THE UPBRINGING OF THE ENTREPRENEURIAL AND POLITICAL ELITES OF THE EARLY INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN BRITAIN: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

TWO CULTURES

Historians of education have shown themselves, by and large, to be more concerned with the effects of society on education than with those of education on society. A good deal of interest, for example, has been taken for many years in the impact of Renaissance thought on the Tudor and Jacobean schools and colleges, and again, particularly recently, a substantial literature has been devoted to the increasing state intervention in education during the nineteenth century. Such an emphasis, on education as the dependent of external pressures,[I] is not, I think, difficult to explain. For in the study of a period of fairly settled provision, the critic, who knows, of course, how the system is to be modified by subsequent changes in the social climate, is naturally inclined to seek the early, even though quantitatively minor, signs of these future important developments. And if, on the other hand, the time is one of rapid and widespread reorganization, he is likely to be too absorbed in the description and explanation of these major events within his specialist area to spare much attention for any effects that they, in their turn, may have had upon society. Now such an approach, though not indefensibly biased - any historical study requires after all some choice of perspective - has undoubtedly involved the neglect of a most important aspect of the relationship between education and society; that is, it has neither

[I] Professor Simon has recommended forcefully this approach to the history of education (Simon, 1966 , pp.91-6).
Throughout this thesis, references to published sources in footnotes are given in the shortened form: author, year of publication. The information is expanded in the bibliography. Where, however, this method would lead to ambiguity, a title has also been included in the footnote.

offered an understanding of, nor even provoked an interest in, the means by which, in any given period, child rearing methods have helped to shape the characters of the men and women who, in their combined influence, have given form to the culture of their times.

The convention that I am trying to delineate, and its limitations, are well illustrated by the only modern work which sets out to deal in a more or less general fashion with eighteenth century education, Professor Hans' New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century.[I] Later in the present chapter I shall discuss this book in some detail. Here it will be sufficient to point out that the author is, as his title implies, concerned with change in education (in the direction of non-classical academic instruction in fact) rather than with prevailing scholastic norms, and that the great weight of his interest is in the innovatory roles of a few schools and colleges. Thus, while he has certainly picked out indications of the way in which formal education was evolving in Georgian times and also therefore, as it happens, some of the causes that would operate in nineteenth century life, what he has not done is to say much to account for the remarkable social changes that took place in the late eighteenth century and which marked a transitional phase in the industrial and political development of the modern world.

In the present survey I have, then, in a limited field, attempted to follow an alternative approach, to search deliberately for those influences which, acting upon children, were to become, indirectly,

[I] Hans, 1951.

I have not included within this category Brauer, 1959, which is overtly concerned not so much with education as it actually took place but rather with the theories of educationists. Indeed in a much less explicit fashion a great deal of comment on the Georgian schools and colleges in the general histories is based on polemical rather than factual sources.

principal causes in the society of late eighteenth century adults. This has involved a concern not so much with the avant-garde in education, which at any time affects usually only a small part of the population, as with modes of upbringing which had been popular for well over a century. Two aspects especially of the life of the period appeared to hold promise for the sort of study which I had in mind, those of industry and politics. For both were facets of the national culture which showed signs of outstanding vigour and both, in addition, were of importance in a context considerably wider than that of British history. In each, also, the characteristic activities involved required an element of 'touch' and it therefore seemed likely that the educational investigation would need to give weight to other areas of upbringing than the formal and institutional. This latter, in a sense, represented the personal inclinations of a researcher who suspected that in educational writing an undue emphasis is placed frequently upon schooling.

Having chosen the particular aspects of Georgian life to be related to educational methods, it seemed reasonable to pick out as specific subjects for study the men and women whose contributions in these sectors appear to have been greatest, the members of the industrial and political elites of the time. For the industrialists displayed to an outstanding degree the enterprise which is usually considered vital to the efficient functioning of a market economy, helping to set in motion the world's first industrial revolution, while the politicians showed to a far greater extent than other political elites of Western Europe abilities and attitudes which assisted the evolution of parliamentary government towards modern democratic forms.[I]

[I] There was, I shall argue later, a close connection between these superficially isolated developments.

Each of the elite groups were, it will become apparent, drawn from quite different class cultures, the industrial entrepreneurs having emerged from amongst the artisans and, to a lesser degree, the small traders, while the politicians were strongly associated with the aristocracy and upper gentry. This almost complete separation of industrial and political vocation between two sets of men with very different and narrowly defined social backgrounds is clearly of some interest to a student of education and is one of the major themes of this research.

It is true, I think, that as far as industrial enterprise is concerned neither the fact nor its educational implications are generally accepted. In most modern accounts of the industrial revolution the social origins of manufacturers are confused by a tendency to treat as similar what are in practice four quite different forms of business activity:

a) commercial undertakings[I];

b) investment in industry without involvement in detailed management;

c) industrial activity in a monopoly situation where, even with fairly inefficient management, a business will often prosper, as for example the exploitation of mines or the building of canals on privately owned estates;

d) the supervision of an industrial concern producing goods for a more or less open and competitive market.

It is not perhaps extravagant to claim that it was men engaged in this last category of enterprise, or rather those that did so successfully, who were the principal and direct instigators of the industrial revolution. This is not of course to minimise the role of capital or of those impersonal factors

[I] The distinction between commerce and industry, though not especially subtle, is frequently glossed over. In this thesis, which is primarily concerned with industry, it is most important.

influencing industrialisation, such as demographic change or per capita income, which have received so much attention from economic historians. Rather it is to emphasize that a successful industrial undertaking requires at some stage an overt and conscious decision to go ahead by a man who has suitable knowledge and abilities and the further participation of such a person in the minutiae of control. Now it will emerge from this research that successful entrepreneurs, understood in this limited sense, were brought up within the cultures of neither the aristocracy and upper gentry nor that of the merchants (in its modern meaning of men engaged in large scale buying and selling), though to both of these social groups there has commonly been attributed a major influence in the new industrial developments.[I] Rather they were, as I have said, overwhelmingly associated, either by birth or training, with the classes of artisans and small traders.

[I] G. E. Mingay, (in Mingay, 1963) for example, assigns to the upper classes a key part in the industrial revolution by ascribing as great a significance to investment in another person's ideas and efforts, or to exploitation of a monopolistic situation, as he does to genuinely creative and competitive enterprise. Thus he holds (p.189) that the landlords' "part in industrial development ... although of equal importance (to their agricultural activity) has received less notice ... the willingness of landowners to encourage enterprise and provide even small quantities of capital for risky investment was of the greatest significance" and (p.201) "... some landlords were among the leading entrepreneurs of the later eighteenth century", though both of these assertions are moderated to a degree by the addendum (p.201) that "... it was perhaps their attitude towards economic development that was of greater significance than their own direct efforts; certainly they fanned the flame of enterprise and innovation ..."

It is possible to quarrel with the content as well as with the emphasis of these claims for I have been unable to discover a single instance in what are generally regarded as the great growth industries of the period, iron and cotton, of an indisputable English gentleman who was the originator of a successful business ('successful' here being of crucial importance). And very few also are the examples even of investment by the aristocracy and upper gentry in these industries. Further the inspirational contribution of the upper classes appears to be overstated too, though it might be said, in a rather negative sense, that they did, to their credit, refrain largely from trampling on the new growth. These matters are taken up again later in this survey.

The educational implications of this narrow and lower class origin of entrepreneurs have both a positive and negative aspect. For it seems that not only were certain kinds of upbringing valuable preliminaries to successful industrial enterprise but also that others, and that of the upper classes especially, were, more or less, a hindrance. This is particularly striking when it is borne in mind that the power and wealth of the aristocracy and upper gentry might seem to have placed them in an enviable position to exploit the industrial opportunities of the age.[1]

This leads to a second matter on which established historical opinion may appear to have been insecurely founded. It is conventional at the present time to play down the notion of the poor boy making good and to direct attention instead to the importance of financial privilege in industrial undertaking. Professor Flinn, for example, in reviewing Dr. Champman's book on the owners of early Midland cotton mills, writes, "Dr. Chapman's study of the origins of these Midland factory masters once again demonstrates the misleading character of the rags-to-riches image of the rare Arkwright species."[2] Now it is important to an understanding of

As for the claims made on behalf of the merchants, we may consider, for instance, the statement made in John, 1950, (p.24) that it was they "who were first attracted (to South Wales)...and who laid the basis of its prosperity." Now in a sense this is perfectly correct; there were a number of wealthy merchants who invested in South Wales. However, as an indication of the social origins of ironmasters, which it may well be taken as establishing, the claim is, in fact, quite misleading. Thus at Merthyr Tydfil, for example, Crawshay was a farmer's son, Thomas Guest was a superior sort of artisan, Richard Hill was the clerk at Plymouth before he took its lease and the father of the brothers Homfray was a Midland forgemaster. Even Anthony Bacon at twenty-two was apparently only a Maryland storekeeper.

[1]Possibly as instructive as the instances of successful manufacturing ventures are those of failure on the part of gentlemanly would-be entrepreneurs. Some of these are discussed later.

[2]Flinn, 1968, p.66.

the present work to insist that Dr. Chapman's analysis, and a number of others in similar vein, do nothing of the kind.[1] The grounds of misinterpretation are, I think, plain. First, Dr. Chapman's tables, though ostensibly dealing with "social origins", refer in truth to something quite different, that is to previous occupation. Jedediah Strutt, for instance, a key figure in the metamorphosis of the cotton industry in the last half of the eighteenth century, must be included under the heading 'hosier', whereas he was in fact the son of a farmer, served an apprenticeship as a millwright and was almost thirty before entering the hosiery trade. Secondly, there is no attempt to distinguish between 'sleeping' partners and those who were the principal directors of an enterprise. This is unfortunate since moneyed men had for centuries been prepared to invest in sound business propositions; what was new, one suspects, in the eighteenth century was a profusion of capable organisers (as well as a social climate which encouraged them). Finally Dr. Chapman's method does not differentiate between the successful and unsuccessful entrepreneur. Such a distinction is of course often very difficult to make but without it any search for the 'human' determinants of industrial growth is surely bound to be unsatisfactory.[2]

[1] I would not wish it to be thought that my strictures here reflect any lack of admiration for Dr. Chapman's very considerable contribution to textile history.

[2] A number of modern studies of industrial management are similarly bedevilled by an apparent unwillingness on the parts of their authors to discriminate between (i) the principal driving force behind a business and his senior management or more loosely attached directors, and (ii) the successful and unsuccessful undertaking. The problems involved in making such distinctions are formidable but not, I think, insuperable.

Examples of the sort of approach to which I am referring are Professor Pollard's, in many respects very perceptive, Genesis of Modern Management, 1965, and Charlotte Erikson's statistically impressive British Industrialists, Steel and Hosiery, 1850-1950, 1959.

In the present study I have attempted to reduce this blurring of categories and to focus attention on the men who, in the cotton and iron industries at least, were the real protagonists of late eighteenth century growth. It will become clear, I think, that the tradition of the poor boy making good can be dismissed by no means as lightly as the prevailing consensus might lead us to believe. Indeed it will turn out that roughly a half of the active and successful entrepreneurs of the period must have risen initially by their abilities and not through influence or inherited wealth. This is, of course, of some interest to the educationist; for any diminution of the part that may be ascribed to family and financial privilege in determining industrial success increases by implication the role played by upbringing.

A principal aim of this survey is, then, to establish some of the relationships between an eighteenth century upbringing and rapid industrial development. We shall find that fairly strong correlations do exist; that the entrepreneur had emerged usually from a narrow range of lower class backgrounds; that the training and imaginative stimulus provided by this early experience provided an apt preparation for his career; and that, in contrast to a suitable upbringing, inherited privileges of rank and wealth appear to have been of very limited benefit. In seeking to identify the social determinants of manufacturing enterprise, rather than the functions of capital, national income, markets, transport and similar impersonal factors, we shall, it is true, be moving from the mainstream of modern industrial revolution studies, but it might be claimed that there has been a disproportionate attention given to the more 'objective' explanations of economic growth and that the parts played by character and preparation have been correspondingly neglected. The point has been made recently by

Professor Campbell. Writing on the industrialisation of Scotland he suggests that "Without some account of the ability of a social group to exploit new opportunities, any explanation of the Industrial Revolution remains mechanistic. The historian is more helpless than when trying to explain strictly economic affairs - partly because human motivation is less rational in such fields, partly too because sociological theory is much less able to indicate guiding lines for study. Though these are difficulties, the main fault is that the approach has never been tried."[1] Thus any theory that is concerned with the industrial changes of the reign of George III, if it is to have any claim to be comprehensive, must attempt to deal directly with the question of why certain men were able to respond so successfully to the favourable economic conditions that have been so lucidly delineated by modern scholarship. The contention gains in edge when it is borne in mind that in other European countries what appear to have been similar opportunities were not grasped.[2]

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Where the upbringing of the upper classes may have done little directly to encourage industrial development, it may be argued that it

[1] Campbell, 1967, p.50.

[2] For example, Wadsworth and Mann, writing of Kay's fly-shuttle, point out that "In England Kay met with jealousy and dislike, but the weavers, after a good deal of preliminary grumbling, pirated his invention. In France he was patronised by the government and given every facility for popularising the fly-shuttle, but its use died out within one generation." (Wadsworth and Mann, 1931, p.465).

William Wilkinson, who established the coke-iron industry in France, was perhaps approaching the same problem when he suggested that "Whenever Frenchmen relinquish their fiddling and dancing and cultivate the art of iron-making, & c., England will tremble." (Dickinson, 1914, p.50 .)

operated very successfully to promote confidence in parliamentary government and to prepare the way for its development towards more democratic forms. For it was from among these classes, and especially from their top echelon, the aristocracy, that the most influential politicians were drawn. Observing now from a society embracing fairly happily an adaptation of the same parliamentary system, and a system moreover which has taken a seminal role in the growth of world-wide political attitudes and institutions, we may feel that the upbringing of the eighteenth century British nobility is of more than parochial interest. In the second part of this thesis, by considering in detail the early lives of senior ministers of the last quarter of the century I shall try to provide one kind of explanation of the behaviour and style of what was, then, in the context of modern political developments, a most influential body of men. In the course of discussion it will turn out that a number of oft repeated opinions concerning eighteenth century upper class education are fairly wide of the mark. In particular it will appear that the popular theory of the decadence of the great public schools and the universities, and their low popularity among the nobility, has very little foundation in fact, an example, indeed of that generalisation from limited contemporary opinion which in the study of education has not infrequently been passed uncorroborated from text to text.

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It may be asked, of course, why, if the separation of political and industrial dynamic was as strongly determined by class and by class upbringing as I have suggested, these two topics have been united in one investigation. There are, I think, two answers. First, it is a primary

duty of the student of social history to try to identify and explain discontinuities and shifts in the cultural equilibrium of societies. In the late eighteenth century it is possible to discern in Great Britain the first major indications of the rise of a new and influential elite which was for a short period to exist as a parallel source of power to the aristocracy and gentry before becoming, in the following century, largely assimilated into the old establishment. The temporary emergence of this new elite, its initial independence from the humanist tradition of the nobility (and indeed of much of the merchant class[I]) and the subsequent interpenetation of the two groups, once more within a humanist ethos, is a social process not only of considerable intrinsic fascination but also of great importance in the development of that industrial climate in which we now find ourselves. In the present study I have tried to assemble some of the evidence for the existence of this parallel development and to explain the cultural differences involved, and the separation of functions, in terms of differing patterns of upbringing. The cultural convergence that took place in the following era and its implications for economic growth I shall consider in a concluding chapter though this latter discussion must necessarily be tentative in the absence of any thorough, quantitative survey of the origins and life styles of nineteenth century industrial entrepreneurs.

The second purpose of uniting the investigation of both Georgian élites in one educational study may appear paradoxical. It is to emphasise that,

[I] Since the time of the early Tudors, certainly, it had been common for younger sons of landowning families to be apprenticed to commerce; there was, in fact, little profoundly ingrained repugnance to trade among the British upper classes (as there was, for instance, within the French nobility). Thus the merchant class was heavily infiltrated with gentlemanly culture. A humanist influence was also exercised by the grammar schools at which the sons of merchants were often educated.

despite the division of political and industrial function by class, upper class methods of upbringing did in an indirect fashion contribute materially to the nation's industrial drive. For we shall see that members of the British aristocracy, particularly since the revolution of 1688, had been brought up to believe strongly in the value of political and social freedom and it was a consequence of this belief that men from lowlier backgrounds who had the ability and desire to manufacture were permitted by and large to follow their inclinations.[1] Such an attitude within a nobility was unprecedented and it had, I shall claim, a substantial effect in encouraging the world's first industrial revolution. The separation of industry and the gentlemanly educated had ceased, however, by the middle of the next century and this may not be unconnected with the protracted (and continuing) decline of British industrial vigour that had by this time begun. For, though examples in the present survey suggest strongly that men brought up as gentlemen were unsuited to manufacture in competition with the Arkwrights, Peels and Crawshays, they were nonetheless, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, recruited increasingly into the upper management of major industrial concerns.[2] Moreover, men with this same background were provided by the growth of government administrative agencies

[1] In refraining from direct involvement in industry the members of the political class were, as we shall see, both reflecting inculcated notions of what was gentlemanly conduct and also, in the cases of certain politicians such as the younger Pitt, Shelburne and W. W. Grenville, following deliberately the principles of Adam Smith and the Abbe Morellet. Where the prospect of great gain did persuade a few gentlemen to indulge in competitive manufacturing they were, as will become apparent, almost invariably incompetent and therefore could hardly be said to have been influential in the growth of industry.

[2] I shall return to this matter later but it may make the present discussion clearer if I point out that I am referring to the evidence in Erickson, 1959.

with greater and greater scope to intervene in the direction of manufacturing industry. These are matters, however, to which I shall return later.

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Very soon after the beginning of the detailed survey of the early lives of politicians, it became apparent that an excellent, though unplanned, opportunity was presented to throw some light on the relationship between education and a third area of late eighteenth culture which showed marks of unusual brilliance, the involvement of the upper classes in the pursuit of liberal knowledge. For the ministers of state who were the subjects of enquiry were, by and large, recruited from the highest reaches of Georgian society and the analysis of their political upbringing could therefore provide, with little extra reading, insight into the ways in which qualities of intellectual and aesthetic discernment were developed in young aristocrats of the time. Indeed, since these men were to become the paradigms for their age, setting the tone in fashionable society at large, a study of their initiation into liberal forms of knowledge would be of more significance in helping to account for the ethos of their circle than would a similar investigation of a more randomly selected group of noblemen. This, then, as rather an afterthought, was made a third main theme for research.

I do not at this stage wish to become involved in supporting the proposition that liberality of mind was commonly to be encountered among members of the late eighteenth century aristocracy; if the reader has serious doubts on the matter, they will, I hope, be dispersed by the end of this thesis. Nor do I wish to become embroiled in either a philosophical

analysis of how the term 'liberal knowledge' is used at the present time or a detailed attempt, with many examples, to show how it was used during the reign of George III. Then as now there was no precise and uniform understanding of the expression. But there was, nevertheless, sufficient of a stable and socially relevant core of meaning for it to be used in everyday discourse. There pervaded the concept of liberal knowledge at this time a savour of modernity, an indication of a mind not closed to new ideas, which blended with the more obvious sense of knowledge fit for a gentleman. A man of liberal understanding would not only have wide interests in the fine arts, classical literature, history, languages, mathematics, politics, law and theology, he would also show very likely some grasp of modern literature, natural science, estate management and the state of commerce.[1] The list is illustrative rather than exhaustive and no-one, of course, would have been expected to exhibit all of these components; it represented an idea rather than a possible reality and to it real men and women could hope only to match themselves to varying extents.[2] In some circles, such as the Lunar

[1]Professor Bantock has pointed out (Bantock, 1968, p.137) that there clung also to 'liberal knowledge' a flavour of insouciance, of effortlessness, which may in part have indicated the gentleman's recognition of the limited value of classified and classifiable knowledge. It represented in a sense his class's understanding that there are levels of belief and feeling which are simply not accessible to the cognitions of the determined rationalist. In assuming an air of carelessness, then, the gentleman may have been demonstrating at an empathic level to those he met his doubts about the worth of their intellectual preoccupations. (This, presumably, is why the modern equivalent behaviour, the public school manner, described often as condescending, can seem so irritating).

While it is possible to accept the drift of Professor Bantock's suggestions, it is necessary to insist that many of the aristocratic politicians of the late eighteenth century were, as we shall see, deeply interested in scholarly matters and evidence will be presented to show that some parents of very high rank would have been delighted to believe their sons were destined to be men of profound learning.

[2]Similarly, as T. S. Eliot has indicated (Eliot, 1965, p.68), no one person can ever hope to show all the qualities implied at the present time by the description, 'an educated man'.

Society or that of which Lord Shelburne was patron, comprising men like Priestley, Price, Franklin and the Abbe Morellet, the more radical ingredients may even have come to justify the epithet 'liberal' more than the old. Certainly in Georgian Britain there remained very little of the rigid association of the word with the trivium and quadrivium that had so dominated the mediaeval 'schools' and which still powerfully influenced education in France, subject as it was to the strong control of the Church.[1]

It is not uncommon, of course, to encounter a notion of what constituted an eighteenth century gentleman quite different from anything suggested nowadays by the description 'liberal'. In its popular form this interpretation derives principally, one suspects, from Fielding's splendid portrayal of the rustic ignoramus, Squire Western, in Tom Jones and gains some support from the well-known coarseness of manner and intellect displayed by Sir Robert Walpole during the long years of his political ascendancy.[2] The gentleman is seen here as a brute and a philistine rather than the exponent of the values of high civilisation. In fact the paradox presented by this alternative version exists largely in the mind of the modern observer. The characteristics exhibited in the archetypal figures of Western and Walpole were indeed to be found widely and conspicuously spread throughout both the gentry and aristocracy of the Georgian period but such qualities by no means excluded the virtues that were associated at the time with a liberal education and outlook. Indeed a combination of refinement and earthiness (which for the products of our more selfconscious and

[1] A Church holding in high esteem an essentially illiberal training in scholastic theology.

[2] He was said, for instance, to have opened his country mail before his country's to, and probably for, the delight of the more cloddish and provincial M.P.s.

ordered society is so hard to conceive) was in more robust times common among men of high birth. In the second part of this survey I have drawn attention to this apparent ambivalence of sensibility in the early lives of a number of noble politicians, particularly as it occurs in their responses to school and to foreign travel.

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To summarise, then, this research represents an attempt to analyse the effect of upbringing in helping to determine the characters and achievements of two powerful social groups in late eighteenth century Britain, the industrial entrepreneurs and the leading politicians, and as a secondary project, deriving largely from reading required for the study of political upbringings, there has been included also a survey of some of the principal influences in the liberal education of aristocrats of the period.

The sampling procedure, which will be explained more fully later, is briefly as follows:

(a) as industrialists have been listed all men who were engaged during the years 1775 to 1800 in the day-to-day management of a successful, large manufacturing business in the key growth sectors of the industrial revolution, cotton and iron, and about whom information on upbringing has been found to be available,

and (b) as members of the political elite have been selected all holders of high government office during the years 1775 to 1800. The handful of influential politicians, such as Lord Mansfield, Burke, Dunning and Rigby, who, because of the definition of 'high office' adopted, do not appear in

this list are unavoidable losses in the attempt to use objective criteria for selection. If an exception were made for, say, Burke as the theoretician of the Rockingham Whigs, could it not be made more convincingly for Robinson who was for many years Secretary to the Treasury and had some contact with the king? The gradations of power are many and subtle and it has therefore seemed most sensible to adhere to the clear cut condition for inclusion that the man concerned had served in one of the great offices of state.

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As a postscript to this introduction it may be helpful to consider in some detail Hans' New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century[1] which as the only published text dealing exclusively and generally with education in the period is indisputably a key work.

Hans' investigation consisted of two parts: a statistical analysis of the academic training received by eminent men of the eighteenth century and a description of some of the ways in which the growing prestige of science and commerce[2] was reflected in education. It would not be uncharitable to say, I think, that the second of these has been carried out a great deal more successfully than the first. As a store of information, previously not easily accessible, on schools, curricula and tutors, New Trends is most valuable. It is also convincing in its support

[1] Hans, 1951.

[2] Not, it may be worth emphasizing, industry.

of Hans' two major theses, first that educational institutions were established or were adapted to meet the new demands of science and commerce and secondly that social mobility was high during the eighteenth century and was encouraged to a degree by the schools of the period (situations both of which were to change in the following century as educational channels separated into classical for the upper classes and technical for the lower, and as the growth of urban estates removed children from the cultural and educational advantages of the village).

In its statistics, however, New Trends is very far from satisfactory. There occur in the Dictionary of National Biography some 5,500 names from the eighteenth century. These Hans has taken to be a representative sample from the "intellectual elite" of the period. Thus at the outset he introduces a serious distortion into his analysis. For the editor of the D.N.B., Leslie Stephen, encouraged possibly by his own literary inclinations, had produced, presumably unintentionally, a work concentrating largely on the arts, politics and the professions and biased strongly against industry and, to a lesser extent, science.[I] Thus the men, for example, who established the great iron industry of South Wales, transforming in the process a whole way of life, Bacon, Guest, the Homfrays, Crawshay and Hill, are omitted while there exist a host of entries for obscure writers and second rank divines.

Next Hans discarded 2,000 of the 5,500 entries relating to men and women "who received their training exclusively through experience in their

[I] Hans is perfectly aware of the unbalanced nature of his sample for he states (p.17) that "The great majority were members of the four learned professions".

vocations". These he has not chosen to include since "as we are mostly concerned with schools and schoolmasters, we have had to limit the scope of our book."[1]

> Thus all sailors, soldiers, surgeons, architects, musicians, painters and craftsmen, who did not attend any school and became famous through practical application of their natural talents alone, are excluded, because in their cases their eminence was the result of special inborn ability for some particular vocation.[2]

Here then lies a second serious and deliberate statistical distortion stemming from two very questionnable premises: first that a fair quantitative impression of eighteenth century education can be given when educational methods other than those practised in schools are ignored, and, closely allied, that men who did not attend school were only able to achieve distinction because of "a special inborn ability". All post-natal influences which do not occur in schools are in Hans' view, it seems, to be rejected as educationally inconsequential.

There is yet a third way in which the statistical method of New Trends provides a misleading impression of Georgian education. Contributors to the D.N.B. often do not appear to have known, or did not feel it worthwhile mentioning, or indeed even gave incorrectly, the schools which their subjects attended. After all, when describing the life of a famous man,

[1] P.16. Indeed it turns out later that data on social origins was not available for a further 629 men. Extraordinarily, in what is probably the most important table in New Trends, 129 of these are arbitrarily included "simply to make up the 3,000 cases for easier calculations" (pp. 25-7).

[2] Ibid..

the principal interest must lie usually in the period of his eminence and not in the comparative dullness of youth. Thus, there occurs, for instance, against the name of Matthew Boulton, the Birmingham manufacturer, no mention of education though he was in fact perfectly literate, having attended a private school in Birmingham. Again either no schools or the wrong ones are given for no less than eight out of the forty-seven ministers who are included in the present survey. We find, for example, the Duke of Portland's school listed as Eton when it should be Westminster. A more blatant instance of carelessness occurs in the entry for Richard Fitzpatrick who was, we are told, educated at Westminster "where he became an intimate friendof Charles James Fox" whereas the truth is that Fox attended Eton and clearly never met Fitzpatrick at school. In short as a source for educational reference the Dictionary of National Biography is far from reliable.

From a statistical point of view, then, the apparently precise analysis of educational experience offered in New Trends, subject as it is to three major distorting influences, must be treated with considerable reservation. In the particular areas where the research described here overlaps with that of Hans rather different impressions emerge from the two sets of figures. Thus where something like sixty per cent of the sons of peers are shown by Hans to have attended public schools,[1] roughly half having been pupils at Eton and Westminster,[2] it appears from the results of the present survey, restricted admittedly to politicians active in the last quarter of the century, that about eighty-four per cent. of those who were the sons of peers attended classical boarding schools, seventy-six per cent. having

[1] Pp. 27-8.

[2] P. 29.

been sent to Eton and Estminster.[1] This divergence might seem to be explicable on the grounds that different groups of men are being considered. However in a control survey of the highest ranking English peers it has turned out that eighty-three per cent. had been pupils at the great public schools, seventy per cent. at Eton and Westminster.[2] Thus the results for politicians are in fact very little different from those for the greater nobility. Besides, since it seems reasonable to suppose that the influence of politicians on aristocratic culture was disproportionately high in relation to their numbers, the roles of Eton and Westminster in upper class life may well have loomed larger than Hans' work would suggest.

That there was a marked agreement among titled families about the best modes of educating their children is also suggested by the rather higher university attendance figures collected in this thesis compared with those in New Trends. There, the proportion of the sons of peers who attended Oxford or Cambridge is given as about two thirds but from the study of late eighteenth century ministers described here the surprisingly high estimate of ninety-two per cent. emerges.[3] Again it should be emphasized that we are concerned with men who were within their milieu extremely influential and that the remarkable homogeneity of their formal educations therefore hints at a homogeneity within Georgian upper class culture to which Hans' analysis, and indeed the judgement of most educational historians, has by no means done justice.

[1] Of thirty-eight ministers of state who were the sons of peers, twenty-nine were pupils at Eton or Westminster and thirty-two at classical boarding schools.

[2] See appendix B.

[3] Of thirty-eight ministers who were the sons of peers, thirty-five attended Oxford or Cambridge.

In those statistical matters, then, where New Trends might have been expected to shed some light on the problems with which the present research is concerned, its value has turned out to be limited, both because of the nature of the Dictionary of National Biography on which it is based and because of the sampling procedures that are employed. If, however, the statistical analysis is misleading to a degree, the interpretation of the figures that are derived is at times open to far more serious criticism. There occur, for example, on page twenty-nine a series of inaccurate and tendentious statements about Eton and Westminster.

> The eminent position of these schools is due to their social prestige and not to their educational excellence ... The more discerning of the titled aristocracy and gentry preferred private tutors for their boys just because they did not trust these schools. The most outstanding sons of peers, included in the D.N.B., were not educated at Eton but either at home or in private schools, like the famous scientists Henry Cavendish and Delaval.

There are in this brief extract, as I understand it, four distinct instances of quite unsubstantiated opinion. First, the imputation that Eton and Westminster were educationally unsound reflects a considerable misunderstanding of the importance of the school within a total upper class upbringing. For in the minds of Georgian parents the public schools were not at all expected to carry out all of that complex conditioning process that came to be required of them in the following two centuries. What they were principally expected to do, and what they did in fact quite efficiently, was to encourage a sound classical knowledge with some associated literary and rhetorical skills and to provide an opportunity for pupils to mix with one another, matters which will be discussed in some detail in later chapters.

Secondly, in the absence of any argument in its support, the ascription of "more discerning" to parents who did not patronise the public schools can, I thing, be quickly dismissed as mere prejudice. Third, Hans' recognition of those who were "the most outstanding" sons of peers appears to imply the existence of some unpublished ranking list which demonstrates clearly that Pitt and Fox, say, were less outstanding than Delaval (Delaval?) and perhaps that in general scientists were "more outstanding" than politicians. And finally the choice of Henry Cavendish as an instrument with which to belabour the products of the public schools is so inapposite as to have reached the level of unconscious irony. For it is doubtful if any nobleman in the whole of the eighteenth century so lacked that very social sense which it was a function of the public schools to instill.

These four examples of seriously misleading commentary in New Trends arise, I suspect, from a fundamental narrowness in the rationale that has inspired the book. I have touched on the subject earlier. If a writer is half convinced that what is new in education is what is most interesting, and, but a short step on, that what is new is what is most worthwhile, then the possibility of a reasonably objective criticism of the relationship between society and education is substantially diminished. For by the time social change produces change in education, the time will have passed when education encouraged the social change. Moreover, by placing an excessive valuation on the novel at the expense of the traditional a great deal that is valuable in education will almost certainly be disregarded. Into these pits I am inclined to think Hans has frequently fallen and because of this, and because of a dubious statistical method, what was intended to be a work of weighty judgement is merely a good text for reference.

CHAPTER II

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN THE COTTON AND IRON INDUSTRIES

A thesis on education is not the place for an economic history of the industrial revolution, nor in fact is the author qualified to attempt such a task. However, in this study of the relationship between the early influences upon entrepreneurs and their later careers, it may be helpful to give a brief account of the general background of industrial change against which the subjects of the later biographical notices operated.

THE COTTON INDUSTRY[I]

By the middle of the eighteenth century there were firmly established on both sides, and to the south, of the Pennines and in the Scottish Lowlands around Paisley and Glasgow thriving textile industries showing well-developed features of modern capitalistic organisation. Though simplified it is roughly true to say that already a division of production existed between these four regions which was to be maintained during the industrial upheaval just about to begin. In Yorkshire, Britain's principal export, woollen cloth, was manufactured; Lancashire and North Cheshire specialised in the rising cotton trade, though demand was largely limited by an act of 1721 to cotton-linen mixtures such as fustians and

[I] The account that follows is based largely on Wadsworth and Mann, 1931; Daniels, 1920; Edwards, 1967; Chapman, The Cotton Industry in the Industrial Revolution, 1972; Aspin and Chapman, 1964.

checks[1]; in Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire and Derbyshire hosiery was knitted, mainly from cotton thread; while in Scotland, highly skilled weavers produced fine quality checks and linens, and, from about 1780, muslins.[2] In addition there was manufactured in each of these areas, linen, a fabric made entirely of spun flax.

Except for the hosiery and the silk industries of the North Midlands, where a number of small workshops and the larger silk-throwing mills of the Lombe brothers and their imitators were early indicators of change, the fundamental processes of carding,[3] roving,[4] spinning, weaving and knitting were carried out in the cottages and houses of the workers, though the ancillary operations of bleaching, dyeing and fulling were usually conducted on a larger scale. Within the textile counties there were probably few working class homes, or farms belonging to the lesser and middling yeomen, in which the spasmodic and often meagre income gained by work on the land was not supplemented with wages earned by men, women and children as part-time spinners and weavers. Indeed in many cases these

[1]Fustians were woven with a linen warp and a cotton weft; the precise composition of checks, which were lighter in weight than fustians, is obscure.

The 1721 Act, forced through Parliament by the powerful wool manufacturers' and merchants' lobby, prohibited the wearing of calicoes, that is pure cotton cloths, within the United Kingdom. In the early part of the century the popularity of calicoes had been increasing rapidly.

[2]Muslin, a diaphanous and expensive fabric of finely spun Bengal thread, was specifically excluded from the proscriptions of the Act of 1721.

[3]The combing of raw cotton (or cotton-wool) to bring the strands parallel to each other.

[4]The drawing of carded cotton into cords as a preliminary to spinning.

activities had become, by the mid century, the main occupations of the households.[I] William Radcliffe, a substantial manufacturer and one of the developers of power weaving, who was born in 1761 and grew up on a farm not far from Stockport, writes in his 'Origin of Power-Loom Weaving', '...my father resorted to the common but never-failing resource for subsistence at that period, viz - the loom for men, and the cards and hand-wheel for women and boys. He married a spinster (in my etymology of the word) and my mother taught me (while too young to weave) to earn

[I] Local history studies based on probate inventories and parish registers are still rare for the textile counties. However some idea of the very high proportion of families in a district that might be exmployed in the cottage spinning and weaving industries is provided in Wild's account of Saddleworth, a Pennine parish lying above Rochdale (Wild, 1969, p.222). Thus in the years 1722-6, 279 out of 369 fathers whose names occur in the baptism registers are listed as textile workers of some sort, that is 75 per cent., and for 1760-4 the number had risen to 560 out of 638, or almost 90 per cent. Admittedly Saddleworth was associated with the woollen and worsted trade of Yorkshire but it would not be surprising to find a similar uniformity of employment in many of the thriving fustian manufacturing communities of Lancashire and North Cheshire.

