Classes for higher instruction of Artisans in their several callings.' At Farnham, the Heads of the Literary Institute, Working Mens' Institute, British and National Schools, and the Head of the School of Art, considered their reply. The Literary Institute offered to make its premises available and 'as representing the only Literary Institute in the town, strongly support the policies of the South Eastern Counties Association of University Teaching.' Both the British and National Schools wished to extend their evening school work, in particular in respect to girls, and the School of Art (which was devoted entirely to the Department of Science and Art) wished for some
money for the very laudable purpose of 'remission of fees to the artisan class.' However, an observation from the Farnham Working Mens' Institute that 'the teaching of music is strictly Technical Education, and ask for £20 towards instruction of their Members in Music and buying new music' was a little too oblique for the Technical Education Committee and the request was declined - a circumstance curiously similar to that observed in Whitecroft, Gloucestershire. (16)

Despite requests for funding and for facilities for the education of women, in particular from Egham, the Royal Holloway College, and the Oxford Union for the Education of Women, the sex bias in the provision of technical education for women was sustained. Epsom's proposals were typical, and suffice as an example. The locality requested £500 in order to provide the following classes:

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<td>Mechanics</td>
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</table>

In addition, boys would be taught 'such branches of natural philosophy as circumstances may warrant.' (17) However, there were exceptions. Egham demanded more education for females. The William Perkins School in Chertsey informed the Committee that '£150, part of their endowment, was already being spent on teaching Mechanics: Drawing, Shorthand, Dressmaking and French to all comers' and this included girls, 'and apply for £150 to be expended in a combined system of instruction in (1) Horticulture (2) Migratory Dairy School.' (18) Certainly Godalming carried on its tradition in this respect and in 1896, the first year of the newly-established
Technical Institute, there were females attending classes in Magnetism and Electricity, Geometry, and (perhaps less exceptionally) in Bookkeeping and Shorthand. (19)

Many local committees recognised the problems of making technical education accessible to a population living in rural areas. Chertsey made the following plea:

'. . . it is desirable that some subjects of Technical Education be taught peripatetically in the parishes of Chertsey, Thorpe, Egham and Chobham, and it is generally felt that it would not interfere with local individual efforts, and that the instruction contemplated must be brought to the doors of the pupils, and not merely held in important centres. (20)

This view was shared by the village of Addlestone. However, there is no record of the Technical Education Committee's response to this. The proposal was not unique. The Technical Education Committee of Gloucester County Council for example, despite having spent only half of its 'Whisky Money', on technical education, made the following comment:

'The Committee was concerned to meet the needs of each locality as far as possible and was prepared to send a skilled teacher to "any farmhouse where four pupils can be got together, so that Labourer's sons and daughters as well as farmers" may have the benefit of instruction without the expense of coming to Gloucester.' (21)

Clearly this was a concern in rural counties other than Surrey and it is noteworthy that a hundred year's later such a proposal is commonly seen as too radical (certainly too expensive) and beyond the perception of many working in established adult education institutions. It does nevertheless call attention to the fact that providing technical education in a county such as Surrey had particular problems, requiring institutions distinct from those found for example in urban areas.

There were other responses to the Technical Education Committee's circular, and there were some problems. Quite obviously, the circular was bound to
increase agitation from those who had long held the view that an agricultural college was required for the County. The Royal Holloway College at Egham wished to see a women's university scholarship founded. Cranleigh wished to see the foundation of a scholarship of £100 a year 'in order to send boys educated at the School' to a 'first rate agricultural college.' Guildford wanted £1000 spent on its grammar school, in particular to provide compensation for the use of accommodation (i.e., for technical education classes) there. The Middle Class Boarding School at Bramley wanted £250 to pay for a Drawing Master, and Reigate and Redhill felt that a grant to its grammar school (for purposes unspecified) would 'meet the needs of the Borough.' Reigate and Richmond also requested that part of their local expenses be paid on account - and this was agreed. A number of localities, Horley, Thames Ditton, and Shalford for instance, had no existing provision but expressed their intention to establish classes should they be awarded a grant. These classes would be for the most part in Carving and agricultural classes for boys, and Cooking and Domestic Economy for girls. Yet others had no existing provision nor had they formulated any future plans. One of these latter, Tandridge, demonstrating obvious enthusiasm for technical education, felt that local contributions would match the County Council grant for 'there was already an institution for young men at which lectures were given' and 'if help were given to form technical education many would be glad to profit by it.' (22) One other, Henley (near Woking) had, it would seem, been in a precipitate hurry and, following a report in the 'Surrey Mirror' of January 1892 alleging bad attendance at classes, the Technical Education Committee resolved that 'a letter be ordered to be written to the Local Committee that it is proposed to suspend Mr Wright's lectures.' (23) Positive responses to the circular had come from nearly every village and town in the County and, taken in addition to other initiatives already referred to above, represented a very
considerable prospectus.

A consequence of all this activity was that existing as well as new initiatives received encouragement. Local Committees were formed and in some areas new buildings were erected. In June 1892, the County Council agreed on the establishment of an Agricultural College. (24) Before the Spring of 1892, grants to meet local expenses and for tools and apparatus had been made to enterprises in small villages such as Caterham, Chobham, Cobham, Esher, Ewell, Godstone, Ham, Hersham, Horley, Merstham, New Malden, Oxted, Pirbright, Shalford, Shere, Thames Ditton and Yorktown. (25) Clearly, demands outgrew the accommodation available or they threw into focus the difficulties in co-ordinating provision scattered throughout the locality. Thus there were often attempts to consolidate or rationalise. At Egham the Literary Institute had, since the early 1880s, provided some technical instruction. Now, in receipt of a County grant, the Institution launched a new phase in its development by giving a soiree in January 1898, at which there was music and an exhibition of Carpentry, Glass-Blowing, Cookery and Flower Arranging. (26) From this date, in addition to Art subjects, the list of courses included Mathematics, Home Nursing, Botany, and Ambulance for Men. This was followed a little later by Fencing, Bricklaying, Dressmaking, Commercial English, Shorthand and Poultry Keeping. (28) Still later, in 1912, the Institute offered a series of six lectures in Gardening Subjects 'suitable for allotment or cottage garden.' Similarly, Haslemere had, from 1891, provided a programme of courses at the Educational Hall. In 1894, with the formation of the local Technical Education Committee, all courses were centred on this accommodation - now re-named 'The Technical Hall.' (29) Here, courses included Mechanical Physics, Electricity, Carpentry, Hygiene, Nursing, Horticulture and Husbandry. Other Local Committees were established between 1891 and 1896 - though East Clandon were much more dilatory, for it was not until 1905 that
the County Council was approached for forms 'for holding Technical Lectures on Dressmaking, Cooking and Horticulture.' (30) Local Committees were formed at Chertsey, Egham, Epsom, Farnham, Godalming, Guildford, Haslemere, Kingston, Redhill, Reigate, Richmond, and Sutton. (31) Some, such as Farnham and Richmond, centred their activities on their existing Schools of Art. Others, such as Chertsey and Sutton developed their existing provision in the local grammar school, whilst Guildford developed the work begun at the Working Mens' Institute. (see pp 74-75) In some areas, such as Epsom, Godalming, and Richmond, prestigious new buildings were erected for the purpose of teaching Art and Technical Subjects. At Godalming, in the late 1870s, there was a series of courses in Science and Art under the auspices of the Godalming Institute. (see pp 62-63) These included Art, Magnetism, Electricity, Geology, and Physical Geography, (32) and were housed in accommodation scattered throughout the locality. In 1896, a new building was erected; a 'large red brick building . . . externally the style is renaissance.' (33) It was opened by Viscount Midleton, the Lord Lieutenant of the County, and was known as the 'Godalming Technical Institute and School of Art.' Prior to this, lectures and classes had been given in numerous places in the district. As the Local Secretary remarked:

'. . . thus entailing a considerable expense for rent, fuel, light and attendance; whereas now all the instruction in Science, Art and Technical Subjects is given in this building, which had conduced to a more efficient supervision and working of the Classes.' (34)

The Local Secretary was responsible for the overall planning and for the oversight of the prospectus and timetable, but the Institute was under the daily supervision of the Art Master, Mr Burnand, a post he held for 37 years. (35) The Institute also established in its main lecture room the first public library for the Borough. (see p 206)

At Epsom a similar building was opened by Lord Rosebery, and at Richmond by
the Duke of Cambridge. Thus a new phase in the education of adults had begun. Few of these institutions can trace a continuous ancestry to the Mechanics' or Literary and Scientific Institutions; though many could legitimately claim that such institutions predisposed or created the conditions within which technical education could develop. One of these latter was Guildford Working Men's Institution. In the early 1850s, a sister organisation, the Guildford Institute, had let the initiative pass to the newly-established Working Men's Institution which from that time developed Art, Science, and eventually, Technical education — until Surrey County Council took over responsibility in 1892. Even after this time, the Institution provided both the accommodation and the instruction. In 1853, Henry Cole, Director General of the Science and Art Department, addressed a meeting in Guildford to explain 'the method of establishing drawing classes in connection with the Department of Science and Art.' (36) His address was in fact 'on the necessity of setting up a School of Art where certificated teachers would offer elementary drawing classes to local schools and institutes. Therefore the general taste of the population would be raised and all students prepared for entrance to the South Kensington School as candidates for training as Art Masters or if very assiduous as designers.' (37) The Working Men's Institute took up Cole's challenge, and in 1858, set up a Drawing Class. It constituted the Central School of the Guildford School of Art, the management committee of which was virtually the committee of the Working Men's Institute. To quote the late Honorary Secretary:

'A Drawing Class was originally started in the year 1858 by Lord Chief Justice Bovill, which was first taught by Mr C C Pyne who carried on the work single handed for about two years, after which time he was assisted by Mr G W Downes. In 1863 Mr Pyne retired leaving Mr Downes as teacher.' (38)
The importance of this is that Mr Downes was a student in the class, was later appointed Art Master, and eventually went on the examine at South Kensington. In 1856 the majority of the students were from local public schools. Indeed, out of 535, only 70 were Institute members. Downes was a student in 1861, and received one of the 'Gentleman's Prizes' (a box of mathematical instruments). More interesting perhaps is that of the two other prize-winners, one was a young woman. (39) This was not the only time a woman took away a prize at the expense of the majority of male students. In 1878, one free ticket to the Paris Exhibition was donated by a local notable for the person 'doing most well' in Art classes. The prize was won by a Miss P M Baker, who was congratulated by the President, Lord Onslow, and who wished her 'a pleasant journey and safe return.' (40) Classes in Science were started in the 1870s, and in 1878 Solid Geometry and Building Construction were added. (41) In 1881, technical classes preparing for the City and Guilds of London Institute examinations were also offered. When the Institute's Science and Art classes amalgamated in 1869, it could be claimed that it had the largest class membership in the country; Birmingham was the first with 217, Swindon with 180, Devonport with 166, and then Guildford with 158. (42) By 1878 this number had risen to 326, and there were special courses for carpenters, masons, and in general brickwork. With the acquisition of larger premises in 1891, the Institute added Shorthand, Typewriting, and Bookkeeping. Very soon there were demands for the establishment of a Technical Institute, such as those in existence at Epsom and Godalming. (43) A Technical Institute was eventually established in Guildford but not however until 1910, and then as a memorial to Queen Victoria. The respect with which the Working Mens' Institute was held can be judged from the letters expressing anxiety at the effect the building of a Technical Institute would have on the Institute. (44) The experience of Guildford is perhaps uncommon in Surrey since two
contemporary institutions adopted distinct roles and yet eventually amalgamated to jointly pass on a well developed programme of technical education to a new enterprise. The history of technical education in Godalming is different in that it illustrates a continuous development, culminating in the Technical Institute. Perhaps Croydon shows a greater similarity with Guildford - though even here, the exceptional commitment to technical education stemmed primarily from a single significant initiative. (see pp 231-232)

Certainly, by the turn of the century, Surrey had established a pattern of Art and Technical Education sufficient to satisfy the then perceived needs of the County.
NOTES and REFERENCES to VOLUME 2
NOTES

Part Four

1. In the Context of Surrey

(1) Ward, Mrs Humphry (1919) Recollections London: Collins p287
(3) Bourne G (1912) Change in the Village London: Duckworth p17
Squatters, with no legal right to land and who scraped a meagre
living were known as 'Broom-squires.' Baring-Gould's novel is set in
the wild area around Hindhead in the late 18th century.
(5) Simond L (1815) Journal of a Tour and Residence in Great Britain
During the Years 1810 and 1811 London p122
(6) Ward, Mrs Humphry (1888) Robert Elsemere London: Smith Elder
p 203
(7) ibid
(8) Timbs J (1823) A Picturesque Promenade Round Dorking in Surrey
London: John Warren p145
(9) Connell J (1978) The End of Tradition RKP p16
(10) Kelly T (1979) A History of Adult Education in Great Britain
Liverpool University Press
It is curious that Professor Kelly chooses to use a contemporary term
'adolescence' in disagreeing with J W Hudson's claim that the
Birmingham Brotherly Society was the first Mechanics' Institute. As
he observes, 'especially as most of those under instruction were
adolescents.' (p79)
Again, when discussing the all-age evening schools Kelly observes
that they 'catered mainly for adolescents.' (p156)
This term, convenient as it is, avoids questions associated with age
and maturity in the nineteenth century. It also illustrates the
absurdity of those who uncritically claim that today's youth 'grow up
more quickly' or are 'more adult, more mature' etc. If the rigours of
inner city life lead to a 'metropolitan cool' (cf Georg Simmel) then
it is reasonable to suppose that a similar condition would be found
among the rural young obliged so early in their lives to take on the
responsibilities of adult living.
(11) Wetton, R (1827) Chertseyana Chertsey
(12) Victoria County History of Surrey 3:451

(14) Bright J S(1884) *A History of Dorking* Dorking p36

(15) Penfold K and Hopkin K(1880) *ibid*

(16) Census of Great Britain(1851) *Education:Surrey* HMSO

(17) Merryweather (1887) *Half a Century of Kingston History* Kingston p88


(20) Church's Illustrated Sutton (1879) gives a brief description of the opening ceremony and of the accommodation, room sizes, etc. p14

(21) MSS in Muniment Room Guildford 137/12/30

(22) Education by Collision. A chapter is devoted to this concept in Dobbs A E(1919) *Education and Social Movements 1700-1850* London pp206-

The term is taken from an observation made by the Committee on Public libraries(1849)

'In a large town the influences which educate a man against his will are almost incessant; there are so many public meetings. . . That forms the most valuable part of the education which an Englishman receives? - Yes. It has put us beyond some of the nations of the Continent who have more school instruction . . . Do you hold that this Education by Collision, as it may be called, is the best of all? - It makes them citizens.' C.P.L.(1849), Q.1359-62

(23) See Prospectuses of Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution, in Croydon Public Library, and also Appendices 12k,12q which give comparisons between 1860 and 1918

(24) Notably, a collection of historical records held at Egham Public Library and known as the 'Oliver Collection'. This is a private collection, and permission for access to it was denied.


(26) *Minute Book, Godalming Mechanics' Institute: Godalming Public Library*

(27) quoted in Chandler, Allan(1965) *Heretofore in Haslemere* Hutchinson
Bagshot

(1) Brayley E W(1850) History of Surrey (5 Vols.)
(2) Eedle M de G(1977) A History of Bagshot and Windlesham Chichester: Phillimore p135
(3) Surrey Advertiser 1864
(4) Eedle M de G(1977) ibid p135
(5) Surrey Advertiser 1865
(6) Surrey Advertiser 1864

Chertsey

(1) Pardoe B F J(1973) Chertsey: Some Notes on the History of the Town MSS Chertsey Museum
(2) Wetton R(1827) Cherseyana: being a collection of papers relating to the Parish of Chertsey and adjoining parishes. Wetton: Chertsey Museum
(3) Census of Great Britain(1851) Education: Surrey
   It is recorded that there were 1740 scholars attending
(4) Wetton R(1827) ibid
(5) Apart from Mr Wisbey's Academy (1823) and Wellington House Academy (1826) there was a school for young ladies run by the Misses Haynes, at Bellfield House (c1825) and, a little later, the Vine Inn was used as a boarding school (1839-1851) and there was a boarding school for young ladies at York House. In mid century there was a boarding school for boys at Belsize Grange (1848) and there were a further two schools, one on London Road and the other at Cambridge House. In 1863 the Methodist church established a Day School and Sunday School. Pardoe(1973) op cit, Wetton(1827) op cit.
(6) Steer's Bakery: illustrations collection, Chertsey Public Library
(8) Letter from Mr Geo. Bulpett, Secretary of the Chertsey Library and reading Room, addressed to the Chertsey Literary and Scientific Institution. 1856. See p183

(9) Rawlings T J and Rawlings W B C (1856) Handbook of Chertsey and the Neighbourhood

(10) Pardoe B F J (1973) ibid.

(11) Connor R F (c1930) 'Some recollections of old Chertsey' Pamphlet, Chertsey History Group. Chertsey Public Library
Rawlings T J and Rawlings W B C (1856) ibid

(12) Parish Magazine (1894) and Parish Library Catalogue (1857), Chertsey Public Library

(13) Painting in Chertsey Museum. Fete held on 8 July 1869

(14) Rawlings T J and Rawlings W B C (1856) ibid

Chobham

(1) Census of Great Britain (1851) Education: Surrey HMSO

Cranleigh

(1) Cranleigh Literary and Scientific Institution: Minute Book, 14.1.1853

(2) ibid 20.10.1857

(3) ibid 1857 (page is numbered '53')

(4) ibid late 1857

(5) ibid March 1858

(6) ibid 14.11.1872

(7) ibid Rules, 14.11.1872
Croydon

(8) Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution: **Minute Book, 21.11.1838**

(9) ibid 15.4.1839

(10) ibid Bye-law No.1 21.11.1831

(11) ibid 5.5.1840

(12) ibid 26.10.1840

(13) ibid 15.12.1840

(14) ibid 25.10.1841

(15) ibid 29.11.1842

Thomas Martin FRCS (1879 - 1867) founder and benefactor of Reigate Mechanics' Institute

(16) The Reigate Institution had, after the vicissitudes of seven years, been re-organised in 1837 under the direction of members of the Martin family of Reigate

(17) Croydon Literary and Scientific Institute, **Minute Book 23.11.1843.** See Chapter, p Nevertheless, at this time they did allow the gratuitous use of three rooms to the Croydon Temperance Society

(18) ibid Report of Annual General Meeting, 27.10.1845

(19) ibid 23.9.1846

(20) ibid 27.9.1849

(21) **Kelly's Directory of Surrey** 1855

(22) **Select Committee on Public Libraries** (1849) Q2438

(23) Copy of a letter dated 24 January 1856 from the Reverend J G Hodgson, President of the Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution. In **Minute Book 24.1.1856**

(24) Leaflet/advertisment for Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution Mutual Improvement Classes. It is perhaps surprising that the promoters of this venture (it was a separate Committee within the Institution) did not call attention to Dickens' attack against pretentious institutions in his speech.

(25) Sub heading of copy of **Prospectus of Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution,** first quarter, 1860
(26) ibid

(27) Croydon Literary and Scientific Institute Prospectus 1861. This followed an address given at the Institution by Harry Chester, of the Society (later 'Royal Society') of Arts.

(28) Printed and published records of proceedings of Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution, Annual General Meeting, 17 October 1861

(29) Croydon Literary and Scientific Institute, Minute Book 12.2.1839

(30) ibid 27.11.1840

(31) ibid 7.7.1846

(32) Prospectus, specimen copy, Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution 1860

(33) ibid

Dorking

(34) Rose C(1876) Memories of Old Dorking Dorking p60

(35) ibid

(36) ibid p58

(37) ibid p61

(38) ibid

(39) ibid

(40) Rose C(1876) op cit p62


(42) ibid

(43) Rose C(1876) op cit p62

(44) Handbook of Dorking(1855) p11

(45) See Rose C(1876) pp61-63; Bright J(1884), and Timbs(1823)
The Hope family (of Hope Diamond fame) lent their support to various local endeavours, including the Working Men's Institute and the Coffee Room at the Public Hall 'for the refreshment, innocent gratification, and religious instruction of boys, youths and grown up men.' See Bright J S (1884) op cit p31

Original document for the sale of land, dated 11 July 1871: Guildford Muniment Room

From copies of extracts from the Minute Book; in the archives of the Mole Valley Adult Education Institute, Dorking.

Egham

Wetton R (1827) Chertseysna Being a variety of papers relating to the Parish of Chertsey and the adjoining parishes. Collected by Richard Wetton, Printer. In Chertsey Museum. Other branches of the family printing firm were at Egham, Maidenhead and London.

Turner (1926) The History of Egham in the Nineteenth Century Egham p24

Advertisement for the Subscription Reading Room (Wetton's) in Egham Museum

Egham Literary and Scientific Institution, Rule 2. MSS Egham Museum

ibid Rule 8

ibid Rule 16,

'No member shall be allowed to keep a paper in the Reading Room more than ten minutes after being asked for the same by some other person.'

ibid Rule 8
Of itself, this does not imply any rivalry. Both Budgen senior and Budgen junior were lessees of the Literary and Scientific Institution.

Kelly's Directory of Surrey 1887

The Budgen family; later to develop the well-known chain of supermarkets.

Turner (1926) op cit p247

Styche T E J(1973) A Brief History of Epsom, Ewell and District Literary Society Epsom pl

Epsom Herald 8 March 1935

Andrew J(1903) 'Reminiscences of Epsom' Being a paper read at a meeting of the Epsom Literary and Scientific Institution, 8 March 1903. Epsom p36

Styche T E J(1973) op cit p1

Swete C J(1860) Handbook of Epsom Epsom and London p15

ibid


Epsom Herald 8 March 1935

Andrew J(1903) op cit p36

Epsom Herald 8 March 1935

ibid
(79) Home G(1901) op cit p39

(80) In Swete C(1860) op cit there is, for instance, a pen and wash drawing of the High Street, Epsom, showing the premises of a leading bookseller, and underneath the window is written 'Library.'

(81) Styche T E J(1973) op cit p11

(82) ibid p2

(83) ibid p9

Ewell

(86) Stone N L(1961) One Hundred Years of West Street: The Story of Village School Epsom p8

(87) ibid pp6 - 7

(88) Church's Illustrated Sutton (1879) Sutton:Church pp14-15

Farnham

Temple lists as many as a dozen buildings used as schools in this century in West Street alone.

(2) Farnham Working Men's Institute: Elocution Section, Minute Book 8 July 1863

(3) ibid


(5) Temple N(1963) op cit p19

(6) Newnham W E(c1920) The Story of Farnham Farnham p

(7) Batey M(1963) 'Life let us cherish: a survey of poverty and philanthropy in Farnham' in Farnham Papers, Crowe A L(Ed) WEA p10

(8) Surrey and Hants News and Guildford Times January 1864
(9) ibid 3 May 1864

(10) Farnham Working Mens' Institute: Elocution Section, Minute Book May 1864

(11) ibid February 1864

(12) Surrey and Hants News and Guildford Times 18 February 1864

(13) see Appendices 12m and 12o

(14) Farnham Working Mens' Institute: Elocution Section, Minute Book May 1863

(15) ibid 2 December 1863

(16) Surrey and Hants News and Guildford Times 24 February 1864

(17) ibid

(18) ibid 23 March 1864

(19) Farnham Working Mens' Institute: Elocution Section, Minute Book March 1864

(20) ibid 1 November 1865

(21) ibid 21 March 1866

(22) Smith E(1979) Edwardian Farnham 1900-1914 Charles Mammick:Alton

Godalming

(1) Godalming Mechanics' Institute, Minute Book 8.3.1836. Godalming Public Library

(2) ibid 15.3.1836

(3) ibid 2.4.1836

(4) ibid 8.4.1836

(5) ibid

(6) ibid 1.7.1836

(7) ibid 10.4.1836

(8) ibid 25.4.1836

(9) Dr John Epps, Homeopath, Lecturer on Health, and on the upbringing of children. Associated with radical politics.
(10) Godalming Mechanics' Institute, Minute Book 5.11.1836

(11) ibid 29.11.1836

(12) ibid 6.12.1836

(13) ibid 13.6.1837 The use of the word 'Society' was a common substitute

(14) ibid 4.4.1842

(15) ibid 20.5.1842

(16) ibid 13.9.1842

(17) ibid 13.7.1843

(18) ibid 20.10.1843

(19) ibid

(20) See Appendix 12j for a list of Officers and Committee members, heading an advertisement for a course of lectures for the second half of the year, 1860

(21) Craddock's Godalming Directory, 1861

(22) Advertisement for course of lectures 1860

(23) ibid

(24) Mrs Clara Lucas Balfour, lecturer on Temperance and women's questions
See also Croydon, Kingston and Richmond institutions. Tylecote records that Mrs Balfour was a frequent lecturer at the Yorkshire institutions.
J H Pepper, exhibitor of the optical illusion known as 'Pepper's Ghost.' This technique is still used in the modern theatre and in television studios, where the performer's or newscaster's script is reflected on a sheet of glass in front of the camera lens. Pepper was a very popular and entertaining lecturer.

(25) Craddock's Godalming Directory 1875
The Science and Art Department, South Kensington, established 1853.
See Chapter IV, part iv. pp 222-223

(26) MSS, fragment in Godalming Public Library

(27) Craddock's Godalming Directory 1880

(28) ibid 1886

(29) ibid 1891, and MSS fragments in Godalming Public Library of the same date.
Mrs Huxley, granddaughter of Dr Arnold of Rugby, the wife of Leonard and mother of Aldous, Julian and Trevenen. Sister of Mrs Humphry Ward. She kept a school at Priorsfield, near Godalming, and also lived at a house near the town called 'Laleham' (after Laleham near
Staines) the sometime home of Dr Arnold and of her uncle Matthew Arnold.

Guildford

(1) Guildford Mechanics' Institute, Minute Book 11.3.1834. Also repeated in a letter from the Institute to Dr Birkbeck, April 1835

(2) Copy of Address, and Proceedings, in the Correspondence Book, Guildford Mechanics' Institute 28.2.1835

(3) J Boxall was master at Abbot's Hospital School, Guildford, and this may have been the library in question. A Mr C Boxall was proprietor of the Angel Inn.

(4) Sir Henry Drummond (1786-1860) Banker, Politician, Writer. In 1825 he founded the Chair of Political Economy at Oxford. Co-founder of the Catholic-Apostolic Church (the Irvingite Church) with Edward Irving - which was situated on his estate at Albury. Independent and eccentric, it was said that 'most contemporaries found him a man of strange contradictions who "thought he had answered Mr Cobden's arguments for arbitration with an Old Testament Text and a Young England epigram"' Obituary, West Surrey Gazette, March 1860

This eccentricity might be identified in the ambivalence he showed in his dealings with Guildford Mechanics' Institute and Guildford Literary and Scientific Institute, and later in his support for the Working Mens' Institute.

(5) Mr C Baring Wall M.P. Between 1819 and 1841 he was returned to Parliament no fewer than six times.

(6) Guildford Mechanics' Institute, Correspondence Book. Address at the opening of the Guildford Literary and Scientific Institute.