Another indication of the high incidence of the domestic textile industry in a wool district is available for the Forest of Knaresborough, though for a much earlier period. Here more than half of the wills and probate inventories of the years 1611-40 included fibre, yarn or textile equipment (Jennings, 1967, p.171). This gives, in fact, only a lower estimate of the widespread nature of the crafts since some machinery and materials would have been handed on before the owners' deaths. Moreover, members of the poorest classes, who would have been most likely, perhaps, to augment their incomes by spinning and weaving, were the least likely to have had inventories made of their effects. With the further considerable growth in the textile trade that took place during the succeeding century it is not unlikely that the density of employment in the cottage industries would have become at least as high as for Saddleworth.

Wadsworth and Mann have also provided evidence of the considerable dependence of the Lancashire working class population on income from domestic cotton trade. Thus in 1740 one manufacturer is known to have employed 5,000 spinners and in 1751 a census of weaving looms in Manchester parish revealed a grand total of 4,674 (Wadsworth and Mann, 1931, pp.274, 326.

my bread by carding and spinning cotton, winding linen or cotton weft for my father and elder brothers at the loom, until I became of sufficient age and strength for my father to put me into a loom.'[1]

By a 'manufacturer' Radcliffe meant an employer of domestic workers. In fact such an employer, depending on the size of his business, could be called a 'chapman', 'manufacturer' or 'merchant'.[2] Of these, the latter two would certainly have warehouses, either in local trading centres such as Bolton or Blackburn, or in the great merchanting towns, Manchester, Leeds and Glasgow. The chapman, less likely to own a warehouse, might sell in small quantities to more substantial men the yarn or cloth which had been made from wool, flax or cotton that he had 'put out' to cottage workers. Within this system the spinners and weavers might either buy their raw materials and sell their produce, or be employed, and paid on a piece work basis, by a merchant or middleman. In both cases, depending on demand, it was sometimes necessary for the worker to fetch and deliver for himself while at other times or in other places carriage of goods to and from his home was arranged for him.

Except in times of depression the main burden of providing credit seems to have lain with the larger merchants. Thus merchants operating through Manchester were often expected to allow manufacturers six months' credit on purchases of cotton-wool or yarn and three or four months' to buyers of their cloth. In their turn the manufacturers would commonly be

[1] Radcliffe, 1828, pp. 9-10.

[2] There is an ambiguity about the term 'merchant' at this time. It might refer only to a wholesale dealer in raw cotton, yarns and cloths or it could include men who combined with these functions the employment of outworkers. In the Manchester directory of 1772 there occur 4 cotton merchants, 15 yarn merchants, 3 cotton and yarn merchants and 5 who both dealt in materials and fabrics and also engaged in the manufacture of checks, fustians or thread (Wadsworth and Mann, 1931, p. 234).

required, particularly at times of accelerating demand, to allow generous credit terms to their domestic employees or customers, though barter also played a large part in the transactions between manufacturer and spinner or weaver. It was a measure of the longstanding prosperity of the textile trades that by the mid eighteenth century men sufficiently wealthy to service this considerable credit structure appear to have been in good supply.[1]

By the 1760s, then, conditions in the northern textile industries were in a number of critical respects favourable to the revolution that was to come; large markets in Britain, especially London, and abroad, supplied through a sophisticated commercial network, were already open, and these markets were 'elastic', that is sales were likely to grow rapidly in response to price cuts; an elaborate and extensive manufacturing system existed which was sensitive to changes in demand; and finally men with capital and an experienced eye for business opportunities, who were, for the period, comparatively untroubled by legal monopolies, trading restrictions and craft laws, waited eagerly for new commercial openings. At this stage it required, first, technical innovation and, secondly, men able to translate invention into industry, to precipitate the discontinuity in, and subsequent high level of, industrial growth which is called the industrial revolution and which took place in the cotton trade roughly during the last thirty years of the eighteenth century.

There were perhaps five inventions that were the principal determinants of change in the cotton industry:[2]

[1] When the House of Touchet of London and Manchester failed in 1763 liabilities were £309,000 (Wadsworth and Mann, 1931, p. 247). In 1782 William Denison, a Leeds merchant, died "worth half-a-million of money..." (Taylor, 1865, p. 181).

[2] I have excluded the development of the power loom which, though belonging in spirit to the period under consideration, was largely carried out in the following century and is therefore outside the scope of the present study.

I) Kay's 'flying-' or 'fly-shuttle', patented in 1733 and widely adopted by the 1750s, which allowed one weaver to do work which had previously required two;

2) Hargreaves' 'spinning jenny' dating from about 1764 which permitted a single operator, who had, until then, been constrained to producing a single thread, to spin many at the same time.[I] However the thread resulting was too soft for warp and was therefore used as weft in conjunction with linen warp in the manufacture of fustians, or, a few years later, with cotton warp spun on Arkwright's water frame. The latter was unsuitable for use as weft;

The invention was patented in 1770 but Hargreaves seems to have been incapable of defending his monopoly and within a few years jennies became common throughout the northern counties including the wool spinning areas of the West Riding;

3) Arkwright's invention of 'spinning by rollers',[2] otherwise known as the 'water frame', for which he was granted a patent in 1769 and which he resolutely protected from 'pirates' until its expiry in 1783. Whereas the jenny, since it was turned by hand, could be used either by individual spinners in their own homes or in workshops and factories, the water frame required the greater power of a horse gin or water wheel and was consequently used only in large and expensive establishments;

4) Arkwright's development of the previously invented carding machines by the addition of a 'comb' to 'doff' cotton from the cards so that a continuous power driven process became possible. The patent of 1775 was declared invalid in 1781;

[I] More than one hundred by the mid seventies.

[2] There is now little doubt that Arkwright, though making use of other men's ideas, was instrumental in making the crucial refinements which made the method of industrial value.

5) Crompton's 'mule' (a cross between a jenny and a water frame) which was completed in 1779. This was a far more versatile, though also more complex and expensive, machine than either of its parents. Very high 'counts', that is fine threads, could be spun of the sort that had previously been within the powers of only the Bengal craftsmen and which therefore enabled weavers, particularly in Scotland, to produce at low cost muslins for which there had long been a strong demand among women of fashion. Further the mule was able to spin both weft and warp. Within a decade it was rapidly superseding the water frame for most purposes except the spinning of coarse warp, though the jenny which was cheap and which, unlike the mule, was always hand operated, while suffering a partial decline, nevertheless was used throughout the next century.

These five devices represented in fact only a fraction of the attempts, successful and otherwise, to improve and extend the performance of textile machinery. And each new machine that became accepted was made in its turn a focus for further modification so that by the last decade of the century the snowball of innovation gathering upon innovation, of success stimulating more experiments, reached such a pitch that only those entrepreneurs who were capable of, and willing to, keep up with the latest improvements were able to increase or even maintain their sales in the rapidly expanding markets. The atmosphere of the times, the excitement, is caught by William Radcliffe: 'From the year 1770 to 1788 a complete change had gradually been affected in the spinning of yarns. That of wool had disappeared (in Lancashire and Cheshire) altogether, and that of linen was also nearly gone; cotton, cotton, cotton was become the almost universal material for employment. The hand-wheels were all thrown into lumber-rooms...' and with the advent of the mule 'the old loom-shops being insufficient every lumber

room, even old barns, cart-houses, and out-buildings of any description were repaired, windows broke through old blank walls and all fitted up for loom-shops. This source of making room being at length exhausted, new weavers' cottages with loom-shops rose up in every direction...'[I].

Regional differences in the explosive growth of the cotton trade were intimately related to the high rate of development of textile technology. From their adoption of the fly-shuttle in the fifties the fustian weavers, concentrated most densely around Blackburn, the site of Hargreaves' experiments, were unable, because of their doubled work rate, to obtain sufficient yarn to maintain themselves in full employment. Thus the jenny was more or less assured of a rapid acceptance. At first, admittedly, there were machine breaking riots by spinning wheel owners who, understanding nothing of market 'elasticity', expected to be put out of work by Hargreaves' invention, and because of this the unfortunate inventor, who was not, it would seem, of the stuff of which tycoons are made, was forced in 1768 to flee, settling in Nottingham where, at about the same time, another famous spinning 'projector', Arkwright, furnished with all the entrepreneurial qualities which Hargreaves lacked, was entering into his first partnership. However the turmoil around Blackburn died down and very shortly afterwards domestic spinners and their children, newly equipped with jennies, were earning three times as much as they had using the single thread wheels. In the Peak District too, and throughout the hosiery counties, the 'secret' quickly diffused from Hargreaves small factory into workshops set up to supply thread to the framework knitters, as well as into the farms and cottages of domestic spinners.

[I] Radcliffe, 1828, pp. 61-2. The passage is too long to quote in full but like the writing of another self-made manufacturer of that period, Robert Owen, the plain, enthusiastic prose carries splendidly a flavour of the times.

Because of the essentially large scale nature of a roller spinning works, and also because of Arkwright's tenacious protection of his patent, the use of the water frame spread far more slowly than that of the jenny. Arkwright and his partners set up several establishments on streams flowing off the Southern Pennines, and licencees, who were in a number of cases 'pirates' brought to heel, also built in the same area. Roller spinning was therefore at first largely an occupation of the Midlands. When the mule began to oust the water frame in the late 1780s this marked the beginning of the decline of Midlands cotton spinning, for the industrialists of the region were, on the whole, neither sufficient of mechanics nor sufficiently close to the rapid improvements being made near to the heart of the trade, Manchester, to be able to adapt to the changing circumstances. Lack of water power had been a disadvantage of Manchester from an industrial point of view during the Arkwright era but with the increasing application of Watt's steam engine through the late eighties and the nineties this drawback was being swiftly overcome.

In Scotland, and particularly in the vicinity of Paisley, a widespread weaving industry specialising in the production of high quality checks, muslins from Indian thread and fine cambrics[I] was established well before the large-scale adoption of power spinning. By the late 1770s there were in Glasgow merchants and manufacturers who had become extremely prosperous through their activities as yarn importers, organisers of production and fabric exporters. In 1775 the beginning of the American War of Independence destroyed, almost overnight, the lucrative tobacco trade which, even more than that in textiles, was a source of great merchant wealth. Consequently still more enterprise and capital was diverted towards the growing cloth

[I] A linen fabric.

manufacturing business. During the seventies and eighties English machine spun cotton yarn penetrated the Scottish market to a considerable and increasing extent and it was clearly only a matter of time before the Glasgow and Paisley merchants, with their ready access to substantial capital, built their own mills. One of the first, and the largest, was David Dale's at New Lanark where, in the next century, Robert Owen was to try to organize, with unfortunate effects on his own prosperity, an early socialist community. The mills which followed Dale's were almost all large concerns founded as they were by men already grown wealthy in the cotton trade. Later, when fine mule-spun twist, suitable for weaving muslins, became available, its readiest market was found in Scotland. There was thus considerable incentive for grafting the new technique on to the existing jenny and roller spinning industry and the operation seems to have been carried out more or less painlessly, notably, at the end of the century by two émigrés from Manchester, Owen and Henry Houldsworth.

The revolutionary scale of the changes that had taken place in the cotton trade between the invention of the jenny and the end of the eighteenth century is shown clearly in the industrial and commercial statistics of the period. In 1765 raw cotton imports were 3.8 million lbs., in 1780, 6.8 million lbs. and in 1800, 56 million lbs.[I] The value of cloth exports in 1759 was £109,000, in 1780, £349,000 and in 1800, £5,851,000.[2] An Indian hand spinner of the eighteenth century required more than 50,000 OHP (Operative Hours to Process) 100 lbs. of cotton whereas a power-assisted mule of about 1795 needed only 300 OHP, a gain in productivity of roughly

[I] Wadsworth and Mann, 1931, p. 521 and Edwards, 1967, p. 250.

[2] Wadsworth and Mann, 1931, p. 146 and Edwards, 1967, p. 243.

17,000%.[1] Between 1779 and 1799 roller spun yarn of count number 40[2] fell in price from 16s-0d. a lb. to 7s-6d.[3] Though a high average annual growth was maintained in the cotton trade for a large part of the next century, by 1800 the phenomenal rate of increase in output and decrease in price was ended; the 'revolution' in the cotton industry was over.

THE IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY[4]

The industrial revolution in the cotton trade that was associated with the radical changes in spinning and carding methods introduced by Hargreaves, Arkwright and Crompton, was an altogether more rapid process than that which occurred in the iron and steel industries. For this there were possibly two reasons, and distinguishing them exposes perhaps something of the essential nature of iron-making as it had been practised since the demise of the simple forest bloomery. First, and most obviously, an ironworks represented a more capital intensive investment than was usually the case with a spinning factory. Whereas the latter could be, at its humblest, a single mule in a rented room, a blast furnace, on the other hand, or a forge with its refineries, hammers and associated millwork, required a large minimum outlay before any production was possible. The assembly of the necessary substantial sum, either by feeding back profits from some earlier venture, or by tapping the capital market, was, usually, either a slow or a difficult operation. No doubt also the problem of raising the

[1] Chapman, 1972, p. 20 (quoting Catling, H., The Spinning Mule, Newton Abbot, 1970).

[2] A finer count than would have been spun on British hand-wheels.

[3] Chapman, 1972, p. 44 (quoting Ellison, T., The Cotton Trade of Great Britain, 1886, p. 55).

[4] This summary is based on many accounts, both general and of particular businesses, that have been culled during the survey of entrepreneurs. But especially I am indebted to Ashton, 1963; Birch, 1967; Gale, 1969.

money was aggravated by the intrinsic vagaries of the iron business, such as, for example, spasmodic variations in demand from the inelastic market[I] produced by war, or falls in output during a dry summer when streams driving the heavy machinery could shrink disastrously.

The second possible reason for the longer time-scale of the iron and steel revolution compared with that in the cotton industry was the fact that the chemical and physical changes that took place in a blast furnace or a refinery were obscure and, to a degree, irregular, compared to the visible and easily reproducible processes of spinning and carding. It was necessary for initiates to 'feel' their way towards new techniques, and this element of 'art' or 'mystery' in the calling of ironmaster or ironworker, rather than the effect of patents, helps to explain the tardiness of the iron trade in admitting new methods of production.

The first of four major innovations that were, eventually, to transform the iron industry during the eighteenth century took place in Coalbrookdale, a Shropshire valley rising from the banks of the Severn. There, in about 1709, Abraham Darby, a Quaker ironfounder, successfully replaced charcoal with coke as the fuel for his blast furnace. It had been apparent to many previous experimenters, that the substitution of a mineral, coal or coke, for the vegetable fuel had potentially two advantages: coal would probably turn out to be cheaper than charcoal, and, certainly, a steady supply could be far more easily arranged. In fact there was also a third advantage though this did not become clear until much later in the century; coke is less easily crushed than charcoal and permits, therefore, the construction of far larger furnaces.

[I] One where price levels have little effect on total demand (though they do, of course, usually effect who is likely to be allowed to satisfy that demand).

However, momentous as Abraham Darby's breakthrough undoubtedly was, the technique he developed was adopted only very slowly by the rest of the trade. Not until the 1750s were coke furnaces built in any number, and probably not till the seventies was their output greater than that of the charcoal furnaces. The reasons for this are hotly debated. Without, therefore, attempting to be precise about what is of only secondary importance in this thesis, it appears that the failure of Darby's method to gain ready acceptance was due to one or both of the following:[1] first, the coal available at Coalbrookdale contained, fortuitously, little sulphur, and consequently the iron made there did not suffer from the brittleness which this constituent would have caused. Elsewhere coal was not, on the whole, sulphur-free. Secondly, iron run from the Dale furnace was suitable only for casting, which, while suiting Darby very well, meant that it was still necessary to use charcoal pig-iron at the forge for conversion to wrought, or bar-, iron. The latter, indeed, represented a far greater proportion of the value of iron consumed in the country than did pig-iron. When, finally, the coke-smelting process was taken up on a large scale, it was presumably only after an evolution from Darby's technique to one where the problems of brittleness and the suitability of the product for conversion to bar-iron had been overcome.

The second major innovation of the eighteenth century iron trade was, even more than coke-smelting, slow to gain general acceptance. This was the method of making 'cast', or 'crucible', steel perfected in about 1746 by another Quaker, Benjamin Huntsman of Doncaster. During the seventeenth,

[1] A third possibility, that Darby operated so unobtrusively, and in such a minor field, foundry work, that his method was simply not noticed, seems most unlikely (and in fact a number of apparently unsuccessful coke furnaces were erected in the twenties and thirties).

and the first half of the eighteenth centuries, steel had been produced by the cementation process in which bar-iron, a form of the metal containing far less carbon and slag than the cast-iron from which it was usually refined, was heated with charcoal for several days in closed clay vessels so that the carbon penetrated slowly into the iron. The product was known as 'blister' steel; if it were broken and reheated in order to make the carbon concentration more homogeneous, there resulted high quality 'shear' steel. In effect, Huntsman added a third stage to this sequence, one in which the carbon was mixed even more uniformly through the mass of iron. In this operation the metal was actually melted in special crucibles in a coke fire - charcoal had been used at the earlier stages - so that the molten steel could be effectively 'stirred' by convection currents. The method had also the additional advantage that any slag remaining rose to the surface and could be raked off. By 1774, almost thirty years after Huntsman's discovery, only three firms in Sheffield advertised themselves as steel refiners.[I] Thus, again, there were clearly considerable problems, in this case probably more commercial than technical, in making the new product generally acceptable. It was not in fact until the eighties that the cutlers of Hallamshire began to use crucible steel on a large scale.

The third of the great eighteenth century advances in the production of iron is attributable to a Sussex forgemaster, Henry Cort. By the end of the American War the question of whether coke or charcoal was to be the fuel in blast furnace was very largely decided. Long before this, probably at first through the efforts of the second Abraham Darby, coke-smelted pig-iron and been shown to be suitable for conversion at the forge. There,

[I] Ashton, 1963, p. 57.

in the traditional fashion, it was heated in a charcoal fire, which oxidised carbon assimilated in the blast furnace,[1] and it was then hammered to drive out the major part of the slag content. The product, wrought iron, as well as being used in the manufacture of steel, was the basic raw material of the smith[2] and, as such, was needed in very large quantities, particularly in the West Midlands and the Sheffield area. Unfortunately the cost of forging was high[3] and during the greater part of the eighteenth century much ingenuity was applied in attempts to make the process cheaper. Attention had been particularly directed towards the possibility of replacing charcoal with coal or coke in the finery. In fact before Cort provided his solution to the problem, a number of marginally viable methods had been developed. Cort's patent of 1784 contained in its parts nothing new. Pig-iron was first to be melted in a reverbatory furnace by means of coke, but not in contact with it. This method, which had already been tried with moderate success by a number of investigators, allowed carbon impurities to be converted quickly and completely to oxides. Secondly, and this was the key to the success of Cort's method, the 'puddled' iron, after a preliminary hammering, was to be passed through grooved rollers which would squeeze from it the dross which remained after smelting. Again the idea was not original but used in conjunction with puddling it made bar-iron production both cheaper and faster. Once more, however, the universal adoption of the

[1] At the time, of course, only the vaguest notions would have been held of the nature of the chemical and physical changes taking place.

[2] Wrought iron was easily worked, or malleable, was able to be welded, was fairly resistant to corrosion and possessed high tensile strength, that is it was able to withstand large stretching forces.

[3] Very roughly, pig-iron might be sold by the manufacturer for five or six pounds a ton and bar-iron for fourteen to sixteen pounds. These prices were far from constant.

new process took place only slowly. At the rapidly expanding Dowlais ironworks, for example, despite the enormous success of Cort's method at the neighbouring concerns of Richard Crawshay and the Homfray brothers, puddling and rolling was not introduced until the early years of the nineteenth century.

The two outstanding constraints on an ironmaster in the period before the industrial revolution were imposed, in Ashton's phrase, by the "tyranny of wood and water". With the adoption, by degrees, of Darby's coke-fired blast furnace, and of Cort's innovations in the forge, the first of these problems was, eventually, overcome. The solution of the second, the difficulty of ensuring an adequate power supply, a question, in a sense, extrinsic to the technicalities of iron-making, was the last of the four major determinants in the transformation of eighteenth century iron technology. The flow of water demanded by an ironworks, to blow the furnaces, to drive the hammers, each weighing several hundredweights at a rate of perhaps a blow a second, or to turn the slitting and rolling mills, was considerable.[I] Furthermore it was desirable that the level should not fall to such an extent in dry weather that production would be appreciably affected. In practice, however, it was by no means uncommon for work to cease very largely during the mid-summer months, a matter for serious concern with so large a capital investment involved. For the greater part of the eighteenth century the usual way of attempting to overcome this difficulty had been to employ a Newcomen steam engine to pump back stream water to a reservoir above the works. John Wilkinson and his father Isaac had approached the problem more ingeniously by using a Newcomen

[I] Because of the heavy water requirement it was usual for the three main stages of iron manufacture to be carried on in different works.

engine to operate directly on the bellows of the furnace rather than on the water turning the mill.[1] Clearly, though, the method was not completely satisfactory, for it was Wilkinson who, at his Bersham works, in Shropshire, in about 1776, became the first ironmaster to blow a blast furnace by means of the device which was to complete the technological foundations of the new iron industry, the steam engine of James Watt. The satisfaction achieved by Wilkinson, at least, in this departure can be judged by his erection during the subsequent twenty years of another thirty engines in the various establishments under his control.[2] Many ironmasters, however, were by no means so impressed, and others were deterred from using Watt's invention by what they considered to be the excessively high premiums demanded for the privilege. Once again, therefore, what was to prove to be a major source of change in the trade was brought into general use only slowly.[3]

If innovations were absorbed rather more gradually into the practice of iron-making than was the case in cotton manufacture, their effect was nevertheless eventually dramatic. Between the organization and performance of the iron trade of the early eighteenth century and that which existed in the early nineteenth there had taken place a change that was remarkable in a sense both quantitative and qualitative. The former can be demonstrated

[1] The career of John Wilkinson, a giant of the industrial revolution, illustrates splendidly, if illustration is still required, that the industrial changes of the late eighteenth century were not attributable merely to one or two major inventions. Before Watt's steam engine was available Wilkinson was operating a blast furnace at Bradley, in the Black Country, where water power was negligible, and before Cort's patent was filed he was using coke in the Bradley fineries.

[2] Most of them secretly, without payment of royalties, to Watt's annoyance, and to Wilkinson's ultimate cost.

[3] At the giant Plymouth works in Glamorganshire, for instance, all five furnaces were still being blown in 1824 by means of water wheels (Dictionary of Welsh Biography, 1959, under 'Hill').

quite shortly by some statistics of production. Thus the domestic output of pig-iron was approximately 17,000 tons in 1720, 26,000 in 1750, 32,000 in 1770, 68,000 in 1788, 125,000 in 1796 and 258,000 in 1806.[I] That is, in the thirty-six years beginning 1770, production had, very roughly, increased by a factor of eight. Estimates of the volume of wrought iron manufactured during this period are not available. However at the end of it perhaps a half of all pig-iron was refined and there can therefore be no doubt that, whatever the proportion converted in the mid-eighteenth century, production of wrought iron had increased very substantially by the early years of the nineteenth. It would, of course, be false to deduce from this extraordinary growth of the British iron industry that demand was necessarily increasing at a comparable rate. In fact, in about 1770, probably twice as much bar-iron was imported from Russia and Sweden as was produced in this country, and though imports showed little tendency to alter for the rest of the century, they still accounted at its end for as much as half of total sales. The increase of cast-iron output probably did mirror rather more accurately an expansion of consumption since not a great deal was imported, and there is ample evidence that, throughout the eighteenth century, castings were increasingly taking the place of the wrought iron which had been dominant in earlier periods. Some of the greatest success stories of the times are indeed those of ironfounders. The Walker brothers' concern, for example, which was based in South Yorkshire, began in 1742 with an output of five tons of castings and, in each of the last two years of its principal partner's life, 1781 and 1782, was able to support dividends of £28,000.

[I] The figures, which must be considered far from precise, and their sources, are given in either Birch, 1967, p. 18 or Ashton, 1963, p. 98.

The impressive advance of the iron industry was far from uniform. During three wars, 1756-63, 1775-82 and the French Wars beginning in 1793, the manufacture of armaments gave a tremendous boost to the trade, new works were erected and great fortunes established. A calculation of 1801[I] shows rather less than a quarter of iron production used in the casting of cannon, ammunition and ballast for men-of-war. If to this is added, first, the unestimated, but obviously considerable, amount of wrought iron consumed in the small arms forges and in the manufacture of horse-shoes for the cavalry, and secondly, the increased demand for British iron for civil uses caused by the disruption of continental supplies, it becomes clear that the total requirement from the domestic industry increased greatly during wartime, and these sales took place, of course, at the high prices induced by a seller's market. Unfortunately at the end of each of the periods of high prosperity attributable to war there ensued, predictably, a severe slump in the iron trade as over-capacity led to cut-throat price reductions, so that the depressing effect of low sales was augmented by that of low prices. Undoubtedly the worst of these cataclysms occurred after the wars against Napoleon when possibly more than a half of all ironworks closed or changed hands.

In geographical terms the nature of the iron industry changed markedly during the industrial revolution. In the early eighteenth century, smelting was conducted principally in four areas, the Sussex and Kent Wealds, the Forest of Dean, Shropshire and in South Yorkshire and North Derbyshire. Forging was dominated by the works along the tributaries of the Severn and in South Staffordshire, feeding, primarily, the metal workers of the Birmingham area, and by those around Sheffield supplying the steel refiners

[I] Birch, 1967, p. 52.

and smiths of that district. These simple divisions provide only rough and ready guides, however, for the charcoal-iron industry was both widely scattered and constantly changing. A century later the situation had altered drastically. Furnaces and forges were by then clustered closely together on five large coal and iron ore fields, their proprietors subject no longer to the traditional and over-riding necessity of seeking for wood and water-power. In South Wales, accounting for perhaps a third of British pig-iron production, were the highly capitalised concerns along the heads of the 'Valleys', among them, famous in the history of the industrial revolution, the four works at Merthyr Tydfil, Cyfartha, Penydarren, Dowlais and Plymouth. In Shropshire, in an area only seven miles by two which straddles the Severn near to Dawley, the Reynolds, Botfield, Darby and Bishton groups, together with a handful of lesser, though still large, enterprises, smelted rather more than twenty per cent. of the nation's iron, while, not far away, in a part of South Staffordshire that was later to become known as the Black Country, a new growth of, on the whole, smaller businesses added twenty per cent. more. On the South Yorkshire and North Derbyshire coalfield, an old-established iron-working area on to which the new technology seems to have been grafted fairly painlessly, about fifteen per cent. of domestic furnace capacity was situated. And, finally, perhaps ten smelting plants, including that of the illustrious Carron Company, were strung across the lowlands of Scotland, contributing about another ten per cent. to the country's output. In all these five key and, except for the Scottish sites, narrowly defined areas accounted in the early years of the nineteenth century for not less than ninety-six per cent. of the total cast-iron produced in the United Kingdom.

As a consequence of the great leap in productive capacity of the iron trade and of its localisation on a few rich coalfields, there took place also a profound change in the nature of the relationship between employer and employee. For its fairly modest labour requirements the charcoal-iron industry had drawn on diffuse and fundamentally agricultural communities where the ironworks had been, in a sense, merely an alternative source of employment to the farm or large estate. The new scale of operations, however, based on a plentiful supply of fuel and power, and exaggerated by a tendency towards the vertical integration of furnace, forge and mill made possible by Watt's steam engine, called into being a different sort of social organization, an exclusively industrial community which was too large and too uniformly composed to maintain the old rural associations and yet not large enough nor sufficiently broadly-based industrially to allow its members to enjoy the benefits of selling their labour in an open market. In consequence the owners of the new and unprecedented industrial accretions, Wilkinson, Fereday, the Crawshays, Guests, Homfrays, Reynolds, Walkers and Botfields, were able to become, in their own countries, an alternative and powerful aristocracy.[1] Of course there were large employers in the cotton industry also but, great as was their local influence, it was in certain respects more limited than that of the ironmasters.[2] Thus

[1] Speaking of the redoubtable founder of his family's fortunes, a grandson of Richard Crawshay claimed that "when the 'Iron King' used to drive from home in his coach-and-four into Wales, all the country turned out to see him..." (Smiles, 1878, p. 131.) Well was he called an 'ironmaster'.

[2] The patriarchal nature of the ironmasters' rule was probably least marked in the Black Country both because of the sheer density of industrial development and also because the notoriously flimsy capital resources of some of the district's would-be magnates encouraged rapid ascents and falls.

few mill proprietors employed more than five hundred hands whereas this number would have been a fairly common workforce in a late eighteenth century ironworks and its associated collieries. Further, while most of the cotton operatives were women and children, the great majority of ironworkers were the heads of families which meant, in fact, that the ironmaster's dependents were far greater than the number that appeared on his payroll. Finally, in Lancashire at least, spinning factories were, on the whole, built close together in a few large towns so that again there was rather less opportunity for one employer to exert a monolithic influence than was the case in the vicinity of the great ironworks.

CHAPTER III

THE UPBRINGING OF SUCCESSFUL ENTREPRENEURS ACTIVE IN THE COTTON AND IRON INDUSTRIES DURING THE EARLY INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION[I]

METHODOLOGY

'The successful entrepreneur'

It was pointed out earlier that writers of economic and business history rarely distinguish between four quite distinct types of businessmen:

a) those concerned with commerce and not with manufacturing;

b) more or less passive investors in a manufacturing enterprise who are not involved in any detailed way with management;

c) exploiters of monopolies, such as the owners of mines or canals, who, provided they are meeting a demand, are likely to make a profit even with indifferent management;

d) owners and part owners of manufacturing businesses supplying goods in a competitive market who are largely responsible for overall supervision. This category may be conveniently sub-divided further into (i) the successful and (ii) the unsuccessful.

Of course a particular case may fall between these sharply distinguished classes but usually, where sufficient is known about an enterprise, it is possible to place the proprietors fairly convincingly into one or another.

Now it would not, I think, be too sweeping to claim that what is of outstanding interest from a sociological point of view about the early industrial revolution was the emergence in unprecedented numbers of men in

[I] Taken here, I hope not too arbitrarily, as the years 1775 to 1800.

the last of these categories, or rather in (d) (ii). All four had of course existed in England for many centuries. English merchants had been established well before the second half of the eighteenth century as, with the possible exception of their Dutch competitors, the most successful in the world. Again money had been available for investment on a large scale many years before the period presently under review, a fact to which the South Sea Bubble bears ample witness. And there had been for at least three centuries no shortage of noblemen keen to exploit industrial monopolies. What was in truth new in late Georgian England and Scotland was the sheer profusion of successful industrial 'projectors'. Once this is accepted there arises an opportunity to make considerably finer discriminations than are customary in the search for the cultural antecedents of the industrial revolution; that is by allowing the new men to be more accurately pin-pointed, the task of identifying the social influences to which they were subject is made far easier. In particular, in the present study, we may hope to discover precise aspects of upbringing which would help to account for the remarkable industrial expansion of the period.

I have drawn, then, a distinction in principle between, on the one hand, industrial entrepreneurs, and, on the other, commercial men, monopolists and sleeping partners. In practice categorisation has not always been straightforward and the lists that are presented here contain only those men for whom there is positive evidence of a directing role in their businesses. This has meant that a great many potential entries have been omitted because it has not been possible to determine the degree of involvement of the various partners in a concern. Men have not been excluded, however, who, though not the initiators of a business, nevertheless

did, in the fairly open markets of the cotton and iron industries, continue successfully a venture begun by somebody else. This is, I think, reasonable since what I am concerned to isolate are factors which may have helped industrialists to be successful within a market economy. In such a situation the distinction between an originator and his successor becomes blurred, for unless the latter is both a capable businessman and able to adapt rapidly, and often drastically, before technical and managerial change, he is not likely to survive. This point is especially relevant to the last forty years or so of the reign of George III when dramatic cyclical fluctuations in demand led to alarming bankruptcy rates and when the pace of innovation was extremely rapid.

Having defined 'entrepreneur' as it will be used in the remainder of this thesis, it is now necessary to consider what meaning can be attached to the epithet 'successful'. I have assumed in fact that where there is reason to believe that a business prospered for several years then its active proprietors should be included. This has permitted the inclusion of the large proportion of industrialists who achieved great, even staggering, prosperity for a few years but who, often in the next century, declined into insolvency. All of these in their heyday contributed significantly to the industrial growth of their times. Included also are those businessmen about whom it can be said only that their enterprises survived for a number of years (say ten). Mere survival is after all a not inconsiderable measure of success in the rough and tumble conditions that existed in the late eighteenth century cotton and iron industries.

Finally, I must explain what is to be understood in this research by the 'cotton and iron industries'. Here expediency has imposed certain limitations since one investigator in three years cannot hope to explore every branch of manufacture that might be included under the description. Thus attention has been confined in the cotton sector to the proprietors of spinning and carding establishments since it was here that the most remarkable changes in organisation and techniques occurred.[1] In the iron industry there have been listed only the owners of blast furnaces and of forges, that is the producers of pig and bar iron. Consequently foundrymen, cutlers and makers of machinery have been omitted unless they manufactured at least some of the iron that they used. Again the restriction is not arbitrary since it was in the smelting and forging of iron that the greatest progress was made during the period under review.[2]

The samples

Unfortunately, for only a fraction of the entrepreneurs in the industries considered is there available printed material on social origins and upbringing.[3] What does exist is scattered, as will become apparent, among a very large number of books and articles. The reason for this dearth of early biographical information may be due partly to a deliberate intention on the parts of nouveaux riches, at a time when breeding was applauded and desired, to draw a veil around their antecedents; to be a self-made man had not by then become a matter for public approbation. Further, there were likely to have been far fewer contemporary documents

[1] See below, chap. 2, 'The Cotton Industry'.

[2] See below, chap. 2, 'The Iron and Steel Industry'.

[3] The Dictionary of National Biography, which might be expected to be helpful, is in fact weak on the educations of eighteenth century men in general and of almost no use whatsoever on industrialists who were obviously considered (by the compilers) to have been of very minor consequence.

concerned with the early life of an artizan or shopkeeper than with that of, say, a nobleman whose family in the eighteenth century was constantly despatching and receiving letters which were later to be unearthed in the muniments room of a stately home and used to provide material for political and social histories. Where primary sources are available which may shed light on the careers of businessmen, it has not, fairly obviously in a broad survey such as this, been possible to explore them; the length of the bibliography at the end of this thesis will, I hope, provide sufficient justification for the omission.

The result of the shortage of data has in fact been to make what would have been a difficult statistical problem quite easy to solve. It has been possible to use in the sample every successful entrepreneur in the cotton and iron industries about whose upbringing, formal or informal, something has been published. Indeed the arbitrary selection of one or two bundles of manuscripts from the many business archives that exist would seriously impair the statistical foundation of the present work which can at least claim the merit of being based on material not chosen by the researcher but which has, in a sense, been haphazardly put before him. Since the possible sources are so diverse and the relevant references often mere snippets, commonly to be found in rambling and unindexed local histories of the nineteenth century, a few may have been missed but as such inadvertent omissions are clearly statistically unbiased, the sample may, I think, be considered also unbiased. The recent expansion of interest in business history will presumably before long add a number of other potential entries to the present lists.

For a number of entrepreneurs it has proved possible to discover the fathers' occupations but no other details of upbringing. This information, though of only limited value in the discussion of the social determinants of industrial enterprise, has been included in appendices to the main biographical surveys.