(7) ibid Reply from Guildford Mechanics' Institute, dated 10 March 1835

(8) ibid

(9) ibid

(10) ibid Reply from Guildford Literary and Scientific Institute to Guildford Mechanics' Institute, March 1835

(11) ibid

(12) Guildford Mechanics' Institute, Minute Book March 1835

(13) Letter addressed to Dr Birkbeck, acquainting him with the recent history of the Institute and asking him to lecture at Guildford, and to afford any other help he could give. Copy in Guildford Mechanics' Institute, Correspondence Book, April 1835
(14) Reply from Dr Birkbeck, giving details of lecturers he was prepared to recommend. These included Dr Dionysius Lardner and Miss E M Macaulay. Reply dated 29 September 1835. Copy in Guildford Mechanics' Institute, Correspondence Book.

(15) Guildford Mechanics' Institute, Minute Book. It is not too clear from the Minutes but it would appear that the first two lectures might have been on Friday November 7th and Friday November 21st 1834, commencing at 8 pm. In the Minutes, Dr Epps is described thus, 'Director of the Royal Jennerian and London Vaccine Institution. Lecturer in Materia Medica, Chemistry and Botany, at the Westminster Dispensary, and Fellow of the Zoological Society.

(16) James Silk Buckingham M.P. Member of Parliament for Sheffield 1832-1837. He gave a great deal of assistance to Sheffield Mechanics' Institute; lectured on travel; advocate of temperance and public gardens.

(17) Guildford Mechanics' Institute, Correspondence Book 2.9.1835

(18) Dr Dionysius Lardner (1793-1859) Writer of many scientific treatises; reviewed the Great Exhibition of 1851 in a series of letters to The Times. Lectured on Natural and Experimental Philosophy, steam engines, machinery, and Astronomy.

(19) Letter from Dr Lardner, early November 1835. Guildford Mechanics' Institute, Correspondence Book

(20) ibid, dated 28 November 1835

(21) Miss E W Macaulay; visited Guildford for the next ten years. Her lectures were on Elocution, Drama (with many illustrations - mostly from Shakespeare), on female education - though reinforcing the low status of women; the importance of the duties of a wife and mother, Domestic Economy, History's chronology with poetic illustrations, and lectures on Order, Punctuality, and Urbanity.

(22) Guildford Mechanics' Institute, Correspondence Book 16 October 1835

(23) ibid

(24) Russell's Almanac of Guildford 1839 p37

(25) Guildford Mechanics Institute, Minutes of the 7th Annual Meeting 22 April 1841

(26) ibid Copy of Printed address

(27) Guildford Mechanics' Institute, Minute Book 1.6.1841

(28) Five lectures on the 'Intellectual and Moral Construction of Man' Dr Cantor was author of 'The Laws of Animal Economy'

(29) Guildford Mechanics' Institute, Minute Book September 1841

(30) ibid 5 April 1842
ibid August 1842

ibid 3 October 1842

ibid 4 October 1842

ibid 27 March 1843

Special meeting of the Mechanics' Institute 4 April 1843

Meetings referred to took place on 6 June and 13 June 1843. Minute Book extract in Guildford Muniment Room 122/1/1/6 and 7

Minute Book extract in Guildford Muniment Room, dated 4.11.1843

Special meeting on formation of Guildford Institute. Minute of 2.8.1843. Guildford Muniment Room


In the Muniment Room Guildford there are a number of share certificates and a list of members of the Institute. 122/1/3 and 122/1/2

Guildford Institute, Minute Book 9 July 1845

ibid April 1845

ibid 26 September 1845

Robert Alfred Cloyne Godwin Austen (1808 - 1884) English Geologist. His estates were near Guildford, at Chilworth and Shalford.

Newspaper report (unidentified) in Guildford Institute, Scrapbook K

ibid

Guildford Institute, Book of Handbills, 15 October 1852. George Grossmith was a law reporter and entertainer. His son George was also an entertainer, having a long association with W S Gilbert and Sir Arthur Sullivan. With his brother Weedon, he wrote 'Diary of a Nobody'

Guildford Institute, Minute Book 12 January 1854

Letter from E P Ellis recalling his time as Honorary Secretary of the Working Mens' Institute. Surrey Weekly Press 28.9.1923

Bell, James (1854) Self Culture Guildford: Garner and Short

Guildford Working Mens' Institute, Minute Book 30 September 1856

Guildford Institute, Minute Book 1852 p129

ibid
Clara Lucas Balfour had lectured on temperance and women's questions. Emily Faithful was born at Headley, Surrey, in 1835, and took a great interest in the conditions of working women and in extending their limited sphere of labour. In 1860 she set up a London printing establishment 'The Victoria Press' which published each month, 'The Victorian Magazine.' She lectured extensively both in Great Britain and in America.

Guildford Institute, Book of Handbills 10 December 1868

Guildford Working Men's Institution. Printed Appeal and balance sheet. 11 April 1891

Haslemere

Quoted in Chandler, Allen (1965) Heretofore in Haslemere Hutchinson p

Rolston G R (1956) Haslemere in History - Village, Borough and Town Published in Haslemere in association with Haslemere Educational Museum. p87

Swanton E W and Woods P (1914) Bygone Haslemere London: West Newman p237. Swanton was the first curator of the Educational Museum, holding the post for over 50 years, until 1948.

Census of Surrey 1851

Craddock's Godalming Directory 1868

Newspaper report 1874, otherwise undated and unheaded. In Haslemere Educational Museum, Archives.

ibid

Craddock's Godalming Directory 1883

Swanton E W and Woods P (1914) op cit p272
Kingston upon Thames

(1) Seeley B(1841) Seeley's Kingston Miscellany Kingston:Seeley p19

(2) ibid


(4) George Gilbert Scott (later knighted) was a partner in Scott and Moffatt, a business making a rather humdrum living designing warehouses in the Elizabethan style for the new Poor Law Unions.

(5) Wakeford J(1980) op cit p7

(6) Seely B(1841) op cit p38

(7) Address introducing the 1842 edition of Seeley's Kingston Miscellany Seeley B(1842) p2

(8) Ranyard E(1841) 'Thoughts suggested by the perusal of The Kingston Miscellany' in Seeley B(1841) op cit p36 Ranyard was later to become Mayor of Kingston and Honorary Secretary of the local branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

(9) ibid p12

(10) ibid p13
(11) Drewett W(1925) 'The Mechanics' Institute'
   Article in the *Surrey Comet*, 11 April 1925. Drewett was
   the proprietor of the *Surrey Comet*. See also references to Ayliffe
   (1914)

(12) Seeley B(1841) op cit p159

(13) ibid

(14) ibid p104

(15) quoted in Wakeford J(1980) op cit p7

(16) Ayliffe (1914) *Memories of an Octogenarian* Kingston

(17) Drewett W(1925) op cit

(18) Biden W D(1852) *History of Kingston* Kingston p105

(19) Drewett W(1925) op cit

(20) Merryweather (1887) *Half a Century of Kingston History* Kingston
    p88

(21) ibid

(22) Chapman W(1877) *Handbook of Kingston* Kingston
    Quoted in Wakeford J(1980) op cit

(23) Finney (1902) *Homeland Handbook of Kingston* Kingston p49

Redhill

(1) Hamilton T Frances W(1898) *Homesdale Towns: a Handbook for Redhill,*
    *Reigate and Neighbouring Districts* Reigate p58

Reigate

(1) Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution, *Minute Book*, 29 November
    1842

(2) Thomas Martin FRCS (1779 -1867) Settled in Reigate in 1800. Prominent
    in local affairs; acted as local bailiff for the Borough of Reigate
    from 1811 until his death. He founded the Mechanics' Institute in
    1837. He was active in establishing the Reigate Cottage gardeners
Society and was the first to carry out the suggestions of the Exeter Hall 'Society for Improving the Conditions of the Labouring Classes.' He also founded the Victoria Club, a benefit society for the working classes in Reigate and district.

(3) Reigate Mechanics' Institute, Annual programme 1872-1873


(5) Rules: Reigate Mechanics' Institute. Surrey Record Office


(7) Catalogue of books in the library of Reigate Mechanics' Institute: 1845. Surrey Record Office

(8) ibid

(9) Reigate Mechanics' Institute, Annual Programme: 1872-73

(10) Hamilton T F W(1898) op cit p58

(11) Hand written copy of Thomas Martin's address to the Reigate Mechanics' Institute, on the occasion of his receiving a present from members, 1846. Surrey Record Office

(12) Palgrave R F D(1860) op cit p41

(13) Reigate Mechanics' Institute, 13th Annual Report 1850. Surrey Record Office

(14) Palgrave R F D(1860) ibid

(15) John Linnell (1792-1882). English painter, renowned for his pure landscapes. In his leisure time he studied the Scriptures in the original, and published pamphlets and larger treatises on Biblical criticism.

(16) Palgrave R F D(1860) ibid

(17) Hamilton T F W(1898) ibid

(18) Kelly's Directory of Reigate, 1887

(19) ibid

(20) Reigate's replies to a questionnaire circulated by Surrey County Council regarding the use to which 'Whisky Money' might be put. Surrey Record Office. 1892

(21) Minutes of the Technical Education Committee, Surrey County Council, 1892
Richmond upon Thames

(1) Fidler T(1831) Rules and Regulations of the Richmond Literary and Amicable Institution and a History of Such Societies. January 28 1831 Richmond p21

(2) ibid Resolution II p21
(3) ibid Resolution XI p23
(4) ibid Resolution IX p23
(5) ibid see his introduction 'A History of Such Institutions' p16

(6) Chapman, William(1837) Introductory Address read at the opening of the Richmond Literary and Scientific Institution, 10 May 1837 Printed and Published by Darnell, Richmond pp6-7

(7) see title page of Essay and Rules, written by Chapman W(1838) Richmond

(8) Chapman W(1838) op cit p19
(9) ibid p18
(10) Chapman W(1837) op cit p12
(11) ibid p13
(12) ibid p12

(13) For instance, Thomas Long (President) was a successful local builder; W Selwyn, who later laid the foundation stone of the new building, was a Queen's Council; Mr Smith operated a successful Savings Bank and Mr Wall was the proprietor of a 'Circulation Library and Newspaper Subscription Reading Room.'

(14) Mr Alpenny was business man, artist, who also gave lectures in the Mechanics' Institute on Calligraphy, Engraving and Drawing.

(15) Richmond Mechanics' Institute, Minute Book 1.10.1838

(16) ibid Rule 20
(17) ibid Rule 21
(18) ibid Rule 3
(19) ibid Rule 4
(20) ibid Rule 9
(21) ibid Rule 26
(22) ibid Rule 29

(23) ibid Note 25

(24) ibid 12.11.1838

(25) Reply received from the Richmond Literary and Scientific Institution. Quoted in Barkass A A (1907) A Chapter in the History of our Local Institutions Richmond MSS in Richmond Public Library

(26) Richmond Mechanics' Institute, Minute Book 25.5.1840

(27) ibid 24.9.1839

(28) ibid 30.1.1840

(29) ibid 17.9.1840

(30) ibid 5.11.1840

(31) ibid 22.12.1840

(32) ibid 12.2.1841

(33) ibid 6.12.1841

(34) ibid

(35) ibid

(36) ibid 13.1.1842 and 24.1.1842

(37) ibid 10.6.1842

(38) ibid 31.12.1842

(39) Barkass A A (1907) op cit

(40) ibid

(41) Richmond Mechanics' Institute, New Rules MSS in Richmond Public Library

(42) Richmond Mechanics' Institute List of subscribers to the Building Fund, and Statements of Disbursements March 1846. Richmond Public Library

(43) ibid

(44) ibid

(45) Richmond Mechanics' Institute, New Rules 1843 op cit

(46) Advertisement for the Richmond Literary and Scientific Institution. MSS in Richmond Reference Library
The lessee in 1854 was the Richmond Public Baths and Lavatory Company. In 1863 the building was converted into a Public Hall; the Royal Assembly Rooms, and in 1865 an extra storey was added. In 1907 the building had acquired a dome and was showing moving pictures; thus 'the Dome Bioscope.'

Pilditch, Sir Phillip (1927) 'The Early Days of the Richmond Athenaeum and Now'. Lecture delivered at the opening meeting of the Athenaeum for the session 1927-1928, at St. John's Hall, Richmond: November 7th 1927, the Rt. Hon. Viscount Cave in the Chair. Richmond p8

Mr Rabbits, quoted in Church W R (1880) op cit p23

On the 18 May 1872, the inhabitants of Sutton were invited to vote for or against a School Board for the town. They voted by 104 to 36 against. As Mr Church recorded, 'During the whole of the proceedings not a word or deed was done to disturb the quiet, and a cordial and kindly feeling existed on both sides.' Church W R (1872) op cit Sutton pv

Affiliating with the national institutions it remained independent until at least 1910
Before 1864 there was a circulating library and a subscription library operated by Mr Morgan of Sutton. There was also an extensive library at the Working mens' Club. In the 1870s, W R Church inherited Mr Morgan's business and he continued to run the library. In the late 1890s, William Pile continued the tradition. Church was largely responsible in 1897 for setting up the Sutton Free Library.

Typewritten successor to 'The Venture', the Journal of the Sutton Adult School and Institute. 1958 Sutton p2

Extract from the Vesting Deed, pl of 'The Venture' (see n25)

Thomas Wall, of Wall's Ice cream fame

in typewritten 'The Venture' 1958 p8 (se n25)
Woking

(1) Surrey Advertiser 12 October 1867
(2) Surrey Advertiser 13 November 1869

The Later Nineteenth Century Institutions

(1) Rules: published in Athenaeum:Records of Meetings and Excursions. Upper Norwood Athenaeum Epsom Public Library
(2) Eedle M de G(1977) A History of Bagshot and Windlesham Chichester:Phillimore p139
(3) Victoria County History of Surrey(1911)
(4) Victoria County History of Surrey(1911) part 27, p294
(5) Victoria County History of Surrey(1911) part 27, p247
(6) Anon(1902/3) Ashtead Past and Present: being extracts from the Ashtead Parish Magazines Ashtead Public Library p xi
(7) ibid
(8) ibid p x
(9) Victoria County History of Surrey(1911) Vol.3, p62
(10) Report of the Evening Continuation Class, 27 April 1898 Muniment Room, Guildford PSH/WIT/13/21
(11) Godalming Directory(1884)
(12) Victoria County History of Surrey(1911)
Science, Art, and Technical Instruction

(1) Surrey County Council, Minutes of the Technical Education Committee 2 June 1891 Surrey Record Office, Kingston

(2) Copy of a letter bound with Council Minutes. Surrey Record Office, Kingston

(3) Surrey County Council, Minutes of the Technical Education Committee 7 July 1891 Surrey Record Office, Kingston

(4) ibid 5 August 1891.
Slojd was a teaching system which had been initiated at the Naas seminary near Gothenburg. It was concerned with the teaching of manual occupations, both for boys and for girls.