Presentation of material

This has been grouped into the following categories:

i) name and dates of birth and death of the entrepreneur,

ii) nature of his business,

iii) evidence for an entrepreneurial role,

iv) evidence for success,

v) details of parents and family,[I]

vi) upbringing.

Where the relevant information appears to be unavailable, section (v) has been omitted. This numbering is followed in the arrangement of the various biographies.

The descriptions under (ii), (iii) and (iv) may occasionally seem more detailed than is strictly necessary. It has, however, appeared more satisfactory in considering such an open ended activity as large scale manufacturing to try to give something of the flavour of a venture rather than merely its bones. For though the conclusions that are drawn later from these 'biographies' are of a simple and general character, it will be apparent that many complex and individual causes must have operated in the businesses described to which a relative weight can be attached only in a broad and impressionistic manner.

[I] I have avoided using the term 'social origins' since there can be, as I have shown, confusion about its meaning (see, p. 7).

It must be emphasized that not all of the sources consulted can be considered perfectly reliable. Indeed a small number of flat contradictions have been discovered to which attention will be drawn. Fortunately it is not essential to establish as authentic every account given below since the purpose of the survey is to uncover patterns of upbringing and these are not likely to be obscured by one or two innaccurate details.

Finally it is necessary to explain why the biographical notices that follow are included in the body of this thesis rather than relegated to an appendix. They deserve the more substantial position, I think, because they constitute in fact the principal research findings of this section. Though it would have been possible to solve in a fashion the problem of 'bitty' presentation by weaving them into a continuous narrative, this would, I feel, have been contrived for they have essentially the nature of the 'results' of an experiment in physics; that is, they are not merely illustrations but the whole corpus of available evidence. Blending and cutting would consequently have destroyed a great part of their value. Comment has therefore been left to a summarising section and to the concluding chapter of the thesis. There is a second reason for employing a classified list of research findings rather than a selective and more elegant commentary and that is that the biographical information which is gathered here has not, as far as I know, been collected before into one body and it may therefore be of some help as a reference source for other historians.

ENTREPRENEURS IN THE COTTON INDUSTRY

The subdivision of entries is explained above[I] and the classification, A, B, or C, which I shall make use of in the summary of results, refers to vocational training. Thus A denotes the almost certain involvement of the subject as a child or youth within the industry in which he was later active or in one which was fairly closely related.[2] Where such a training cannot definitely be said to have commenced by, say, the age of nineteen but seems very likely to have occurred, a letter B has been used. Finally, an apprenticeship or equivalent initiation into a trade not obviously associated with the cotton or iron industries has been marked with a C.

ARKWRIGHT, Richard, 1732-92 (B)

ii) The first of many factories built by Arkwright and his partners for water-frame spinning was opened in Nottingham in 1769 (though, paradoxically, this initial venture was driven by horse power).

iii) Experiments on spinning with rollers had been carried out from the 1730s. Arkwright, apparently in about 1767, took up and began to develop the idea. In 1769, having found a backer, he took out a patent. He then changed his partner for more wealthy ones and quickly established the Nottingham mill. By 1772 a second, water-driven, mill had been built at Cromford in Derbyshire. It was only after five years of application, Arkwright claimed, that the partners began to show a profit (though it was to his advantage at the time to establish this point). Thus it is clear that Arkwright's role in these early years at least was that of an active developer and not a financier.

[I] p.51.

[2] See p.165.

iv) When the spinning patent expired in 1783, Arkwright was enormously rich and he continued to prosper in the years that followed. In 1786, while High Sheriff of Derbyshire, he was knighted. At his death he left about £500,000.[I]

vi) Remarkably little is known about Arkwright's early life, and his son, when he tried, in 1799, to discover more, met with little success. "He had been born at Preston..., the youngest son of a large and poor family. He had been apprenticed to a barber at Kirkham, west of Preston, and had come to Bolton (to follow his trade) when out of his time."[2] He was then about eighteen. The youngest of thirteen, his parents could only afford to give him an education of the humblest kind and he was scarcely able to read and write.[3] His "Uncle Richard taught him to read, and he gathered some little further instruction at a school during the winter evenings."[4] In about 1755 Arkwright married and began his own business as a barber. Later he took a public house in Bolton which did not prosper and he found himself in financial difficulties having spent money on alterations. During part of the 1760s he toured Lancashire and the North Midlands, areas in which the domestic spinning and weaving industries were flourishing, buying hair from women to make into wigs.

It is likely that Arkwright, one of a large, poor family, would have been employed as a child in the cottage linen and fustian trade; Preston lies within that part of Lancashire where the income of a very large proportion of households was augmented by money earned in this fashion.

[I] At the time a handful of the richest aristocrats had gross incomes of perhaps £40,000 per annum.

[2] Fitton, 1958, p. 61.

[3] Baines, 1835, p. 148.

[4] Hardwick, 1857, p. 650.

Even if he were not directly engaged in this kind of 'manufacturing' Arkwright could hardly have failed to be acquainted with the processes involved since they were so much a part of working class life. Thus the bent for mechanical construction which he showed while still a barber would have been fed by an early familiarity with spinning wheels and looms. Further, in a town as large as Preston, he would have had the opportunity to absorb some of the interest in textile manufacturing experiment which was in the air at this time. These speculative, but very likely, possibilities are in fact applicable to a number of men dealt with in this survey.[1]

Letters written by entrepreneurs of the industrial revolution are not often to be found and it may be worthwhile including here a section from one by Arkwright that has been published. It would not be unreasonable to claim, I think, that it provides a splendid example of an intelligent, capable man expressing himself perfectly clearly in a style which is partially illiterate.[2] Arkwright is writing to Jedediah Strutt (infra) during the construction of the Cromford mill in 1772. He has yet to succeed in the cotton spinning business.

Sir,

yours yisterday came to hand together with a bill from Mr. Need Value 60lb. I have sent a little cotton spun on the one spindle & find no Difficanty in Geting it from the Bobbin & Dubeld & Twistd in the maner you see it at one opration. One hand I think will do 40 or 50lb. of it in one day from the bobins it is spun upon, that is the new whay. I am sertain of it ansuaring & one person will spin a Thousand Hanks a Day so that we shall not want 1/5 of the hands I First Expectd notwithstanding the Roaving takeing so few. I see Greate Improvements Every day. When I rote to you last had not thorowly provd the spining; several things apening I could not account for sinse then has proved it I have made trial to twist it for Velverets & find what the do with five operations

[1] I have discussed the prevalence of domestic cotton manufacture in the north of England in chap. 2, pp.25-7.

[2] When well past fifty Arkwright is reputed to have denied himself one hour's sleep a night to learn English grammar and to improve his style and orthography.

(I) Can do with one that is duble & Twist it Redey for whaping at one time, first they reel, second wind, third Duble, fourth twist, 5 wind redey to wharp...

The letter continues, unparagraphed, for perhaps another eight hundred words and is concerned wholly with technical description and business problems. It exudes a sense of great energy and confidence surprising in a man who is not at the time established in business although nearly forty. "I am posative" or "I am Sartain" constantly recur. The end of the letter shows an appreciation of its deficiencies which is almost endearing;

I am tired with riteing so Long a Letter & think you can scairsley Reed it. Excuse haist

and am yours' &c.

R.Arkwright[1]

Perhaps a further, indirect, glimpse into Arkwright's upbringing is given by contemporary descriptions which are summed up quite neatly by Baines: he was "ardent, enterprising and stubbornly persevering; his mind was as coarse as it was bold and active and his manners were rough and unpleasing."[2]

Principal sources: Fitton, 1958, pp. 60-8; Baines, 1835, pp. 148-153, 183-196; Espinasse, 1874, pp. 370-463; Hardwick, 1857, pp. 650-1.

ARKWRIGHT, Richard II 1755-1843 (A)

ii) At his father's death in 1792 he inherited the whole cotton spinning enterprise.

iii) Richard II, while his father was still alive, was involved in the detailed administration of the businesses[3] and afterwards he would have presumably exercised, at least for a period, overall supervision of affairs.

[1]Fitton, 1958, pp. 66-8.

[2]Baines, 1835, p. 148.

[3]See, for example, his letter in Fitton, 1958, p. 337.

iv) At his death Richard II "had by his unostentatious mode of living,[I] attained such enormous wealth as to be, excepting Prince Esterhazy, the richest man in Europe..."[2] His great affluence, however, did not arise principally through the cotton spinning concerns though these were continued in an attenuating form with reasonable success, if not with the inspiration of his father's day. Rather he became increasingly engaged in banking and money lending, an evolution that was by no means uncommon among the inheritors of industrial wealth during the industrial revolution.

v) See 'Richard I' above. Richard II's mother, who was the daughter of a schoolteacher, died while her son was young and his father married again in 1761.

vi) While the first Richard Arkwright was developing his roller spinning machine, from about 1767, and later his early factories, beginning in 1769, his son was still a child and would, one imagines, have been caught up empathically and practically in his father's schemes. In a letter of 1772 to Jedediah Strutt Richard I wrote, "Richard has hit upon a method to spin woostid with Roulers..."[3] The boy was then about sixteen. By about 1780, certainly, he was managing one of his father's factories.

With his grandiose social ambitions Richard senior would hardly have failed to ensure that his only son was satisfactorily educated and it is quite clear from the younger Richard's letters that he had received a much fuller formal training in English than his father, though the letters written at about the age of thirty might be described as competent rather

[I] In contrast to his father.

[2] Espinasse, 1874, p. 464 (quoting Gardiner, 1838).

[3] Fitton, 1958, p. 67.

than stylish in the manner so carefully cultivated even among businessmen in the eighteenth century. By his late thirties, however, Richard was capable of a most lucid and well-pointed business letter.[1] Whatever the exact nature of the formal education was it seems not to have been protracted since Richard was helping his father in a remote Derbyshire valley in March, 1772.

Principal sources: Fitton, 1958, pp. 97, 224; Unwin, 1924, has a number of letters written by the younger Arkwright; Chapman, 1967, p. 71.

ATHERTON, Peter, ?-1799 (B)

ii) In about 1768, when Arkwright was developing his prototype spinning machine, he applied to Atherton, then probably an instrument maker[2] in Warrington, for help in the construction. Thus Atherton had early and detailed knowledge of Arkwright's project, as well as mechanical expertise, and would have been in a strong position to undertake spinning on his own behalf when Arkwright's star was seen to be so spectacularly in the ascendant. I have come across a reference to a price list for cotton twist distributed by Atherton in 1788,[3] though since the insurance valuation of his, and his partners', four mills was, in 1795, £43,000,[4] the fourth largest in the country, he must presumably have been in business for more than seven years.

[1]For example, Unwin, 1924, pp. 197-8.

[2]He was sufficiently established to be able to send a smith and a watchtool maker to assist Arkwright.

[3]M'Connel, 1861, p. 134.

[4]Chapman, Fixed Capital Formation in the English Cotton Industry, 1770-1815, 1970.

iii) It must be considered at least probable that Atherton, an accomplished mechanic with experience in a business of his own and an early confidant of Arkwright, was an active member of his partnership and, since the firm was known as Peter Atherton and Partners, it seems likely also that he was the principal partner.

iv) See above.

vi) The only indication of Atherton's upbringing is circumstantial but nonetheless strong. It is extremely unlikely that anyone practising so skilled a craft as instrument making would not, in the eighteenth century, have been apprenticed to the business or received similar early and thorough training.

Principal sources: Aikin, 1799, pp. 391-2; Musson, 1960, pp. 222-3.

BAKER, Edmund ?-? (B)

ii) With his brother-in-law, Barker Brossley, Baker, in about 1787, took a lease on Cressbrook Mill on the Wye, near to Litton in Derbyshire. Since the mill had been one of Arkwright's it would have been designed for warp spinning.

iii) "Edmund Baker," we are told, "was the resident manager...and, from time to time, Barker Brossley rode over from Bakewell."[I]

iv) In 1799 Baker, apparently because of illness, had to give up the management. That he was forced to sell the contents of his house suggests that the business at this time was not an unqualified success. There is also some slight indication that the quality of yarn was not high.

[I] Mackenzie, 1969, p. 9.

Nevertheless the concern had survived for about twelve years of a period which was particularly trying for operators of water-frames. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, therefore, it must be assumed to have been at least marginally successful for a proportion of its existence.

In 1808 Barker Brossley and Company became bankrupt.

v) Edmund Baker's father, John, was a partner with John Gardom (infra) in a medium sized hosiery concern, the manufacturing side of which either consisted of, or included, a workshop employing several knitters and a bleaching croft. The partners also had a warehouse in Litton. Eighteenth century hosiers often combined a small 'factory' of this sort with a domestic organization within which workers rented the sophisticated stocking frames from the hosier, knitted his yarn and sold back to him the completed hosiery. The modest scale of Baker and Gardom's operations can be judged roughly from their sales in Yorkshire in 1743, £310, and an offer in 1752 by the partners to send their American agent fifty or sixty dozen women's and girls' hose.[1] In addition to the hosiery business John Baker also ran a fairly large farm, though at his death in 1783 his two sons were apparently unable to raise the £3,000 necessary to purchase the freehold of (or redeem the mortgage on) this land.

Assuming that £3,000 was about the full value of Baker's farm, this would have made it worth approximately £100 per annum to a rentier landlord at thirty years purchase or perhaps four or five times this, say £450 a year, to a farmer.[2] In terms of income, then, John Baker may have been within the ranks of the lesser gentry[3] though to maintain this economic status involved him in working rather harder than would have allowed him easily to maintain

[1] Chapman, The Genesis of the British Hosiery Industry, 1972, p. 30.

[2] These calculations are based on the tentative judgements of G. E. Mingay, 1963, pp. 24, 38.

[3] Ibid., p. 26.

a comparable social status. I have dwelt at some length on John Baker's income since his circumstances are similar to those of one or two other men discussed in this survey.

vi) Chambers and Chapman have pointed out that apprenticeship premiums in the hosiery trade varied between one hundred and two hundred guineas during the last thirty years of the eighteenth century.[I] With the extremely high demand, and consequently the excellent prospects, that these figures indicate it is unlikely that John Baker, a prosperous, but not a wealthy, hosier, would have neglected to give his sons a training free for which other fathers were prepared to pay heavily. Particularly this would be likely for a younger son like Edmund who would not inherit the bulk of his father's possessions. Certainly at the time of his lease of Cressbrook Mill Edmund was a hosier. If he had indeed been apprenticed to the hosiery business he would have acquired early in life a very thorough knowledge of the production of cotton yarns and the ways in which these yarns could be marketed, a training clearly of value to the future owner of a spinning factory.

Principal sources: Mackenzie, 1969, pp. 2-4, 8-10; Chapman, The Genesis of the British Hosiery Industry, 1972, p. 30.

BUCHANAN, Archibald, ?-1841 (A)

ii) There is considerable confusion about the history of the Buchanan family's spinning enterprises. Some of the accounts written in this century appear to be rather careless transcriptions of earlier versions with gaps filled by (unacknowledged) guesswork. A very tentative sequence was perhaps:

[I] Chapman, The Transition to the Factory System in the Midlands Cotton Spinning Industry, 1965, p. 541.

(a) 1785, a waterframe mill (later to be called Deanston) was built on the Teith by the Buchanans; (b) 1789, they were partners in the new Ballindalloch works on the Endrick; (c) 1793, Gideon Bickerdike, a Manchester merchant and partner with the Buchanans at Deanston, became bankrupt, bringing his partners down with him[1]; possibly Kirkman Finlay (infra) bought his way into the business at this stage; (d) 1796, Robert Dunmore, a partner in the Ballindalloch factory also became bankrupt[2], though whether the Buchanans still retained some interest in the mills is not clear; (e) 1798, the Ballindalloch concern was acquired by Kirkman Finlay's company[3].

iii) Though it is not clear which of the Buchanans provided the inspiration and management for the mills in which they had a share before Finlay bought their Ballindalloch enterprise, it must seem likely that Archibald, with his apposite training, was intimately involved. Certainly he was manager for James Finlay and Company at Ballindalloch until 1801 and then at their Catrine mill. In the early nineteenth century he was described as Kirkman Finlay's "managing partner"[4]. In fact Archibald Buchanan does not appear on the list of Finlay's partners until 1805[5] which suggests that the sale of 1798 was occasioned by hard times.

iv) Though the sale of the mill on the Teith appears to have been forced, the implications of bad management are not unavoidable in view of the harsh law relating to bankruptcy in Scotland at the time whereby, if the part owner in an enterprise became bankrupt, all of his partners became liable

[1] Chapman, James Longdon, 1970, p. 290.

[2] Chapman, The Cotton Industry in the Industrial Revolution, 1972, p. 35.

[3] The date is taken from the official history of James Finlay and Company and is presumably based on written records.

[4] Radcliffe, 1828, p. 37.

[5] Finlay, 1951, p. (xvii).

to meet his obligations up to the total of their assets. In any case 1793 was an exceptionally disastrous year for the cotton trade and a large proportion of spinning concerns were in serious difficulties. Robert Owen obviously considered Archibald Buchanan a serious competitor, for in his autobiography Owen wrote, "The nearest rival I had (in the early nineties) in the quality of the ordinary numbers of fineness was Mr. Archibald Buchanan, afterwards partner with Mr. Kirkman Finlay of Glasgow..."[I] Buchanan's ability is further confirmed by his appointment as manager of Finlay's newly acquired Catrine works in 1801 and his subsequent transfer to Deanston Mill when it was bought in 1806.

v) There were seven brothers in the Buchanan family of which Archibald was the youngest member. One of the brothers, John, was Arkwright's first agent in Scotland. In 1789 the Buchanans advertised themselves as "English merchants and dealers in cotton"[2] The father, James, has been described as a Glasgow "manufacturer"[3].

vi) John Buchanan was a great friend, as well as being a business associate, of the elder Arkwright and Archibald was sent as an apprentice to the Cromford factory. He was sufficiently favoured to lodge in Arkwright's own house.

Principal sources: Stewart, 1881, pp. 181-2; Campbell, 1965, pp. 100, 104; Hamilton, 1966, p. 127; additional references under 'Kirkman Finlay' on the fusion of Buchanan and Finlay interests.

[I] Owen, 1857, p. 35.

[2] Stewart, 1881, p. 181.

[3] Wallace, 1889, p. 151. The term probably implies that he employed out-working weavers though it may refer to a partnership with his sons in the roller- spinning business.

COWPE, John, c.1760-1848 (A)

ii) The building of Pleasley Mill, Nottinghamshire, a roller-spinning factory, was begun in 1785.

iii) Cowpe was owner of a third share in the business and had four partners. The initial equipping of the mill was Cowpe's responsibility and, in addition to his share of the profits, he was allowed £52.10s. a year to act as manager. However, "Although Cowpe was the chief executive, it is clear from the deed that all the original partners intended to take an active part in the direction of the enterprise."[I]

iv) The first profits, of approximately £1,300, were made in 1790 on an investment at that stage of about £8,000. In 1791 the profit was £1,900; in 1792, £2,200; in 1793, there was a loss of £1,600; in 1794, a profit of £2,500; in 1795, no profit and in 1796, a profit of £1,400. In the last of these years Cowpe left the concern, probably because of a disagreement with his partners, having been bought out for £4,000. This would represent hardly more than his share of the value of plant and stock. The 'goodwill' element in the sale price of industrial undertakings was small in the eighteenth century.[2]

vi) Cowpe was apprenticed to Thomas Oldknow, a large Nottingham draper, and continued with Oldknow until the Pleasley venture. A fellow apprentice was Samuel Oldknow who set up his own muslin manufacturing business in 1782 and who was by 1786 "recognised as first in the kingdom" as a maker of muslins.[3] It is easy to see that Oldknow's striking success could have acted as a great imaginative spur to the companion of his apprenticeship.

[I] Wells, 1968, p. 25.

[2] See 'James Hargreaves', below, p. 77.

[3] Unwin, 1924, p. 6.

The source of Cowpe's initial investment of £1,400 is not known.

Cowpe's brother, a farmer, kept a journal the language of which does not show the marks of a gentlemanly education.

Principal sources: Pigott, 1949, pp. 21-44; Wells, 1968, pp. 23-47.

DALE, David, 1739-1806. (A)

ii) Spinning, initially using Arkwright's principle, began at Dale's New Lanark Mill in 1786. Before the end of the century Dale had a share in at least four more spinning establishments.

iii) In his Life Robert Owen wrote that "Mr. Dale knew little about cotton spinning, having always left the management of his various mills to such managers as he could procure"[1]; and on the same theme, "He (Dale) was seldom there (at New Lanark), and then only for short periods as his chief business was in Glasgow."[2] It is clear then that Dale did not pay the minute attention to his manufacturing business which a claim for an entrepreneurial role might seem to require. In the case of the New Lanark mills, however, he was, after 1785, the sole proprietor and it is difficult therefore to cast him as merely a passive investor. The overall direction, clearly, must have been provided by Dale, even though it were loose and spasmodic. Moreover, Owen's contention that Dale "knew little about cotton spinning" has to be seen in the context of the technological state of the industry in 1797, when Owen and his partners bought the New Lanark works. Dale's enterprise had been set up in about 1785, originally with Arkwright

[1] Owen, 1857, p. 59.

[2] Ibid., p. 53.

as a partner, to spin cotton using the water frame. By the middle of the next decade, however, Crompton's mule, with which Owen, a former machine maker, was very familiar, was rapidly ousting Arkwright's invention. In addition continual improvements were being made in both devices which only someone in intimate contact with the industry would understand. Thus it is not difficult to see why Owen would have found Dale, the ramifications of whose business empire must have prevented his paying close attention to cotton spinning once his factory was in production, more or less ignorant of the mechanical side of the business whereas Dale may well have been at the time of the establishment of the New Lanark mills more knowledgable and far more interested.

iv) By 1795 Dale was the owner of, or a partner in, not less than five spinning enterprises of which the total insurance valuation was £56,500 making him easily the largest manufacturer in Scotland.[1] The depth of Dale's commitment suggests that at least the early mills were successful though Owen claims that in 1797 his future father-in-law was not satisfied with the returns or the prospects and had in fact sold his Blantyre mill to James Monteith in 1792.[2]

v) Dale's father was a small grocer and general dealer in Stewarton, Ayrshire.

vi) His first job was as a "herd laddie" on an Ayrshire farm which would have been at this time, according to Stewart, a "mere hovel". In the mid eighteenth century, as the Hibernophobe, Dr. Johnson, delighted in insisting, Scottish agriculture was extremely retarded. Later at the age of

[1] Chapman, Fixed Capital Formation in the British Cotton Industry, 1770-1815, 1970, pp. 256-7.

[2] Pagan II, 1884, p. 51.

fourteen perhaps, Dale was apprenticed to a weaver in Paisley and afterwards became a journeyman weaver in Hamilton. In 1763, when he was about twenty-four, he was engaged as a clerk to a Glasgow silk mercer and not long afterwards took a small shop in the city at five pounds a year in order to begin business as a dealer in yarns. By the time he met Arkwright in 1783 of 1784 Dale was firmly established as a large scale importer of French and Flemish yarns and was a much respected member of the Glasgow merchant aristocracy.

Principal sources: Espinasse, 1874, pp. 449-50; Stewart, 1881, pp. 45-58; Owen, 1857, pp. 50, 53, 57, 59, 71, 82-3; Hamilton, 1966, pp. 144-6.

DUNKERLEY, Joseph, ?-1790 (B)

ii) The Rhodes Mill at Oldham was erected between 1783 and 1785 to spin cotton by means, probably, of hand operated jennies.

iii) The low insurance valuation of the mill, £700 in 1795,[I] suggests that Dunkerley had restricted means and makes it unlikely that he would have employed a manager. In 1795 Joseph's son, John, was apparently the sole proprietor. It seems probable, therefore, that the business was the creation of the Dunkerley family alone.

iv) The concern existed in 1795 when it was insured for £700. At this time it was at least ten years old. Edwin Butterworth in his history of Oldham attests rather more positively to the prosperity of the enterprise, than does its mere survival, by describing John Dunkerley as an "extensive manufacturer" and records that he "erected the elegant mansion of Pit Bank."

[I] Chapman, Fixed Capital Formation in the British Cotton Industry, 1770-1815, 1970.

It would not perhaps be too great a leap to suppose that the business was also successful when John's father was alive.

v) Joseph came from a yeoman family.

vi) To be brought up on a farm in most of the eastern and southern areas of Lancashire in the eighteenth century involved a strong possibility of being introduced at an early age to carding, roving and spinning.[I]

Principal source: Butterworth, 1849, p. 158.

EWART, Peter, 1767-1842 (A)

ii) In 1792 Ewart became the partner of Samuel Oldknow, a large manufacturer of muslins, in a new spinning venture just before Oldknow's business, expanding over-rapidly, effectively collapsed during the trade crisis of 1792-3. From 1798 until 1808 Ewart became Samuel Greg's (infra) partner at Styal Mill in Cheshire. In 1811 Ewart began his own spinning concern in Manchester.

iii) It is reasonably certain that neither Oldknow nor Greg, wealthy, established manufacturers, would have taken a young man with little capital into their businesses unless they intended to make use of his practical abilities. In Henry's 'Memoir' of Ewart there is a vivid description, based partly on an account by Burns' biographer, Dr. Currie, of Ewart desperately trying to raise money in Liverpool in 1793 to save his, and Oldknow's, business. At Styal, Heginbotham, Stockport's historian, points out, one of Ewart's duties was to replace out-of-date machinery. Confirmation that Ewart's role was that of an active entrepreneur is however most satisfactorily provided by his quitting Styal and setting up an independent enterprise in Manchester.

[I] See chap. 2, pp. 25-7.

iv) The ultimate success of the Styal concern is indicated by Ure who, writing in 1835, claimed that the various Greg establishments worked up annually the largest amount of cotton in the country.[1] Greg's confidence in Ewart's management is shown by his investing in the latter's venture of 1811. The success of Ewart's own firm is suggested in a rather negative fashion by the fact that it continued until 1835. What happened at this time is not clear but it is possible that Ewart at sixty-eight wished simply to retire from the business.

v) Ewart's father was a Presbyterian minister at Troquaire in Dumfriesshire. He had six sons of whom the eldest became British Minister at the Court of Berlin, the second a substantial Liverpool cotton merchant and the third "an eminent physician at Bath."[2]

vi) "The youngest (son), Mr. Peter Ewart, received his early education at the free school in Dumfries."[3] In notes still extant in 1846 Ewart claimed to have been, at the age of nine, "in the habit of passing his leisure hours in the shops of a watchmaker and millwright; and that before the age of twelve he had constructed a clock with wooden wheels..."[4] "In 1782, at the age of fifteen, Mr. Ewart was removed from school and placed with Mr. Rennie, of Musselburgh, afterwards so celebrated as a civil engineer, whom he accompanied to London, two years afterwards."[5] In fact Rennie was a millwright and would have been in some demand to install water-wheels in the cotton mills that were proliferating at this time. When Ewart had completed his apprenticeship,

[1] Quoted in Lazenby, 1949, p. 179 (from Ure, 1835, p. 306).

[2] Henry, 1846, p. 114.

[3] Ibid.,

[4] Ibid..

[5] Ibid..

he appears to have been entirely dependent upon his own exertions, and to have passed through the stern discipline of hard fare, indifferent lodgings and coarse apparel, for which his early nurture and rank in society could have but ill prepared him. At this time his brother was Envoy at the Prussian court. In his brief Journal Mr. Ewart has touchingly observed, "I sometimes lost heart, when I considered the disparity of our stations, and the low ebb of my own prospects."[1]

In 1788, at twenty-one, he had been sent by Rennie to erect a water-wheel and other machinery for Boulton and Watt at Soho and later he was employed by Boulton in the construction of the Soho mint and, in 1795-6, in the construction of Boulton and Watt's foundry.

An extract from a letter to Watt, of 1790, shows a rather fine sense of style for a twenty-three year old who had completed his schooling at fifteen.

The greatness of the obligations I lie under to you, on account of the very kind proposals from you and Mr. Boulton I hope will excuse this manner I take of acknowledging them, especially as they come upon me so unexpectedly. I am very sensible, your proposed plan will place me in the most desirable situation in this country for pursuing my business, and under your patronage, influence, and advice, I shall enjoy advantages far superior to anything I ever before had the most distant hopes of...[2]

Between 1808 and 1828 Ewart read seven papers to the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, some of which show considerable skill in mathematics.

Principal sources: Henry, 1846, pp. 113-136; Lazenby, 1949, pp. 41-3; Musson, 1960, pp. 211, 214, 223, 224.

FINLAY, Kirkman, 1772-1842 (A)

ii) In 1798 Finlay's firm, James Finlay and Company, appears to have bought the Ballindalloch Mills though it is possible that Finlay had shares in mills before this. See also 'Archibald Buchanan'.

[1] Ibid., p. 116.

[2] Henry, 1846, p. 119

iii) A case has already been made for the importance of Archibald Buchanan in the cotton spinning concerns of James Finlay and Company in which Kirkman Finlay, after his father's death in 1790, appears to have been the largest shareholder and principal executive. Buchanan was not however a partner in Finlays until 1805. Since Kirkman Finlay was a very considerable exporter of calicoes it is likely that this aspect of the cotton trade received more of his attention than spinning and weaving. Nevertheless there is strong evidence to suggest that he was also active and knowledgable as a manufacturer. Thus he inspected William Radcliffe's progress at Stockport in designing a practicable power loom "several times"[1] during the early nineteenth century and in 1838 he gave expert evidence to a Commons committee on cotton manufacturing.

iv) After acquiring the Ballindalloch concern, James Finlay and Company added Catrine in 1801 and Deanston in 1808 which provides some indication that the original venture was a success. Further indirect confirmation of Finlay's success as a businessman is given by the many high honours that Glasgow conferred on him. At various times he was Lord Provost, Lord Rector of the University, President of the Chamber of Commerce and M.P. for the city.

v) Kirkman's father, James, founded the family firm in 1750 and by 1769 he was sufficiently established as a merchant to be made a Council Burgess of Glasgow. At some stage the business was involved in the export of woven fabrics to Europe and, presumably, the importing of linen and cotton yarns. James Finlay was also apparently an employer of cottage weavers for he was one of the "manufacturers" who entertained Arkwright on his visit to Glasgow in 1783.[2] He was the youngest of ten brothers and was

[1] Radcliffe, 1828, p. 37.

[2] Pagan II, 1884, p. 53.

brought up on a small rented property in Stirlingshire. In the history of James Finlay and Company it is suggested that "He probably began in a small way as a pedlar or 'rider' on horseback."[1]

vi) Kirkman, James Finlay's second son, lived during the early part of his childhood in a fairly large house in Glasgow comprising seven rooms, a kitchen, two cellars and outhouses. He attended Glasgow's grammar school where he was "more than once" beaten "not for being a bad scholar, for he was a clever little fellow, but he was a sad, mischievous dog."[2] "From school he went to the University (of Glasgow),[3] and started his business life at the Stockwell office of James Buchanan,[4] the oldest of his Buchanan cousins and a close friend of Sir Richard Arkwright."[5] He then became one of the partners in his father's firm and when James died in 1790 Kirkman became the principal partner. He was then either seventeen or eighteen so that his period at Glasgow University and in the Buchanans' office must have taken place at an early age. The assets of the family concern in 1790 were £11,875, by no means a large sum by merchant standards.

Finlay's introspective character, as well as his typically well-pointed eighteenth century written style, is shown by an entry in his journal written at the age of twenty-two.

[1]Finlay, 1951, p. 3.

[2]Ibid., p. 6 (quoting a contemporary of Finlay).

[3]Where he seems to have acquired a lasting devotion towards the economic principles of Adam Smith.

[4]Finlay and the Buchanans continued friends and Kirkman and Archibald Buchanan, in fact, married sisters.

[5]Finlay, 1951, p. 6.

My care and attention to my mother have not been attended with that tenderness which such endearing fondness as I have always required from her so justly merits; and although I have ever entertained for her a warm affection and respect, yet the petulancy of my temper has frequently forced me to utter expressions and to behave in a manner the remembrance of which makes me shudder...The too great indulgence I received from my mother, and my early introduction to the world where my abilities have been treated with more regard than they deserve, have given me a self-sufficiency, a contempt for opinions, conduct and amusements of others which I have long in vain endeavoured to correct ...In companies and public assemblies my great ambition to shine and to appear a man of parts, very frequently betrays me into many inconsistencies, and into an unpardonable loquacity.[1]

Principal sources: Finlay, 1951, pp. 1-13, 31; Wallace, 1889, pp. 151, 154; Stewart, 1881, pp. 182, 207-8; Lee, 1972, p. 139; Pagan II, 1884, p. 53.

GARDOM, John, ?-1789

ii) Gardom and Pares built Calver Mill, a roller-spinning factory, under licence from Arkwright in 1778.

iii) It was John Gardom who took out the Arkwright licence and who was, judging from his sons' shareholding in 1804, the principal partner. John Pares, a wealthy hosier, lived at Newark and though he took a lively interest in the concern it is clear that the Gardoms were responsible for the greater part of the management.

iv) In 1785 the mill made a profit of £4,500 before the payment of Arkwright's fee (about £2,000) on an estimated value in 1778 of £3,000.[2] Gardoms were the largest shareholders in the early nineteenth century and the business at that time was sufficiently prosperous to maintain the three

[1] Finlay, 1951, p. 127.

[2] Chapman, Fixed Capital Formation in the British Cotton Industry, 1770-1815, 1970.

Gardom brothers, with the help of their other textile interests, as minor country gentlemen.

v) John Gardom's father, who died in 1723 when Gardom was still a child, was a prosperous blacksmith in Nottingham. His probate inventory totalled £470, a very large amount for an artisan. Very probably he built stocking frames which were sophisticated machines and which were in great demand in the eighteenth century.

vi) Though there is no indication that Gardom continued his father's trade he would as a child have been brought up on at least the periphery of the Midlands hosiery industry. It is more than likely, in fact, that he would have operated a stocking frame himself since this was a profitable occupation and his father would have been able to make these cheaply for his own family. In a deed of 1744 Gardom was referred to as a "framework knitter",[1] though this may refer loosely to his role as a small hosier or employer of framework knitters.

As the orphan of a tradesman it is likely that Gardom would have been apprenticed to some trade himself, perhaps as a knitter or even a hosier.

By 1743, in partnership with John Baker, Gardom was carrying on a small business as a hosier at Litton and in 1744 the partners held a bleaching yard. Gardom was also, in 1748, farming about forty acres in addition to conducting his manufacturing enterprise, a by no means uncommon supplementary occupation in the eighteenth century for a smaller employer who "keeps his farm, perhaps, as a sort of anchorage from the dangerous sea of business speculation."[2]

Principal sources: Mackenzie, 1963, p. 3; Chapman, The Genesis of the British Hosiery Industry, 1972, p. 30.

[1] Mackenzie, 1963, p. 34.

[2] Tupling, 1927, p. 200.

GARDOM, Thomas, ?-1817 (B)

iii) After his father, John's, death in 1789 Thomas became managing partner at Calver Mill. In fact he had been living on the mill site since 1782.

iv) See 'Gardom, John'.

Further evidence for the satisfactory nature of business at the mill is provided by the fact that when the original building was burnt down in 1802, apparently uninsured, it was considered worthwhile building a far more lavish replacement.

v) See above.

vi) John Gardom married in 1747 "and brought up his three surviving sons as hosiers."[1] Since apprenticeships were in great demand in the hosiery trade it seems likely that the training John Gardom's sons received would have been of a similar nature.[2]

Principal sources: as for John Gardom.

GREG, Samuel, 1756-?

ii) The erection of a warp spinning mill at Styal in Cheshire was begun by Greg and Samuel Massey in 1784.

iii) Greg appears to have been forced into a more active role in management than he had intended by the death of his far more experienced partner less than a year after the signing of the first lease. This in fact left Greg as sole proprietor. In 1787, shortly after his marriage, he moved to live near the mill.

[1] Mackenzie, 1963, p. 26.

[2] This point is considered more fully under 'Edmund Baker'.

iv) Writing in 1835 Andrew Ure claimed that the Greg concerns worked up more cotton than any others in the country. It would not be unreasonable to assume that some of the credit for this should go to Greg even though his sons were by that time in control.

v) Thomas Greg (1718-1796), Samuel's father, was a wealthy Belfast ship owner. Samuel's mother, Elizabeth Hyde, had two brothers, Herbert and Nathaniel, who were large Manchester cotton and fustian merchants. There were eleven children in the family.

vi) Samuel Greg's early upbringing is unique in this survey in that it was incontrovertibly upper class. He was sent to Harrow though he left towards the end of his schooldays to enter a school at Stanmore, Middlesex, set up by Samuel Parr, a former Harrow assistant master who had left, disappointed, when he failed to obtain the Harrow headship. Greg's period at Harrow would have coincided with its emergence, during the reign of Sumner, as a great school which was beginning to compete with Westminster and Harrow.

It seems that Greg had been adopted by his uncle, one of the two who were Manchester cotton merchants, and that he expected to inherit his uncle's fortune. This gentleman appears to have had hopes that his nephew would enter the Church. However the scheme did not appeal to Greg and when he left school, instead of reading for orders, he set off on a tour of Europe. On his return he settled in Manchester at his uncle's house and was offered the inheritance of the business. While in Manchester, Greg followed the developments that were taking place in the cotton trade with great interest and when his uncle died in 1783 he was keen, and in a position, to seek for a site for a cotton mill, settling eventually on Styal. The cost of the mill seems to have been £16,000, a surprisingly large figure which emphasizes the affluence of Greg's circumstances.

Greg was a Presbyterian, presumably from childhood.

Principal sources: Lazenby, 1949, pp. 22-44, 248-9; Morley, 1898, pp. 215-216.

HARGREAVES, James, 1720-78. (B)

ii) Possibly in 1769, in partnership with James (infra), Sadlier and Marlow, Hargreaves erected a jenny spinning mill in Nottingham.

iii) The spinning jenny was probably invented by Hargreaves between 1764 and 1766. In 1768, partly perhaps because of riots against the jenny and partly because of business offers, he left Blackburn for Nottingham and after a brief spell with a group of Nottingham hosiers he joined James, Sadlier and Marlow. Fairly obviously his role was not intended to be that of a sleeping partner.

iv) Hargreaves' status as a successful businessman is only just supportable. In 1773 his mill employed one hundred workpeople, about one third the number in Arkwright's factory at the same time in Nottingham but nevertheless large by contemporary standards. However Hargreaves, who was apparently no great mechanic, failed to improve the jenny to the standards that were being attained in Lancashire and in 1777 the partners, who by this time were the sole proprietors, became early licencees of Arkwright's methods, because, presumably, they felt that roller spinning held greater hopes for good profits than jenny spinning which it had turned out impossible to protect by means of patent. This does not mean that the jenny spinning had been a failure. Baines, the early historian of the cotton trade states, in fact, that "the spinning business was carried on with moderate success."[I]

[I] Baines, 1835, p. 162.

Besides, that Hargreaves and James were able to pay Arkwright £2,000, the usual fee for a license, is some indication of past success, as was their ability to pay for the installation of spinning frames.

At Hargreaves' death in 1778 his widow received £400 from Thomas James for her inherited share of the business, apparently a fairly paltry sum. However the amounts paid for going concerns in the eighteenth century do not appear to have taken much account of past profits, the book value of equipment and stock, that is the cost of an alternative, independent venture, being the principal consideration in assigning a price. James' and Hargreaves' business which was probably worth more than £2,000 at replacement value, may have been quite profitable judging from the records of some similarly valued concerns. Arkwright, for instance, was reputed to have made £20,000 per annum during the best years at Bakewell which was established after James' and Hargreaves' roller spinning factory.[1] I have dwelt at some length on the difficulty of judging profitability from sale value since the problem occurs more than once in this survey.

vi) In an article written in 1807 Hargreaves was described as a "weaver of Stanhill (near Blackburn). He was a plain, industrious man with little or no mechanical talent."[2] Hargreaves' daughter confirmed that her father and brothers were weavers. There is a clear implication that Hargreaves' schooling was restricted since to be a weaver was to occupy a fairly lowly position in the social scale in Lancashire and was therefore unlikely to have been preceded by a prolonged formal education. It is, however, likely that Hargreaves would have been trained as a weaver from childhood, either as an apprentice or in his own family. Baines' claim

[1] Mackenzie, 1963, p. 29.

[2] Quoted by Crossley, 1930, p. 24.

that Hargreaves was illiterate may well be an exaggeration since there was a tendency among nineteenth century historians to assume that any working man was illiterate about whom the converse was not known to be true. Further, illiteracy was also sometimes wildly ascribed to those who had not adopted the elegant written style which was cultivated in the eighteenth century.[I]

Principal sources: Aspin, 1964, pp. 9, 13-14, 22-27; Aspin,1968, p. 120; Baines, 1835, pp. 150-163; Espinasse, 1874, p. 321.

HAWORTH, Jonathan, 1732-1786 (B)

ii) Some time before 1760, the first Robert (Parsley) Peel (infra), Haworth and William Yates (infra) appear to have formed a partnership as chapmen in woollen and linen yarns and fabrics. Between 1760 and 1766 the partners also set up one of the earliest fustian and calico printing concerns in the North of England and in 1766 or 1767 the business, which was near to Blackburn, was augmented by the installation of some twenty spinning jennies which Hargreaves, an employee of the partnership, had recently invented. Shortly after this Haworth and Yates seceded from the enterprise and seem to have begun their own printing business at Bury where they were joined by Peel's son, Robert II (infra), who was also Haworth's nephew. Spinning mills, presumably pirated versions of Arkwright's, as well as jenny shops, were soon added to the business which was expanding at a phenomenal rate. In 1784 Haworth and his sons left Peel and Yates and began spinning on their own account.

[I] Thus, for example, it came to be accepted that James Brindley, the engineer, was illiterate whereas this was, in fact, far from the truth.

iii) There is only a balance of probabilities in favour of Haworth having been an active director of the second partnership. As a young man he had been sent to London by his father to learn the new techniques of calico printing which suggests that his role would not have been merely that of an investor in the first partnership. And if he were active in the sixties it is likely that he would have continued to be so in the seventies. Further he has been given credit by the second Robert Peel's nephew, Sir Lawrence Peel, for a substantial part of the original development of the jenny. Once more it must be probable that the directing, practical role which this indicates would have been continued. Against Haworth having been heavily involved in day-to-day management is Abram's statement that he was a merchant in Manchester.

The establishment of an independent spinning enterprise in 1784 by Haworth and his sons could be taken as evidence of an entrepreneurial approach. However it is impossible to estimate to what extent this was the particular inspiration of the sons.

iv) See 'Robert Peel II' below.

The separate Haworth concern seems to have prospered for some years though eventually, in 1800, the partners were declared bankrupt. In 1784 the business was insured for £28,650, a very large figure for the period.[I]

v) Haworth's father, Edmund, was a yeoman and chapman in the textile trade, who lived in Darwen. He had four sons and four daughters of which the eldest daughter married 'Parsley' Peel and was therefore the grandmother of Sir Robert Peel, the Prime Minister. Edmund died in 1759.

[I] Chapman, The Peels in the Early English Cotton Industry, 1969, p. 64.

vi) Since Edmund Haworth was a yeoman farmer and a chapman it is unlikely that his sons' educations would have been extended. As Jonathan was a governor of Blackburn Grammar School in 1762 it is possible that he attended that foundation as was the case with the first two Robert Peels. William Yates became a governor of the grammar school in 1772 so that there seems to be reason to believe that the school was not a moribund institution as was the case with some of the eighteenth century endowed foundations.

Principal sources: Abram, 1877, pp. 215-7, 479-480; Chapman, The Peels in the Early English Cotton Industry, 1969, pp. 62, 63, 64, 73; Baines, 1835, pp.202-4; Crossley, 1930, p. 9; Aspin, 1964, p. 12; Peel, 1860, pp. 13, 14, 16.

HORROCKS, John, 1768-1804 (A)

ii) Probably in the late eighties, Horrocks used the water wheel in his quarry to drive carding machines and soon afterwards jennies were installed. In 1791 he built the first of six spinning mills at Preston.

iii) The quarrying and carding businesses were apparently Horrocks' own and his degree of personal involvement can be gauged from the round trip of forty-two miles that he regularly made on foot, across the moors, wearing clogs, to Preston and back to sell his goods. It appears that in Preston he was the sole owner of the various spinning mills though even if this were not the case it is unlikely that, at the age of twenty-three, he would have risen so rapidly as to have become simply an investor at Preston.

iv) By 1795 Horrocks already owned four mills with the high insurance valuation of £16,350.[I] When he died in 1804 at thirty-six he left £150,000. In 1802 he became M.P. for Preston.

[I] Chapman, Fixed Capital Formation in the British Cotton Industry, 1770-1815, 1970.

v) Horrocks' father, a Quaker, leased a quarry at Edgeworth, near Bury.

vi) Until he was fourteen Horrocks worked for a Quaker quarrymaster, Thomas Thomasson, who

> supplied Robert Peel and the other calico printers with large, smooth stones for use as printing tables. Thomasson used water power to drive the machine which polished the stones, but realizing that his water wheel could be more profitably employed, he enlarged his premises and installed a number of carding engines.[1]

Next Thomasson bribed one of Arkwright's workmen to build water-frames for him but while this was being carried out, none too competently it seems, Thomasson died. This was in 1782 and Horrocks, who had apparently been employed in the carding mill, left to work for his father. While he had been with Thomasson, Horrocks, who was an intelligent child, had so impressed his employer that he was sent to school though to what sort of school is not known. This was paid for by Thomasson.

After only a short spell in his father's quarry, Horrocks

> ran away to Liverpool. On returning to the (Bury) district he started his own quarry...and sold flags and printing tables. Like Thomasson he turned from quarrying to carding and soon afterwards to jenny spinning. Preston became his best market and wearing a pair of clogs and carrying a large basket of weft, he would regularly walk there and back across the moors - a round trip of forty-two miles.[2]

Principal sources: Aspin, 1964, pp. 53-5 (based on MSS in the possession of Dr. Rhodes Boyson); Boyson, 1970, pp. 5, 243; Hewitson, 1883, pp. 171-2; Hardwick, 1857, p. 659.

[1] Aspin, 1964, p. 53.

[2] Aspin, 1964, p. 54.

HOULDSWORTH, Henry, 1774-1853 (A)

ii) In September, 1792, at the age of eighteen, Houldsworth, who had only recently arrived in Manchester, bought a share in a single mule owned by a Christopher Stone or Stones. The winter of 1792-3 was a very bad one for the cotton trade and spinning became unprofitable. Houldsworth, after buying Stone's share of the mule, waited for an improvement in the business climate and in the meantime continued with his education. With the turn of the tide in the spring of 1793 Henry and his brother Thomas (infra), who had now joined him, spun eighty-seven pounds of thread whereupon Henry, with what was characteristic impatience, rushed to Scotland to sell it. In September of that year Henry's eldest brother, William, who had just come into the possession of an inherited fortune, provided the younger brothers with £500 to enter a mule spinning partnership with John Wheream who introduced a similar sum. This partnership lasted until late 1794 when William decided to finance a larger scale venture and the three brothers, with William in a less active role, began to spin on their own.

In 1799 Henry withdrew from the Manchester business leaving it in the hands of Thomas and his youngest brother, John, William having now withdrawn also, and began an entirely new fine spinning concern in Glasgow, at Woodside and Cheapside.

iii) See above.

iv) Henry Houldsworth, according to his family's historian, reached "the top of the tree"[I] as a Glasgow spinner. By 1836 he and his brother had amassed sufficient wealth to set up the large Coltness ironworks.

[I] Mcleod, 1937, p. 64.

v) Henry Houldsworth's father, also called Henry, was a yeoman farmer of Gonalston, Nottinghamshire, who leased a large farm of perhaps one to two hundred acres called the Hagg. Henry (of the Hagg's) mother, Ann, "was a woman of considerable property as her will makes abundantly clear"[I] owning land in Jamaica. When Henry of the Hagg married in 1769 he took over the Hagg and his father, Joseph, moved out to his hunting box. Henry did not, however, inherit his mother's property till 1789 though his father's came to him in 1777. The financial circumstances of Henry Houldsworth's father were then comfortable after his father's death and very much so after his mother's, though the latter event occurred too late to have a great deal of effect on his sons' upbringing.

vi) One of the crucial problems that is raised in trying to assess the effect of a family's financial and class status on the industrial activities of the children in later life occurs in the case of yeoman families. For a number of the entrepreneurs discussed in this thesis emerged from such a background. And unfortunately in few cases is it possible to establish beyond doubt the sort of upbringing that was received so that it becomes necessary to make what seem to be reasonable judgements in the light of local social practice and family economic circumstances. It has generally been assumed that children of yeoman class would have been expected to contribute to the family's earning power by helping on the farm or, in districts where these activities were known to have been endemic, by spinning and weaving. It has also been considered likely that children in these situations would have been apprenticed often or received some similar training. In the case of the Houldsworths, a family well off for the

[I] Mcleod, 1837, p. 4.

period, these assumptions receive some corroboration. Henry of the Hagg's eldest brother, John, in 1727, was bound apprentice to a coppersmith before leaving for Jamaica where he established an independent fortune. In his will he still described himself as a "coppersmith and plummer"[1] though he had served for many years as a collector of taxes on the island. Henry of the Hagg's eldest son, William, whom it was reasonably certain would be heir to his uncle's large Jamaica estate in addition to those of his father and grandmother, was nevertheless apprenticed to a cooper. Thomas Houldsworth became apprentice to a stocking weaver and Henry to a small Nottingham grocer. That the future cotton spinners' father was not open-handed is shown by a letter to him written by Henry in 1802 advising his father to be generous in settling his youngest daughter; "You have had little to do hitherto in settling your family...and don't spoil the gift by the manner of doing it."[2]

The Houldsworths' biographer also points out that before his apprenticeship 'Tom' was expected to work on his father's farm and it is therefore reasonably certain that William and Henry would have been similarly employed.

Henry's apprenticeship to the Nottingham grocer must have begun at a later age than the apprenticeships of his brothers for when Thomas went to work in Nottingham as a journeyman framework knitter Henry accompanied him to join the grocer. Within a few months he was bought out by his eldest brother when in 1792, William received his Jamaican inheritance. It is possible that as well as working on the farm, Henry, before he left for Nottingham, learned like his brother to knit hosiery since Gonalston was a centre for this flourishing industry.

[1]Ibid., p. 18.

[2]Ibid., p. 59.

At Nottingham, according to Mcleod, "Rumours had reached him (Henry) of the wonderful possibilities of machinery,[1] and the infant cotton industry at Manchester became the Mecca of his dreams"[2] so that when, at the age of eighteen, he was released from the grocery trade he hurried to Manchester, bought a share in a mule and learned to spin on it, an accomplishment that was to be regarded in Lancashire for more than a century as a high skill.

During the winter and spring of 1792-3 Henry lodged with a watchmaker and claimed to have learnt a lot about spinning mechanisms from his landlord.

What emerges perhaps most strongly from this account of the early lives of the Houldsworth brothers is that they were in no sense affluent men who entered the cotton industry by hiring the skills of others. Rather they were young men who acquired relevant skills, who showed themselves competent and keen in business and who were financed then by a wealthy man, their brother. Their case was in fact little different to those of their Manchester competitors, M'Connel and Kennedy, the Adam brothers, Robert Owen, Alexander Smith and Peter Ewart.

The following extract from a letter written when he was eighteen provides evidence of Henry Houldsworth's competence in writing.

> Honoured Father,
>
> I have embraced this opportunity of writing to you. I have not the least doubt of you being happy to hear of my arrival in Glasgow, and that my prospect here is much better than I at first expected. I was sixteen days in Liverpool waiting for a vessel and was under the necessity of going by land at last, though it was a very heavy expense...[3]

Principal source; Mcleod, 1937.

[1] In fact the Lambert brothers of Nottingham had built a warp-spinning mill at Gonalston in 1784 which could hardly have escaped Henry's attention (Chapman, 1967, p. 83).

[2] Mcleod, 1937, p. 39.

[3] Ibid., p. 40

HOULDSWORTH, Thomas, 1774-1852 (A)

iii) See 'Henry Houldsworth' above.

After Henry had bought a share in a mule, Thomas joined him, in the winter of 1792-3, in Manchester, "but after a few months, as prospects were bad, he returned to Nottingham and resumed his stocking weaving."[1] In the spring he returned to Manchester to spin once more on his brother's machine.

iv) During the French wars " 'Tom's' business expanded by leaps and bounds. A few years after 'H.H.'s' (Henry's) departure 'Tom' had gained a large fortune. He entered Parliament in 1808...and for thirty years he was a member for some division of Nottinghamshire..."[2]

v) See 'Henry Houldsworth'.

vi) See 'Henry Houldsworth'.

Thomas's literacy, as well as his maturity, at twenty-two is shown in a letter to his eldest brother.

> It would be worth your while to look about you to see what way we are in. I suppose there are but few young men in Nottinghamshire would take such steps as we have done, to think of going into such a business as we are in, and that we knew nothing about twelve months since. I hope it will be to our advantage - there is very little to be got without seeking out for it.[3]

Principal source: as for Henry Houldsworth.

[1] Ibid., p. 50.

[2] Ibid., p. 93.

[3] Ibid., p. 52.

JAMES, Thomas, 1723-85 (B)

ii) See 'James Hargreaves' above.

iii) Both Hargreaves and James lived on the mill site.

In 1776 Saddlier died and James bought Marlow's share. In 1777, when Hargreaves died, his widow's share of the business was also bought by James, for £400 (which put a value on the Nottingham concern of very roughly £2,000). Thus James was sole proprietor by 1779 and therefore clearly an entrepreneur within the terms of the present discussion.

iv) That the price paid to Hargreaves' widow is not a strong indication of the mill's profitability has been suggested in the section on Hargreaves. A better pointer is the fact that James and Hargreaves were able to pay Arkwright's licence fee and refit the mill for warp-spinning. Further evidence of the satisfactory, if not the prosperous, level of business is provided by the ordering by James' son in 1787 of an eight horse-power Boulton and Watt steam engine which would have cost about £500 to install followed by a rent of £40 per annum.[1]

v) Before the venture with Hargreaves, James was a joiner and stocking frame-smith in Nottingham. In the eighteenth century to have been a skilled joiner would almost certainly have entailed an apprenticeship.

Principal sources: Aspin, 1964, pp. 22, 25-27, 34, 75; Smith, 1965, pp. 92.

KENNEDY, James (A)

"James, the brother of John Kennedy, was another who came to Manchester in the same way (as John, James M'Connel and the Murrays) and commenced spinning successfully on his own account."[2] John Kennedy is dealt with in detail below.

[1]This estimate is based on figures given in Unwin, 1924, p. 131.

[2]Lee, 1972, p. 13.

KENNEDY, John, 1769-? (A)

ii) In 1791, with James M'Connel as an active partner and the Sandford brothers as investing partners, Kennedy began business as a maker of textile machinery. Some mule spinning was carried on as a secondary line. By 1795, Kennedy and M'Connel had acquired sufficient capital to be able to break away from the Sandfords and commence machine making and spinning on their own. The latter quickly became their predominant activity.

iii) It is perfectly clear from Kennedy's account of his own life and from the business records of his and M'Connel's concern[I] that the partners were responsible themselves for the detailed supervision of the firm.

iv) The success of the enterprise is legendary in textile history; in the last year of this survey, 1800, profits were £4,700 and during the Napoleonic Wars this figure was far exceeded. In 1810 the business was valued at £80,000.

v) To obtain more than a glimpse into the early lives of eighteenth century industrialists is extremely unusual. John Kennedy, however, late in life, wrote for his grandchildren an account of his childhood and youth, and in what follows I have drawn very largely on this. The justification for such a detailed transcription is, I think, twofold; first, the very rarity of this sort of biographical material makes what is extant especially interesting; and, secondly, a number of other Manchester fine spinners hailed from the same part of Scotland as Kennedy and were apprenticed to the same trade.

John Kennedy's grandfather, David,

[I] These form the basis of Lee's history of M'Connel and Kennedy's concern.

> was settled in New Galloway[1] as a shopkeeper. He left an only child, my father. It would seem my grandfather was a careful man, as he had saved in his calling, and bought a small estate[2] called Knocknalling, which descended in course to his son, my father, Robert Kennedy.[3]

Kennedy's mother appears to have been in domestic service

> in the suite of some of the Pretenders' friends...(and) was finally with the Gordons of Kenmuir Castle, near New Galloway, and was married to my father about 1760, soon after which they went to Knocknalling to live, and farm the little property. My father had received rather a good education having attended the College of Edinburgh. My mother had had a tolerable education also, rather above what people of her station in our neighbourhood generally had.[4]

Both parents were Presbyterians though his mother, certainly, was very tolerant in sectarian matters.

vi) John was the third son in a family of seven and his father was often depressed "by seeing so large a family dependent upon him, and the very slender means he had for supporting them."[5] Life on the farm was harsh, which was usually the case in Scotland at this time, and presumably became more so when Robert Kennedy died while his children were still young. It is very likely that the young John Kennedy would have had to help to spin the yarn and weave the linen for some of his own clothes since flax growing for domestic purposes was common in Galloway in the eighteenth century.[6] If this were the case it would have given the boy an early practical understanding of, and interest in, some of the skills he was to apply as a manufacturer. Schooling was a fitful affair conducted for a

[1] Kirkcudbrightshire.

[2] Farm.

[3] Kennedy, 1849, pp. 2-3.

[4] Ibid., pp. 3-4.

[5] Ibid., p. 4.

[6] Donnachie, 1971, p. 82.

few months at a time "by some young person who was qualifying himself for the situation of public schoolmaster, or to be a minister or doctor in some country place...what we learnt at the end of one year was fogotten by the end of the next. Besides the master was often little better than his scholars."[1] Apart from this the only contact of the young Kennedys with literacy was through "reading the Testament and saying our catechism and writing our names."[2]

> ...my mother was a strict disciplinarian, and maintained, that to work and learn a trade was the only way to become independent, and that with some mechanical skill we should find employment in every part of the world, and stand a chance of getting forward in the world, if we would pay attention and improve ourselves, and have always a strict regard for honour and integrity.[3]

Here then, even before the industrial explosion of the eighties and nineties, is an example from a remote country district of the power of attraction of mechanical pursuits. The combination of his mother's encouragement and his own dissatisfaction with the dullness and discomfort of farm life led the young Kennedy to the point where "I at last screwed up courage to say, I would leave home and become an apprentice to some handicraft business."[4]

Three local boys, Adam and George Murray and James M'Connel,[5] had previously been sent to Chowbent, near Wigan, to become apprentices to a Mr. Cannan, a maker of textile machinery who had himself moved south from Kirkcudbrightshire and was in fact the uncle of M'Connel. At the age of fourteen Kennedy

[1] Ibid., p. 4.

[2] Ibid., p. 5.

[3] Ibid., p. 5.

[4] Ibid., p. 6.

[5] Infra, pp. 99,100, respectively.

followed them, taking nine days over the journey but enjoying the luxury denied three years earlier to M'Connel of riding on a pony."...I was to serve until I was twenty-one years of age for my meat and clothing, and I was to live in the house with Mr. Cannan, as all other apprentices did who were indentured on similar terms."[1] Although on the farm "We had not had many clothes, and as you can easily imagine, stockings and shoes were but a once-a-year fit-out, perhaps rather once in two years"[2], Kennedy obviously considered himself, in retrospect, a little spoiled by Mrs. Cannan and to this attributed his "little regard for money."[3] At some time during the years at Chowbent Adam Murray and Kennedy obtained a half-crown ticket for a series of lectures on mechanics and natural philosophy and attended alternately.[4]

The period when Kennedy and M'Connel were serving their apprenticeships was one of great expansion in the cotton trade and, consequently, one in which the specialist skills that they were acquiring were in short supply. This must go far towards explaining how, in the same year that Kennedy completed his time, 1791, he and M'Connel were able to find supporters willing to finance their first venture into business. By 1795 when the partnership with the Sandfords was ended Kennedy and M'Connel had each made a profit of £816, all of which they fed back into their second enterprise. During the years 1791-5 both men drew an annual salary of £40.

From 1803 Kennedy was an active member of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society to which he contributed a number of papers.

Principal sources: Kennedy, 1849; Lee, 1972, particularly chap. I.

[1]Kennedy, 1849, p. 10.

[2]Ibid., p. 12.

[3]Ibid., p. 10.

[4]At this time itinerant lecturers in science regularly toured the developing industrial areas. C.f. Hans, 1951, pp. 144-50.

LEESES OF OLDHAM

The name Lees was ubiquitous among cotton spinners in Oldham in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; at least nine appear to have been in business up to 1801. An impression distills fairly strongly from Edwin Butterworth's brief accounts of these men,[1] many of whom he must have known quite well, that they were the active directors of their concerns and largely very successful. Four, John of Mount Pleasant and Green Bank Mills, James of Castle Mill, John of Church Lane Mill and Daniel of Duke Street and Bankside Mills, were sons of men who mixed farming with the employment of textile outworkers and it is likely that the sons would have been introduced very early to the manufacturing processes. However, since there were by the mid eighteenth century manufacturers who had grown very opulent, it is not possible to assume that they would not have educated their children like young gentlemen and in the interests of objectivity only two Leeses can be included in this survey.

LEES, James, 1749-1822 (B)

iii) The Mumps Mill was founded in 1776-8 and at first employed probably less than forty workers. According to James Butterworth who seems to have been acquainted with James Lees, he was "A man who had raised himself by unremitting attention and industry, from the very drudgery of the spinning room to be one of the most opulent and first leading persons in the township of Oldham."[2]

iv) See above.

v) Lees's father was a quaker who, in 1772, had devised some improvement for the carding machine. Lees's brother, Benjamin, was an "ingenious mechanic".[3]

[1] Butterworth, 1849.

[2] Butterworth, 1822, p. 243.

[3] Butterworth, 1849, p. 129.

vi) In Quaker families schooling was normally functional with respect to a commercial career and apprenticeship was strongly encouraged.[I] That Lees was indeed trained for a commercial occupation is suggested by his attempting to set up a business as a stationer and bookseller in Oldham, presumably before the commencement of his spinning enterprise which took place when he was about twenty-seven. He was, Butterworth claims, "A first rate adept (in his day) in penmanship..." In what field Lees was apprenticed is not clear but Butterworth's comment above, that Lees "Raised himself...from the very drudgery of the spinning room", suggests that he may have worked at an early age as a spinner either as an apprentice or possibly at home since his father, who had made some improvement to the carding process, was clearly involved in the textile trade. That his father was interested in textile machinery would in any case have had, most probably, the effect of stirring some interest in his son and encouraging him in skills that would be useful to a future manufacturer.

Principal sources: Butterworth, 1849, pp. 129, 140-2, 151; Butterworth, 1822, pp. 243-4.

LEES, John, ?-1796 (B)

ii) Two mills were insured with London companies in 1795, Pit Bank Mill and Acre Mill. Their combined value was £3,400.

iii) When John Lees died in 1796 his thirty-six nephews and nieces each inherited £600!

iv) It appears from the insurance records mentioned above that he was the owner of the mills.

[I] Raistrick, 1950, pp. 32-4, 48-50; Braithwaite, 1919, pp. 535-6; Fox, 1903, p. 408.

v) Lees's father was a yeoman farmer.

vi) Hailing from a family that would not have been wealthy it is extremely likely that John Lees would have added to the household income by working the spinning wheel or by carding cotton wool as a preliminary to spinning. Such employment was widespread in Lancashire in the eighteenth century.[I]

Principal sources: Butterworth, 1849, pp. 70, 151; Chapman, Fixed Capital Formation in the British Cotton Industry, 1770-1815, 1970.

MARSLAND, Peter, 1770-1829 (B)

ii) In 1792, Peter Marsland's father, Henry, transferred his thriving spinning mills at Stockport to Peter and his elder brother, Samuel. The latter left the business in 1795 to set up his own works in Manchester.

iii) Since, from 1795, Peter Marsland was sole proprietor of the Stockport mills he could not have relied on a more active partner to direct the enterprise.

iv) In 1812 Marsland had more than eighty thousand spindles in his mills whereas 70% of firms had less than 10,000.[2] Thus he had clearly made a successful transition to mule spinning.

v) Henry Marsland senior was sufficiently well off in 1761, at the age of about twenty-eight, to build himself a house that was still, in 1922, lived in by a doctor and had been by the doctor's father. In 1769 he erected a cotton mill at Hazel Grove which was almost certainly equipped with jennies. "...having brought the newly invented spinning frame to a

[I] See chap. 2, pp. 25-7.

[2] Chapman, The Cotton Industry in the Industrial Revolution, 1972, p. 32.

successful working, he resolved to remove to Stockport, where he expected to find greater facilities for his work." This was in 1782. In fact he bought a silk mill which was converted to spin cotton. "Prosperity again rewarded his business genius, and in 1791...he retired..."

vi) Since his father was soundly established in business during Peter's childhood we may surmise that his sons would have received a few years at least of formal education. As Henry Marsland had begun spinning with the newly invented jenny in about the year of Peter's birth and had pirated Arkwright's carding principle, and probably that of the water-frame also, before 1782, it seems likely that his sons would have been caught up in the excitement of developing the new machines and in the associated business success of their father.

The historian of Stockport writes that Marsland "was early trained to mechanical pursuits and zealously cultivated their study. He was therefore capable of investigating the most complicated machinery..." The description implies, it would seem, a training which was completed by the time of his father's retirement which occurred when Peter was twenty-one. The word 'trained' also suggests systematic teaching which may have been obtained by an apprenticeship to a machine maker or similar craftsman. Alternatively Peter's father, who appears to have been heavily involved in the development of spinning machinery, may have passed on his knowledge to his son.

Principal sources: Astle, 1922, pp. 108-9; Heginbotham II, 1892, p. 344.

M'CONNEL, James, 1762-1831 (A)

ii) After completing his apprenticeship, in about 1788, M'Connel left Chowbent for Manchester to work for a Mr. Egglesome who was a machine maker and cotton spinner. When John Kennedy arrived in Manchester in 1791 the two men, at first with the Sandford brothers, and later, when they had gained sufficient capital, on their own, carried on a business as machine

makers and mule spinners.

iii) See 'John Kennedy'.

iv) See 'John Kennedy'.

v) M'Connel's father, James, farmed six hundred acres of poor hill country in New Galloway, Kirkudbrightshire for which he paid a rent varying from £26.13s. to, in 1779, £52.10s., the latter rent turned out to be too high to permit the farm to be commercially viable so that James senior was forced to leave in 1782. M'Connel's mother, Mary Cannan, died in 1768, James being her only child, and his father remarried in 1770. There were two children, a boy and a girl, of this second marriage.

vi) According to his son, James, M'Connel was "brought up in hard simplicity"[1] as was usual in all but the most well-to-do Scottish households at this time. "In the house and out of it, except on Sundays, they (the youth of the region) wore no shoes or stockings; oatmeal served them for breakfast and supper."[2] The farm "was, I believe, a thatched cottage without pretension."[3] Coming from such a background it is very likely that M'Connel would, as a child, have spun flax and helped with the weaving of home-spun, activities which were common throughout New Galloway during the eighteenth century.[4] In this way he would have been early introduced to the preparation and the properties of yarns, knowledge which would clearly be of value to the future cotton spinner.

[1] M'Connel, 1861, p. 132.

[2] Ibid..

[3] Ibid., p. 131.

[4] Donnachie, 1971, p. 82.

After his mother died M'Connel was not happy at home for his stepmother favoured her own children and when, in 1799, his father's rent was doubled life became even more uncomfortable since the elder James, beset with financial problems, took to drink.

"Thanks to the laudable desire for education in the Scotch of all ranks," M'Connel's son wrote, "my father was enabled to acquire the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic, probably at the parish school of New Galloway, distant four or five miles from my father's house. In riper years he contended with and gradually overcame some of the deficiencies of his education."[1]

M'Connel's father "was expert with his fingers, being able to make his own wheelbarrows"[2] and this mechanical bent may have had some influence on his son's choice of career for, in 1781, following another local boy, Adam Murray (infra), James M'Connel was sent to Chowbent, near to Wigan, to become the apprentice of his uncle on his mother's side, William Cannan, a maker of textile machinery. The journey was "made chiefly if not entirely on foot."[3] Later Adam Murray's brother, George (infra), John Kennedy and Alexander Smith (infra) also became apprentices at Chowbent. While he was living with his uncle, M'Connel was converted by, it would seem, another uncle, David Cannan, from his family's Presbyterian faith to become a Unitarian, a sect which was at this time expanding rapidly among the rising commercial classes.

[1] M'Connel, 1861, p. 132.

[2] Ibid., p. 123.

[3] Ibid., p. 133.

In 1788 M'Connel left Chowbent to work in Manchester for the machine maker Egglesome. This was a period when the specialist skills of men capable of building mules were in great demand and very soon M'Connel was in a position to begin building and selling his own machines. When he was joined in Manchester by Kennedy in 1791 M'Connel had accumulated £83 in cash and bills, of which £47.11s.6d. had been left to him the previous year in the will of his maternal grandfather, and £70 represented by two spinning mules which had been ordered from him and then left on his hands. All of this was put into the new venture with Kennedy and the Sandfords.

For some further details of M'Connel's early life, principally his apprenticeship, see 'John Kennedy'.

Principal sources: M'Connel, 1861, pp. 109-149; Lee, 1972, particularly chap. 1.

MURRAY, Adam, ?-? (A)

ii) Like M'Connel and Kennedy, Adam Murray, with his brother George, began as a machine maker and mule spinner in Manchester in the early nineties.

iii) The Murrays were the only proprietors of their business and must therefore be considered the guiding hands behind it.

iv) In 1811 the Murrays' concern was valued at £20,456 which was the highest valuation among cotton firms in Manchester. M'Connel and Kennedy were second with £18,153.

v) In his Recollections, John Kennedy wrote,

> The only family in New Galloway that was of our standing was the Murrays. Their father and mine were acquainted and had married about the same time. Mr. Murray had four sons. He had come into the country as a farmer, or greeve upon a large estate, but was unfortunate; so settled finally in New Galloway as a shopkeeper, about the time of my grandfather's death (that is about 1769).[1]

[1] Kennedy, 1849, p. 8.

vi) Kennedy's reference to the Murrays' standing must be seen in the context of social life in New Galloway at this time if it is not to be interpreted in far too grand a sense. Kennedy wrote of his own father's "slender means"[1] and pointed out that for himself "stockings and shoes were but a once a year fit-out, perhaps rather once in two years."[2] The social status of Kennedy's father had stemmed partly from his education in Edinburgh and partly from his father's modest success as a shopkeeper. Obviously social standards in these country districts of Scotland were not comparable with those in England and in any case Kennedy appears to have excluded from his comparisons the local landed gentry or lairds.

Almost certainly the Murray boys would have attended the parish school in New Galloway and have received the sort of rudimentary education in the three 'R's that was given to James M'Connel.

Adam Murray became, in 1780, the first of the boys from New Galloway to be apprenticed to the textile machine maker, William Cannan, at Chowbent, near Wigan. Cannan himself was an émigré from Kirkcudbrightshire.

For details of apprentice life with Cannan, see 'John Kennedy'.

Principal sources: Kennedy, 1849, pp. 8-9; Lee, 1972, pp. 12, 27.

MURRAY, George, ?-? (A)

See 'Adam Murray'.