(5) Surrey County Council, Minutes of the Technical Education Committee 14 December 1891 Surrey Record Office, Kingston

(6) Godalming Technical Institute and School of Art, Annual Report 1904 Waverley Adult Education Institute, Archives

(7) ibid

(9) Ashby E(1958) Technology and the Academics London p51

(10) Surrey County Council, Minutes of the Technical Education Committee, 5 May 1892 Surrey Record Office, Kingston

(11) Surrey County Council, Minutes of the Technical Education Committee, First Report 21 April 1891 Surrey Record Office, Kingston

(12) Kingston and Surbiton: from synopsis of replies to Surrey County Council circular. Technical Education Committee, Minutes 1891

(13) ibid synopsis of reply from Worplesden

(14) Libby J(1890) '20 Year's History of Stroud, 1870-1890' a Stroud News, Gloucester Advertiser article. Quoted in Blunden G(1980) op cit p11

(15) Oxted and Godstone: from synopsis of replies to Surrey County Council circular, Minutes 1891
A request by Whitecroft, Gloucestershire, to have money to finance brass band tuition was not granted, and money which had been so expended had to be repaid. Gloucester County Council Technical Education Committee Minutes 26 September 1896. Quoted in Blunden G(1980) op cit p11

Epsom: from synopsis of replies to Surrey County Council circular 1891

William Perkins School, Chertsey: from synopsis of replies to Surrey County Council circular 1891

Godalming Technical Institute and School of art, Annual Report 1897

Chertsey and Addlestone: from synopsis of replies to Surrey County Council circular 1891

Gloucester County Council Technical Education Committee Dairy Sub-Committee, Minutes 18 September 1893. Quoted in Blunden G(1980) op cit p16

Tandridge: from synopsis of replies to Surrey County Council circular 1891

Surrey County Council Technical Education Committee, Minutes 4 January 1892

ibid, 14 June 1892

Frequent references in Surrey County Council Technical Education Committee Minutes for the years 1892-1893

Leaflet and Advertisement in collection at Egham Museum; a voluntary enterprise maintained by the Egham by Runymede Historical Association, and currently occupying the premises of the old Literary and Scientific Institution.

Newspaper cuttings in Egham Museum

From unidentified newspaper cutting c1894, in collection of Haslemere Educational Museum.


Surrey County Council Technical Education Committee, Minutes 1891-1892

Craddock's Godalming Directory (1880) See also Chapter IV section ii 'Adult Education from Above'

ibid 1897

Godalming Technical Institute and School of Art; Prospectus and Chairman's Report: W R Pullman(1897) Waverley Adult Education Institute, Archives
(35) Victor W Burnand, RBA, ARCA (Lond) was Head Art Master from 1896 until 1933. He was a Bronze Medallist, exhibitor at the Royal Academy and the Paris Salon, and at the Royal Society of Miniature Painters.

(36) Guildford Institute, Minute Book undated 1853

(37) Griffiths B (1978) op cit

(38) E C Ellis. Letter to Surrey Weekly News 28.9.23

(39) Guildford Working Mens' Institute, Minute Book of Drawing Class. May 1861

(40) Report in the Surrey Advertiser 20 July 1878

(41) ibid 26 October 1878

(42) Guildford Working Mens' Institute, Minute Book undated 1876

(43) Letters to the Surrey Advertiser and Times. Numerous throughout 1901-1902

(44) Numerous letters to the editors of local newspapers between the years 1896 and 1910
BUILDINGS USED BY SURREY INSTITUTIONS
APPENDIX

The Development of an Institute; Godalming. (1)

GODALMING: BRITISH SCHOOLS: 1872
OLD TOWN HALL

Godalming Technical Institute and School of Art
APPENDIX 3j

Cranleigh National School: home of the Cranley Literary and Scientific Institute

APPENDIX 3k

Cranleigh - the Lady Peake Institute
PUBLIC HALL (and Congregational Chapel) REIGATE

THE TOWN HALL, REDHILL
APPENDIX

CHART LANE INSTITUTE
DORKING
(Late 19th Century)
CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, BENHILL STREET.

THE SUTTON PUBLIC HALL, HILL ROAD.
Steer's Bakery, home of the Chertsey Mechanics' Institute (left) and 122 Guildford Street, the Literary and Scientific Institute

Chertsey Town Hall: home of the Literary and Scientific Institute c1851
Epsom Technical Institute and School of Art

Egham Literary and Scientific Institute
Letter received by Croydon Literary and Scientific Institute from the promoters of the proposed Mechanics' Institute suggesting terms for amalgamation

At a meeting of the Committee held on the 23rd November 1843

Present: Mr. Price in the Chair and Messrs. Moore, Cook, Edwards, Wright, Helier, Atscall, Emerson, Appleby, Himmel, Crayton. Maslin.

It was resolved
That the course of lectures on Astronomy by Dr. Henderson be discontinued.
The following communication from the President of a Mechanics Institute was read:

1st That one half of the Committee of the conjoined Institutes be selected from the working classes.

2nd That the quarterly subscription for each member shall be 5/- entitling the member to all the advantages of the Institutes.

3rd That every officer of the Institution shall be elected by Ballot.

4th That every member above the age of 18 shall be eligible to vote.

5th That the name of the conjoined Institutes shall be the "Croydon Literary, Scientific and Mechanics Institute.

6th That evening classes for elementary instruction be established.

7th That youths of either sex between the ages of 12 and 18 be admitted at 3/- per quarter.
Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution.
28th November 1843

Sir,

The Committee met on Thursday — Evening & the proposition communicated by you on behalf of the Proposers of a Mechanics' Institute in Croydon was read & fully considered.

There is the strongest desire in the Committee to place the advantages of this Inst. within the reach of all classes & to increase those advantages as much as possible, but it has always been a rule to exclude all class distinctions.

The first in rank and richest of our Members has the same privileges as the poorest and most humble — and no more — and I am sure that that rule will be adhered to under all circumstances.

I will now allude to the articles of your proposition superior and state the views of the Committee on each.

First as to the proposition of the Committee to be chosen from the working classes.

You are aware that our Committee is chosen by the Members which I apprehend must always be the case and if the Members chose to select the whole body from the working classes no one could object — experience has proved the difficulty of getting Mechanics to join the Committee. There is therefore not likely to be any difference on that score —

Our subscription has just been fixed by

The Members themselves on a scale which experience has proved to be necessary, but if any considerable number of Mechanics wished to join the Inst. the Committee would recommend the Members to return to the system of quarterly payments — with a condition that Members in arrear shall not be readmitted till the arrears be paid.

The Members must always select their own mode of voting.

It is not thought desirable to admit Children at a lower rate of subscription than adults.

I confess I don't understand what is meant by the proposed alteration of not a Literary & Scientific Inst. is not the best because its members are of all classes.

All such Institutes are for the propagation of Literature & Science — whether the members be poor or rich — Mechanics or Noblemen. I don't wish to speak offensively but really the addition seems to be more surprizing.

The committee have felt the necessity of establishing such but they would gladly renew their efforts with some prospect of success — they look upon Croydon as one of the most efficient means of diffusing knowledge.

If these suggestions leave you room for further communications I shall be happy to hear from you.

Yours respectfully,

[Signature]

Mrs. Lowe & Edwards

APPENDIX

Croydon Literary and Scientific Institute; reply to letter from the proposers of a Mechanics' Institute, see p. 69.
Literary Institution, Reigate.

PUBLIC HALL, REIGATE.

(Established 1837.)

President - - - - Mr. JOHN PAYNE.

Reading Room supplied with all leading Newspapers and Periodicals.

Monthly and Quarterly Magazines available for Home Reading immediately after publication.

LIBRARY of about 3,000 Volumes, Open from 7 to 10 p.m.

TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP ON APPLICATION TO THE HON. SEC.

Hon. Treasurer, Mr. B. GRIGGS, London and County Bank, Reigate.

W. BUCKLAND,

Hon. Sec.
RICHMOND MECHANICS' INSTITUTION.

The Committee of Management most respectfully beg to present to the Nobility, Gentry, and other Inhabitants of Richmond the subjoined List of Subscribers to the Building Fund, together with a Statement of the Disbursements made on account thereof.

The Committee, in their Address issued in Aug. 1843, stated that it was their firm conviction that the possession of a Building, such as it was then contemplated to erect, would be attended with numerous advantages to the Institution, and enable the Management to extend very considerably its usefulness to the Mechanic of this neighbourhood. The progress of the Institution, and the estimation in which it is held, may be gathered from the fact that, since the opening of the new Rooms, the number of Members has been more than doubled; and it is most gratifying to the Committee to observe that this great increase in the number has been from that class, which the Institution was principally intended to benefit.

Among the advantages which were most confidently expected to result from the possession of a convenient Building, the formation of a Library stood most prominent. This important object, through the kind liberality of the Resident Clergy (who have placed the Parochial Lending Library at the disposal of the Members), and many of the Gentry and Inhabitants, they have been enabled to effect, and at this time, by Donations and Loans, nearly 8,000 volumes of valuable historical and other useful works are at the command of the Members. To the possession of this Library and the use of a Reading Room, which is open every Evening, may be referred principally the satisfactory progress of this Institution.

Another cause of congratulation is afforded to the Committee in the establishment within the Building of a Classical & Commercial School, in connexion with the Winchester Diocesan Board of Education, the value of which cannot be sufficiently estimated: this, although unconnected with the Institution, probably may have been suggested by the existence of a suitable Building.

Although upon reference to the annexed Statement it will appear that a large portion of the debt incurred for the Building remains unpaid, yet the Funds at the disposal of the Management enable them (after paying Interest on the Balance due) to carry out fully the objects of the Institution; and it is most gratifying to them to observe that during the past year a portion of the current Income was appropriated towards the liquidation of the Building Debt, without in the least detracting from the efficiency of the Institution, and they most confidently anticipate its further annual reduction, from the same source, and through the occasional contributions of those patrons who may be generously disposed to aid this useful and generally-valued Institution.

Subscriptions will be thankfully received by W. Smith, Esq., Treasurer to the Building Fund, Hill St. and by Mr. F. H. Wall, Librarian, Castle Terrace, Richmond.

Donations of Books, or Objects suitable for the Museum, are respectfully solicited.

P. LUGAR, Hon. Secs.
G. BENSTED.

MARCH, 1846.
RULES AND REGULATIONS
OF THE SUBSCRIBERS TO THE
Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution (Limited).

Objects.
1. This Institution is established to provide for the inhabitants of the district opportunities of acquiring sound and useful knowledge, of cultivating a taste for literature, science, and art, and promoting a friendly intercourse among all classes of Society, by whatever means the Committee of Management may determine.

Management.
2. Such of the affairs of the Institution as are not exclusively under the management of the Directors, shall be under the management of the following Officers, viz.: a President, Vice-President, the Directors of the Institution, a Treasurer, and a Secretary, and by a committee of twelve subscribers, who together shall form the General Committee. The General Committee shall have the sole management of the Lectures, Entertainments, Library, and all things incidental thereto.

Term of Office of Officers.
3. The President shall be elected annually from the list of those subscribers who have shown their interest in the Institution by becoming life members. The Vice-President shall be for life, and consist of those gentlemen who have served in the office of President. The Secretary shall be elected annually. The Committee of Twelve shall serve for two years, half to retire every year, but they shall be eligible for re-election. Half of the Committee of Twelve next elected to retire at the end of the first year, the names of the retiring members to be determined by ballot.

The Property of the Institution.
4. That the shares in the Croydon Public Hall Company, Limited, the books, maps, furniture, and all other property and effects vested in, or in trust, for the Literary and Scientific Institution, shall be the property of, and become vested in, the Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution, Limited.

Disbursement of Funds.
5. That the disbursement of the residue of all periodical subscriptions, and all funds realised from any Lecture or other Entertainment, including fees for letting Hall) after setting apart £200 per annum, shall be under the entire control of the Committee.

Powers of the Committee.
6. The General Committee (five forming a quorum) shall have power to make and alter bye-laws, to give effect to Rule I, notice having been given at a previous meeting of the Committee, and every member specially summoned to consider the same: they may fill up vacancies in any of the elective offices, or in the Committee of twelve, until the next annual meeting.

Secretary may appoint Deputy.
7. The Honorary Secretary may appoint a Deputy (with the consent of the Committee, from among the Committee), who shall sit and vote by virtue of his office of Deputy, the vacancy caused may be filled up at a future meeting of the Committee, if thought desirable.

Annual General Meeting.
8. An Annual Meeting of the subscribers (which designation shall, throughout these Rules, include members of the Institution) shall be held as soon as convenient after Michaelmas, ten days' notice having been previously given, for the purpose of receiving the reports and electing officers for the ensuing year: at the same time, two Auditors shall be chosen, whose duty shall be to audit the Treasurer's accounts quarterly, and the financial year shall be made to terminate at Michaelmas in each year.