George followed his brother to Chowbent to become one of William Cannan's apprentices.

[1] Ibid., p. 4.

[2] Ibid., p. 12.

OWEN, Robert, 1771-1858 (A)

ii) After a short period in partnership with a man called Jones as a builder of spinning machines, Owen, in 1789 or 90, having received three mules in exchange for his share of the business, employed three men to operate them and began to spin for himself. Possibly in early 1790[I] Owen was appointed manager of a large new mule spinning factory in Manchester employing five hundred men. After about four years he left this position to become managing partner in the new Chorlton Twist Company. Eventually he was the major shareholder and manager in the country's largest mills at New Lanark, near to Glasgow.

iii) By his own testimony Owen was the director of the various concerns in which he was involved.

iv) Owen claimed to have been successful in each of his partnerships. As a small, independent spinner employing three men he wrote, "I made on the average about six pounds of profit each week, and deemed myself doing well for a young beginner..."[2] By about 1798 "The new Chorlton Twist Company was...becoming well-known and proceeding prosperously."[3] And at New Lanark a profit of £160,000 was made in the four years 1809-13 on assets which the partners had bought in the first of these years for £64,000.

v) Robert Owen's father "was born in Welshpool, and was brought up to be a saddler and probably an ironmonger also, as these two trades were at that period often united in the small town on the borders of Wales."[4] His

[I] This date, which is given by Owen, does not seem to be confirmed exactly by his account of contemporary events. 1791 may be a more reliable estimate. One suspects that Owen occasionally errs on the side of vanity.

[2] Owen, 1857, p. 26.

[3] Ibid., p. 44.

[4] Ibid., p. 1.

mother was from "a numerous family, who were in...(his) childhood among the most respectable farmers around New Town."[1] Owen wrote,

> I suppose that on their marriage they settled in New Town, - my father taking up his own calling as a saddler and ironmonger. He was also post-master as long as he lived. He had the general management of the parish affairs, being better acquainted, as it appears, with its finances and business, than any other party in the township.[2]

Owen was youngest but one of five surviving children having a younger and two older brothers.

vi) At four or five Owen was sent to school in apartments in the local mansion.

> In schools in these small towns it was considered a good education if one could read fluently, write a legible hand, and understand the first four rules of arithmetic. And this I have reason to believe was the extent of Mr. Thickness's qualification for a schoolmaster, - because when I had acquired these small rudiments of learning, at the age of seven, he applied to my father for permission that I should become his assistant and usher, as from that time I was called while I remained in school. And thence forward my schooling was to be repaid by my ushership. As I remained at school about two years longer, those two years were lost to me, except that I thus early acquired the habit of teaching others what I knew.[3]

However he was a passionate reader and, he "generally finished a volume daily."[4] If we are to believe Owen, his reading was in fact wide and remarkably precocious.

Apart from his teaching duties, the young Owen appears, until the age of nine, to have been free of chores and, besides his omniverous reading, was at liberty to play the usual childish games and visit his young relations on their parents' farms. He also received dancing lessons and was encouraged

[1] Ibid..

[2] Ibid.,

[3] Ibid., p. 3.

[4] Ibid..

to play the clarionet. In fact in many respects Robert Owen's early boyhood seems to suggest that his parents were comfortably off and had attitudes towards their child's upbringing that mught have been expected in people of rather higher social status. However at nine a pattern began which complemented Owen's ushership and his breakfasts of flour and milk rather better than did dancing, clarionet lessons and browsing in libraries; he was put to work in a local drapery and haberdashery shop. At nine and a half he asked his parents if he might go to London and at ten he was sent off on the stage to stay with his brother in that city where he was to be found a position as apprentice in a draper's shop.

In fact the apprenticeship, which lasted three years, took place in a shop in Stamford, Lincolnshire, owned by a James McGuffog who had risen from being a hawker to owning an extremely prosperous business supplying high quality clothes to the gentry and middle classes of that region. Owen was well looked after and the hours of work were from about 10 a.m. to 4.00 p.m. so that he had time to continue his reading. At thirteen or fourteen he left M'Guffog to work in a large and extremely busy draper's shop in London. There, in the busy spring months, Owen was expected to work from eight in the morning until, often, two the next morning. This he did not like and quickly moved to Manchester to work again for a large draper. In London he had been paid £25 a year with board and lodging included; in Manchester he still received board and lodging but was paid £40 per annum. The latter wage was clearly more than enough for a young bachelor to live on very comfortably.

When he was eighteen Owen was approached by a young mechanic called Jones to join him in business manufacturing spinning and other textile machines.

The hundred pounds that was needed Owen borrowed from his brother who was a saddler in London. The partners quickly took on forty men, obtained materials on credit and began to build the machines which were at that time in great demand. Owen wrote,

> I had not the slightest knowledge of this new machinery...I was totally ignorant of what was required...Jones knew little about book-keeping, finance matters, or the superintendence of men. I therefore undertook to keep the accounts - pay and receive all; and I was the first and last in the manufactory...by intensely observing everything I maintained order and regularity throughout the establishment, which proceeded under such circumstances far better than I had anticipated. We appeared to be carrying on a good business; while, having discovered the want of business capacity in my partner, I proceeded with fear and trambling.[1]

When a third man, believing Jones was the inspiration behind the enterprise, offered to buy Owen out, his offer was accepted with enthusiasm.

The consideration Owen received turned out in the end to be only three mules but with these he began his first fine spinning concern. His premises were in a factory which he had rented and then sub-let to other manufacturers on such terms that he was in fact operating rent free. After several months successful business with the three mules, when he still nineteen, Owen applied for the position as manager of a new spinning mill which had been built on a lavish scale by a Manchester merchant called Drinkwater and which employed five hundred. There followed the famous interview with Drinkwater at which Owen, the precocious youth, blushed scarlet on being asked how many times in a week he got drunk - he did not drink at all - and then demanded £300 a year for his services. "Three hundred a year! I have had this morning I know not how many seeking the situation, and I do not think that all their askings together would amount to what you require".[2]

[1] Ibid., p. 23.

[2] Ibid., p. 27.

Drinkwater replied. Nevertheless Owen was given the job and was, one understands from his customarily immodest account, an immense success.

During these early years as a spinner Owen became a member of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society and mixed on intimate terms with assistants in the Manchester Unitarian College including the scientist John Dalton.

Principal source: Owen, 1857, pp. 1-38, 85, 86, 98.

PARKER, John, ?-?

ii) With another John Parker of Chancery Lane, London, Parker leased the Edisford factory, Low Moor, Clitheroe, in 1782 in order to spin cotton twist.

iii) Since the partners were J. and J. Parker, and one of them seems to have lived in London, it must presumably have been the John Parker who lived at Clitheroe who directed the enterprise.

iv) In 1787 a site for a second mill was leased which suggests that trade was acceptably profitable. When in 1791 the original mill was burnt down a large, new one of five storeys was erected which again appears to have reflected the partners' confidence in their venture. Also in 1791 J. Parker, J. Parker and Company opened a bank in Clitheroe. However in 1797 the Clitheroe Parker, who had in the previous year become sole proprietor of the cotton spinning business, was declared bankrupt.

vi) Langshaw, in a pamphlet on Clitheroe's cotton mills, claimed that Parker was a lawyer in Clitheroe and this received some confirmation from the inclusion of law books in the bankruptcy sale. Some caution is required,

however, as the notice of bankruptcy described Parker as a "cotton-spinner, dealer and chapman". Assuming that the occupation given by Langshaw was at some time correct, John Parker becomes the only example in this survey of a professional man, the recipient presumably of a protracted, classical education, who directed an industrial concern.

Source: Langshaw, 1953, pp. 1-4.

PEEL, Jonathan, 1752-1834 (A)

ii) (Most of the biographical information on the Peels is given under 'Robert I' and 'Robert II'. Here only additional material, relevant specifically to Jonathan, is included.)

Jonathan was a partner with his father, Robert, in the Brookside calico printing and spinning concern, near Blackburn, and in the later ventures.

iii) With his brother, William, Jonathan managed his father's business after the latter's retirement. William died in 1791 when Jonathan assumed sole control until his brother Robert was brought in after the first Robert Peel's death in 1795.

iv) Although he was not apparently such an inspired businessman as his father and his brother, Robert, Jonathan was presumably far from a failure since he played a sustained part in the phenomenal expansion of the Peel business empire. He died worth £600,000.

v) See 'Robert Peel II'.

vi) Jonathan was 'Parsley' Peel's fourth son. Like his brother Robert he was apprenticed to the calico printer or dyer Thomas Yates. It is also probable that, like his brother and father, he would have been a pupil at Blackburn's grammar school.

The discussion under 'Robert Peel II' of the probable early experience in the fustian trade of Jonathan's brother applies equally to Jonathan himself.

Principal sources: as for Robert I and Robert II and particularly Crossley, 1930, pp. 9, 11; Abram, 1877, pp. 216, 221, 222; Chapman, The Peels in the Early English Cotton Industry, 1969, pp. 64-7.

PEEL, Robert I, 1723-1795 (B)

ii) See 'Jonathan Howarth'.

Peel was one of the first to use the carding machine. In 1774 he set up a second and larger printing establishment at Accrington, the Church works. From this time the printing and spinning factories proliferated at a remarkable rate.

iii) After Howarth and Yates had seceded, Peel and his sons were left as sole proprietors of the Brookside factory, near to Blackburn. In his essay on the Peels, Dr. Chapman has written, "In the early years at Blackburn, 'Parsley' Peel was the innovating entrepreneur with two, and possibly three, inventions..."[I] That Peel and his sons continued as major directing influences during the expansion at Accrington, Burton, in 1779, and Bolton, in about 1787, there seems to be little doubt, though other partners were introduced. The first baronet, Robert II, wrote of his father, "He moved in a confined sphere and employed his talents in improving the cotton trade. He had neither wish nor opportunity of making himself acquainted with his native country, or society far removed from his native county of Lancaster..."[2]

[I] Chapman, The Peels in the Early English Cotton Industry, 1969, p. 62.

[2] Quoted in Corry II, 1825, p. 657.

iv) In 1795 the combined insurance valuation of the two Peel empires, those of Robert I and II, was £191,690 for twenty-three spinning mills and eight calico works, making them the largest cotton businesses in Great Britain.

v) Robert senior's father, William, a sickly man, died in 1757. Like Robert, his eldest son, he was probably a chapman in the wool and fustian trades. Certainly a family connection with wool manufacture existed in the seventeenth century. William owned a farm called Cross, or Peel, Fold (which would have cost about £100 a year had it been rented) and he would therefore have mixed his business as an employer of outworkers or a trader in yarns and fabrics, with farming, a dual occupation that was usual amongst the small textile manufacturers and country dealers in the eighteenth century. His rank in society would thus have been firmly within the class of yeoman farmers.

vi) Robert attended Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School, Blackburn. That he was not brought up to affluence is strongly suggested by the recollection of one of his contemporaries who spoke of "a tall, robust man, whose ordinary garb included a woollen apron, a calf-skin waistcoat, and wooden-soled clogs."[I] In his early years he had worked on his father's farm and would no doubt have had some personal experience as a child of spinning and weaving.[2]

Tha capital to finance his first small venture he raised by mortgaging the family farm.

Principal sources: Chapman, The Peels in the Early English Cotton Industry, 1969, pp. 61-8; Baines, 1835, pp. 262-4; Crossley, 1930, pp. 3, 10; Abram, pp. 213-222; Aspin, 1964, pp. 12-18, Peel, 1860, pp. 13, 14.

[I]Chapman, The Peels in the Early English Cotton Industry, 1969, p. 64.

[2]See chap. 2, pp. 25-7.

PEEL, Robert II, 1750-1839 (A)

ii) At first the younger Robert Peel helped his father and brothers at the Brookside works, near Blackburn. In 1773, with £500 from Robert I, he joined his uncle, Jonathan Haworth, and future father-in-law, William Yates, at Bury in a printing concern which rapidly burgeoned into one of the two largest industrial groups in the country - the other being his father's - engaged in spinning and bleaching on an extensive scale, as well as printing. After his father's death in 1795 he was brought into the other Peel partnerships at Burton, Accrington and Bolton which had been built up by his father and brothers.

iii) Clearly Peel was not sent to Bury in 1773 with £500 to become a passive investor in the printing venture. The men he joined were already established in business and were introducing at least as much capital as the younger Peel into the partnership. What was expected of him was plainly active involvement in management. The descriptions of Peel written in the last century dwell on his vigour in business and invariably appear to assume that he was the power behind the various enterprises in which he held a share.[1]

iv) In his own lifetime the scale of Peel's achievements were legendary. In 1791 his profits were £70,000 per annum, only eighteen years after his first venture. By 1802 the various works with which he was associated employed 15,000 men, women and children.

In 1780 Peel published a pamphlet on trade which introduced him to the younger Pitt and an association was formed which lasted for many years. The manufacturers' opposition in 1785 to free trade with Ireland was let by Peel[2]

[1] For example, Baines, 1835, p. 263.

[2] Campbell V, 1846, pp. 330-1.

and in 1790 he entered Parliament for Tamworth where he owned large estates. In 1800 he was made a baronet.

v) See 'Robert I' for an account of his father, Peel's mother was the daughter of a chapman in the textile trade and her brother, Jonathan Haworth, later to be Peel's partner, was also in the same business. She had seven children, six of them boys. Robert was her third son.

vi) Robert's childhood lay within the period when his father, as well as farming, was building up his business as a dealer and employer in the cottage fustian trade and was developing also his first small printing and spinning works. The elder Peel was remembered collecting "his Blackburn greys and checks while one of his sons, the future Sir Robert, took milk for sale at Blackburn."[1] The imaginative inspiration for business that such a background might have provided, as well as the practical knowledge, is not difficult to imagine. Travelling with his father among the Lancashire outworkers, Peel could hardly have avoided learning a great deal about textile manufacture, and in his father's workshops he would have had opportunity to join in the development work on both the new printing techniques and the jenny. The latter had been invented by Hargreaves, an employee of the elder Peel. In fact in such a large family it is not unlikely that the boys would, during the fifties at least, have spent some time spinning, or in the loom, themselves.[2]

Long after his father's death Robert wrote,

> I lived under his roof till I attained the age of manhood, and had many opportunities of discovering that he possessed in an eminent degree a mechanical genius, and a good heart. He had many sons, and placed them all in situations that they might be useful to each other. The cotton

[1] Chapman, 1969, p. 64.

[2] See Chap. 2, pp. 25-7.

trade was preferred as best calculated to secure this object; and by habits of industry, and imparting to his offspring an intimate knowledge of the various branches of the cotton manufacture, he lived to see his children connected together in business...[1]

Like his father, Robert attended the grammar school at Blackburn. There, as well as the classical studies which would have provided his staple fare, he learned some French and German. That his education in literacy was thorough is indicated by his writing, in his thirties, the political pamphlet mentioned above.

With his brother, Jonathan, Robert was apprenticed to the calico printer or dyer, Thomas Yates,[2] who lived near to Blackburn, at Livesey. Later he was sent to London and to the Continent to gain commercial experience, presumably when his father was becoming more prosperous.

Principal sources: as for Robert I; Chapman, The Peels in the Early English Cotton Industry, 1969, pp. 71-2, 80; Turnbull, 1951, pp. 74-5; Taylor I, 1846, pp. 6-10, 14, 36; Crossley, 1930, pp. 11-12; Peel, 1860, pp.21,32,33,34.

RADCLIFFE, William, c.1761-? (A)

ii) Having begun in business in 1785 as an employer of cottage weavers and also, probably, of jenny spinners, Radcliffe was, by 1789, engaged principally in producing muslin warps which would have been spun on mules. In 1801 his 'works' were at Mellor in Derbyshire, fourteen miles from Manchester, and he employed, presumably with yarn spun in his mule factory,[3]

[1] Quoted in Corry II, 1825, p. 657.

[2] It is tempting to see here some connection with the William Yates who is described as a partner of both 'Parsley' Peel, in the sixties, and Robert himself from 1773.

[3] Radcliffe's own account leaves an element of doubt about what his 'works' (p.14) and his 'large concern' (p. 16) comprised (Radcliffe, 1828).

"upwards of a thousand weavers widely spread over the borders of three counties."[1]

iii) Until 1799, when he took as a partner a moneyed young man with no experience of manufacturing, Radcliffe was the sole proprietor of his business.

iv) "...by the year 1789," Radcliffe wrote, "I was well-established, and employed many hands, both in spinning and weaving, as a master manufacturer."[2] In 1801 he owned an estate of £350 a year, worth perhaps £10,000, on which there was a mortgage of £1,800. At this date the manufacturing business was valued at £11,000 towards which his partner had contributed between £2,500 and £6,000. More than a thousand domestic weavers were needed to work up yarn spun in the Mellor mill.

v & vi) Radcliffe's description of his introduction to the cotton trade sums up vividly and succinctly the great advantages to a manufacturer of having been brought up in a cottage on the western slopes of the Pennines. His father was a small farmer on the border between Derbyshire and Cheshire who, in addition to farming, also

> resorted to the common but never-failing resource for subsistence at that period, viz - the loom for men, and the cards and hand-wheel for women and boys. He married a spinster (in my etymology of the word) and my mother taught me (while too young to weave) to earn my bread by carding and spinning cotton, winding linen or cotton weft for my father and elder brothers at the loom, until I became of sufficient age and strength for my father to put me into a loom. After the practical experience of a few years, a young man who was industrious and careful, might then from his earnings as a weaver, lay by sufficient to set him up as a manufacturer, and though but few of the great body of weavers had the courage to embark in the attempt, I was one of these few. Availing myself of the improvements that came out while I was in my teens, by the time I was married (at twenty-four), with my little savings, and a practical knowledge of every process from the cotton bag to the piece of cloth, such as carding by hand or by the engine, spinning by the hand wheel or jenny, winding, warping, sizing, looming the web, and weaving either by hand or fly-shuttle, I was ready to commence business for myself...[3]

[1] Ibid., p. 16.

[2] Ibid., p. 10.

[3] Ibid., pp. 9-10.

Principal source: Radcliffe, 1828, pp. 9-20, 38, 40.

ROBINSON, George, 1712-98

ii) Under licence from Arkwright, Robinson opened his first mill on the Leen, in Nottinghamshire, in 1778. By 1791 five more were added.

iii) Robinson and his sons, John and James, were apparently the sole proprietors of the six mills. That the father was still active in management in 1786 is shown by his negotiating with Watt for the erection of a steam engine.

iv) Dr. Chapman has estimated profits at £40,000 per annum by 1784 which receives some corroboration from the fact that the partners were able to build five mills by 1786, a rate of expansion even more impressive than that of Arkwright and Strutt.

vi) Robinson's real name was in fact Robertson and he had arrived in Bulwell, Nottinghamshire, in about 1737 from Kincardineshire. The only indication of his education is circumstantial though not without force. A published letter from him to James Watt, written in 1786, contains no punctuation and includes the statement "...all the works are set agoing..."[I] We might perhaps assume therefore that Robinson's schooling was restricted and that his class origin was fairly lowly.

Principal sources: Chapman, 1971, pp. 4,5,7,8,12; Marshall, 1956, pp. 34,41,43; Mellors, 1914, p. 42.

SMITH, Alexander, ?-? (A)

ii) Between 1799 and 1803, Smith with his partner, John McMundo, carried on a mule spinning business in Manchester in a rented portion of a factory. In the last of these years they were able to build, and occupy entirely, their own mill.

iii) The small scale of the first enterprise and the apposite nature of Smith's training as a textile machinery maker both suggest strongly that Smith's involvement would have been active.

iv) That Smith and McMundo were able, after only three years, to erect a spinning mill is an indication of high profitability.

In his family history, written in about 1861, James M'Connel described Smith as a "rich man".

v) The partner of William Cannan, the Chowbent textile machinery maker,[I] was called Smith and since Alexander Smith was apprenticed to Cannan it is possible that his father was, in fact, this partner.

vi) Smith was apprenticed as a textile machinery maker.

Principal sources: M'Connel, 1861, pp.133-4; Edwards, 1967, pp. 189-190; Kennedy, 1849, p. 9.

STRUTT, Jedediah, 1726-97 (A)

ii) In about 1770, Strutt, together with another wealthy hosier, Samuel Need of Nottingham, became a backer and partner of Arkwright in a scheme to exploit Arkwright's roller-spinning machinery. A first, horse-powered, mill was established at Nottingham and was quickly followed by a water-driven concern at Cromford in Derbyshire. A second Cromford mill was added in 1777. Apparently independently of Arkwright, Strutt erected a factory at Belper in 1778 and at Milford shortly afterwards. Both lay in the valley of the Derwent and were water-powered. Three more mills were built by 1793, two at Belper and one at Derby, the latter driven by a steam engine.

[I] See 'John Kennedy'.

iii) That Strutt, later to be joined by his sons, was sole owner of a number of mills is sufficient to establish his entrepreneurial status.

iv) The Nottingham factory was followed during a period of about twenty-three years by at least seven more water-frame enterprises in which Strutt had some share. This must be considered a fairly clear indication of his satisfaction with the earlier ventures.

v) William Strutt, Jedediah's father, was a small farmer and maltster of South Normanton in Derbyshire. He had three sons of whom Jedediah was the second.

vi) Jedediah's father was reputed to have been "a severe man who took little interest in the welfare of his children...; neither educating them nor promoting their establishment in society when at the years of discretion."[1] Jedediah himself referred to his education as having been "narrow and contracted".[2] In fact he appears to have attended the village school and his apprenticeship took place at Findern where a large Nonconformist academy was situated, offering a most liberal selection of subjects, including logic, mathematics, natural philosophy, chronology, anatomy, Hebrew, theology and Hebrew antiquities.

> It cannot be assumed that Jedediah actually attended the school...But the Findern associations no doubt gave him the spur to reading and self-improvement besides personal contacts that were to prove helpful. The Woollats, with whom he lodged at Findern, were of Dr. Latham's[3] congregation, and his master may have boarded lodgers from the school.[4]

There is, in Jedediah's letters written to his prospective wife, an attempt at a high-flown style which certainly suggests some exposure to literary influences. The following passage composed when he was twenty-five catches

[1] Quoted in Fitton, 1958, p. 2 (from Britton and Brayley's The Beauties of England and Wales, 1802).

[2] Ibid., p. 164.

[3] The Academy's head.

[4] Fitton, 1958, p. 3.

quite well the flavour of literary pretension combined with a rather restricted armory that was touchingly characteristic of the young lover. It is the first of the series.

> I have sufficiently seen this Folly (the inconstancy and dissimulation of women) myself...that I refrain from all private conversation with your sex and give myself to pleasure of another kind, you know I have always been fond of Books to Excess, and it is to these that I chiefly give all my Leisure hours, as yielding perhaps the most lasting satisfaction; for good company is what I am a great stranger to, since I left Findern...(I) am not fully satisfied, nor perhaps may never be so, for I realy don't know what I wou'd wish for next might I have it, for wishing; I am a servant and perhaps wou'd turn master, of what or who? or wherein shou'd I be bettered? it may be worse. I am single and at liberty, and it may that may be unhappiness; but shou'd I joyn the number of Hymens followers, shou'd I be happy then? by chance it might be so, if not, it wou'd certain be the contrary."[1]

Jedediah was brought up as a Presbyterian, both at home and, most probably, as an apprentice, under the influence of Dr. Latham who was minister at Findern. Later, like so many of the Nonconformist manufacturers, he became a Unitarian.

Jedediah's apprenticeship, for which his father paid a premium of ten pounds, was to a wheelwright. The term was for seven years and was completed when Jedediah was twenty-one. For the next seven years he worked as a journeyman wheelwright near to, and in, Leicester. In 1754 an uncle left him the stock on his farm and Jedediah took up the lease and began farming. With the encouragement of his brother-in-law he devised an improvement of the stocking frame, for which he was granted a patent, and from 1758 he became, in addition to his occupation as a farmer, a partner in a hosiery business.

Jedediah's training as a wheelwright was, of course, valuable to him as the owner of spinning mills powered by water-wheels. Almost certainly he helped Arkwright in the practical development of the water-frame and the early factories.

[1] Ibid., p. 8.

Principal sources: Fitton, 1958, particularly pp. 2,3,24,25,36,63,64,65; Espinasse, 1874, pp. 388-9; Digby, 1928, pp. 121-2; Chapman, 1967, pp.67-8.

STRUTT, William, 1756-1830 (A)

ii) When Jedediah died in 1797 the cotton-spinning and hosiery concerns passed to his three sons who traded as W.G. and J. Strutt. William has been selected for inclusion as he was the eldest brother and was very active in management. To have included all three of the second generation men would have weighted the sample of entrepreneurs unreasonably.

iii) William and his brothers were the only shareholders in the various businesses and were consequently obliged to undertake overall supervision.

iv) At the end of the Napoleonic Wars the Strutts owned the largest cotton enterprise in the country.

v) See 'Jedediah Strutt'.

Jedediah had met his wife, Elizabeth Woollat, when he lodged with her family during his apprenticeship at Findern. Later she worked as a servant in the house of Ebenezer Latham, the Presbyterian minister of Findern and head of the Dissenting Academy. Like Jedediah, and inspired no doubt by her contacts with the colleagues and visitors of her employer, she practised from an early age an ornate style of letter writing containing rather more grammatical and spelling mistakes than that of her future husband.

vi) The many letters between Jedediah and his wife, and between both of them and their children, that are published in Fitton and Wadsworth's sensitive study of the Strutts' business and social lives leave no doubt that great affection existed between members of the family. But it is also clear from the letters that the affection was not allowed to lead to anything like over-indulgence on the parts of the parents towards their

children. Duty, to their Faith and to their family, frugality and industry were the explicit principles by which conduct was to be judged. Thus Elizabeth Strutt writes to her children in 1774 of

> the confidence we have, of your not only behaving well to each other, but the Good Economy you will now[1] have the opportunity of shewing how much your Mistriss's of a steddy, regular uniform behaveour, with a Genteel frugallity, a long with that principle of morallity wch I have often observd with pleasure in all your Conduct, will make you, not only Dear to us, but Amiable in the Eyes of God and Man...[2]

The early, more or less untutored, enthusiasm of Jedediah and his wife for liberal knowledge and polite social intercourse was reflected in similar, but more systematic, interests on the part of their children. At nineteen William, writing to console his father on the death of Elizabeth Strutt, quoted lines by Addison which his mother had taught him and then went on in a literary vein strongly reminiscent of his father's own letters, though technically more correct:

> It is a pleasure to hear & read of great and good Men bearing up under all the weight of Misfortunes with Equanimity & Firmness of Mind & rising superior to all their sufferings, Glory in the Triumph.[3]

Later that year, in tones of reverence which would not have been approved by Dr. Johnson, Jedediah enjoined his sons to read assiduously and then to put into practice "so far as is agreeable & consistent with your rank and circumstances"[4] the principles of courtly behaviour which were advocated by Lord Chesterfield in the letters to his son. In his reply William wrote,

[1]With Jedediah she is in London on business.

[2]Fitton, 1958, p. 122.

[3]Ibid., p. 137.

[4]Ibid., p. 146.

> I am now perfectly convinced of the Utility of Learning & practising a Polite, easy Manner & Behaviour...I am particularly pleased with those passages on the employment of Time...for I think that Man must be very unhappy who knows not how to employ every Minute of his Time some way or other to advantage.[1]

In 1784 William became one of the founders of the Derby Philosophical Society and in 1817, as a mark of his eminence as an engineer, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. Among his acquaintances were Erasmus Darwin, a great friend, the Edgeworths, Robert Owen, Coleridge, the Benthams and those members of the Lunar Society to whom he was introduced by Darwin.

Despite Jedediah's respect for education, William was put to work in the business at the age of fourteen. This was at the period when Arkwright and Jedediah were struggling to get their first spinning venture under way. Almost certainly William, who possessed a flair for mechanical pursuits, would have been caught up in the development of the water-frame and this would have been at an age when the excitement of such an ambitious departure in business might have made a considerable impression.

There does not appear to be any direct evidence of what William was taught at school but his ability at eighteen[2] to express himself clearly and correctly in writing is an indication of a more than cursory training in English. In the letter he wrote in answer to his father's recommendation of Chesterfield's 'Letters', William, who was nineteen at the time, gave some clues to his schooling.

> I shall endeavour to Improve all I can in the French Language...as for Latin, I must confess I do not at present know what use it would be of to one in my station, but perhaps you could inform me, it is difficult, & must take up a great deal of Time, otherwise I should like to understand it. Algebra, & other Branches of the Mathematics, I only endeavour'd to learn enough of, to qualify me to read those Books which (in my opinion) treat on some subjects worth knowing...[3]

[1] Ibid., pp. 150-1.

[2] Ibid., p. 121.

[3] Ibid., p. 151 .

Principal sources: Fitton, 1958, pp. 109, 111, 112, much of chap. 6, 193; Felkin, 1867, p. 99; D.N.B. (under 'Jedediah Strutt').

UNWIN, Samuel, 1712-c.1780 (B)

ii) In the early 1770s Unwin appears to have been the first to follow Arkwright's example in setting up a roller-spinning mill. It was situated in Sutton-in-Ashfield, Nottinghamshire, and was driven by horses and oxen. By 1785 Unwin's sons owned three spinning factories though exactly when they were built is not known.

iii) The Sutton mill, of which the Unwins appear to have been the sole owners, was in the same town as their house and "Unwin and his two sons set out to make themselves into patriarchs of factory communities..."[1]

iv) Though it is not necessarily a reflection on Unwin's success as a cotton spinner, for he was also a hosier, dyer, bleacher, silk-thrower and trimmer, his wealth became, according to Dr. Chapman, "a by-word".[2] However the fact that the Unwins owned three cotton mills by 1785 does indicate indirectly that the first venture must have contributed to the family's prosperity. Certainly a sound businessman with knowledge of yarns and machinery, which Unwin had, who began spinning shortly after Arkwright, would have had every opportunity to succeed.

v) Samuel's father, Richard, was a framework knitter who in about 1720 had prospered sufficiently to erect a warehouse at Sutton and become "a 'putter-out' or agent to a Nottingham or Leicester factor..."[3] Two uncles were also framework knitters and one evidently became an employer for "he died a wealthy batchelor".[4]

[1] Chapman, Sutton Old Mill, 1965, p. 109.

[2] Ibid..

[3] Chapman, Sutton Old Mill, 1967, p. 79.

[4] Chapman, The Genesis of the British Hosiery Industry, 1972, p. 29.

vi) It was not until about 1740 that Unwin was able to become a merchant hosier having, in 1738, inherited money from his uncle to which he had added £200 borrowed from two Duffield farmers. "At his marriage in 1735, Unwin described himself as a 'stockinger', a word which suggests that he still spent some of his time as a frame operative."[I] It seems very likely, therefore, that Unwin, with a father and two uncles who were framework knitters, and being engaged himself as a knitter until his late twenties, would have been taught to operate the stocking frame as a child, either as an apprentice, to his uncle perhaps, or by his father. Such a training would have involved knowing a great deal about cotton yarns and their properties which would have been valuable to Unwin when he began as a cotton spinner. In addition, since Unwin's father appears to have been setting up as an employer during his son's boyhood, there would have been opportunity for the youngster to absorb some of the flavour, and the methods, involved in a capitalistic venture. It would be a mistake to make light of such an experience as a possible formative influence, for the day-to-day work of the business would have taken place in, or very near to, the domestic setting, not in a remote 'works'.

Principal sources: Chapman, Sutton Old Mill, 1965, pp. 106-9; Cahpman, The Pioneers of Worsted Spinning by Power, 1965, pp. 98-9; Chapman, The Genesis of the British Hosiery Industry, 1972, pp. 29-30.

YATES, William, 1739- (B)

ii) Though the matter is confused, Yates appears to have been a partner of 'Parsley' Peel and Jonathan Haworth, both as a chapman and in their first printing and spinning venture at Brookside, near Blackburn. The Yates

[I] Chapman, Sutton Old Mill, 1965, p. 107.

concerned may however have been related to the Thomas Yates of Livesey to whom the second Robert Peel and his brother, Jonathan, were apprenticed as calico dyers or printers. Certainly, however, William Yates, who had already begun printing calicoes and fustians at Bury, became in about 1773 the partner of the younger Robert Peel and his uncle, Jonathan Haworth, in a printing concern which soon grew to include spinning mills.

(See also 'Jonathan Haworth' and 'Peels, Roberts I and II'.)

iii) Yates' printing enterprise at Bury seems to have begun in 1770, about three years before he was joined by Robert Peel II. Thus he can be identified as an entrepreneur, in calico printing at least, in his own right. The Yates who was a member of the earlier partnership at Blackburn, if indeed he was the same man later to be found at Bury, was, it appears, active in the initial development work on the spinning and carding processes. Having been so heavily involved at this stage it seems reasonable to suppose that Yates would have continued in management during the later expansion.

iv) "By the end of the eighteenth century, the younger Robert Peel and his partners owned no less than twenty mills in Lancashire and the Midlands..."[1]

v) According to Blackburn's historian, "John Yates, of Blackburn, yeoman and innkeeper (of the Old Bull Inn), elected a Governor of the Grammar School in 1772, and died in May, 1781, was the father of William Yates."[2] Alternatively the chronicler of Bury declares Yates to have been the son of the hostess at the Bull in Bury.[3]

[1]Chapman, 1967, p. 91. Surprisingly Yates is mentioned in Chapman, The Peels in the Early English Cotton Industry, 1969, p. 66, as a partner in the elder Peel's Accrington and Burton concerns, though Abram, 1877, p. 217 and Crossley, 1930, p. 9, claim that he left the first Robert Peel's business in the sixties.

[2]Abram, 1877, p. 216.

[3]Barton, 1874, p. 58.

vi) Whatever the location of his parents' inn, Yates' class status was such that, living in the west of Lancashire, he would have been very likely to have added to his family's income while still a child by spinning or weaving. That Yates did not emerge from affluent circumstances is suggested by the fact that after several years in business he contributed to the Bury partnership with Haworth and Peel only £500.

If indeed Yates was from Blackburn, as is indicated by his father's election to the governing body of that town's endowed school, then it must be likely that, like both the elder and the younger Robert Peels, he would have attended the grammar school as a pupil.

Principal sources: as for the Peels; Barton, 1874, pp. 58-9; Chapman, 1967, p. 91; Abram, 1877, pp. 217, 409; Peel, 1860, pp. 16, 33, 34.

APPENDIX

OCCUPATIONS OF FATHERS OF ENTREPRENEURS NOT INCLUDED IN MAIN SURVEY

Entrepreneur	Father	Sources[I]
Clegg, William (Oldham)	Prosperous hat mfr.	Butterworth, 1849, pp.54, 142-3, 151-2
Davison, Robert (Arnold)	Medical practitioner - probably Presbyterian	Chapman, P.W.S.P., 1965, pp. 105-9
Evans, Thomas (Darley Abbey)	Fairly well off, owned mines - C. of E.	Forrest, 1957, pp.1, 2, 5, 23, 26, 33-4
James, John (Nottingham)	Joiner and framesmith	See main survey, 'Thomas James'; Aspin, 1964, p.75; Chapman, 1967, p.240
Lambert bros. (Lowdham)	Hosier - C. of E.	Chapman, 1967, pp.82-3, 240; Chapman, G.B.H.I., 1972, p.42; Brown, 1832, pp.12, 25; Robertson, 1910, p.130.
Lee, George (M'chester)	Actor manager	D.N.B., 1892, under 'John Lee'
Lees, Daniel (Oldham)	Farmer and fustian mfr.	Butterworth, 1849, pp.26.170
Lees, John (Oldham, Church Lane Mill)	" " " "	Butterworth, 1849, pp.26, 157
Lees, John (Oldham, Pit Bank and Acre Mills)	Yeoman	Butterworth, 1849, pp.70, 151, 191; Chapman, 1971, p.101
Lees, John (Mount Pleasant and Green Bank Mills)	Farmer and fustian mfg.	Butterworth, 1849, p.171
Marsland, Samuel (Mochester)	Cotton mill owner	See main survey, 'Peter Marsland'
Montieth, James (Blantyre)	Employer of domestic weavers - Presbyterian	Pagan, II, 1884, pp.51-3, 65-71; Stewart, 1881, pp.93-6, 105, 112-4
Needham, Ellis (Litton)	substantial yeoman, even minor gentry (uncle, who probably assisted financially, lead merchant)	Mackenzie, 1968, pp.12, 13, 15, 19, 21; Chapman, 1967, pp.200-1; Chapman, G.I.N.A., 1969, pp.87-9

[I] These, as well as referring to the father, provide justification for the entrepreneur's inclusion as an active and successful industrialist.

BOTFIELD, Thomas, 1736[1]-1801 (C)

ii) In 1758 Botfield became one of ten partners in a company formed to operate the Lightmoor furnace in Shropshire. In 1783 he took, it has been claimed without partners, leases of collieries on the Clee Hills and at some later date became agent for a Shropshire landowner, Isaac Hawkins Brown, who wished to develop the mineral resources of his Old Park estate, not far from Dawley. There, in about 1790, Botfield and possibly some partners built two furnaces to be supplied with coal and ironstone from mines that had been leased from Brown. Another furnace must have been added not long after this and a fourth was built in 1801.

iii) Randall's claim that Botfield was clerk to the Lightmoor Company before taking an interest in the ironworks for himself seems feasible since a new Lightmoor partnership was begun in 1758 in which Botfield had a share and it would have been perfectly consistent with the practice of the times for the Company to take in as a partner the clerk of the works. The cost of a small share in an association as large as that at Lightmoor need have been only quite modest, particularly if advantageous terms were allowed to the manager to encourage him to promote the firm's business with enthusiasm.[2]

The Old Park Works was controlled by 'T. Botfield and Company' and it would seem therefore that Botfield was the principal shareholder. Confirmation that he was also director of the enterprise was provided by his grandson who wrote that 'William (Thomas's son) succeeded his father in the management of the Old Park ironworks and collieries...'

[1]The date must be subject to doubt since Trinder, 1973, p. 72, states that he was baptised in 1738.

[2]This had happened, for example, in the Thorncliffe enterprise where, in 1799, Thomas Chambers took a quarter of the profits with an investment of £688 while Henry Longsden had invested £6,247 for a half share (Pollard, 1965, p. 151).

iv) That after eleven years the two furnaces with which the Old Park Works was originally equipped had been increased to four is in itself an indication of success. And that the expansion was not carried out at the expense of Botfield's share of the business is clear from the fact that one of his three sons (who had succeeded to their father's iron interests in common) was able in 1807 to draw a dividend of £13,000. The year before this, only five years after Thomas's death, the output of the Old Park Works had been the highest in England.[I]

At his death Thomas Botfield held estates in Northamptonshire and "mines, tenements and works in Shropshire and Flintshire..."

v) Thomas Botfield's father, Beriah (1703-54), a collier, lived in a cottage at Dawley. That he aspired to a proprietorial role in business is shown by the fact that the year before his death, with three partners, he leased land for mining in the Lightmoor area. Thomas was the only one of Beriah's children to survive into adulthood.

vi) Before becoming clerk at Lightmoor, Botfield was a breeches maker at Little Dawley. That he was engaged in such a humble occupation leaves little doubt of his lowly background and was almost certainly incompatible with an extended academic education. A skilled trade such as tailoring would have certainly required an apprenticeship training. However, since Botfield was later engaged as a clerk he must have had at least a basic acquaintance with the three Rs.

As his inclusion in the Lightmoor partnership took place in 1758, Botfield would seem to have acquired a 'shop floor' acquaintance with the iron trade at an early age. It is not unlikely that, having a collier for

[I] Scrivenor, 1854, p. 99.

a father, he would have had experience while still a child of working in a mine, an activity which was, of course, of great importance in an integrated late eighteenth century ironworks.

Principal sources: Our Coal & Iron Industries, Salopian and West Midland Journal, Nov., 1876, p. 39; Randall, 1908, pp. 464-5; Williams, 1965, pp. 49-51; Botfield, 1858, pp. 78, 81; Trinder, 1973, pp. 72, 403; Birch, 1967, p. 288.

BRODIE, Alexander, 1733-1830 (B)

ii) In 1786 Brodie bought the Calcutts Ironworks, near Broseley in Shropshire, from George Matthews. At this time there were two, or possibly three, furnaces which Brodie used to smelt iron for the casting of cannon.

iii) Contemporary accounts of the Calcutts concern mention only Brodie's name as proprietor. In 1799 he was described as "of Broseley" and was therefore living near to the works, presumably in order to be able to supervise them. His burial took place at Jackfield, a parish lying next to Broseley, further evidence of his close connection with the district in which his factory lay.

iv) During Brodie's occupation, one or perhaps two more furnaces were built at Calcutts which suggests that he considered the investment profitable. In 1799 he was reputed to be worth £100,000 and at his death he left "a fortune, it is said, of upwards of a million of money."

vi) At eighteen Brodie arrived in England from Traquaire in Tweedale "with only a few pence in his pocket, his necessities requiring him to spend his first week's wages before he had earned them."

For three years he worked in Huntingdonshire and from 1755, for two years, he was employed by Alderman Alexander, a London ironmonger and whitesmith.

From 1757 to 1758 he made engines to extinguish fires and in the latter year was making them in Huntingdonshire which suggests that his first period in that county was also spent working in a smithy, probably as an apprentice. This receives further support from his returning to London in 1759 as a master blacksmith, a craft status which is almost certain to have required apprenticeship training. In 1764 he patented a stove. At some time Brodie bought a share in a Manchester foundry.

Musson and Robinson describe a letter from Brodie to Boulton and Watt, written in 1798, as "most illiterate", a fairly clear indication that he received only a cursory schooling.

Principal sources: Randall, 1879, pp. 120-1; Our Coal & Iron Industries, Salopian and West Midland Journal, Nov., 1876, p. 36; Musson and Robinson, 1959, p. 438; Trinder, 1967, p. 255.

CHAMBERS, Thomas, 1745-1817 (A)

ii) See 'George Newton'.

iii) See 'George Newton'.

Habershon, the historian of Chapeltown, wrote of Chambers' "assiduous application to business in connection with the ironworks..."

iv) See 'George Newton'.

vi) Before beginning his partnership with Newton, Chambers "had worked for over thirty years as a patternmaker for the Walker Company before joining Smith, Stacey and Company..."[I] He had also, it seems, "been some years in the service of Smith, Stacey and Company..." Putting together these two statements suggests that Chambers would have been working for the Walker brothers by, at the latest, the age of eleven.

[I]The latter firm operated a foundry in Sheffield close to the premises where Newton was engaged in manufacturing ironmongery.

The village of Rawmarsh where Chambers was born was one of the areas around Sheffield where domestic nailers were to be found during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[1]

Principal sources: as for George Newton; Habershon, 1893, pp. 149-50; Hey, 1967, p. 141.

CRAWSHAY, Richard, 1739-1810 (A)

ii) In 1786, with two partners, Stevens and Cockshutt, Crawshay took the lease of Anthony Bacon's forge, foundry and boring mill at Cyfartha, near Merthyr Tydfil in Glamorganshire. For some years before this Crawshay had been Bacon's partner in the sale of cannon and shot, but not as a manufacturer. Later in the year 1786, after Bacon's death, the partners added to their interests the Cyfartha furnace.

Little is known of Stevens, but James Cockshutt, whose father had been managing partner of the Wortley Forge in Yorkshire, and whose brother had succeeded to this same position, had considerable experience in the manufacture of iron.

iii) Cockshutt left for Wortley Forge in 1791 after which there can be no doubt that Crawshay, who lived close to the works, was in complete control. The Duke of Rutland who visited Cyfartha in 1797 and has left a long, enthusiastic account of the occasion, was shown around the establishment by Crawshay who claimed to have "bent his whole mind on being a perfect ironmaster..."[2]

[1] Hey, 1972, pp. 6, 12.

[2] Birch, 1967, p. 86.

iv) Between 1790 and 1798 the capital invested at Cyfartha increased from £14,000 to £104,000.[1] In 1792 profits were eighty per cent. of capital. By the time of the returns prepared for the government in 1806, Cyfartha had easily the largest output of pig-iron in the country, more than 10,000 tons per annum.[2] Bearing in mind that Crawshay was also involved in a large way in the far more lucrative production of wrought iron, it is not difficult to believe the figure of £36,000 that has been claimed as his profit for 1802. He died reputedly worth £1½ million though the figure was probably exaggerated.

v) Crawshay's father was a small farmer at Normanton, near Leeds.

vi) The most authoritative description of Crawshay's early years was given by his grandson during an after-dinner speech at Merthyr Tydfil in 1847.

> At the age of sixteen, father and son differed...and my grandfather, an enterprising boy, left Normanton[3] for London, and rode his own pony up. When he got to London,,,he found himself as destitute of friends as he could possibly be. He sold his pony for £15, and during the time that the proceeds of the pony kept him, he found employment at an iron warehouse kept by Mr. Bicklewith; he hired himself for three years at the price of his pony. His occupation was to clean the counting house, to put the desks in order for his master and the clerks, and to do anything else that he was told to do.

It seems that he did very well for before two years had passed

> his master assigned to him, the Yorkshire boy, the privilege of selling flat-irons...The washerwomen of London were sharp folks, and when they bought one flat-iron they stole two. Mr. Bicklewith thought that the best person to cope with them would be a person working for his own interests, and a Yorkshire man at the same time.

[1] John, 1950, p. 39.

[2] Scrivenor, 1854, p. 99.

[3] Even when he was living at Cyfartha Crawshay retained a broad north country accent (Lee, 1955, p. 11).

Crawshay was apparently successful in his post and Bicklewith "in a few years retired and left my grandfather in possession of this cast-iron business in London." This had taken place by 1763, the year of Crawshay's marriage when he was twenty-four.

In 1772 Crawshay was a substantial pig- and bar-iron merchant trading from two wharfs and two warehouses in London.

Principal sources: Addis, 1957, pp. 4-9, 12, 15, 19; Birch, 1953, pp. 51, 91, 92, 95; Wilkins,1865, p. 195.

DAWSON, Joseph, 1739-1813

ii) With three partners, Dawson purchased in 1789 the Low Moor estate near to Bradford on which there were coal mines and undeveloped deposits of iron ore. A furnace and foundry were built and in 1791 production began. From 1795 the works was engaged in the casting and boring of cannon.

iii) Soon after the purchase of the mineral tract Dawson moved to live near the site of the future ironworks indicating that he expected to be involved in day-to-day management. In 1799 he became the first president of the Yorkshire and Derbyshire Ironmasters' Association and in 1800 delivered to this group a lecture on technical aspects of ironmaking. Both the office and the lecture are evidence of Dawson's role as an active director of his enterprise.

iv) A second furnace was in blast at Low Moor by 1796 and in 1806 there were four. The heavy investment that this expansion must have involved provides a strong indication of the firm's healthy condition. Between 1803 and 1806 Dawson was able to absorb a loss of £46,000 that he and a partner had made in a speculative coal-mining venture.

vi) Horsefall Turner in his account of Nonconformity in Idle has given the fullest, if rather sentimental, description of Dawson's upbringing.

> We hear of the lad picking up his learning as haphazardly as the City Arab obtains his food; he is taken notice of by a local friend and supported at Daventry Academy. He wishes to enter Glasgow University, and succeeds in obtaining aid from a Nonconformist charity...He leaves the University, but has not finished his studies...The poor student looks around for a situation, and Idle has a vacancy, passing rich on £40 a year.

This occurred in 1765. Already Dawson had developed a keen interest in science which may have been encouraged at Daventry where Joseph Priestley had been for a time a student, and which certainly would have been encouraged at Glasgow University where from 1756-66 Joseph Black was Professor of Medicine and was beginning to develop the lecture course in science which was to make him famous.

While at Idle, which is on the South Yorkshire coalfield, near to Leeds, Dawson

> opened coal pits on the hill beside the chapel. After a period of poverty he began to amass considerable means, and after much neglect of his religious duties left the ministry to become a full-time colliery operator.

The story has been told of his miners queuing to be paid after the Sunday service, which may be interpreted as either a profanation of the Sabbath or an incentive to godliness.

Principal sources: Horsefall Turner, 1876, pp. 46-8; Dodsworth, 1971, pp. 123-131; A Record of the Origin and Progress of Lowmoor Ironworks, 1906, pp. 5, 13.

DIXON, William, 1753-1824 (A)

ii) As is the case with so many accounts of Scottish industrial undertakings, a considerable degree of confusion reigns on the subject of Dixon's involvement with the Calder Ironworks and the following brief history must be considered as only tentative.

In his Rise and Progress of Coatbridge, Andrew Miller claimed that Dixon was a partner in the first Calder Ironworks which was set up in about 1795.[I] In 1800 a new company, excluding Dixon, in which one of the partners was David Mushet, appears to have taken the works. However, during 1803, the Calder Company was declared bankrupt and Dixon and a partner, who were the principal creditors, were able to buy the works cheaply. By 1807 Dixon was sole proprietor.

iii) That he was sole proprietor is sufficient to establish Dixon's responsibility for overall direction.

iv) In 1821 Dixon bought the Wilsontown ironworks which suggests that the earlier undertaking had not been a failure.

vi) In the year 1770 a number of young lads left their native county, Northumberland, England; and, after a time, they arrived in the county of Lanark, where they obtained employment. All of them, with two exceptions, never rose from the ranks of the working classes.

Dixon was of course one of these two. In Northumberland Dixon had apparently been a coalminer, and after some years at Govan, near to Glasgow, working presumably in the coalmines there, he became himself lessee of the Govan coalfield.

Prinicpal sources: Miller, 1864, pp. 104-6; Hamilton, 1932, p. 173; Ritchie, 1938.; Osborne, 1952, p. 13; Donnachie, 1965, p. 217; Butt, 1966, p. 199; Duckham, 1970, pp. 183-4.

[I] Hamilton, 1832, p. 173, and Osborne, 1952, p. 13, as well as Miller, give Dixon as a partner in the 1800 company but this is not confirmed by Butt and Duckham who seem to have consulted primary sources and whose version has therefore been accepted.

GALTON, Samuel (senior), 1720-99 (A)

ii) On his marriage in about 1743, Galton joined his brother-in-law's gun manufacturing business in Birmingham as an employee. In 1746 he became a partner having bought a quarter share of the firm for £2,500.

iii) In 1748, when his partner, James Farmer, moved to London, Galton was left in charge at Birmingham.

iv) In 1753 Galton became an equal partner, and after the Lisbon earthquake of 1755, which caused his partner's bankruptcy, Galton became the principal shareholder. By 1778, having become sole owner of the business five years earlier on the death of his partner, he had accumulated in the firm a capital of £91,404. His son, Samuel junior (below), was made a partner in 1775 after introducing £10,000 given to him by his father.

v) Galton's father, a Quaker, had belonged to a family of hardware and iron merchants in Bristol.

vi) From the age of fifteen, for seven years, Galton was apprenticed to a haberdasher of smallwares in Bristol. Coming from a well-to-do Quaker family[1] he would almost certainly received a thorough schooling in basic subjects, probably with a commercial bias.[2]

With his father engaged in the flourishing Bristol iron trade, Galton would have mixed at Meetings with other Quaker ironmongers[3] and listened to the commercial talk that was encouraged after the religious observances, thus favouring an imaginative identification with the iron business.

[1] In 1743 he had assets of £1,144 and later inherited estates.

[2] See below, p. 94.

[3] 'Ironmonger' is often used to describe a man who was more of a merchant than a retailer.

Principal source: Smith, 1967, pp. 132-5, 141.

GALTON, Samuel (junior), 1753-1832 (A)

ii) In 1775, at the age of twenty-two, with £10,000 given to him by his father, Galton became a partner in the family gun manufacturing business.

iii) After the elder Samuel Galton's death in 1799, his son was sole proprietor of the firm. Thus his responsibility for direction cannot be in doubt. Before this he had worked in the accounts office and, from 1775, had been manager of the business.

iv) By 1788 Galton's initial capital of £10,000 had increased to £43,000. At his father's death it rose to £139,000 and by 1832 when he died it had reached £300,000.

v) See above.

vi) (Samuel II) had attended several schools, including Warrington Academy (though after Joseph Priestley had left it). At seventeen, he entered his father's 'accompting house', having learned in 1767 how to keep accounts under the double entry system.

Principal source: as for Samuel Galton senior and p. 150.

GIBBONS, Benjamin, 1735-1832 (A)

ii) Though it is impossible to be precise about the division of responsibilities or ownership, shortly before John Gibbons' death in 1778, he and his three sons, Thomas, William and Benjamin, had interests in collieries at Ettingshall, Staffordshire, a forge and furnaces in Shropshire and iron merchanting businesses in Bristol and the Midlands. In 1779 the

brothers bought the mineral estate of Corbin's Hall in South Staffordshire on which there was ultimately built a large furnace complex, and to this, individually and collectively, they added other land purchases in the Kingswinford area. In 1788 the brothers entered the rapidly expanding Black Country smelting industry by leasing two furnaces near Kingswinford and in 1794 Benjamin was named as lessee of two more furnaces at Ettingshall. By 1815

> the Gibbons brothers had relinquished their Shropshire holdings and expanded in Staffordshire where they now operated seven furnaces on three sites...with ancillary forges and puddling furnaces at Cradley and Lye.

iii) Since William was permanently based in Bristol, in charge of the export-import side of business, and Thomas, a banker, "did not take too great an interest in the iron concerns", it seems that Benjamin, who lived at Kingswinford and who is described as an ironmaster, had responsibility for iron production.[I] There exists an account by Benjamin of careful experiments that he conducted in 1786 at the Shropshire forge on Cort's puddling process.

iv) See above. The heavy investment in plant that the brothers were able to undertake indicates that their business was flourishing.

In the severe post-war depression after 1815, the Gibbons became bankrupt. At this time a large proportion of Black Country ironmasters suffered the same fate.

v) In 1736 John Gibbons was established in Sedgley, Staffordshire, as a nailer and ironmonger which probably meant that he was an employer of outworking nailers. It was not until 1753, however, that he became involved in the production of iron when he became lessee of Pitchford Forge in Shropshire.

[I] This has been confirmed in conversation with Mr. W. A. Smith of Wolverhampton Polytechnic who is currently engaged in a detailed examination of the Gibbons papers.

vi) The only indication of Benjamin Gibbons' upbringing is provided indirectly by the little that is known about that of his brother, William, who was three years older. It does seem likely, however, that the brothers would have been educated on the same principles.

At fifteen William was sent to lodge with a Mr. Becket in Birmingham. He may have been a schoolmaster but since William was working as an agent in Bristol for his father three years later, it is possible that the period spent in Birmingham involved some sort of commercial training in the flourishing local iron trade.

Principal sources: draught of an article being prepared by Mr. W. A. Smith of Wolverhampton Ploytechnic on the Gibbons and very kindly lent to the present writer; Le Guillou, 1968, pp. 1, 2, 5; Smith, 1971, pp. 46-7; Smith 1972, p. 24; Burke, 1952.

HALLEN, Samuel, 1718-1786 (A)

ii) In 1740, with his brother, Cornelius, Samuel Hallen took the leases of Prescott Forge, Hardwick (slitting) mill and furnaces at Bouldon and Willey, all of which lay in Shropshire.

iii) The Hallens appear to have been sole lessees of the sites listed above. Samuel's house was in the same parish as the forge and mill and not far from Bouldon Furnace indicating, presumably, that he supervised the concerns personally. Possibly Cornelius, who was also an ironmaster, looked after the Willey furnace which was in a different part of the county.[I]

[I] He was buried at Madeley which is not far from Willey.

iv) The forge was producing one hundred tons of bar-iron per annum in 1750. In 1783 Samuel Hallen "of Bewdley" ordered a Boulton and Watt steam engine to blow his forge. Thus it appears that he continued in the forging business for at least forty-three years which is no mean indication of his competence.

In 1785 a Samuel Hallen built a blast furnace at Wednesbury in South Staffordshire.[1] It is possible, however, that this was one of Samuel Hallen's sons who was also named Samuel.

v) Samuel Hallen's father, Cornelius (1673-1744), was a maker of brass frying pans at Coalbrookdale. According to the family's chronicler, "Little is known of Cornelius, save that he appears to have prospered, and at his death his sons were in comfortable, if not affluent circumstances." In fact Cornelius seems to have branched into the forging of small ironmongery at Coalbrookdale Upper Forge since the Darby records refer to purchases made from him.[2]

Two of Samuel's uncles were panmakers though one of them, William, appears also to have moved into the manufacture of ironmongery.

vi) At the age of ten Samuel was apprenticed as a panmaker to his uncle, William.

Since Cornelius senior had rented a forge for smithy work before Samuel's birth his son would have very likely been introduced to metal work even before he was apprenticed.

[1]Smith, 1972, p. 24.

[2]Raistrick, 1953, p. 54.

Principal sources: Hallen, 1885, pp. 34-5, table IV; Lewis, 1949, pp. 3-4; Randall, 1908, p. 466; Ashton, 1924, p. 73.

HAWKS, William, 1730-1808[I] (A)

ii) In 1755, on his father's death, Hawks became head of the family forge at Gateshead which had been founded some eight years previously.

iii) As soon as his apprenticeship was completed, Hawks left Swalwell for Gateshead to join his father in the forge. Thus he was active in the business at an early age. "It was under his management that the extraordinary expansion of the ironworks began and flourished."

iv) See above.

Smiles referred to Hawks as a "thriving man".

By the time of his death Hawks and his partners owned extensive works on Tyneside employed chiefly in forge and foundry work for the Royal Navy. Other establishments were operated in County Durham, at Beamish and Lumley.

v) Hawk's father (c.1709-1755) was engaged as a blacksmith in the Crowley works at Swalwell in about 1730 and was later promoted to the position of foreman. In about 1749 he opened a small forge at Gateshead and within a short time was specialising in the manufacture of chains and anchors.

He had five children.

vi) Hawks served an apprenticeship as a blacksmith with his father's employers, Crowley, Millington and Company. "His principal trade consisted in making claw-hammers for joiners." "It is said that he received a good education, but at which school we have no means of ascertaining."

[I] The date of Hawks' death has been given as 1810 but the Fifteenth Year's Report of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1808, p. 6, contains a brief obituary notice.

Principal sources: Newcastle Weekly Chronicle, 29th October, 1898, p. 5; Hodgson, 1812, p. 285; Brockie, 1887, pp. 28, 31.

HOMFRAY Samuel, c. 1763-1823. (A)

ii) In 1784, financed probably by their father, Thomas, Jeremiah and Samuel Homfray took a lease of the Penydarren mineral tract near to Merthyr Tydfil and began to erect a blast furnace. About two years later the Penydarren Company became one of the first to take up Cort's new puddling and rolling process. In 1796 a second furnace was built and by 1811 there were three.

Samuel Homfray also became a partner, in 1800, in the new Tredegar Works.

iii) In the agreement of 1784, Jeremiah and Samuel Homfray were named as joint managers. Samuel lived at Penydarren until 1813, most of the time as chief managing partner, Jeremiah having left in about 1789 partly because he wished to concentrate on his Ebbw Vale Works and partly because he found his brother impossible to work with. Apparently Samuel also took a large part in the Tredegar management.

iv) Penydarren's was one of the great success stories of the early period in the iron industry's great expansion and the brothers Homfray were provided with ample opportunity to prove that they could spend money as fast as, or in Jeremiah's case, faster than, they could make it. Samuel became a great man at Penydarren, building a splendid mansion and driving about in state in a coach and six.

By about 1800 a thousand men were employed at the Penydarren Works and up to the year 1812, 265,000 tons of iron, most of it presumably puddled and rolled, were sent down the Glamorganshire Canal.

At Tredegar, too, production was built up until in 1817 output was higher than that of the large Plymouth Works at Merthyr Tydfil.

In 1818 Samuel Homfray entered Parliament.

v) The father of the Homfray brothers, Francis (1725-98), worked forges at Stewponey on the Stour and at Broseley, possibly at the Calcutts Works. In 1755 he was a customer for pig-iron from the new Horsehay furnaces[1] and before this, in 1749, was one of the group of men who leased the Melingriffith Tin Plate Works.[2] He lived at a country gentleman's house in Shropshire, Wollaston Hall, and at The Hyde near Kinver in Worcestershire, though it is not known when these occupations began. He had, in fact, married the daughter of The Hyde's owner.

vi) In 1782 Francis Homfray moved from the Midlands to Glamorganshire where he leased Anthony Bacon's cannon foundry and boring mill at Cyfartha. With him, to help, went his three sons, Samuel was at this time nineteen. It appears that before this the sons had been working in their father's forges. Two years later Samuel became one of the managing partners of the new Penydarren enterprise. In about 1786 Francis and his son, Thomas, returned to Shropshire.

Jeremiah, who was four years Samuel's senior, is shown in a letter of 1796 to have been a polished correspondent. It must be likely that Samuel attained a similar standard of literacy.

Principal sources: Lloyd, 1906, pp. 51-2, 17-8, 89-90, 139, 140, 151; Wilkins, 1867, pp. 156, 162, 168; Taylor, 1968, pp. 75 ff..

[1] Mott, 1959, pp. 273-4.

[2] Brooke, 1949, p. 204.

HUNTSMAN, Benjamin, 1704-76 (A)

ii) In about 1746, Huntsman, who was living at Handsworth, Sheffield, at this time, began to produce commercially his new 'cast' steel. His business was moved in 1770 to Attercliffe which is not far from Sheffield.

iii) Huntsman carried out experiments for several years before he perfected his steel making process. Thus he was clearly capable in a technical sense of supervising the manufacture. A clockmaker, and certainly not a moneyed man, Huntsman had to continue with his trade for five years before he was able to live on the proceeds of the steel business. It thus seems unlikely that he would have been able to buy himself into a sleeping partnership.

iv) Little is known of the commercial record of Huntsman's firm. Certainly it was not as outstandingly successful as was that of the Walker brothers, his first competitors. Nevertheless it continued in production during Huntsman's life, that is for thirty years, and still, in fact, exists today. In the eighteenth century the reputation of the steel produced was high.

v) Huntsman was the fourth child and the third son born to Quaker parents of German extraction who were living at Epworth in Lincolnshire. Smiles claimed that they had been only a few years in England at the time of Benjamin's birth.

vi) In 1718 Huntsman was apprenticed for a premium of four pounds to an Epworth clockmaker. By 1725 he was working for himself in Doncaster and in that year took an apprentice.

Having Quaker parents he was almost certain to have received some schooling.

Principal sources: Hulme, 1944, pp. 37-41; Smiles, 1878, pp. 102-113.

NEWTON, George, 1769-1825 (c)

ii) Newton, in 1790, became partner in a Sheffield concern manufacturing spades, shovels, trowels, hinges, etc.. Two years later Thomas Chambers interested him in setting up the Chapeltown foundry business which was later to become known as the Thorncliffe Works. One of Newton's principal attractions in Chambers' eyes must have been his access to capital through his former employer, Maskew, a London tea merchant. In fact Maskew was a shareholder in the foundry for only a year when his place was taken by another more or less passive partner. At about this time the partners decided to erect blast furnaces and the first was blown in during 1795, a second following in the next year.

iii) According to Ashton, who had studied the Thorncliffe manuscripts, Newton was responsible for organizing the financing of production and commercial affairs while Chambers acted as works manager. After Chambers' death in 1817 Newton became chief executive.

iv) In the years ending December 1794 and December 1795 the net return on capital employed was 22.3 and 24.7 per cent. respectively.[1] In 1797 a large financial injection took place from Henry Longsden, a sleeping partner, after which Newton and Chambers received a quarter share each of the profits, Longsden taking the other half. At this stage capital invested by Newton was £1,577 and by Chambers £688, most of which must have been profits ploughed back.[2] Eighteen years later, at the time of Chambers' death, the active partners each received one third of the profits and their investment had risen to £16,360 for Newton and £14,852 for Chambers.

[1] After payment of 5% on the partners' invested capital.

[2] Certainly salaries were small, an indication of an austere approach to financial control; from 1799-1811 Newton was paid only £80 per annum.

v) Newton's father, a linen draper and weaver of Staindrop, County Durham, was not very successful in business.

He had nineteen children of whom only three boys survived, George being the second. The eldest was 'pressed' into the army, an indication of the family's fairly lowly social standing.

vi) At the age of thirteen George Newton was bound by indenture to serve seven years as an apprentice to a grocer at Darlington. When he was twenty he left for London where he was employed as a clerk by the tea merchants, Hetherington and Maskew.

While he was living in County Durham, Newton was an adherent of the "Calvanistic doctrines of the Church of England", but in London, in 1787, he was converted to Methodism and remained for the rest of his life an enthusiastic member of the Wesleyan connection.

Evidence of his standard of literacy at about the age of nineteen is provided by the following passage from his diary.

> I have now 168 days to serve until my apprenticeship expires, which is just 24 weeks, six common months of four weeks, which is 14 days less than half a year. I came for 2,557 days and have been already 2,389.

Principal sources: The Story of Thorncliffe, Thorncliffe News, 21st August and 18th September, 1953; Habershon, 1893, pp. 147-8, 151-5, 160-3, 189-193; Ashton, 1924, pp. 157-8, 160; Pollard, 1965, p. 151.

PALEY, John Green, 1774-1838 or after (A)

ii) Some time after 1796 and not later than 1804 Paley became a partner in the Bowling ironworks near Leeds. Since he was "actively involved in the management" by 1798 it is quite possible that he was a partner at this time.

iii) See above.

For forty years Paley lived at a house on the site of the works, rising to superintend the business at 6.00 p.m..

iv) In 1848 the Bowling Company was one of Yorkshire's two largest smelters of iron.[1] Much of the large expansion that this implies must have taken place during Paley's management.

v) Paley's uncle, Richard Paley, a Leeds iron merchant, had taken a fifth share in the company which established the Bowling enterprise in 1788. His father, Thomas, belonged to a family of "gentlemen" at Longcliffe in Craven.

vi) According to Cudworth, "Mr. John Green Paley appears to have become connected with the Bowling Ironworks as early as 1791, he being then a youth of seventeen."

Principal source: Cudworth, 1891, pp. 206, 208, 214-6, 227.

PARKER brothers (George, the eldest, was born in 1740) (A)

ii) The five Parker brothers, George, Richard, John, Abraham and Benjamin, in 1783, either took the lease of, or erected, furnaces[2] in Tipton, South Staffordshire.

iii) The brothers appear to have been the sole proprietors of their business and were in any case hardly sufficiently well off initially to have sustained roles as passive financiers.

[1] Victoria County History of Yorkshire, Vol. II, 1912, p. 367.

[2] In William Wilkinson's survey of 1794, the Parkers, whose name is mispelled 'Parkes', were listed as operating two furnaces at Tipton (Smith, 1972, p. 24).

iv) Because the years in which each of the brothers retired from the business or died are not known, it is impossible to discriminate between their contributions to the joint enterprise. However some or all of the partners acquired at various times other works and mines in South Staffordshire and at Apedale in the north of the county "and carried on the business of Iron and Coal Masters in a very large way and became wealthy." In the year 1812 they had available for division a sum of £62,175.[I]

v) In his will, Anthony Parker (1706-66), the father of the ironmasters, is described as a "Victualler of Coalbrookdale". He had been brought up a Quaker but his marriage in 1735 to a Churchwoman, Hannah Pritchard, herself related to Quaker families, had led to his exclusion from the Society.

Anthony Parker's mother was Esther, sister of the first Abraham Darby, founder of the great Coalbrookdale concern, and this was to have a considerable influence on the upbringing which the grandchildren were to receive.

The father's will, which is described in more detail in the next section, makes it clear that his financial standing, though plainly above that of a labourer, was nevertheless modest. He appears to have owned his house and rented retail premises and to have had some small income from leasehold property.

Anthony Parker's brother-in-law, Cranage, a skilled workman at Coalbrookdale, patented, before Cort, a process for refining pig-iron using coke.

vi) Indications of the upbringing that the brothers would have received are indirect but fairly conclusive. Their father, in his will, "gave his dwelling house and premises held under lease...with his other leasehold

[I] The diverse accounting procedures used at this time make it difficult to pick out from company records what could be called a net profit in the modern sense.

property and his personal effects" to be held in trust for his children.[1] The income, less ten pounds for each executor, was

> to be applied towards furnishing his...children, Esther, Abraham, Sarah and Benjamin[2] with maintenance, clothing and education, until attaining 21 years, and he stated that it was his will, that when his sons should attain respectively the age of fourteen years, that they should be bound apprentice to some convenient trade or business for seven years, or should it be more agreeable that they should work at day labour, then his executors should receive their wages till they arrive at the age of 21, and apply the same towards their maintenance and clothing unless the said sons before attaining 21 should be able to maintain themselves out of the produce of their labour...

When the younger children reached twenty-one they were to be paid ten pounds each and on the youngest reaching his majority the estate was to be sold and the proceeds equally divided among all the children.

In the light of such a circumspect will it must seem more than likely that Anthony Parker would have ensured that his older children were also apprenticed and that they were brought up with a similar emphasis on economy.

The young Parkers were all trained, it would seem, (by the Coalbrookdale Company) as ironworkers, and for one of the brothers this is confirmed in a letter of 1779 by James Watt in which he writes that John Parker is "a tollerable (sic) smith and professes boiler making, wages about 12s. a week." This job with Boulton and Watt was, in fact, John Parker's first.

Though Anthony Parker had been expelled from the Society of Friends, his sons, whose grandmother was, after all, a Darby and whose cousins would have been Quakers, appear to have accepted the traditional family beliefs.

Principal sources: Dudley Herald, 19th July, 1919, article on the Parkers of Tipton; Ashton, 1924, pp. 192, 210; Gale, 1954, pp. 9, 11, 12; Raybould, 1973, p. 137.

[1] Three of whom George, Richard and Mary, were adults and named as executors.

[2] John is missing from the transcript in the Dudley Herald, presumably in error since his name occurs in later repetitions of names from the will.

REYNOLDS, Richard, 1735-1816 (C)

ii) In 1757, Reynolds joined the second Abraham Darby and Thomas Goldney, a Bristol merchant,[I] in the new Ketley ironworks in Shropshire and in 1762 he bought from Darby and Goldney a share in their Horsehay Works which had been founded seven years previously. During the years that followed, Reynolds acquired interests in many South Wales and West Country companies including those at Redbrook, Lydbrook, Monmouth and Melingriffith. In 1775 he bought the Goldney family's shares in Ketley and Horsehay and by means of large land purchases in this year and in 1780 became the principal landlord of the Darbys' Coalbrookdale Company in which he also purchased at some stage a fifth share. The partnerships at Ketley and Horsehay were passed on by Reynolds in 1793 to his sons and after the reorganization of the rather loosely connected Coalbrookdale group in the mid nineties, Reynolds was left as the éminence grise behind the company, owning no shares but controlling mineral rights and drawing interest as the principal creditor.

iii) From 1756 until 1763 Reynolds managed the Ketley Works. In the latter year Abraham Darby II died and Reynolds took over the direction of all the Coalbrookdale concerns, that is the ironworks in the Dale itself, those at Horsehay and Ketley, a forge at Bridgnorth and all the associated mines and quarries. To these, in 1766, Madeley Wood furnaces were added.

When the third Abraham Darby was considered old enough, at the age of eighteen, to take over at Coalbrookdale, Reynolds returned to Ketley in which he had the greatest interest, though he still seems to have exercised an overall supervision of Darby's management.