Special General Meetings.
9. The Committee, or any twelve subscribers, shall have the power of calling a Special General Meeting of the subscribers, upon giving ten days' notice in writing to the Secretary, stating the object for which such meeting shall be called: the notice to be posted in the Reading-room, and also advertised as the Secretary and Committee may think fit, immediately on the receipt of the same; and no business shall be transacted at such Special General Meeting, than that stated in the notice.

Nomination of Committee.
10. Every person proposed as a member of the Committee, shall be nominated by a subscriber, in writing, to be delivered to the Secretary, ten days before the election. Every person so nominated shall be informed thereof by the Secretary, and a list of those who consent to serve such office, shall be posted in the Reading-room five days previous to the day of election, stating the office for which each is nominated, with the name of the nominator. No person shall be eligible for nomination who has not been a subscriber of the Institution for at least six months immediately preceding the election.

Election of Committee.
11. If a ballot be demanded two days before the day of election by five subscribers in writing, delivered to the Hon. Secretary, the election shall be by ballot; but if no ballot be demanded, it shall be by show of hands. Each voter must have been a subscriber for

Vacation of Office by Non-attendance.
12. That every elective member of the Committee, except the President, who shall absent himself for three months consecutively, from the meetings of the Committee, shall be considered to have vacated his seat, and the vacancy shall be filled up at the next meeting, after notice has been given by the Secretary, if thought desirable by the Committee.

Subscribers.
13. The subscribers shall consist of four classes, viz.:

I. First Class. Such persons as shall give a donation of Twenty Pounds or upwards to the Institution, shall be considered First Class Subscribers, those who subscribe Two Guineas annually shall be considered First Class Subscribers. Those who subscribe One Guinea annually, or give a donation of Ten Pounds, shall be First Class Subscribers, but with limited privileges. (See Rule 14.)

Subscribers of Ten Pounds and upwards shall be members of the Literary and Scientific Institution, if they signify their intention to become such members to the Secretary, within one month after they shall have paid £10 or upwards.

II. Second Class. Those who subscribe, gentlemen 10s., ladies 5s., per annum, or, give a donation of Five Pounds for a life subscription, shall be Second Class Subscribers. Quarterly Tickets may be taken at an additional charge of 10d. per quarter, except for the quarter ending September 30th, when no extra charge shall be made.

III. Third Class. Those who subscribe 5s., per annum, or 10s. per quarter, shall be Third Class Subscribers.

IV. Honorary Subscribers shall consist of those who subscribe One Guinea annually, or, give a donation of less than Ten Pounds, without intending to partake personally of the advantages of the Institution.

Subscriptions payable in advance.

Privileges of Subscribers.
14. The respective privileges of the foregoing classes shall be as follows, viz.:

First Class Subscribers. Those who subscribe Two Guineas annually, or give a donation of Twenty Pounds, shall be entitled to all the advantages of subscribers; and the ticket shall be a double ticket, which shall admit two to the reserved seats at the lectures and entertainments, and be transferable to others.

Second Class. Those who subscribe One Guinea annually, or give a donation of Ten Pounds, shall have all the advantages of subscribers; and by payment of 10s. extras per annum, may have a double ticket, which will admit the member and a lady to the reserved seats, but will not be transferable.

Second Class Subscribers shall be entitled to all the privileges of subscribers, excepting the Reading-room No. 1, before 7 p.m., and the reserved seats in the Hall; and by the payment of 1s. annually, may take out a double ticket to admit himself and a lady also to the lectures and entertainments. By a further payment of 2s. per quarter, or 6d. per quarter, the ticket becomes transferable. The Reading-room No. 2 will be thrown open to this class during the day.

Third Class. Subscribers will be admitted to the lectures and entertainments by the north door (back seats) of the Lecture Hall, and will have the use of the Reading-room after 7 p.m., to be called Reading-room No. 2.

Honorary Subscribers shall be entitled to four Third Class tickets for each guinea subscribed, for distribution among their artisans and servants.

Persons may be elected to the privileges of subscribers for Life.
15. Persons rendering essential service to the Institution, may be elected to the privileges of Life subscribers, at annual or special meetings of the subscribers, provided due notice has been given.

Any Subscriber causing annoyance shall be expelled.
16. If any subscriber shall be guilty of any act causing damage to the property of the Society, or annoyance to the members, the Committee shall have the power of suspending such person. Notice shall be given to the offender, with permission to appear before the Committee, who shall meet on such occasions. If the suspended person is unable to explain the circumstances to the satisfaction of the Committee, he shall be expelled.

Alteration of Rules.
17. That all subscribers shall be bound by the Rules and bye-laws for the time being; and that no rule shall be altered or added to, unless due notice of such alteration or addition shall have been given, according to rule 9.
TERMS OF MEMBERSHIP.

FIRST CLASS.

Two Guineas per annum (or 20 guineas in one sum) entitles the member to all the privileges of the Institution; also to a double ticket, which will admit the member and a friend, or two friends, to the Reserved Seats at the Lectures and Entertainments.

One Guinea per annum (or 10 guineas in one sum) entitles the member to all the privileges; and by payment of 10s. extra, to a double ticket, which will admit the member and a lady to the Reserved Seats at the Lectures, &c., but will not be transferable. (Any lady can accompany the member.)

Note.—The above class of members have the privilege of attending the Reading-room No. 1, throughout the day during the hours at which it is open; and of course have access to the Library also.

SECOND CLASS.

Ten Shillings, gentlemen; Eight Shillings, ladies, per annum; or 2s. gentlemen, 1s. 6d. ladies, per quarter, (except the quarter from July to September, which is 6d. less in each case); entitling to the Middle Seats at the Lectures; the Reading-room No. 2, from 12 to 4 o'clock during the day; and the Reading-room No. 1, from 7 till half-past 10;—and by payment of Five Shillings annually, to a double ticket, to admit himself and a lady to the Lectures and Entertainments. By a further payment of 2s. per annum, or 6d. per quarter, the ticket becomes transferable.

Note.—The above class of members can obtain Books from the Library whenever it is open.

THIRD CLASS.

Five Shillings per annum, or 1s. 6d. per quarter; entitling the member to the use of the Reading-room No. 2, after 7 p.m.; and to admission at the north door (back seats) to the Lectures and Entertainments.

Note.—This class has not the use of the Library, nor the Reading-room No. 1.

HONORARY.

One Guinea per annum (or 10 guineas in one sum); comprises those who subscribe, without the intention of partaking personally of the benefits of the Institution, but in lieu thereof, each member is entitled to four Third Class Tickets, for distribution among their artisans and servants.

Observe.

All subscriptions payable in advance; and no one can have the advantages of the Institution without possessing the card of membership, and producing it to the Librarian or any other officer, when required to do so.

* * * By the new regulations, "persons taking out quarterly tickets, and neglecting to subscribe for a quarter, cannot be again admitted as members, unless they also pay for the preceding quarter." [Rule 19.]

Cards of Membership, and further particulars, may be had either of the Hon. Sec., Mr. E. Warren, High St., or of the Librarian, Mr. Tusey, at the Institution Rooms.
### EPSOM LITERARY and SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY

(established 1898)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presidents</th>
<th>Secretaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>of the LITERARY SOCIETY</td>
<td>since</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>1898</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>1898</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898 Sir Edward Coates, Bart, M.P.</td>
<td>1898 Mr. J.A. Smart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921 Sir Edward Mountain, Bart. J.</td>
<td>1901 Mr. J.T. White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926 Sir Francis L.C. Floud. K.C.B.</td>
<td>1911 Mr C.J.M. Shaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934 Mrs I.C. Harter.</td>
<td>1934 Mr E.J. Li.Davies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936 Mr. E.G. Pullinger, J.P.</td>
<td>1935 Mr E.V. Colllin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968 The Lord Aukland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*From Styche, T.E.J. (1973)*
CLASS ARRANGEMENTS, LECTURES, AND ENTERTAINMENTS

HELD AT SURREY INSTITUTIONS
CLASS ARRANGEMENTS

For the ensuing Winter Months.

A Vocal Music Class
Of Ladies and Gentlemen,
ON THE BASIS OF HULLAH'S SYSTEM OF NOTATION,
Meets at the Old Reading Room, Town Hall, every Tuesday Evening, at quarter-past Eight o'clock.

An Elocution Class
Meets at the Class-Room, George Street, every other Thursday Evening, at quarter-past Eight o'clock.

A Class for Discussion
Is also held at the same time and place, on Thursday Evenings, alternately with the Elocution Class. A list of the subjects chosen for Essay and Discussion, will be found posted in the Reading Room.

An Elementary French Class,
For Ladies and Gentlemen,
Meets at the Room, George Street, on Monday Evening, at quarter past Eight.

A Writing Class for Young Men
Is held at the Old Reading Room, Town Hall, on Wednesday Evening, at quarter-past Eight.

A Chess Club; a Ladies' Botanical Class;
AND
A Class for Physical Geography,
Are in course of formation.

These Classes are open to all Members of the Institution, by the payment of a nominal subscription of one shilling per year.

Suggestions and efforts of assistance will be thankfully received.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

CHARLES MESSENT,
Secretary.

53, North End,
Dec. 2, 1858.
RICHMOND MECHANICS' INSTITUTE

PROGRAMME OF LECTURES

1838 - 1839

Comparative Estimate of Relative Advantages of the Sciences (inaugural lecture)  
The Theory of the Universe  
Botany (2 lectures)  
Hydraulics (gratuitous)  
Meteorology  
Typography  
Education  
Works of Milton  
Poetic Genius  
Lithography  
Lettering and Engraving  
Digestive Organs, Circulation of the Blood and Secretion of Bile

1839 - 1840 *

Ancient Sports and Pastimes in England  
The Mechanical Properties of the Atmosphere  
Typography of Richmond  
General Physiology  
Music  
Preservation of Health  
Geology (3 lectures)  
Heat  
Practical Chemistry  
Sublimity and Beauty  
Friendly Societies  
Anti-Phrenology  
The Philosophy of Sleep and Dreams  
Wealden Formations

Robert Carr Woods  
Joshua (?)  
Charles Hall  
Mr Goerge  
Robert Carr Woods  
William Offord  
Mr Brewer  
J C Hall  
Mr Wright  
G Noyes  
Mr Alpenny

J C Carpen

1840 1841 **

Influence, Science and the Social Condition  
Calorics  
The Animal Kingdom  
Chemical Properties of the Air  
Phrenology  
Natural Philosophy  
Continuation (7)  
Music (2 lectures)  
Electricity  
Animal Economy (2 lectures)  
Galvanism (2 lectures)

William Chapman  
Mr Hudson  
Dr Hall  
J Robinson  
C Donovan  
Rev. Ed. Hoare  
Joseph Coggins  
R Ogilvie  
P Lugar  
J T Strange

1841 - 1842

Natural History of Insects (2 lectures)  
Botany (2 lectures)  
Chemistry (title not given)  
Astronomy (4 lectures)  
Distinction between Animate and Inanimate Matter (2 lectures)  
Machinery  
China and its Inhabitants  
Electrotype  
The Brain (2 lectures)  
Wonders of Modern Science

Mr Ogilvie  
J Robinson  
Henry Hopwood  
Samuel Wilderspin  
Dr Henderson  
William Jones  
Mr White  
E Keete  
Charles Hopwood  
Dr Rogers  
W Jones

1842 - 1843

The Bude Drummond and Boccius Lights  
Steam and the Steam Engine  
Evidence of Design in Animal Creation  
Natural Magic (2 lectures)  
Gas Meters  
Physiology of Animal and Vegetable Matter  
The Objects and Importance of Institutions for Adult Education  
Light

Dr Atkins  
J Anderson  
Charles Hall  
Dr Atkins  
Dr Atkins  
William Chapman  
J Robinson

1843 1844 ***

Musical Melange  
The Origin and Progress of Classical Architecture  
The Genius and Writings of Charles Dickens (2 lectures)  
On Natural Magic  
On the Rise and Progress of Gothic Architecture (2 lectures)  
Pneumatics (2 lectures)

The Choral Class  
W W Wardell  
Frederick Rowton  
W Cox  
W W Wardell  
B Sampson

* There was also a performance of sacred music by the Choral Class, and an exhibition of drawings by the Drawing Class.

** There was also a performance of sacred music by the Choral Class.

*** To coincide with the opening of the new building for the Institute.

(from the Minute Book, Richmond Mechanics' Institution)
### Lectures for the Session 1844-5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Lecturer</th>
<th>Topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 10</td>
<td>Concert of Instrumental Music</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 7</td>
<td>J. H. Parry, Esq.</td>
<td>Sketches of the Oratory of France and America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 21</td>
<td>The same subject continued</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 5</td>
<td>The same subject concluded</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 19</td>
<td>Rev. R. Conneebe</td>
<td>On the Rise, Progress, and Characteristics of Mohammedism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Lectures for the Session 1845-6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Lecturer</th>
<th>Topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 2</td>
<td>W. Pease, Esq.</td>
<td>On the Naval and Military attractions of the Arsenal at Woolwich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 16</td>
<td>J. H. Pepper, Esq.</td>
<td>On Frictional Electricity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 30</td>
<td>The same subject continued</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 13</td>
<td>The same subject concluded</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 27</td>
<td>George Bullen, Esq.</td>
<td>On Bibliography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 18</td>
<td>The same subject concluded</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Lectures for the Session 1846-7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Lecturer</th>
<th>Topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 16</td>
<td>Percy B. St. John, Esq.</td>
<td>On Texas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 25</td>
<td>Mrs. Balfour</td>
<td>On the most distinguished Female Sovereigns of Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 10</td>
<td>John Sherer, Esq.</td>
<td>On Scottish Minstrelsy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 21</td>
<td>James D. Malcolm, Esq.</td>
<td>On Railways</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 4</td>
<td>Thomas Woolnoth, Esq.</td>
<td>On Personal and Relative Beauty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 18</td>
<td>John Wallis, Esq.</td>
<td>On Astronomy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
KINGSTON UPON THAMES
LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTION

PROGRAMME OF LECTURES
1839 -1841

The Atmosphere
Geology
Ancient Sports
The Deluge
The Structure of Man
Arts of Greece
Elocution
Chemistry
Slavery, as practised in the United States of America
Popular Logic
Electricity
Osteology
Is Immigration Consistent with Patriotism?
Phrenology
Air Pumps
Parliamentary Eloquence
Organs of Circulation in Plants and Animals
Objects of Science
Singing
Fossil Fuel
Pneumatics
Magnetism
Philosophy of Machinery
Railways and Locomotive Engines
Objects and Advantages of Science (Presidential address)

(from Seeley(1841))
GUILDFORD, MECHANICS' INSTITUTION.