During the eighties responsibility at Ketley, as a matter of design, devolved upon Reynolds' son, William, and when the third Abraham Darby died in 1789 Reynolds was in a position once more to be able to move to the Dale where

[I] Both Darby and Goldney were, like Reynolds, Quakers.

he could oversee the broad policy of the professional management.

iv) Ashton has quoted Whitworth's Inland Navigation to the effect that each of the Coalbrookdale works were, in 1776, turning over £80,000 per annum.[1] This is clearly a gross exaggeration but certainly must reflect a conviction current at the time that the various enterprises were doing tremendously well. This is confirmed by Reynolds' spending of more than £50,000 on land purchases during the years 1775 to 1780 together with his acquisition during the first of these years of the substantial Goldney holdings in Ketley and Horsehay works. By the mid nineties, in fact, Ketley was valued at £105,000.

At Abraham Darby III's death the Dale Company owed Reynolds £20,000. During his life he was reputed to have given £200,000 to charity.[2]

v) Reynolds' father was a Quaker ironmonger of Bristol who, at the time of his son's arrival in Shropshire, was a large customer of the Coalbrookdale Company. Presumably it was he who bought Richard the initial share in the Ketley concern.

It was probably Reynolds' father who held Brecon Forge from 1753-6.[3]

vi) Between the ages of four and fourteen Reynolds attended a Quaker boarding school at Pickwick in Wiltshire run by a Thomas Bennet. Here, towards the end of his stay, he was becoming interested in Latin and History. At the age of fourteen he was bound apprentice to a Bristol grocer, William Fry

Bristol was an extremely important centre for the iron trade and

At the Fry houses and at Meetings of the Society of Friends he would meet and become familiar with the members of many families who were interested in trade and manufactures and also in the iron industry - Champion, Lloyd, Harford, Goldney and others.

[1] Ashton, 1924, p. 43.

[2] Dudley Herald, 19th July, 1919; article on the Parkers of Tipton.

[3] Chappell, 1940, p. 32.

Thus the young Reynolds would have received an imaginative stimulus from the interests of the prosperous ironmongers to whom he listened and from the general trade gossip that would have taken place after Meetings.

At twenty, when his time was served, Reynolds was sent to Coalbrookdale, ostensibly as Thomas Goldney's agent, where he was quickly employed in the management of the Ketley Works.

Principal sources: Raistrick, 1953, pp. 3, 81-90, 208, 213, 216; Rathbone, 1852, pp. 5, 13; Birch, 1967, p. 62; Greg, 1905, p. 171.

SMITH, John, 1728-84 (B)

ii) An old-established furnace and foundry near to Chesterfield were bought in 1775 by John Smith, a Sheffield cutler, and four other partners, all of whom were associated in some way with the iron trade. To these works were added a boring mill and forge. During the American War, which broke out at the same time as the business was established, the partners were able to take part in the lucrative casting and boring of cannon.

iii) After early difficulties with paid managers, and, probably in consequence, a surprising number of changes in the partnership, Smith, in 1777, moved to live near the works in order to maintain greater control.

iv) Though there is no direct evidence for the firm's success up to the time of John Smith's death in 1784, apart that is from its survival during the postwar depression of the iron business, it was sufficiently healthy to provide a base for future expansion under his sons.[I] When Smith died he was easily the largest shareholder so that he had not had to exchange control for capital.

[I] See 'Ebenezer Smith'

v) Smith's father, also called John, was apprenticed to a Sheffield Master Cutler, and after marrying his master's only daughter, inherited his father-in-law's business. This he considerably extended. In 1722 he was Master Cutler himself and he "played a great part in the public life of Sheffield." John was his eldest son.

vi) It is extremely unlikely that John Smith, who was to inherit the business of his father, a former holder of the highest office in the Cutlers' Company, would not have undertaken a proper apprenticeship or similar training. That the cutlery business still in fact continued in the family at a much later date is shown by the fact that Smith's son, Joseph Fletcher, was like his grandfather, Master Cutler.

Since his father was a prosperous, though not rich, man it is fairly certain that John would have been given a sound schooling in the basic subjects at least. The family's strict adherence to Congregationalism would have also helped to ensure that John was capable at an early age of reading the Bible. His capacity to write fluently quite early in life, as well as his rather stiff-necked puritanism, are illustrated in a letter written when he was twenty-one.

> Most Dear and ever honoured Father,
>
> I have for some time had it in my mind to send you a few lines, but not without a good deal of uneasiness for fear you should take it amiss and be displeased with me, the which I always dread, but am encouraged to hope that you will not when you consider the inducements I have to it, which are indeed of the greatest moment and concern, viz., 1st, the Glory of God, 2nd, my love and affection for you and 3rd, my own peace and satisfaction.

He then writes of activities "which too much prevail on the Sabbath Day" - reading of histories or newspapers, talking of worldly things and buying things on the Sabbath.

Another thing which I beg may not be allowed, is the keeping of servants or my brother Ebby from the worship of God upon very trifling occasion, the which my Mother is too much prone to...I am sometimes almost overwhelmed with grief when I reflect on the conduct of my brother Willy... he has no thought or concern about his immortal soul, yea, so far from that as to make a jeer and a scoff at everything religious...(and) keeping company with those who have no religion has been the means of bringing him to such a pass.

Principal source: Robinson, 1957, pp. 4-6, 9, 11-15, 66-9.

SMITH, Ebenezer, 1756-1827

ii) Shortly before the death of his father, John Smith, in 1784, Ebenezer moved to Chesterfield to help manage the 'Griffin' Works. With his brother, John, he soon succeeded to the business which afterwards traded as John and Ebenezer Smith and Company. By 1802 the brothers were sole owners.

Among the firm's regular customers were Boulton and Watt who bought castings from the Griffin Foundry for their steam engines.

iii) Besides his living on the site of the works, Ebenezer's involvement in management is shown by, for example, a letter to Boulton and Watt in 1806 which is plainly that of an expert in the foundry business. The historian of the Smiths' enterprises is inclined to assign the greater influence in the management to Ebenezer rather than to his brother.

iv) By 1796 there were two furnaces at the Chesterfield works, both in blast. By 1806 there were three, though only two were operating at that time.[I] Not later than 1794 the Smiths owned a Griffin Foundry in Manchester and in 1799 they built the Adelphi Works at Duckmanton which had in 1806 two blast furnaces. The Derbyshire work force, before the end of the eighteenth century, reached 1,200.

[I] Nixon, 1969, p. 57.

v) See 'John Smith'.

Ebenezer had a younger and two older brothers.

vi) Ebenezer

was educated for the Nonconformist Ministry and went to London where he was assistant preacher to Dr. Gifford at Eagle Street, and was expected to succeed him; but renouncing the doctrine of the Trinity, he was necessarily thrown out of that connection and carried some supporters to form a new connection.

Although Ebenezer's formal training would have been literary and theological, he would also have lived for many years in an atmosphere infused strongly with the spirit of the iron trade. His father was a cutler who would probably have carried on his business at or near to the family home. An apprentice or apprentices may well have boarded in the house, and two of Ebenezer's brothers became cutlers so that they would have served apprenticeships and added therefore to the family's deep involvement in ironworking. In these circumstances it would hardly have been surprising if Ebenezer had picked up some sort of technical foundation for his future career as an ironmaster.

Principal source: Robinson, 1957, pp. 4, 15, 17, 18, 27, 28, 37, 43, 58.

STAINTON, Joseph, ?-1825 (B)

ii) In 1780 Stainton was appointed clerk to the Carron Ironworks which had been founded on the Forth estuary some twenty years earlier. When Charles Gascoigne, Carron's managing partner, failed to return from Russia after his visit in 1786,[I] Stainton was made manager in his place. In 1791 he bought his first shares. By the time of his death he was principal shareholder.

[I] He was avoiding his creditors. In fact he made a fortune in the service of Catherine the Great and never returned to England.

The most important part of Carron production was probably the manufacture of armaments, particularly the carronade which made Carron's name world famous.

iii) See above.

iv) When Stainton became manager, Carron's affairs were in chaos and the return on capital was poor. Very quickly the position was improved and the Company continued to prosper during the whole of Stainton's period of control.[I]

vi) Stainton "came from an obscure background. He was a clockmaker in Keswick before coming to Carron as clerk in 1780." It is probably reasonable to surmise from this sparse information, first, that Stainton's background was not wealthy otherwise he would hardly have been a craftsman, and secondly, that, as a clockmaker, he would almost certainly have been apprenticed to the trade. That he was literate is evident from his appointment as clerk.

Principal source: Campbell, 1961, pp. 161-2, 179, 180, 164-175; Cadell, 1913 p. 186.

WALKER, Aaron, 1718-77 (A)

ii) See 'Samuel Walker'.

iii) See 'Samuel Walker'.

In his brief record of the Walker brothers' concern, a contemporary of Jonathan, probably Samuel himself, wrote in, it would seem, 1777, "Our partner Aa. Walker died, he had the internal management of the casting and steel trade, in which he exhibited more ingenuity than patience..."

[I] As Professor Campbell has shown in his fascinating dissection of the Company's financial affairs, Stainton was even more successful than the accounts seen by the other partners indicated. He was, in fact, misrepresenting progress on a prodigious scale so that he could buy shares cheaply. The company's real success can be judged from figures and comments in Campbell's history, pp. 164-175, 331-2.

iv) See 'Samuel Walker'.

v) See 'Samuel Walker'.

vi) See 'Samuel Walker'.

It must be almost certain that Aaron worked in the smithey from a very early age.

Principal sources: as for Samuel Walker; John, 1951, p. 13.

WALKER, Samuel, 1715-82 (A)

ii) In 1741, with the help of his brother, Aaron, Samuel Walker built on to the back of his cottage at Grenoside, not far from Sheffield, an air furnace in which pig-iron could be melted before being made into castings. Later, as business expanded, the partners, who now included a third brother, Jonathan, and John Booth, a dealer in bar-iron, moved to a better site at Masborough near to Rotheram and extended their activities to steel-making by both the cementation and crucible processes, and also to the primary smelting of iron. During the American War of Independence a great deal of attention was given to the manufacture of cannon.

iii) According to an account of the early development of the firm, almost certainly based closely on Samuel Walker's diary,[I] the brothers at first worked only part-time at casting and employed a friend, John Crawshaw, on an occasional basis. During the first twelve years only one man was hired with any experience in foundry work. When, in 1743, there was sufficient to do to justify Aaron devoting himself full-time to the business

[I] A history of the firm in the form of a journal was put together in 1870 by a descendant of the Walkers who seemsto have had access to a record kept by Samuel and continued by his successors.

he "had four shillings a week to live upon, and the rest of his time or wage balanced what Samuel Walker could spare from the school." In 1744, because of the foundry's success, Samuel had to give up his job as a school master and he "built himself a house at the end of the old cottage, then thought he was fixed for life; then we allowed ourselves ten shillings a week for wages to maintain our families." At Samuel's death, in 1782, he was described in the journal of the family enterprise as "the first partner".

iv) In each of the last two years of Samuel Walker's life £28,000 was divided among the partners. The firm's assets at this time amounted to, very roughly, £100,000.

v) The father of the Walker brothers, Joseph (1673-1729), "earned a moderate living through farming and making nails. The family had long been occupied in this way..." By his first wife, Joseph had two sons and a daughter, and by his second, three sons and four daughters, the sons being Jonathan, Samuel and Aaron. Joseph died when Samuel was fourteen. "The bulk of his personal estate of £61. 6s. 8d. was in farm stock; and his furniture and utensils, especially the equipment in the kitchen, were the sort that could be found in any of the local farmsteads of that time." His interests in property passed to his wife and on her death in 1741 Jonathan appears to have taken over the farm and Samuel and Aaron each had a cottage and joint tenant rights to another house which had come to Joseph Walker from his second wife's family.

vi) Ecclesshall parish, in which the hamlet of Grenoside lay, was in the early eighteenth century a prosperous centre of the domestic nailmaking industry in which farmers and cottagers were able to supplement their

incomes from work on the land with money earned in the small smitheys attached to their houses. Clearly a child brought up in one of these households could hardly have avoided learning something about the working or iron and, very likely, imbibing some of the mystique of the metal crafts. Samuel Walker's brother, Aaron, became a nailer like his father while Samuel's involvement in forge work is inidcated by a tradition which there seems to be no reason to doubt, that he made sundials in his spare time. This would presumably have been carried out in the smithey that it is known lay behind his cottage.

However, instead of mixing metalwork with farming Samuel seems instead to have kept it as a second string to a principal occupation as a schoolmaster, for at the time of the first casting trials he was master at Grenoside school. In Miller's history of Doncaster, published in 1804, there is a letter from one of the second generation of Walkers which claims that Samuel

> by diligence and close application, without any assistance than from a few books he acquired the means of purchasing...qualified himself for keeping school at Grenoside...

The story is not unlikely. It is a commonplace of the educational history texts that village school teachers at this time required often only a nodding acquaintance with academic matters since their pupils for the most part expected to be instructed in only the most obviously functional aspects of literacy and numeracy. Robert Owen's experience in a village school shows how easy it was for a bright pupil to rise quickly to the rank of apprentice teacher and no doubt it was a small step from there to the position of master.

This sort of route to the appointment at Grenoside school seems indeed to be the only one compatible with the fact that Samuel was orphaned at fourteen, for his father's estate could hardly have maintained his son in an extended education as a paying pupil. It also appears more than likely that during his period as a pupil teacher Samuel would have added to the family's income by working in the smithey.

Samuel was brought up as a member of the Church of England but later became first a Methodist and later an independent Dissenter. His religious beliefs appear to have been deeply held.

Principal sources: Hey, 1971, pp. 31-3; John, 1951, pp. (i), (ii), 1-3, 17, 18; Miller, 1804, p. 360; Guest, 1879, p. 486.

WEBSTER, Joseph, 1750-87

ii) In 1780, Webster inherited from his father, who was also called Joseph, forges and wire mills in the Birmingham area including the Penns mill in Warwickshire.

iii) After his father's death, Webster, who seems to have been sole proprietor of the various works, took over the management. He lived mostly at the Penns site.

iv) The first Joseph Webster had inherited his father's business in 1757 and had subsequently expanded it by purchase of the Penns concern and by taking up Huntsman's crucible steel process.

vi) Joseph II was sent to Market Harborough Grammar School. There is no indication of when he joined the business though the historian of the Penns enterprise writes of the adoption of the crucible steel process that

"it seems that the credit for its successful development ought to be shared with Joseph (II) who was with (his father)...for much of the experimental phase."

The Websters were Presbyterians.

Principal source: Horsfall, 1971, pp. 16, 17, 28, 29, 34, 36, 37, 43, 46, 49, 54, 57.

WILKINSON, John, 1728-1808 (A)

ii) The stages by which Wilkinson, an archetypal figure of the new industrialism, entered the iron trade are by no means clear. His father had become in 1753 an active partner in the Bersham Ironworks in Denbighshire and by 1757 John Wilkinson was described as "of Bersham, Ironmaster".[1] In that year he was one of the founding partners of the New Willey Company at Broseley in Shropshire and in 1763 became, it would seem, the sole proprietor of that concern.[2] At about the same time he also became the major shareholder in the Bersham Works. In 1766 or 1767 Wilkinson began to erect at Bradley, Bilston, the first coke-fired blast furnace on the South Staffordshire plateau. Thus by this time he already controlled what were to be his three principal ironworks, though others were afterwards built at Snedshill, Hollinswood and Hadley, all in Shropshire.

iii) Though little is known of the details of Wilkinson's various partnerships, he appears to have been sole proprietor at some stage at both Willey and Bersham. In any case it is abundantly clear from many sources, and particularly from the Boulton and Watt papers at Birmingham, that Wilkinson brooked no opposition in the vigorous direction, technical and commercial, of the concerns in which he held some share.

[1] Trinder, 1973, p. 38.

[2] Raistrick, 1953, p. 148.

iv) As early as 1788 a Scottish landowner referred to Wilkinson as "the greatest ironmaster in Britain"[1] and so high was his reputation in the Black Country that thousands turned up at Monmore Green seven years after his death to see fulfilled the rumour of his predicted ghostly reappearance astride his grey horse. More concrete indications of his success are provided by the great spread of his interests and by the very high rate of capital expenditure which he seems to have sustained.[2] At his death Wilkinson's industrial empire was allowed to waste away during prolonged litigation between his natural children and a nephew.

v) Isaac Wilkinson (c.1705-84), John's father, was a small farmer in Cumberland who was also employed in a local ironworks.[3] He has been recorded as claiming,

> I worked a forge in the North, my masters gave me 12s. a week, I was content. They raised me to 14s., I did not ask them for it, they went to 16s., and to 18s., I never asked them for the advance. They next gave me a guinea a week, and I said to myself, "If I am worth a guinea to you, I am worth more to myself."[4]

After this revelation he appears to have moved, possibly in about 1738, to the Backbarrow Furnace, south of Lake Windermere, where he was employed as chief caster but was also allowed to take ladles of molten iron from the furnace, across a road, to a cowshed where he carried on his own small foundry business. Principally, at first at least, he seems to have made hollow box-irons for which he had taken out a patent in 1738. Judging from

[1] Hume, 1965, p. 165.

[2] In 1795, for instance, Wilkinson was either operating, or in the course of erecting, thirty-one Watt steam engines (Ashton, 1924, p. 80).

[3] Probably the Clifton enterprise in Cumberland which was founded in 1723 and was one of the earliest to use coke in the blast furnace (Flinn, 1962, p.66)

[4] Hawkes Smith, 1838, p. 13 (ref. due to Chaloner, 1960, p. 25).

his later incursions into smelting, and from the well above average educations he was able to give to his sons, Isaac Wilkinson must have been quite successful in business at this time.

In 1747 he was one of four partners who built a new furnace at Lowood in the Lake District. Two years later his share was sold. From 1748 to 1753 he operated another furnace in Furness and then, in the last of these years, he became one of the partners in a new company formed to work the Bersham Furnace in Denbighshire.

After further speculation in the iron trade, Isaac Wilkinson finally sank into bankruptcy and was afterwards maintained, in Bristol, by his sons.

Of four patents registered in Isaac Wilkinson's name, the most important is a device for blowing furnaces by means of iron cylinders,[I] driven by a Newcomen steam engine. His son was later to use the idea at Bradley Works.

vi) James Stockdale, the author of the eccentric miscellany, Annales Caermoelenses, whose father was a neighbour of Wilkinson, wrote that in his foundry Isaac "was assisted by his elder son, John, then about twelve years of age; who, if tradition speaks truly, was actually born in a common market cart on the way to market." There is, of course, every reason to doubt such traditions but it does seem likely that John Wilkinson's early childhood took place in fairly humble surroundings and that in such circumstances he would indeed have been expected to help his father, both on the farm and in the casting shed.

Though the date of the event is not recorded, John, whose father, though a Presbyterian, inclined to the Arian views that were to become so prevalent among the eighteenth century commercial classes, was entered as a pupil of

[I] Leather bellows were normally used at this time.

Dr. Caleb Rotheram at the Kendal Unitarian Academy. There, in addition to a religious training, he would have received an education inclined towards science[1] and modern studies.[2]

At the age of seventeen, Wilkinson was apprenticed for five years to a Liverpool ironmonger[3] after which he set up in the same line himself in Liverpool. At a later date he appears to have joined his father at Bersham.

Both of Wilkinson's marriages, in 1755 and 1763, were to women of substantial wealth which was no doubt a great help in his initial ventures into iron smelting.

Principal sources: Stockdale, 1872, pp. 208-211, 219; Chaloner, 1963, pp. 22-24, 29; Chaloner, 1960, pp. 23-33; Dickinson, 1914, pp. 10-15; Davies, 1950, pp. 69-71. On Wilkinson's adult career much information is contained in the articles and books, mentioned above, by Chaloner and Dickinson and also in Randall, 1876; Smith, 1966; Morton and Smith, 1966; Smith, 1968; and Smith, 1972. In addition he is mentioned often in the general texts on the history of the iron trade such as Ashton, 1924, and Birch, 1967.

[1]Rotheram had been an itinerant lecturer in Natural Philosophy (Hans, 1951, p. 148).

[2]Some influence of these early experiences can be detected, perhaps, in Wilkinson's marriage to Joseph Priestley's sister and in his radical cultivation of French connections and his subsequent flirtation with Jacobinism.

[3]That is, iron merchant.

APPENDIX

OCCUPATIONS OF FATHERS OF ENTREPRENEURS NOT INCLUDED IN MAIN SURVEY

Entrepreneur	Father	Sources[I]
Booth, John (Masboro')	Well-to-do yeoman, possibly nailchapman	Hey, 1971, p. 34
Booth, John II (Masboro' etc.)	Nailchapman and iron master	" " pp.34-6
Bradley, John (Stourbridge, etc.)	Stepfather an iron merchant and mfr.	Mutton, 1969, pp.227, 235; Perkin, 1969, p.III
Butler, John (Kirkstall)	Possibly minor gentry	
Cockshutt, James (Cyfartha, Wortley)	Ironmaster	See main survey, 'Richard Crawshay'; Mott, 1971, pp.63, 69
Fereday, Samuel (Bradley, etc.)	Quarrymaster and stonecutter	Underhill, 1942, p.468; Chaloner, 1948, p.553; Birch, 1967, p.125
Hunt, William (Brades)	Nailmerchant and probably owner of slitting mill	Hill, 1897, pp.44, 49, 50, 62-3, 88-9
Knight bros. (Stour partnership, etc.)	Ironmaster	Lewis, 1949, pp.2, 5-9, 12, 17, 19-22, 25-6, 34, 36, 38-40
Lewis, William (Pentych, etc.)	Ironmaster	Chappell, 1940, pp.24-7; Wilkins, 1867, p.176; Brooke, 1944, pp.155, 164, 166-7
Morgan, John (Carmarthen, Kidwelly, etc.)	Ironmaster	See 'Robert Morgan', his father, below; Brooke, 1944, p.14
Morgan, Robert (Carmarthen, Kidwelly, etc.)	Shopkeeper	Green, 1915, pp.247-55; Evans, 1938, pp.136-7
Outram, Benjamin (Butterley)	Civil engineer and ironmaster	Lindsay, 1965, 25, 27-8; D.N.B., 1895; Leader, 1905, p.341
Swallow, Richard (Chapeltown, etc.)	Swallow was adopted by an ironmaster	Hey, 1967, pp.136-7; Raistrick, 1950, p.160
Webster, Joseph, sen. (B'ham and Penns)	Ironmaster and merchant - Presbyterian	Horsfall, 1971, pp.25, 26, 29, 31, 34, 36-8, 54

[I] These, as well as referring to the father, provide justification for the entrepreneur's inclusion as an active and successful industrialist.

CHAPTER IV

COMMENTARY ON THE SURVEY OF INDUSTRIALISTS

There are, I think, two fundamental questions to which one would hope to provide some sort of answer in an investigation of the upbringings of entrepreneurs. First, had these men received training that was relevant to their ultimate careers? And secondly, and not necessarily related, is it possible to identify any early sources of their inspiration? In fact there is also a third question, not directly connected with education, but clearly of consequence in any study of the social determinants of industrial enterprise, which may also be worth touching on, if only to try to assess its weight in relation to that of the educational issues. That is, from where did the leading and active manufacturers of the industrial revolution draw the capital to establish their businesses? Was the money theirs by inheritance or gift, or was it indeed a normal part of the entrepreneur's function at this time to seek ways of overcoming serious financial inadequacy? Each of these three avenues of enquiry are, of course, associated with the matter of class, but they also, in a sense, subsume such considerations, for it is precisely the factors of training, motivation and finance which would, in a class context, be expected to account for the dominance of any particular stratum of society.[1]

Now it must be admitted at once that no decisive answer to all, or indeed any, of the principal questions that have been raised can be given.

[1] I am here concerned only with the situation in Britain during the eighteenth century where no particular advantages in commercial and industrial affairs were allowed by law to a specific class.

Before anything other than a tentative conclusion can be offered a great many more business histories and biographies will need to have been written. Nevertheless it has proved possible to discover details, sometimes admittedly circumstantial, about some sixty men and it would therefore be surprising to find, on increasing the sample at a later date, that the strong trends that have appeared at this stage are specious. Of course it may be that only exceptional cases were ever considered worthy of record and that the surveys above are therefore merely a collection of sports. It seems likely, however, that at least a sizeable minority of genuinely representative entrepreneurs would have found their way into the lists to dilute any bias in the statistics whereas the evidence that has been assembled is quite consistent.

Vocational training and motivation

At the beginning of most of the notices in the biographical survey there occurs a letter coding which provides briefly an indication of industrial training. 'A' denotes the almost certain involvement of the subject as a child or youth either within the industry in which he was later active as an entrepreneur or in one which was fairly closely related.[I]

[I]Clearly experience as a millwright, instrument maker, framework knitter or merchant hosier, textile dealer, weaver or domestic spinner developed skills that were potentially valuable to a prospective cotton factory proprietor, such as an ability to build rotative machinery or a knowledge of the types and qualities of thread. This might be said to be true even in the case of a draper who not only learned to discriminate between fabrics but also had the opportunity to acquire an awareness of markets and a grasp of general commercial practice. Further, employment in any branch of the textile industry, by bringing the worker into contact with skilled operators in connected branches, provided him, to varying degrees, with an insight into wider aspects of the trade. Such a diffusion may be observed at the present time, for example, among the metal workers of the Black Country who, though they may be engaged in a fairly narrow occupation,

Where such a training cannot definitely be said to have commenced by, say, the age of nineteen but seems very likely to have occurred, a letter 'B' has been used. Finally, an apprenticeship or equivalent initiation into a trade not obviously associated with the cotton or iron industries has been marked with a 'C'.

Adding entries in the various categories we obtain:

(I) cotton spinners				(2) ironmasters			
no. in sample	A	B	C	no. in sample	A	B	C
39	21	14	0	24	15	3	3

If it is not to be misleading, this rather simple scheme requires one or two notes relating to boundary cases.

(i) the only draper who became a cotton spinner included under (I) A is John Cowpe. Robert Owen was also a draper but qualifies for category A by having been a machine maker at eighteen. Since training as a draper is perhaps the most contentious of the 'associated' trades that are included under 'A', its exclusion would not seriously alter the trends that are apparent.

as for instance foundry work, will commonly be found to be knowledgable in a formidable array of general 'engineering' skills.

A similar rationale is applicable to the trade origins of ironmasters. Thus an ironmonger, smith, collier, clockmaker or brassworker all had, to a greater or lesser extent, knowledge in areas of importance to the future owner of an ironworks, acquired either through their own work or by mixing closely with craftsmen and traders in related fields.

I have not dealt here with the question of the imaginative stimuli that might be applied to men working within these 'insider' trade groups nor of the great advantages for a factory master of knowing from his own experience how working men feel and behave. These matters will be discussed later in this chapter and in chapter X.

(ii) Of the four cotton spinners not included under 'A', 'B' or 'C', John Gardom, it has been suggested, would almost certainly have undertaken some sort of apprenticeship training, quite possibly in the textile trades; John Parker probably had no early training in business at all; George Robinson has only been admitted to the survey because it is possible to infer something about his schooling; and Samuel Greg could well have been working for his uncle, a cotton merchant, before he was twenty.

(iii) Of the entries under (I) B, Richard Arkwright senior and James Hargreaves are included simply because, as children of, it would seem, humble parents, brought up in the thriving domestic textile centres of Lancashire where domestic outworkers were in demand during the first half of the eighteenth century, it is very likely that they would have been expected, while young, to supplement the family income by spinning or weaving. Joseph Dunkerley and John Lees, whose fathers were yeoman farmers, would probably also have been employed as infant spinners living as they did near to Oldham, though the economic pressures on their families would not have been so great as for those of Arkwright and Hargreaves.[1]

(iv) Among the ironmasters, the most doubtful candidate for class 'A' is possibly William Dixon, a coalminer. However, though the arrangement of coal supplies in an ironworks of the industrial revolution was not perhaps the most central requirement of the establishment, it was certainly of considerable importance.[2]

[1] The very widespread and intensive nature of the cottage textile industry has been discussed on pp. 25-7.

[2] Joseph Dawson also developed his iron interests by way of coalmining. Since, however, this was not in his youth, he is not included in section (2) A.

(v) Apart from Ebenezer Smith and Joseph Dawson, who were trained for the nonconformist ministry, the other ironmaster who is unclassified is Joseph Webster. He has been included in the survey only because information is available about his schooling. Smith was in fact from a metalworking family. Dawson, whose origins are obscure, was apparently from a poor background.

(vi) Thomas Botfield, who, as a breeches maker, is under (2) C, could almost have been placed in the previous category since he was quite probably employed at the Lightmoor Furnace before he was twenty.

Bearing in mind, then, the fairly small sample that has been investigated, the sometimes questionable reliability of the data on upbringing, and the existence of one or two entrepreneurs whose antecedents lie rather close to the boundaries between classes (or even to the boundary between inclusion and exclusion), it seems nevertheless possible to draw this, fairly firm, conclusion; that active and successful entrepreneurs of the late eighteenth century revolution in the cotton and iron industries were, in the great majority of cases, actually working either as children or youths in the industry in which they were later to be active, or in one which was closely related. It is important, I think, to stress that for most of these men 'working' did not mean management, and certainly not anything remotely akin to management training. What they did, as apprentices or as employees, was a specific and productive job, usually under supervision. Where, in a few cases, they became managers before they were twenty or even, like Robert Owen and Henry Houldsworth, owners of businesses, it was only after

experience 'on the ground'; they did not start as supervisors.[1] Besides the businesses were so small that even as managers they would certainly have expected to turn their hands to anything that was necessary.

The advantages of such a training were threefold. First, the young worker was compelled to learn in the most comprehensive fashion about certain basic industrial and commercial processes; building machinery, spinning cotton, working iron, digging coal, keeping accounts, buying and selling. Thus, when he paid others to do these jobs, he knew very well what he might expect, and his employees, of course, were well aware that he knew. Related skills also he would have acquired, by rubbing shoulders daily with men who were experts. Secondly, and no less important, when he began his own enterprise, because he had been a worker himself and had mixed as a youngster with working men who would have seen no reason to erect the defences that are used against employers, he understood very well the nature of his workforce. And because this understanding was through his nerve ends, and because he could, if he wished, do perfectly well the jobs that his employees did, he was that much more likely to be respected than a man who had started near the top. And thirdly, absorbing at an impressionable age the flavour of the cotton and iron businesses, and working in small, intimate concerns with the men who had built them, his imagination would have been fired both by the complex and varied worlds of the trades themselves and also by the stories that inevitably circulate within 'insider' groups of exciting developments and of the men who have made their way to the top.

[1] Samuel Homfray may have taken a management role under his father when, at nineteen, he came to Cyfartha. Even here there is some suggestion that he had had previous experience in his father's Midland ironworks. Clearly, below a certain age management is impracticable since the manager will not be taken seriously by the workers.

This last factor, that of the entrepreneur's inspiration, is one which is easy to overlook in favour of the more obviously relevant aspects of vocational training, though it is certainly of the first importance in accounting for the avalanche effect in the early industrial revolution. Thus Aspin in his short history of the spinning jenny writes that "During the 1760s, the interest in spinning techniques in Nottingham all but mounted to a frenzy."[I] At this time Nottingham was a centre of the hosiery trade and contained many artizans skilled in the construction of the complex stocking frames. It was quite natural that such men should be caught up in the excitement of designing the new machinery. Indeed the enthusiasm was able to spread throughout the whole class of mechanics. John Rennie, the engineer, in a letter of 1791, complains to Matthew Boulton that "in respect to workmen the Cotton Trade has deprived this place (London) of many of the best Clockmakers and Mathematical Instrument Makers so much so that they can scarcely be had to do the ordinary business."[2] The same ripples of interest drew the young James M'Connel from the flax spinning areas of New Galloway to join his uncle, a machine maker, at Chowbent, near Wigan. Of the fame of particular men there is also strong evidence. When Robert Owen was seeking the hand of his employer's daughter he was outclassed by Samuel Oldknow, the manufacturer of muslins, whom Owen admits was a great man in the vicinity of Manchester. In his early history of the cotton trade, Edward Baines wrote of Arkwright that his fame "resounded throughout the land; and capitalists flocked to him, to buy his patent machines, or permission to use them."[3] How much more must Arkwright's success have acted as a stimulus to those who were already engaged in the cotton trade, or in the mechanical trades on which the construction of the spinning machinery depended?

[I] Aspin, 1964, p. 34.

[2] Musson, 1960, pp. 220-1.

[3] Baines, 1835, p. 183.

Literacy and numeracy

A second aspect of vocational education (if the semantic bounds of the expression are not being overstepped) was for the prospective businessman a basic grounding in the three Rs. It was fairly obviously of advantage to the managing partner of an industrial concern to be able to read and write letters and to be competent at the rather simple arithmetical operations that were involved in conducting a commercially efficient enterprise. Now to establish with any degree of statistical thoroughness that the successful industrialists of the late eighteenth century were not in many cases literate and numerate is of course an almost impossible task. For where the most obviously germane evidence, letters and accounts written by the men concerned, were lacking it could be argued that they had merely been lost. The opposing proposition, that the entrepreneurs had indeed received a basic schooling, could possibly be proven but would require a great deal of research among primary sources that has as yet hadly begun. In the absence then of the most objective sort of evidence it is necessary to make do with more tenuous inference. Two lines of reasoning, both leading towards the same conclusion, are, I think, fairly satisfactory. First, in reading a great many accounts of cotton spinners and ironmasters of the industrial revolution, I have encountered no single accusation of illiteracy. Even had one or two examples been missed it would still seem reasonable to suspect that the condition was rare.

Secondly, among the entrepreneurs covered in this survey, those whose backgrounds seem to have been most clearly working class can be shown in most cases to have been able to read and write. Thus, among the cotton manufacturers the first Arkwright, David Dale, John Howrocks, the Kennedys, James Lees, James M'Connel, William Radcliffe, George Robinson and Jedediah Strutt are known to have been, to varying degrees, literate; the Murrays were likely to have been so; while for James Hargreaves and Thomas James, I have discovered

no evidence either for or against. Similar results emerge from a consideration of the most apparently plebeian in origin of the ironmasters. Thomas Botfield, Alexander Brodie, Richard Hawks, George Newton, the Parkers, Joseph Stainton and the Walkers had almost certainly been taught to read and write, while for Thomas Chambers, Richard Crawshay, Samuel Hallen and Benjamin Huntsman evidence has not been immediately accessible. Huntsman, however, with Quaker parents, should almost certainly be placed in the former class.

If, then, these who were the least advanced socially as children were so frequently demonstrably literate, there seems little reason to doubt that others, whose parents were already firmly established in trade, and aware, therefore, of the advantages of a basic schooling, would have been even more soundly instructed. And for some of them there is clear confirmation that this was so. Thus Kirkman Finlay attended Glasgow University, the second Robert Peel was sent to Blackburn Grammar School, John Wilkinson was a student at Kendal Dissenting Academy, Richard Reynolds a boarder at a Quaker school in Wiltshire and Joseph Webster a pupil at Lichfield Grammar School under its highly regarded headmaster, George Priam. However, and this central fact will be taken up again later, in every case but one[I] this formal aspect of education was completed while the future industrialists were still only youths and they were then placed quickly in a situation where they were expected to work as well as to learn.