The Members of the above Institution and the public are respectfully informed that

General Bratish, (Baron de Frattelin, &c.,)

will deliver two

LECTURES,

on the evenings of

Wednesday, the 21st, & Thursday, the 22nd of December, 1842,

in the

COUNCIL CHAMBER,

(By Permission of the Mayor.,)

Commencing each evening, at 8 O'clock precisely.

SYLLABUS.

LECTURE 1st, Wednesday December 21st, 1842.

The origin of the Gypsies—A holy Pilgrimage to Europe of the Eastern Christians (?) Their thieving propensities—Henry the 8th's proclamation against "the Unchristian Christians, called Egyptians"—Bohemians and Geography—Language and organization of the Gypsies—Old Gypsy Prophetess and fashionable young ladies—Cold water and queer taste—With a variety of illustrative Anecdotes.


Swedish hospitality—Soup not always fit for weak constitutions—Lodgings—Hunting—Farmers—Soldiers—Bernadotte the Corporal, and Bernadotte the senior King of Europe—A contrast—How to get married in Russia—The Knout and the Saints—A Hotel without a host—The Polish Patriot and the Russian General—Civilization in the North, and indifference in the West, &c., &c.

Tickets of Admission to Non-Subscribers One Shilling Each Lecture, May Be Obtained At Mr Martin.

Members must produce their Subscription Cards for the Present Quarter at the Door.

(Andrews, Printer.)
APPENDIX 129

REIGATE MECHANICS' INSTITUTION.

The inhabitants of Reigate and the neighbourhood are respectfully informed, that a course of four lectures, consisting of:

HISTORICAL & ORATORICAL SKETCHES OF FRANCE & AMERICA,
FRANCE, 1789—1794; AMERICA, 1789—1832;

Will be delivered to the members of the Mechanics' Institution, by JOHN HUMPHREYS PARRY, Esq., at the Town Hall; the second, on Thursday, the 7th instant, at half past seven o'clock, precisely.

Persons not members may have tickets of admission, on application to Mr. Allingham, price One Shilling.

The door will be open at seven.

SYLLABUS.

Brief recapitulation. Eloquent protest of the Girondists against the massacres of September, by Vergy— the clubs of Paris, and their influence—the national convention, 21st September, 1792—the mountain, the girondists, and the plain— Barrere, his career—accusation of Marat, his character—accusation of Robespierre by Louvet— Robespierre's reply—commentary of Barrere— trial of Louis XVI.— implacable conduct of the Girondists— devotion of Marat— defence of Louis by Deseze.

Reigate, 1st November, 1844.

APPENDIX 129

REIGATE MECHANICS' INSTITUTION.

PUBLIC HALL.

WALTER ROWTON, ESQ.,

WILL DELIVER A LECTURE ENTITLED

"Caprices of Fun & Fancy,"

On THURSDAY, MARCH 15, 1866.

SYLLABUS:

Introduction.—The Spirit of the Age—The Literature of the day—Comic Illustration—Wit and Humour, a comparison—Sundry Illustrations of both—Humorous Satire, various examples of it—A Horticultural and Floricultural Romance, showing that the "Language of Flowers" is the most expressive of all Languages—An account of the most extraordinary freak of Nature ever known!—Party Contests and Electioneering, a humorous and satirical History of an important Election in a small Country Town.

TICKETS AT MR. ALLINGHAMS, MARKET PLACE.

RESERVED SEATS, 2s.; Members, 1s.
UNRESERVED SEATS, 1s.; Members Free.

Families of Members, School, Working Men, and Children half-price.

DOORS OPEN AT HALF-PAST SEVEN—COMMENCE AT EIGHT O'CLOCK.

On Thursday, March 29th, Mr. JAMES MATTHEWS.
**GODALMING MECHANICS' INSTITUTE**

**LECTURES RECORDED IN THE MINUTE BOOK 1836 - 1843**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Autumn</td>
<td>1836</td>
<td>Phrenology (2 lectures)</td>
<td>Dr Epps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring</td>
<td>1837</td>
<td>Botany</td>
<td>Dr Epps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>1838</td>
<td>Animal Instinct</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>1839</td>
<td>Geography/Travel</td>
<td>Mr McPherson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>1839</td>
<td>Illustrations of a Tour Round the Globe</td>
<td>Mr McPherson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>1839</td>
<td>Geography/Travel</td>
<td>Mr McPherson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>1841</td>
<td>On the Immensity of the Divine Perfection</td>
<td>The Reverand Porter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>The Philosophy of the Marvellous *</td>
<td>Mr Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>1843</td>
<td>Astronomy</td>
<td>Mr Smart</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* This lecture may not have taken place as the Institute could not afford the lecturer's fee.
GODALMING INSTITUTE.

President:—
THE MAYOR OF GODALMING.

Vice Presidents:—
THOMAS CLARK, Esq., Farncombe.
W. G. GIBSON, Esq., Meadow Tan Works.
G. P. HILL, Esq., Waverley Mill.
MISS MARSHALL, Esq., Godalming.
FRED. MELLERSH, Esq., Godalming.

Collaborus of Lectures, &c.

The Committee have much pleasure in announcing that they have made arrangements for the following Course of Lectures, &c., to be delivered in connection with the Institute, during the second portion of the Session of 1860.

SEPTEMBER 4th.
S. EDGAR, ESQ.,
(two ABINGDON)
(SUBJECT TO BE ANNOUNCED.)

SEPTEMBER 16th.
MISS LIZZIE STUART,
(MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENT,
"A PEEP AT SCOTLAND THROUGH HER SONGS.)

OCTOBER 1st.
HENRY VINCENT, ESQ.,
(two LONDON)
SUBJECT—"JOHN WICKLIFFE.

OCTOBER 16th.
G. F. LYON, ESQ.,
(VICE PRESIDENT OF THE CHELSEA ATHENAEUM)
SUBJECT—"CHARLES THE FIFTH.

OCTOBER 30th.
J. H. PEPPER, ESQ., F.C.S.,
(LATE LESSEE OF THE POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTION, LONDON)
SUBJECT—"THE APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS OF CHEMISTRY," With Illustrations of the ancient Mary Ordel, and the handling of Red-hot Metals, and other Interesting Experiments.

NOVEMBER 20th.
MRS. CLARA BALFOUR,
(OF LONDON)
SUBJECT—"REMARKABLE WOMEN OF THE PRESENT CENTURY.

DECEMBER 11th.
F. W. MACDONALD, ESQ.,
(SUBJECT TO BE ANNOUNCED)

Other Lectures are being arranged.

Members of the Institute, subscribing 10s per annum, will have Free admission to the above Lectures, and also to the Reading Room (open every evening from 6 to 10 o’Clock), and to the Library, (containing over 500 vols.) An additional Subscription of 2s 6d per annum enables a member to introduce a female friend, or a youth under the age of 16, to the Lectures.

Further particulars, with a syllabus of each Lecture, will be published in due course.

Every information in reference to the Institute may be obtained on application to the following Members of the Committee—Messrs. T. Agate, J. C. Collier, C. Harvey, J. R. Ibbetson, W. H. Lyon, T. Potter, W. A. Pegg, W. Baa, W. Stacey; or to the Hon. Secretary, Mr. T. Chennell, 18, High-street, Godalming.
APPENDIX

Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution:
PUBLIC HALL AND ROOMS.

THE CONVERSAZIONE,
ON THURSDAY, AUGUST 30th, 1860.
DOORS OPEN AT SEVEN—TO COMMENCE AT HALF-PAST.

PROGRAMME
AND
BOOK OF THE WORDS.

Programme.
INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS, by REV. J. G. HODGSON, (President.)
OVERTURE "Figaro" Mr. TOWNLY AND AMATEURS.
DUETT "What are the wild waves saying?" (Glover) Mr. & Miss CASTLE.
GLEE "Here, in cool grot" (Mornington)...CROYDON C. SOCIETY.
SOLO—Concertina "Selections from Verdi's Operas." Mr. TOWNLY.
SONG "Simon, the Cellarer" (Hatton) Mr. CASTLE.
GLEE "All among the barley" (Mrs. E. Sterling)...C. C. SOCIETY.
EXPERIMENTS on the Gases, by Mr. INGRAMS.
MICROSOPES, with objects, explained by H. LEE, Esq.
WALTZES "Bridal Waltzes" Mr. TOWNLY AND AMATEURS.
RECITATION "Scene between Othello and Iago" Mr. CASTLE.
GLEE "In paper case" (Dr. Cooke)...CROYDON C. SOCIETY.
SOLO—CONNOISSEUR "Sweet Spirit, hear my prayer" (Wallace.) Mr. TOWNLY.
SONG "It is better to laugh than be sighing" (Linley) Miss FISHENDEN,
(OF the Croydon C. Society.)
RECITATION...from "Taming the Shrew"—"Advice to disobedient wives" Mr. CASTLE.
GLEE "Hark, the Lark" (Dr. Cooke)...CROYDON C. SOCIETY.
SOLO & CHORUS "O, silver shining moon"—Solo. Miss JORDICKINS,
(OF the Croydon C. Society.)

Electric Experiments, by Mr. INGRAMS.
DISSOLVING VIEWS and CHROMATROPE, described by some of the Members of the Committee—the Music, by "Croydon Amateurs," and "Croydon Choral Society."

Price Twopence.
EPSON and EWELL
LITERARY and SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTION

The fifth of a Second Series of

READINGS

will be given

On Wednesday, 10th December, 1862

IN THE LECTURE ROOM OF THE INSTITUTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Reader</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rural Life in England...</td>
<td>Irving.....</td>
<td>Mr. J. Harrowell, Jun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rather hard to take......</td>
<td>Anon........</td>
<td>Mr F Marfleet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Broken Crutch.......</td>
<td>Bloomfield..</td>
<td>Rev. J. Donovan, B.A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The One Legged Goose....</td>
<td>Anon.........</td>
<td>Mr. J Andrews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Story of Le Fevre.......</td>
<td>Sterne......</td>
<td>Mr. Murrell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doings at Do the Boys Hall....</td>
<td>Dickens......</td>
<td>Mr. S. Marfleet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Doors open at 1/4 to 8 o'clock, Reading to commence at 1/4 past precisely. Admission: Threepence. Members: Free

Gentlemen willing to assist in the Readings will much OBLIGE by forwarding their Names and Subjects (which should not occupy more than ten to fifteen minutes in the reading) to the Secretary at their earliest convenience.

from Andrews, J (1903)
## Farnham Working Men's Institution

### Entertainments

#### June 1863

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mr Baker</th>
<th>Echo, Clock and Snail</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr Hawkes</td>
<td>Rome or Death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Williamson</td>
<td>The Passionate Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr New</td>
<td>The Two Stammerers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Hughes</td>
<td>Waterloo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Matthews</td>
<td>The Bachelor's Advice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### August 1863

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mr Stewart</th>
<th>Why do I Wear a Hat?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr Hughes</td>
<td>Signs of Rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Pennington</td>
<td>Alexander Selkirk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Kimber</td>
<td>The Country Gentleman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Williamson</td>
<td><em>Othello's</em> apology, Act 1, sc.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Baker</td>
<td>Cumnor (all a nickle)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### October 1863

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mr Brookes</th>
<th>No Grumbling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr Chapman</td>
<td>How Woman Loves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Hawkes</td>
<td>The Sythian ambassadors and Alexander on his making preparations to attack their country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Baker</td>
<td>The Ghost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Kimber</td>
<td>Hannibal, the Vow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr New</td>
<td>Wanted, a Johnny</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### January 1864

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mr Freemantle</th>
<th>The Sons of Merrie England (song)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr Home</td>
<td>Gratitude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Williamson</td>
<td>Peter Bonceur, or the Fisherman's Lawsuit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Brookes</td>
<td>The Roast Turkey, or a lesson for the Discontented</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(from Minutes of the Elocution Section: Farnham Working Men's Institution)
The Committee of Mansfield take leave to direct attention to the great advantage offered by this Institution vis. i—

EVENING* A Supplementary Catalogue, containing about 600 volumes, that have been added to the Library since the

M XX/XB8 FBXX; Non-Members, Sixpence. To Reserved Seats—Members, Sixpence; No Non-Members, One Shilling.


M.R. These Tickets do not admit to the Christmas Party, or Evening Readings.

The Committee also propose to introduce

EVENING READINGS WITH MUSIC

During the Session, on or about the dates given, of which detailed programmes will be published.

The Committee also beg to announce that an

AMATEUR DRAMATIC ENTERTAINMENT

WITH COMPLETE SCENERY, &c.

Will be given during the Session, date not yet fixed. Characters to be supported by Members, G. H. BURTON, T. BURTON, J. G. BURT, G. LAKER, W. A. LAKER, and A. W. ROSS.

Admission to the Lectures:

MEMBERS FREE; Non-Members, Sixpence. To Reserved Seats—Members, Sixpence; Non-Members, One Shilling.

The Committee have also arranged for the issue of SEASON TICKETS (not transferable) as follows:


These Tickets do not admit to the Christmas Party, or Evening Readings.

Terms of Subscription:

Life Members, £10 10s. Annual Honorary Members, £1 1s. Ordinary and Lady Members, 12s. Working Men, 6d. per year.

The Committee of Management take leave to direct attention to the great advantages offered by this Institution vis. i—

The Library,

For circulation and reference, containing over 2,000 volumes, embracing works in every branch of literature, is open for circulation of Books, from half-past 9 to half-past 5 p.m., on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday evenings. A Supplementary Catalogue, containing about 600 volumes, that have been added to the Library since the edition of 1866, may be obtained at the Library. The Public are particularly requested to take notice that by


These Tickets do not admit to the Christmas Party, or Evening Readings.
ENID
12 n
(cont.)

THURSDAY, 17TH OCTOBER.

Mr. Edward Dale's Concert and Operetta Company,
will give another of their
MUSICAL, CHARACTERISTIC AND OPERETTA ENTERTAINMENTS,

THURSDAY, 14TH NOVEMBER.

NEW CHEMICAL & PHILOSOPHICAL LECTURE,
BY O. MEYMOTT TIDY, M.B., F.G.S.
ENTITLED
"A WEB UNWOVEN,"
Or "THE Vindicating of a Life,"
Illustrated with brilliant Experiments, Diagrams and Specimens.

WEDNESDAY, 1ST DECEMBER.

EVENING READINGS, WITH MUSIC.

THURSDAY, 15TH NOVEMBER.

M. DAVID BURNETT
WILL DELIVER A LECTURE,
ENTITLED
"DISCOVERIES OF DR. LIVINGSTONE."

THURSDAY, 19TH NOVEMBER.

M. F. BURGE
WILL GIVE
A LITERARY AND MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENT,
ENTITLED
"LOVE AND MONEY."
Introducing a variety of characters with appropriate Costumes, Songs, &c. Mr. Burge's celebrated impersonation of Eusebius, and several full-length portraits from the Works of Dickens, including Mr. Gamp, Quilp, and Mr. Boffin.

WEDNESDAY, 7TH DECEMBER.

EVENING READINGS, WITH MUSIC.

THURSDAY, 19TH DECEMBER.

LECTURE BY THE REV. G. J. ADENEY,
ENTITLED
"THE USEFULNESS OF USELESS THINGS."

EVENING READINGS, WITH MUSIC.

THURSDAY, 9TH JANUARY.

ANNUAL CHRISTMAS PARTY,
For which the Chemnitz Musical Union is already engaged.

THURSDAY, 18TH JANUARY.

By Special Appointment with the Holmwood Musical Union,
LECTURE ON BOTANY,
BY PROFESSOR W. T. THISELTON DYER.

WEDNESDAY, 6TH JANUARY.

EVENING READINGS, WITH MUSIC.

THURSDAY, 12TH FEBRUARY.

M. POWELL THOMAS.
"The Erudite Traveller, Educator, Entertainer, Lecturer, and Reader to the Literary and Scientific Institutions of Great Britain;"
Will give his popular and attractive
MUSICAL, DRAMATIC, POETICAL, AND HUMOROUS ENTERTAINMENTS.

THURSDAY, 7TH FEBRUARY.

EVENING READINGS, WITH MUSIC.

THURSDAY, 19TH FEBRUARY.

EVENING READINGS, WITH MUSIC.

THURSDAY, 16TH MARCH.

Subject to be announced.

THURSDAY, 5TH MARCH.

CLOSING.

THURSDAY, 25TH FEBRUARY.
APPENDIX

FARNHAM INSTITUTE
AUTUMN TERM PROGRAMME
1896-1897
Meetings held in the Hall of the Institute, South Street

1. Debate: The Egyptian Question
   (on recovering the Sudan)
2. Lecture: The origins of the signs used in Music
   and the Opera.
3. Debate: The Deceased Wife's Sister's Bill
   (disapproving of the House of Lords
   handling of this Bill)
4. Lecture: Carthusian Monastic Life
   (illustrated with the oxy-hydrogen light)
5. Joint debate with the Alton Literary and Debating
   Society. (subject not specified)
6. Dramatic readings by members of the Society

   . . . . . . . . . . .

PRESIDENT: E. JACKSON
SECRETARY: DR. GEORGE BROWN
            C.E. BORELLI

Annual subscription 1/- per year

FARNHAM WORKING MEN'S INSTITUTE
ENTERTAINMENT
IN THE NEW NATIONAL SCHOOLS,
FRIDAY EVENING, MAY 19, 1895.

THE VENERABLE
THE ARCHDEACON OF SURREY,
in the chair.

PROGRAMME.

Mr. Turner
Mr. Williamson
Mr. Brooker
Mr. Parnham
Mr. Good
Mr. Hawker
Mr. Hawkins
Mr. Turner
SOLIO & CHORUS

Glee:... The Priory of Order Gray.... CALLOOT.
Mr. Brooker:
Mr. Parnham:
Mr. Good:
Mr. Hawker:
Mr. Hawkins:
Mr. Turner:
SOLIO & CHORUS:

DOMESTIC DRAMA The House of Stilvaghstic Farm H. J. STREPT.
Former Turned, Mr. Hawker. Squire Sigmond, Mr. Williamson.
Bill Hogey, Mr. Brooker. Giles, Mr. Cane. New, Mr. New.

Mr. Dewrey:... Hermon's Flight from Tantallon Castle.... Sir W. Scott.
Mr. Cane:... The Spanish Champion.... Mr. Hemmle.
Mr. Good:... Home in the Heart.... DEMPSTER.
Mr. Hawker:... The Grandfather.... TEBBEC.
Glee:... Let us raise the Church Vigil Lamp.... BISHOP.
Mr. Turner:... The Jacobites of Rheims.... INCOLDEN.
CHORUS:... God save the Queen....

To commence at a quarter past eight precisely.
The Proceeds to be given in aid of the Expenses of the Annual Summer Trip.
## Lectures and Entertainments,

On Thursdays at 7.30 p.m.

### INDEX.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Speaker/Entertainer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17 Oct.</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>Imperial Concert Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Popular Lecture</td>
<td>&quot;The Pan-German Dream&quot;&lt;br&gt;Mr. Crawford Price</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Recital Lecture</td>
<td>&quot;Laughter and Song: Songs Grave and Gay and How to Sing Them&quot;&lt;br&gt;Mr. Charles Tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Nov.</td>
<td>Dramatic and Humorous Recital</td>
<td>Mr. Ernest Denny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Popular Lecture</td>
<td>&quot;Reims Cathedral, its Former Glory and Present Condition&quot;&lt;br&gt;Henry Beaumont, Esq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>Imperial Concert Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Dramatic Entertainment</td>
<td>Kindly provided by Mrs. A. E. Bidmead and Friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Dec.</td>
<td>Humorous Recital</td>
<td>Mr. Stanley H. Bell and Others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Dramatic Performance</td>
<td>&quot;Betsy&quot;&lt;br&gt;Charles McCabe's Company of Comedians</td>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Humorous and Musical Entertainment</td>
<td>Dr. Houston Collisson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Feb.</td>
<td>Popular Lecture</td>
<td>&quot;At the Italian Front&quot;&lt;br&gt;Mr. Arthur Diosy, F.R.G.S.</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Dramatic and Humorous Recital</td>
<td>Miss Grace Jean Crocker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Popular Lecture</td>
<td>&quot;A Vagabond in the Channel Isles&quot;&lt;br&gt;... Rev. G. A. Parkinson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Concert</td>
<td>Imperial Concert Agency</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These arrangements are subject to slight alteration.

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Croydon Literary and Scientific Institution from the Prospectus of 1918
EGHAM DEBATING AND LITERARY SOCIETY

meeting at the

EGHAM LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTION

PROGRAMME 1901

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January 7</td>
<td>Dramatic Entertainment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Debate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Lecture 'The Waterways of England'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 4</td>
<td>Lecture 'The Malay Jungle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Concert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Lecture 'The Pressure of the Atmosphere'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Lecture 'Battle Round Balsrutz'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 4</td>
<td>Lecture 'Peeps into Nature's Secrets'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Musical Evening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Lecture (to be announced)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Closing Night</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(from MSS in Egham Literary Institute)

EGHAM TECHNICAL INSTITUTE: EGHAM HILL

1896
- Arts subjects
- Home Nursing
- Botany
- Mathematics
- Cooking
- Ambulance for Men

1915 By this date the following had been added:
- French
- Bookkeeping
- Carpentry
- Dressmaking
- Commercial English
- Shorthand
- Poultry Keeping

1912 By this date the following had been added:
- Six lectures on gardening subjects 'suitable for allotment and cottage gardens.'

(from Technical Education Committee Minutes, Surrey Record Office)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Institution/Reading Room</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alfold</td>
<td>Reading room and library</td>
<td>1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashford</td>
<td>Working Mens' Institute</td>
<td>1882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagshot</td>
<td>Institute</td>
<td>1862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunbridge</td>
<td>Reading room</td>
<td>1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carshalton</td>
<td>Cottage Reading Rooms</td>
<td>1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattershall</td>
<td>Coffee Tavern</td>
<td>1884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chertsey</td>
<td>All Saints Parish</td>
<td>1731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mechanics' Institute</td>
<td>1857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Lit. and Sci. Institute (500)</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reading Room and Library</td>
<td>c1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Chertsey Parish Library (600)</td>
<td>1857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wetton's and other subscription and circulating libraries from</td>
<td>1800</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chiddingfold</td>
<td>Institute</td>
<td>1896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chobham</td>
<td>Institute (50)</td>
<td>c1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compton</td>
<td>St. Nicholas Parish</td>
<td>17th cent.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cranleigh</td>
<td>Lit. and Sci. Institute</td>
<td>1849</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reading Room</td>
<td>1873</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lady Peak Institute</td>
<td>1895</td>
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<tr>
<td>Croydon</td>
<td>* Lit. and Sci. Institute (100)</td>
<td>1838</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(10000 vols. claimed in 1909)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Croydon Science School</td>
<td>1877</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pitlake Mission</td>
<td>1888</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dorking</td>
<td>Book clubs and Circulating</td>
<td>c1800</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mechanics' Institute (1600)</td>
<td>1856</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Literary Institute</td>
<td>1855</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Working Mens' Institute</td>
<td>1855</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1567 vols. claimed in 1882)</td>
<td>1871</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Chart Lane Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dormansland</td>
<td>Parish Room</td>
<td>c1851</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(large library claimed)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Effingham</td>
<td>St. Lawrence Parish</td>
<td>1724</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(only 2 vols. remain)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Egham</td>
<td>Subscription and Circulating, Wetton's</td>
<td>1805</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Lit. and Sci. Institute (1500 vols. claimed in 1880)</td>
<td>1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Egham Institute</td>
<td>1882</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Holloway College</td>
<td>1879</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Technical Institute</td>
<td>1898</td>
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<tr>
<td>Epsom</td>
<td>Literary Institute</td>
<td>c1830</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lit. and Sci. Institute (2000)</td>
<td>c1850</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subscription and Circulating, numerous</td>
<td>c1850</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Congregational Church</td>
<td>1864</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Working Mens' Club</td>
<td>1864</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Technical Institute and School of Art (became Borough library)</td>
<td>1896</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lit. and Sci. Society</td>
<td>1898</td>
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<tr>
<td>Esher</td>
<td>Parish library, at Sunday School</td>
<td>1789</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ewhurst</td>
<td>Institute</td>
<td>1901</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ewell</td>
<td>Lending library</td>
<td>1817</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Congregational chapel</td>
<td>1864</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>St Mary's C of E church</td>
<td>c1860</td>
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<tr>
<td>Farncombe</td>
<td>National School: Reading Room and library</td>
<td>1880</td>
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<td>(good library: became Institute in 1891)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Farnham</td>
<td>Mechanics' Institute</td>
<td>c1844</td>
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<td>Young Men's Association</td>
<td>1853</td>
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<td>Working Mens' Institute</td>
<td>1863</td>
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<td></td>
<td>School of Art</td>
<td>1865</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Farnham Institute</td>
<td>1870</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(3000 vols. claimed in 1901)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adult School</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fetcham</td>
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<tr>
<td>Godalming</td>
<td>Mechanics' Institute</td>
<td>1836</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a substantial library)</td>
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<td>Young Men's Association</td>
<td>c1859</td>
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<td>Godalming Institute (700)</td>
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<td>SS Peter and Paul Parish (700)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Unitarian and Congregational churches</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Technical Institute and School of Art (became Borough library)</td>
<td>1896</td>
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<tr>
<td>Guildford</td>
<td>Town Library</td>
<td>1573</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(associated with the Grammar School but appropriated by the school by the end of the century, 400 vols remain)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Mechanics' Institute</td>
<td>1834</td>
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<td>Lit. and Sci. Institute</td>
<td>1855</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lending Library</td>
<td>1842</td>
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<td>Working Mens' Institute</td>
<td>1856</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3000 volumes in 1891, 9000 claimed in 1901)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Friends Adult School</td>
<td>1089</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Initial Improvement Society (600 votes, circulated in 1967)</td>
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BOOKS, JOURNALS, AND NEWSPAPERS

IN THE LIBRARIES OF SURREY INSTITUTIONS
GODALMING MECHANICS' INSTITUTE

BOOKS ACQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY 1836 - 1843

The following are listed as they are recorded in the Minute Book of the Institute and in the order in which they were acquired.

Teita Magazine (1/- a month)
Pinnocks Guide to Knowledge (6d monthly)
Magazine of Popular Science (2/6 monthly)
Coombs Physiology on Human Species applying to Preservation of Health. (2 volumes 5/10d (or 6/2d))
Life of Josephus
Shakespeare's Plays (10 volumes)
Humes and Smollets History of England
8 volumes of Pope
8 volumes of Spectator and 1 of Penny Magazine
3 volumes, Guide to Knowledge (7Pinnock)
1 volume of Chambers
2 volumes of Goldsmiths Natural History
The Librarian's Calendar
2 volumes James Military History
1 volume Tegge Book of Utility
1 Bleiter's Grammer
Experimental Philosophy
The Pantheon
History of Rome (abridged)
Picture of London
History of Charles 12th King of (?)
Moors Political Works
Locke 'On Understanding'
Bacon's Essays
Milton 'Paradise Regained'
Richards (?) British Biography
Stedman's Astronomy
Murrary's Grammar
Bowling Russian Anthology
Younge's Night Thoughts
Horace
Priors Poems (humourous)
Watty Poems (possibly Watt's devotional verse)
Ossian's Poems
Thompsons Seasons (James Thomson)
1 volume Barclays Dictionary
2 volumes Goldsmiths Works
3 volumes Priors Works
1 volume Cowper's Works

2 Volumes Queens Trials
1 Chambers Information
3 Pinnocks Guide to Knowledge
2 Goldsmiths Natural History
Parks Chemical Catechism
Cobotta English Grammar
Journal of Practical Science
Dr Brewster on Natural Magic
Cobbe's on the Constitution
The Atlas Newspaper (discontinued one month later)
The Athenaeum
Lectures on Select Subjects
Sir Walter Scott's Novels (40 volumes)
Gibbon Rise and Fall
3 volumes of Pinnock
Don Quixote
Dr Arnot's Elements of Physics
Pelham 3 volumes (14/-)
Last Days of Pompeii 3 volumes (11/-) (all by Lytton)
Rienzi 3 volumes (13/-)
Nicholls Architecture of the Heavens (10/6d)
Chambers Edinburgh Journal Monthly Parts 84
Millan's History of the Jews 3 volumes 5/- each
3 volumes The Discourse
The Monthly Chronicle 2/6d per month
The Athenaeum (discontinued)
Cooper's Works bound (acquired ?)
Tait's Cabinet of Literature bound (acquired ?)
Mechanics Magazine
Knights Penny Magazine
6 volumes of Chambers Edinburgh Journal ('to complete the work')
S H Brooke's 'Design for Cottage and Villa Architecture'
Cooper's 'The Prairie' and 'Heidenmauer'
Dr La Leis 'Treatise on Astronomy'
Chambers Travels in Russia and Turkey
Buckingham's Travels in Syria, Medea and Persia (12/6d)
Eliza Cook's Poems
Penrose Journal (gift)
'succeeding volumes of Mechanics' Magazine'
Popular Physiology
Hydrostatics
Biographical Treasury
Optics
Botany
History of Rome and the Pantheon

(from the Minute Book of the Institute in Godalming Public Library)
The volumes listed below were acquired during the first year of the Institution's existence.

Place Wanderings of a Journeyman Tailor
Smith Wealth of Nations
Josephus Works of
George Combe Phrenology
Library of Entertaining Knowledge
(Journal of) Home and Colonial (Schools Society)
Claxton's Hints to Mechanics
Knight's Store of Knowledge
Tales by Mrs Edgeworth
Pinnock's Guide to Knowledge
The Parlour Novelist
Aitkin's British Poets (10 volumes)
Bamford Passages in the life of a Radical
Craik's Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties
Murray's English Grammar
Self-Advancement: Lives of Eminent Men
Boswell's Life of Johnson
Blount's History of the Reformation
Life of Drake
Life of Raleigh
History of Protestantism in France
Mary Queen of Scots
Nicholl's Architecture of the Heavens

Also works by:

Charles Dickens
Jane Austen
Fenimore Cooper
Walter Scott
Daniel Defoe
William Shakespeare
Oliver Goldsmith

In addition to:

The Mechanics' Magazine
The Athenaeum
The Saturday Magazine
Chambers' Edinburgh Journal
London Saturday Journal
The Gentleman's Magazine
Chambers' Popular Cyclopaedia
The Literary Gazette
The London Encyclopaedia.

(source Croydon Local History Library)
LIST OF BOOKS, NEWSPAPERS, AND JOURNALS IN THE LIBRARY
1849 - 1873

Chemistry of Common Life
Works by Addison
Works by Walpole
Works by Johnson
Works by Macaulay
The Electric Telegraph
Iron and Fields and Coal Pits
Chiefain of the Caucasus
Cornwall, Mines, Miners, and Scenery
Our Heroes of the Crime
Baltic Fleet: Biographical Sketches of the Commanders

Newspapers and Periodicals
The Times
Herald Express
The Guardian
Illustrated London News
The Builder
The Builder's Magazine
The Critic
Cottage Gardener
Illustrated London Magazine
Punch
Household Words
Chamber's Edinburgh Journal
The Leisure Hour
Bell's Life
The Standard
The Daily News
West Sussex News
Surrey Advertiser
Lloyds Weekly London News
The British Workman
The Daily Telegraph
Building News

(From the Minute Book, Cranleigh Literary and Scientific Institution; Monument Room, Guildford)

RICHMOND MECHANICS' INSTITUTE

BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY 1838 - 1846

10 Volumes The French Revolution I. I. McGregor
10 Parts The New Monthly Magazine Miller
Botany
Bailey's Dictionary *

50 Numbers The Mechanics' Magazine Goldsmith
4 Volumes History of England
12 Parts Illustrated Fables
2 Volumes Hone's Everyday Book
William the Fourth
The Reform Ministry
Political Economy and Natural Philosophy

7 Parts works on
4 Volumes Chemistry
Chambers Edinburgh Journal
Geography
Mechanic and Chemist
Saturday Magazine

* The gift of this volume was first refused, it being considered by the Institute Committee to be 'objectionable.' See pp180-

In 1842, Institute resolved to purchase monthly the 'City of London Magazine.' This was discontinued 2 months later in favour of Magazine of Science.

In 1846 the Resident Clergy placed the Parochial Lending Library on the disposal of members of the Mechanics' Institute. In consequence, the Institute could claim access to 3000 volumes.

(from Bancroft A A(1907) and Minute Book of Institute, Richmond Public Library)
The library consisted mainly of books on science and natural history, and comprised around 1500 volumes. In addition, the following works could be found. They are listed below as they were recorded in the 1844 catalogue.

- Claxton: *Hints to Mechanics* (2 volumes of his autobiography)
- Combes: *Phrenology*
- Smith: *Wealth of Nations*, *Claims of Labour*, *Knowledge for the People: or, Why and because* (4 volumes)
- Knight: *Capital and Labour*
- Wilderspin: *Infant System*, *Recent Measures for the Promotion of Education in England*
- Hill: *National Education*

Chamber's Edinburgh Cabinet Library
Tier's History of the French Revolution
Knight's Store of Knowledge
Knight's Weekly Volume 40 vols.
Library of Entertaining Knowledge 12 vols.
Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties
Year Book of Facts
Penny Cyclopaedia 27 vols.
Chamber's Edinburgh Journal
Chamber's Edinburgh Miscellany
mechanics' Magazine
Mirror
The Artisan, or Mechanics' Instructor
Saturday Magazine
Penny Magazine
The Student
The Builder
The Visitor
The Athenæum

* Complete catalogue 1844 in Surrey Record Office.
Other catalogues were issued in 1864 and 1872 (when a supplementary list was also issued. There were 3500 - 4000 volumes on the library shelves at this time.
APPENDIX

CHERTSEY LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTION
CATALOGUE OF BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY 1872

Open Monday to Friday 8 to 9 pm.
Wednesday 2 to 3 pm  J Thompson: Librarian

Books listed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Volumes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cooper</td>
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<td>Dickens</td>
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<td>Disraeli</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hugh Miller</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lytton</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scott</td>
<td>35</td>
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<td>History</td>
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<td>Biography</td>
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<td>Miscellaneous</td>
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Approximately 450 to 500 volumes.

Included in the Catalogue are:

History of Rome    Goldsmith
Financial Reform   Parnell
Self Help           Smiles

Tales from Blackwood
Penny Encyclopaedia
Pinnock's History of England

(Approximately 600 volumes. 120 or so were fiction, and included works by:

Fenimore Cooper
Charles Dickens
Jane Austen
Charlotte Bronte
Walter Scott

and included Manzoni's 'The Betrothed'

Books were catalogued under the following headings:

Biography
Classics
Dictionaries
Fiction
Dramatic
Poetry
Theology
Topography

The library included:

Charles Knight
Thomas Malthus
David Ricardo
George Combe
Plavius Josephus
Edward Gibbon

Capital and Labour
Principles of Political Economy
Principles of Political Economy and Taxation
Physiology
Works of
Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire

The library was also regularly supplied with:

Household Words
New Monthly Magazine
The Spectator
The Quarterly Review

(from Catalogue in Chertsey Public Library)
The volumes listed below were acquired during the first year of the Institution's existence.

Place Wanderings of a Journeyman Tailor
Smith Wealth of Nations
Josephus Works of
George Combe Phrenology
Library of Entertaining Knowledge
(Journal of) Home and Colonial (Scholes' Society)
Claxton's Hints to Mechanics
Knight's Store of Knowledge
Tales by Mrs Edgeworth
Pinnock's Guide to Knowledge
The Parlour Novelist
Atkin's British Poets (10 volumes)
Bamford Passages in the life of a Radical
Craik's Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties
Murray's English Grammar
7 Self-Advancement: Lives of Eminent Men
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Blount's History of the Reformation
Life of Drake
Life of Raleigh
History of Protestantism in France
Mary Queen of Scott's
Nicholl's Architecture of the Heavens

Also works by:

Charles Dickens
Jane Austen
Piozzi Cooper
Walter Scott
Daniel Defoe
William Shakespeare
Oliver Goldsmith

In addition to:

The Mechanics' Magazine
The Athenaeum
The Saturday Magazine
Chambers' Edinburgh Journal
London Saturday Journal
The Gentleman's Magazine
Chambers' Popular Cyclopaedia
The Literary Gazette
Constable's Miscellany (80 volumes)
Chambers' Edinburgh Review and Quarterly

(source Croydon Local History Library)
Dear Mr. Robinson,

I am writing to you and other trainers who are running courses as part of the Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP) to remind you that political and related activities are not permitted within YOP. Particular care should be taken if trainees are to produce, as part of their course, magazines or other literature for publication. Material with a political or generally controversial content should not be published.

In the first instance it is for you to judge the acceptability of material intended for publication but I shall be happy to advise you if you have any questions either generally or in a particular case.

We would view with concern the inclusion in your course of political and related activities, so if you are in any doubt please seek advice from this office before proceeding.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

Paul Stoggles
Office Manager
APPENDIX

TEMS OF EMPLOYMENT OF CURATOR OF EGHAM LITERARY
AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTION

An Agreement between the committee of the Egham Literary
Institute on the one part and Thomas Henry Peck on the
other part as to the Emoluments and Duties connected with
the office of Curator of the aforesaid Institute.

The committee on their part agree to give or allow the use
of five rooms on the top floor and a partial use of the
cellar—

One ton of Coals per Annum
The use of gas in two rooms
5/- for attendance in Large Room each time it is let after
midnight (12 o'clock)
A Commission of 1/- in the £ on collection of Members'
Subscriptions—
£2.2.0 per Annum for attendance on Smith's Library.

Thomas Henry Peck as Curator on his part agrees to perform
to the satisfaction of the committee the duties as stated
hereafter—

To attend to the library and enter all books and papers in
book provided for the purpose as they are taken from and
returned to the Reading Room by Members—

To see that the Reading Room is ready for occupation and
the papers out before 10 o'clock a.m.—

To light and see to gas when required—

To light and see to stoves when required—

To keep all the rooms (including the Large Hall and passages)
clean—

To prepare the different rooms for all meetings and entertain-
ments as directed by the secretary—

To take a proper list of books required by members to Messrs
Smith's Agent at Egham Railway Station 5 times each week and
return to him any books that may be returned to the Reading
Room by Members and also to receive from him any book he may
have for the Institution.

The curator or his wife must be in attendance on the Library
every day the Reading Room is open, from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m.—
and carry out the Rules of the Society as stated in the
printed copy of "The Rules, Regulations and Bye-laws."

To receive and carry out instructions from the Secretary—

The Curator further agrees to give up possession of the
premises and quit the same on receiving one month's notice
to do so from the committee. He also agrees not to give
up possession without giving one month's notice to the
committee of his intention to do so.

Thomas Cross
29. 9. 1890
BIBLIOGRAPHY
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Acton, H B (1962) The Illusion of the Epoch: Marxist-Leninism as a Philosophical Creed London: Cohen and West

Althusser, L (1971) Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays New Left Books


Altick, R D (1957) The English Common Reader Chicago

Amiel, H Frederick (1883-4) Journal Intime Trans. Mrs Humphry Ward 1885 London: Constable

Andrew J (1903) 'Reminiscences of Epsom' Paper read to a meeting of Epsom and Ewell Literary and Scientific Institute, 8 March. Epsom and Ewell LSI archives


Anon (1867) A History of our Village, or, A Few Notes About Shepperton London: Darling and Sons

Anon (1902) Ashtead Past and Present, being extracts from the Ashtead Parish Magazines Ashtead

Archer, R L (1921) Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century Oxford University Press

Argles, M (1959) 'The Royal Commission on Technical Education 1881-84' in The Vocational Aspect of Education, Vol. 25, No. 11


Armitage, W H G (1964) Four Hundred Years of English Education Cambridge University Press

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<td>Arnold, Matthew</td>
<td>Literature and Dogma</td>
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<td>Fragment on the Church</td>
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<td>Main Currents in Sociological Thought (2 Volumes)</td>
<td>Harmondsworth:Penguin</td>
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<td>Aston, S B</td>
<td>A History of West Horsley</td>
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<td>Ayliffe, (1914)</td>
<td>Memoires of an Octogenarian</td>
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<td>Bachrach, P and Baratz, M S</td>
<td>Power and Poverty: Theory and Practice</td>
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