It should be emphasized that the level of formal education necessary to run a business did not (and often does not) demand long periods of tuition for an intelligent child. A year or so in a village school would probably have sufficed, provided that the skills acquired were later

[I] That of Joseph Webster who probably entered business at an early age though the point cannot be proven.

improved by practice in business or elsewhere. Of this there are ample indications in the preceding chapter. For example, Robert Owen's formal instruction at school had ceased, we are told in his autobiography, at the age of seven; Jedediah Strutt was bound apprentice at fifteen but still affected a decidedly literary manner in his love letters; George Newton, apprenticed at thirteen to a grocer, has left clear proof of his ability to write and cipher to whimsical excess; and John Kennedy, who left home at fourteen, was able to write in later life a plain, but lucid and readable, memoir. Even the shudderingly inelegant and ungrammatical letter of Arkwright that has been included leaves little doubt of its meaning, and in fact the energy and confidence of the author shine through surprisingly strongly.

A second, provisional, conclusion, it seems, can therefore be drawn about the upbringing of the active and successful entrepreneurs of the industrial revolution: that what they had been taught of reading, writing, and probably arithmetic, in their childhood, together with what they had added as intelligent adults, enabled them to deal quite adequately with the clerical demands of normal commercial routine, and, further, that the formal schooling that this entailed had rarely extended beyond the age of fifteen and would probably have been, even below this age, short and irregular.

The self-made man

It has not been an aim of this research to consider once more the relationship between business enterprise and protestantism or, allegedly even more meaningful in Britain, between such enterprise and dissent. The ground is well-trodden and that at least a positive correlation exists seems

fairly well proven.[1] The plan has been rather to assume that a potential for business could exist in a child, whether through the influence of protestantism, the civil constraints imposed on dissent, or any other mechanism, and to seek for ways in which this predisposition could have been converted to a positive preference.[2]

Now among the nineteenth century's more comforting preconceptions was the notion, popularised most notably by Samuel Smiles, that every poor boy had an opportunity to make his own fortune by hard work and initiative. Such a belief is of course no longer generally acceptable though it still lingers on, decaying rapidly, across the Atlantic. A consideration of the ways in which this faith that success was open to all and its attainment a reward of virtue became transformed to its opposite, that wealth comes only to the elect by birth and to the corrupt, would provide an interesting perspective on recent intellectual history but not one which is relevant to this research. A more limited, though not unrelated, question on which it may,

[1] The principal claim is, very briefly, that the emphasis in protestantism on the individual and rational nature of the soul's struggle for salvation spills into the business life to become a dedicated, personal and well organised pursuit of commercial or industrial success. In the United Kingdom, the protestant tendency to use these 'spiritual' attitudes in the world of business was reinforced, it is contended, by the restrictions that were applied to dissenters which prevented them from entering Parliament, attending the universities and some schools, being employed by the government and serving on many corporations. Thus their energies were necessarily directed into other fields, including that of trade.

In fact, among the twenty-four ironmasters listed in this thesis, thirteen, including four Quakers, were dissenters, one was a Scotsman and might therefore be said to amount to another dissenter, and two were members of the Church of England. The remaining eight I have been unable to place. Among the thirty-eight cotton spinners, six were dissenters, including two Quakers, nine were Scots and five were attached to the Church of England. Eighteen are unplaced.

[2] The mental attitudes attributable to the effects of protestantism could, after all, be transferred to the study of classics, the development of science or even the playing of cricket; they represent only general aspects of character. Similarly, that being a nonconformist closes certain career avenues by no means implies that any particular alternative, such as a devotion to business, will be followed.

however, be possible to shed a little light using the results that have been gathered, is whether in fact the industrialists of the late eighteenth century were self-made men, that is men who had begun their carsers with little or no inherited financial advantage.

In the table that follows I have tried to group the subjects of the main survey on upbringing into two categories: the self-made men and the financially advantaged. Inevitably such a classification can be subjected to a degree, even a great deal, of rearrangement since the amounts of family wealth that were drawn upon are rarely known accurately and it is therefore difficult to say whether any particular entrepreneur had enjoyed a significant advantage. However there is given, I think, a rough indication of the opportunity for social mobility through industrial enterprise that existed at this time. The notes that follow the table deal in more detail with the method and reliability of categorization.

SELF-MADE	FINANCIALLY ADVANTAGED
COTTON TRADE	
Richard Arkwright I	Richard Arkwright II
David Dale	Edmund Baker
Peter Ewart	Archibald Buchanan
James Hargreaves	John Cowpe
John Horrocks	Kirkman Finlay
Henry Houldsworth	Thomas Gardom
Thomas Houldsworth	Samuel Greg
James Kennedy	Jonathan Haworth
John Kennedy	Thomas James
James Lee	Peter Marsland
James M'Connel	Jonathan Peel
Adam Murray	Robert Peel I
George Murray	Robert Peel II
Robert Owen	Samuel Unwin
William Radcliffe	William Strutt
Alexander Smith	
Jedediah Strutt	
IRON MASTERS	
Thomas Botfield	Samuel Galton I
Alexander Brodie	Samuel Galton II
Thomas Chambers	Benjamin Gibbons
Richard Crawshay	Richard Hawks
Joseph Dawson	Samuel Homfray
William Dixon	John Green Paley
Benjamin Huntsman	Parker bros.
George Newton	Richard Reynolds
Joseph Stainton	John Smith
Aaron Walker	Ebenezer Smith
Samuel Walker	Joseph Webster
	John Wilkinson

(i) In general an entrepreneur has been classified as self-made where it seems unlikely that he would have had access to more than a small amount of family capital, perhaps fifty pounds or so. It is difficult to conceive of this sort of sum as having been of great advantage since it was well within the reach of an ambitious and industrious young man to save as much in two or three years.

(ii) The most doubtful of the entries in the 'self-made' category are probably the Houldsworths since much of the capital for their early rapid business expansion was provided by an older brother who had inherited a West Indies fortune not long before. However the Houldsworths had established a small spinning concern with a minimal capital before this took place[I] and had afterwards persuaded their brother to become an investor when they had shown that the business was a sound proposition. This is demonstrated in a letter written in 1793 by Thomas to William Houldsworth. "It would be worth your while to look about you to see what way we are in, I suppose there are but few young men in Nottinghamshire would take such a step as we have done, to think of going into such a business as we are in, and that we knew nothing about twelve months since. I hope it will be to our advantage - there is little to be got without seeking out for it."[2] Thus, while it must be accepted that the Houldsworths had an advantage in William's fortune, he was nevertheless approached in a business like manner, as an investor rather than as a brother, and this sort of tactic was of course open to any poor projector.

[I] Henry bought a half share in a mule in about the September of 1792 and later acquired the other half. In spring, 1793, the brothers, with fifty pounds from William Houldsworth, added a second mule.

[2] Mcleod, 1937, p. 52.

(iii) In the two appendices to the principal survey there are shown the occupations of the fathers of some entrepreneurs about whom it has not been possible to discover anything of upbringing. In every case, with the possible exception of George Lee, whose father was an actor, the parent seems to have been sufficiently prosperous to have set up his son in business. Thus the roughly even division between the self-made and the financially advantaged which is suggested by the table above appears to be in serious doubt. The cause of the discrepancy may be of course that the principal biographical lists in this thesis are biased towards the self-made industrialists because, as was suggested earlier, these men had seemed to their contemporaries most worthy of record. This is, however, unlikely since the sources for the data on upbringing seem to have been inspired by quite other considerations than the eccentric origins of the businessmen involved. Thus John Kennedy, Robert Owen and William Radcliffe wrote accounts of their lives presumably because they felt that their actions had been of sufficient consequence to warrant some record; about Peter Ewart, the Houldsworths and James M'Connel memoirs were composed simply because of the industrial distinction of their careers; Richard Arkwright senior, David Dale, John Horrocks, Jedediah Strutt, Thomas Botfield, Alexander Brodie, Richard Crawshay, Thomas Chambers, Joseph Dawson, George Newton, Joseph Stainton and the Walkers controlled some of the largest enterprises of the industrial revolution[I] and were, one imagines, considered worthy of investigation for this reason; and James Hargreaves and Benjamin Huntsman have attracted chroniclers as two of the most important patentees of the period.

[I] Though his father's occupation is not known with certainty, it would certainly be possible to include John Guest of Dowlais Ironworks as a self-made man.

A far more likely explanation of the divergence of evidence is provided, I suspect, by the fact that it has been far easier to trace those fathers who were themselves prominent men, thus biasing the appendices in the direction of the well-to-do by birth. Indeed it is possible that the main surveys are similarly weighted.

(iv) Five cotton spinners and one ironmaster - Peter Atherton, Joseph Dunkerley, John Lees, George Robinson and Samuel Hallen - have not been included above because no indication is available of their fathers' financial status and John Gardom has been omitted because the modest estate left by his father may or may not have been used to finance the son's start in business.

In conclusion, it seems that for entrepreneurs of the two leading sectors of the eighteenth century industrial revolution a lack of financial support from the family was substantially less of a handicap than an unsuitable industrial training. Thus about half of the men in this survey appear to have been successful in business despite an initial want of capital, remedying the deficiency by saving, ploughing back profits or combining with moneyed men in joint ventures. For the industrialists who were more fortunate in their fathers, the advantage gained was only an initial one, allowing them to start on a slightly higher rung of the industrial ladder, saving, perhaps, a few years of preliminary employment. In truth the difference, one suspects, was not of over-riding importance. It is difficult to believe that the Peels, or Richard Reynolds, or John Wilkinson, with their training and personal characteristics, would have remained all their lives grocers, farmers or furnace clerks for lack of a few hundred pounds from their fathers.

Unsuitable upbringings: the Welsh and the Gentry

It has proved almost as instructive to consider why certain classes of men did not breed captains of industry as to attempt to explain why others did. Two categories especially have stood out while this thesis was being prepared as having missed great opportunities of taking a profitable part in the phenomenal expansion of British manufacturing industry during the late eighteenth century. These were the native inhabitants of South Wales, where in the last forty years of the century iron production rose from a negligible proportion of the country's output to about one third, and the aristocracy and upper gentry who, because of the rapidly rising agricultural prices of George III's reign, accumulated large sums of money which were available for investment. In fact I shall argue that the putative advantages of both of these groups were largely illusory, based, as they are, on notions of opportunity which are in truth of only secondary importance, while in rather more vital areas of knowledge and inspiration they were demonstrably lacking. The delineation of these inadequacies may also provide one of those not uncommon occasions when the study of an historical situation illuminates from an unusual angle certain present day preoccupations, in this case the educational aspects of the problem of encouraging growth in a stagnant economy.

In his account of the South Wales ironworks, based on an extensive study of original legal records,[1] John Lloyd noted that only three Welshmen appear to have been associated with the early industrial revolution on the Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire coalfield. Lloyd's criterion for selection was, in fact, rather kind to local entrepreneurial vigour in that it required only

[1] Lloyd, 1906, p. 130

evidence of a partnership. If one chooses instead only those Welshmen who are known to have been active and moderately successful as ironmasters the list reduces, I think, to one, William Lewis of Pentyrch, who was also an investor at Dowlais, (though even his claim is not above suspicion). The other two candidates, Thomas Williams and Walter Watkins, of Rhymney and Ebbw Vale Works respectively, dropped out of their companies within a year or two. In contrast to this dearth of enterprise among the Welsh, the huge potentialities of the Valleys were developed with outstanding enthusiasm by émigré Englishmen. At Merthyr Tydfil, for example, Anthony Bacon, a London iron merchant, built a fortune which at his death was reputed to have made him the third richest man in the kingdom, Samuel Homfray, son of a Stour forgemaster, earned sufficient to buy himself a seat in Parliament, Richard Crawshay, an ironmonger hailing from Yorkshire, developed the country's largest ironworks and John Guest, at one time a Broseley ironworker, established the Dowlais concern which was to become the greatest in the world. The same story of English ironmasters and London and Bristol merchants seeing clearly the possibilities for development of the rich ironstone and coal tracts and wasting no time in exploiting them was repeated elsewhere in South Wales. Of course there were few, if any, non-aristocratic inhabitants of the area who would have had the capital resources of Bacon and Crawshay but, judging from the initial status as employees of Guest of Dowlais, Hill of Plymouth, Thompson of Tintern, Monkhouse of Sirhowy and Tredegar and Taitt of Dowlais, this was not an insurmountable disadvantage. Besides, as we have seen, there is ample evidence from other regions that capital could be raised, where the spirit was willing, by feeding back profits from a small initial venture, by borrowing, or simply by contracting a suitable marriage. Indeed remarkably

cheap leases were taken by men who knew what prospects for profit there were in the iron trade and took their chances early, as, ironically, the wealthy Bacon showed when he obtained forty square miles of mining land around Cyfartha in 1765 for forty pounds a year. What the indigenous population of South Wales seems to have lacked, it might be claimed, was not capital but rather knowledge and interest. For there was no large iron smelting and metal working industry in the region in the mid eighteenth century, and fifty years later the best opportunities were past. For this reason principally, I suspect, though no doubt other factors contributed, where in the Midlands, Scotland and the North of England the industrial revolution was often ushered in by local men, in South Wales the great fortunes were made by expatriates.

Essentially the same entrepreneurial deficiencies that were to be found among the Welsh existed also within the British upper classes: a want of both industrial knowledge and interest. There was, of course, no lack of interest in this milieu in the matter of making money; on the contrary the subject was of perennial fascination. But the ways in which wealth could be worked for were, on the whole, limited to government service, military and naval expeditions, farming and, for younger sons, in default of alternative, commerce. Industrial enterprise was hardly to be considered, except sometimes for the working of mines on a landowner's own estate or, later in the century, the digging of canals. For both of these could usually be managed at arm's length and still produce a profit since what was being offered for sale could not generally be turned down by the customer for a cheaper alternative. However, even passive investment in competitive industry was a fairly rare occurrence.

Now this disinclination for manufacture could be explained at two levels. The more fundamental would involve an analysis of why a class which little more than a hundred years previously had been a primary sponsor of heavy industry had developed an antipathy to such activity. One suspects that the answer might be connected with the fact that industry had become by the eighteenth century a rapidly changing and highly competitive area in which only expert proprietors, engaged in the detail of management, could hope to survive, whereas in earlier periods the structure of society had allowed a comparatively open field to the high born industrialist, protecting his efforts with monopolies of both law and power. Faced then with the necessity of either becoming more deeply involved in management or of being priced out of business, the gentleman, whose estates were in the later seventeenth century appreciating in value, was in a position to bow out gracefully, formalising his decision unconsciously as a class distaste for manufacture. The theory is, however, speculative and not of central importance for present purposes for it is in the second level of explanation, the educational, that we are primarily interested.

It is one of those obvious, almost trivial, educational truths which are, perhaps in consequence, sometimes forgotton, that adults will by and large have little interest in matters with which they did not make contact, physical or intellectual, as children. The evidence from many periods and places is probably sufficiently overwhelming not to require elaboration here. Now the son of a large eighteenth century landowner was exposed to an upbringing which laid great stress on liberal knowledge, religion, country life, polite social intercourse, politics and the service of the state.

Certainly, however, unless his parents were eccentric, he was not encouraged in the slightest degree to take any interest in manufacture, except, that is, in the global terms which are encountered in the academic study of history. Whatever benefits may have been gained from such an education, and I shall suggest later that they were not inconsiderable, there was on the whole excluded any possibility of an industrial vocation. Indeed, in a way which is to be met with in most educational systems, what the children did not learn to value was made more or less as a matter of course into the object of formal and positive dislike.[1] And to this cultural aversion for manufacture, which was itself quite strong enough to prevent most adults from taking any part in such activity, there was added a second, and even more potent, inhibiting influence, that, except for a training in the three 'R's, a gentleman was simply never initiated into most of those skills and attitudes discussed above which seem to have been necessary for its successful prosecution.

Corroboration for this view is provided by the few examples that did occur during the second half of the eighteenth century of forays by noblemen and wealthy gentry into cotton spinning and iron production, tempted no doubt by the vast and publicized fortunes being made there. Thus the Earl or Balcarres' iron smelting and cannon founding venture, which was begun at Haigh in Lancashire in 1789, was apparently a fiasco.[2] That he was forced by his position in society to rely on a paid manager is shown in a letter

[1]Again the point is probably sufficiently apparent to require little justification. The process can be seen at work at the present time in grammar schools where craft work is often considered by the pupils beneath them, in secondary modern schools where grammar school studies are thought of as pretentious, at Oxbridge where Redbrick students may be regarded as rather second rate and at Redbrick where Oxbridge people can be considered effete.

[2]Birch, 1967, p. 86ff..

written by his brother, Robert Lindsay, an East India merchant, who claimed that Balcarres' "rank will not admit of his directing the concern." Unfortunately the Earl's managers were never assets to the business. The first died within a year and the second and third were not to be trusted. During part of this period Lindsay grudgingly took over the direction for his brother but his heart was elsewhere and, when the opportunity arose, he left to follow his own interests. The Earl of Moira was also attracted to iron production and built, in about 1800, a large works in the Ashby Wolds.[1] Little more is known of the enterprise but since it does not appear in any lists of ironworks after that of 1806 we must presume that it failed. Of the Haigh concern, Birch writes in his history of the iron and steel industry that its failure "was unusual for the prosperity of several major firms was founded upon the profits of munitions" and of the Derbyshire concern, Smith, in his guide to the industrial archaeology of the East Midlands, comments that "while the Moira works went out of business fairly quickly, most of the other East Midlands ironworks survived, increasing their production enormously as the early railways improved access to materials and markets." Another instance of a gentlemanly incursion into industry is provided by Alexander Raby, a Surrey man who sold his Cobham Park estate for £175,000 and used the money to engage in ironworks and an early tramway in South Wales. His enterprises were, however, failures.[2] In Scotland Robert Wilson "inherited the remains of an extensive patrimony in Lanarkshire surrounding the family seat, Cleugh House." Here he first

[1] Smith, 1965, pp. 125-6.

[2] Bulletin of the Historical Metallurgy Group, Vol. V, No. 1, 1971; notes on sites visited.

ventured into industrial activity by sinking coalmines but seems to have been unsuccessful. Next, in 1781, with his brothers, John and William, London merchants, Robert began the construction of the Wilsontown ironworks where by 1794 there were two blast furnaces and ten forges. Once again there was a failure on the part of the paid management and in 1784 William Wilson was forced to take over the direction. The enterprise was in any case a financial disaster and by 1792-3 there had accumulated a deficit of £40,000 after a capital investment of £62,000. By 1812 the deficit had risen to £116,000 and in that year the creditors were given leave to sequestrate the firms assets.[1]

In cotton spinning I have encountered only two instances of enterprise on the parts of wealthy gentlemen[2] and both of these were also unsuccessful. Towards the end of the century the Earl of Derby, following in location only the lead of John Horrocks, built a cotton mill at Preston but by the early part of the next century it had failed because of the inefficiency and dishonesty of the manager.[3] The second concern was the Revolution Mill erected in 1788 by Major Cartwright, the brother of Edmund, the inventor of the powerloom. This was intended to spin worsted and cotton, and as with other examples of upper class industrial undertakings, proved to be effective only as a means of rapidly draining away capital. Thus within ten years production had ceased.[4] Though unconnected with either the cotton or the iron trades it is tempting to add to this list of business failures the ninth

[1]Donnachie and Butt, 1965, pp. 213-6; Donnachie and Butt, 1967, pp. 151-165.

[2]Samuel Greg's situation was rather ambivalent; see above, p. 75.

[3]Perkin, 1969, p. 74.

[4]Chapman, The Pioneers of Worsted Spinning by Power, 1965, pp. 103-5; Chapman, The Cotton Industry in the Industrial Revolution, 1972, p. 19. Edmund's power loom factories were also failures.

Earl of Dundonald, the owner of tar works, "an aristocratic inventor of remarkable virtuosity...(who) had considerable entrepreneurial defects. He possessed little business sense, as his son amply testified. Indeed his manufacturing ventures occasionally made money for others but were always personal financial failures."[1]

Two other cases have been put forward in which, before 1800, a gentleman may have been responsible for the ultimate direction of a moderately successful ironworks or cotton mill but in both of these the attribution 'gentleman' appears on careful inspection to be debatable.[2] In general, Dr. Chapman's valediction to Major Cartwright, that "he was quite ignorant of industrial techniques", might well be applied to all of the established examples, and in consequence there could never really have been much possibility that these men would survive in the ruthless and rapidly developing business world of the times. For their ignorance compelled them to depend heavily upon managers who turned out invariably to be incompetant or dishonest, or both. Indeed it was unreasonable to have expected otherwise since in the industrial climate of the period a talented man would have been likely to have owned a share in his own business; and besides, to appoint a manager with almost complete freedom of direction was almost to invite him to devote to his own enterprise, and not to that of his employer, the plant under his control. When, in the middle of the next century, satisfactory professional managers were to appear, they were recruited largely from the

[1] Hume and Butt, 1965, p. 162.

[2] The family of Ellis Needham of Litton Mill had no coat of arms and it is also likely that Needham, orphaned at twelve, would have been apprenticed to a trade (Mackenzie, 1968, pp. 12, 13).

Of Matthew Harrison of the Newlands Iron Company in the Lake District insufficient is known to establish him as a gentleman or otherwise.

middle and professional classes who were by then prepared to accept that industrial management was a worthwhile career. And from about that time, as it happens, the vigorous growth of British industry in comparison to that of its competitors began to decline.

There seems, then, to be possible another conclusion about the relationship between Georgian education and industrial enterprise, that if immersion in an industry at an early age was potent in developing both the will and the capacity of potential entrepreneurs to launch out on their own, the converse also was true: the upbringing of those groups which superficially had seemed to have outstanding opportunities of benefitting from the new industrialism had left the recipients with neither the abilities nor, in the case of the upper classes, the desire to engage in manufacture.

CHAPTER V

THE POLITICAL ELITE : AN INTRODUCTION

"In these days of wonderful propriety and general morality," William Hickey wrote in his memoirs, "it will scarcely be credited that mother Cocksedge's house was actually next, of course (sic) under the very nose of that vigilant and upright magistrate, Sir John Fielding..."[I] The period to which he was referring with not especially disguised nostalgia was that of his adolescence, the middle years of the 1760s, the 'house' was of course a brothel and the viewpoint was that of the closing decade of the life of George III. It would be difficult, I think, to illustrate more succinctly the cultural discontinuity which divided the uninhibited and hedonistic milieu of which Charles Fox was to become the charismatic symbol from that which in the early part of the next century was recoiling before the new puritanism. In the formation of the loose but powerful consensus which is the modern world's judgement of the eighteenth century the influence of the change was overwhelming. For the historians of the nineteenth century, bound as they were to acknowledge with enthusiasm their own age's self-conscious probity, were quite unqualified to comment dispassionately on a way of life which was in so many respects different from any that they could formally approve for their contemporaries and which was sufficiently close in time for its traces to be still fresh and titillating. Thus within a few years of the close of the eighteenth century, historical opinion on the governing class of the earlier era had hardened unfavourably and it is,

[I] Hickey, 1913, p. 71.

I think, broadly true to say that the collective judgement that was then established has been predominant ever since.

There was not infrequently, it must be admitted, mixed in with the customary air of disapprobation exuded by the nineteenth century critics, a grudging awareness of the earlier society's style and elan. Both the general hostility and guarded admiration are splendidly illustrated in the early life of Fox by Sir George Trevelyan. A historian of sensitivity, whose own writing suggests that he would recognise such an intangible as style when he saw it, Trevelyan wrote of the culture into which Fox emerged,

> ...a student who loves to dwell upon times when men lived so intensely, and wrote so joyously, that their past seems to us as our present, will never tire of recurring to the Athens of Alcibiades and Aristophanes, the Rome of Mark Anthony and Cicero, and the London of Charles Townshend and Horace Walpole.[1]

This is strong praise, but it is not left for long unqualified. Trevelyan comments first on the limited area of the circle in which Fox moved:

> A few thousand people who thought that the world was made for them, and that all outside their fraternity were unworthy of criticism, bestowed upon each other an amount of attention quite inconceivable to us who count our equals by millions.

The real roots of aversion, however, lay elsewhere.

> ...what was peculiar to the period when Charles Fox took his seat in Parliament...consisted in the phenomenon...that men of age and standing, of strong mental powers and refined cultivation, lived openly, shamelessly, and habitually, in the face of all England as no one who had any care for his reputation would now live during a single fortnight of the year in Monaco.[2]

The first major charge was, then, libidinous indulgence...and the second, open venality.

> We - who look upon politics as a barren career...can with difficulty form a just conception of a period when people entered Parliament, not because they were rich, but because they wanted to be rich, and when it was more profitable to be the member of a cabinet than the partner in a brewery.[3]

[1] Trevelyan, 1880, p. 71.

[2] Ibid., pp. 73-4.

[3] Ibid., p. 102.

Now these are matters which require in truth more careful attention than mere shocked illustration from the perspective of nineteenth century morality. Though there is of course a continuity in moral tradition (which must be invoked in historical criticism), the interpretation of this tradition by different ages will vary considerably. Much of the superstructure of observance in any given period is evidence not so much of underlying ethical foundations but rather of conventions in manners, and in the case of the Georgian political leaders particularly, whose thinking is close enough to our own to invite judgement by modern criteria yet who are in fact seperated from both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by a cultural fissure, it is necessary to maintain critical standards of almost anthropological objectivity. In the brief description of upper class life that is given here I have therefore tried deliberately to avoid certain established and obvious stances of moral censure and attempted instead to turn attention towards those cultural strengths which Trevelyan and his contemporaries had sensed but could not heartily admit.

Two areas in particular have seemed to represent what was most vigorous and valuable in aristocratic culture, the conduct of politics and the pursuit of liberal knowledge,[I] and it is on these matters that I shall concentrate primarily. Before turning to them, however, it may be helpful both for present purposes and as a preliminary to the discussion of later chapters to try to suggest briefly what I have understood to be the relationship between the concepts, 'elite', 'upper class' and 'upper class culture'. Very roughly

[I] I have pointed out earlier that I had intended initially to investigate the first of these but soon realized that an excellent opportunity was presented to deal also with liberal education.

these terms have been used in the senses which are outlined by T. S. Eliot in Notes Towards a Definition of Culture. Thus I have distinguished between 'elites'[1] and the 'upper class'

> which the elites served, from which they took their colour, and into which some of their individual members were recruited[2] (and from which, of course, elite members were often, though by no means always, drawn).

Within this scheme elites are seen as associating themselves with the manners and "the more conscious culture"[3] of the upper class even though particular members may not have been born into this milieu. It has therefore seemed reasonable in this thesis, while discussing the most potent of elites, the political, to refer to the behaviour of members as aristocratic even when they were not in fact of noble birth. Conversely, the outlook and conduct of politicians has been taken as illustrative of the culture of the nobility even though some aristocrats were far more of Philistines than a survey of politicians would suggest. In short, the lifestyles of the late eighteenth century ministers who are the principal subjects of this enquiry are considered to represent very largely the quintessence of the aristocratic way of life of their times.

[1]Eliot, after Mannheim, appears to have been prepared to accept that there were a number of elites, political, organising, intellectual, artistic, moral and religious, though he also distinguishes the elite which is, as I understand it, a common core of the individual elites. This last concept has not seemed wholly satisfactory since it appears to be only a rather complex way of stating that the members of the separate elites (of whome some would have multiple membership) are often, either by birth or adoption, participants in the general upper class culture.

[2]Eliot, 1948, p. 39.

[3]"...it is important to remember that we should not consider the upper levels as possessing more culture, but as representing a more conscious culture and a greater specialisation of culture." (ibid., p. 48.)

In eighteenth century Britain, as indeed in most periods and places, liberal interests were a growth encouraged by financial security and leisure. Among the politicians with whom we are largely concerned the first of these conditions was very substantially guaranteed either by inheritance or as a customary reward of political influence. As examples of the more princely patrinomial incomes may be included those of the Marquis of Rockingham and the Earl of Shelburne, both of whom were first ministers during the later years of the century.[1] At his death in 1782 Rockingham left to his nephew an estate worth some £40,000 per annum.[2] Shelburne, who died in 1805, bequeathed to two sons about £45,000 per annum.[3] Incomes of the order of £20,000 a year greater were probably inherited by a number of other late eighteenth century ministers among whom almost certainly were included Earl Temple,[4] the Duke of Portland,[5] the Earl of Carlisle,[6] Earl Spencer,[7] Earl Fitzwilliam,[8] and the Duke of Richmond.[9] It is difficult to assess how

[1] To appreciate just how comfortably these men were placed it will help to bear in mind that average per capita income in England was perhaps £12-£13 in 1750 rising to about £22 in 1800. A modern (1975) equivalent purchasing power might be obtained very roughly by multiplying the 1750 income by twelve and that in 1800 by nine. (These figures, which represent only orders of magnitude, are based on Burnett, 1969).

In Boswell's life of Johnson there is given an account of the life style of one Peregrine Langton who, it appears, was able to live modestly as a country gentleman on £200 a year. He maintained on this four servants, a post-chaise and three horses and a good table and was, in the manner of the times, very hospitable. His economy was clearly considered commendable but gives perhaps some indication of the cost of country living (Boswell, 1894, p. 178).

[2] D.N.B. (Fitzwilliam).

[3] G.E.C.Peerage.

[4] Judging by the land holdings of his successors in the mid nineteenth century (Thompson, 1955, p. 37).

[5] Turberville II, 1939, p. 27; Habakkuk in Goodwin, 1953, p. 10.

[6] Carnarvon, 1889, p. 307.

[7] Rowse, 1958, p. 65.

[8] Rockingham's heir.

[9] Olson, 1961, p. I.

much of the gross receipts from landed estates were available for personal expenditure but there can be little doubt that it was sufficient to maintain a living style of considerable opulence.

To the largely entailed wealth which has been discussed, large additions were readily available to men of family and influence in the form of sinecures and pensions. The former, though officially salaries for administrative duties in the service of the state or the royal household, were in fact minimally arduous. Typically quaintly named appointments might be as Clerk of the Pells in Ireland, Teller of the Exchequer, Rangers of the royal forests, Lords of the Bedchamber and Master of the Foxhounds. The more important of such offices carried salaries of £2,000 to £7,000 a year. Since these were commonly held for one or two lifetimes and it was not unusual for more than one to be held at the same time the beneficiaries were often guaranteed great security of living standards. Thus Cobbett estimated that Earl Temple and his two brothers drew £900,000 from the nation in half a century. The example is not exceptional.

For leading politicians a third major source of income was provided by the perquisites of ministerial office. Outstanding among these was the lord chancellorship of which the clear profits were reputed to be some £35,000 a year. It is little wonder that the imminent demise of an administration was signalled, cynics claimed, by sudden shifts in the allegiance of the lord chancellor. Though other government positions were not nearly as lucrative as the senior law post, most were certainly financially rewarding. A secretary of state, for instance, in 1762, received a net income of £8,000 to £9,000 a year.[I] Only the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland appears to have involved heavy private expenditure and here the honour of the rank was clearly considered sufficient compensation.

[I] Habakkuk in Goodwin, 1953, p. 6.

Senior politicians of the late eighteenth century, and indeed the aristocracy of the period in general, were, then, able to spend their time out of politics with little need to economise in the cost of indulging whatever their inclinations, physical, intellectual or artistic, might suggest. If, through extraordinary conspicuous expenditure or a not uncommon obsession with the gaming table, financial disaster threatened it could invariably be mitigated by borrowing, the king's bounty or, if all else failed, by retrenchment of a variety that would hardly be considered nowadays as austere.[1] Thus in London while Parliament was sitting and in the country during the summer recess financial restrictions were rarely allowed to seriously interfere with what was at the time regarded as the sweet life.

To give a sense of what this life was like it is necessary to associate it first of all with that warm ambience associated with the description, social. "There is," Henry Angelo, the Eton fencing master, wrote in his Reminiscences, "something in the single word social, that seems to be purely British."[2] In high ranking society especially the occasions for mixing were endless. Thus in town visiting was for many aristocrats a daily occurrence, for dinner, a ball, a card party; and each visit incurred its own, happily accepted, debt of hospitality. The most illustrious company was also to be found scattered among the taverns, social clubs and, after the ensconcement at the head of fashion of the Fox, Fitzpatrick set, the gaming clubs of the capital.[3] And not least in the opportunities they

[1] Rising rents, reflecting rising agricultural prices, could shorten considerably the period of such economy.

[2] Angelo, 1830, p. 207.

[3] Principally Brooks' and White's.

presented for well-to-do sociability were the pleasure gardens at Vauxhall and Ranelagh. There for a modest fee patrons might drink, dine, listen to the orchestra, stroll and talk, indentify the distinguished and fair or, less obviously an intention of the management, pick up a whore from among those who found on the crowded pathways fine opportunities for business. So popular were these centres of entertainment that on a fine day the approach streets were sometimes filled way out towards Westminster with long traffic jams of coaches.[1] In the country, though the pace of life was slower, hospitality was still for the aristocrat both a duty and a pleasure and throughout the summer he either entertained in his own home or made long convivial excursions to the houses of his friends and relations.

Within a class which regarded so highly the pleasures of social contact conversation assumed not unnaturally a place of the first importance. Much of it revolved around the eternal fascination of scandal, status and wealth but talk of a more demanding nature was perfectly acceptable, indeed popular, in many of the politest circles and at its best it was informed by that breadth of liberal knowledge and interest which is a principal theme of the present survey. Four of the ministers with whom we are primarily concerned, Windham, Fox, Spencer and Carmarthen, were members of clubs over which Dr. Johnson spread his ample presence and with which were associated so many men of intellectual and artistic distinction, Adam Smith, Garrick, Reynolds, Gibbon, Goldsmith, William Jones, Sir Joseph Banks, Dr. Burney, as well as a number of other leading parliamentary orators such as Burke, Sheridan and Dunning.[2] In such company the discussion was often of course elevated but it

[1] Dr. Johnson admitted to Boswell that "when I first entered Ranelagh, it gave an expansion and gay sensation to my mind, such as I never experienced anywhere else." (Boswell, 1894, p. 431.)

[2] Boswell, 1894, pp. 165, 622.

was also, in an age which esteemed conversation as a social accomplishment, elegant.

There was however, as we well know, nothing thin-blooded about these gatherings. Convened in taverns, their tone was determined only a degree or two more by the higher things of the mind than by the penchant of members for rather rowdy conviviality. This almost Dionysiac side to eighteenth century upper class sociability, which contrasts so strangely with its urbanity, was, as I have pointed out in an earlier chapter, entirely characteristic of gentlemanly culture in general and is of course a quality to which nineteenth century historians could not possibly give countenance. Blended with the British gentleman's common touch (a matter which I shall follow further) it gave rise at times to a low roisterousness to which the nobility of the rest of Western Europe certainly did not generally aspire. Thus Dr. John Moore, who had travelled widely on the continent, was able to write of the French noblemen, contrasted with their English counterparts, that

> Even the most dissipated among them are unacquainted with the unbounded freedom of a tavern life, where all the freaks of a whimsical mind, and a capricious taste, may be indulged without hesitation...[1]

It might be tempting to assume that those with intellectual and artistic inclinations would, on the whole, have confined their more refined conversation to the meetings of the clubs that have been mentioned, but this was not at all the case. The common upper class culture of the time was suffused with liberality of mind and the signs could be found in many aristocratic gatherings. The Earl of Mansfield, Lord Chief Justice and a power behind the throne, held, Boswell records in his journal, regular formal Sunday afternoon 'conversations' at his London home.[2] At Bowood, his

[1] Moore, II, 1779, p. 326.

[2] Boswell, 1894, p. 291.

house in Wiltshire, and in London while Parliament was sitting, Lord Shelburne presided over a court that included at different times Priestley, Benjamin Franklin, Morellet the economist, Dr. Price, Barré the politician, Hume, Horace Walpole and Bentham.[1] Nor in an age which invented the blue stocking clubs was the presence of ladies automatically a bar to intelligent conversation. Indeed the letters of upper class women of the period show that many had an interest in learning and an informed urbanity that both their grandmothers and granddaughters rarely approached.[2]

We can recognise, then, among the principal marks of eighteenth century upper class culture, and therefore of the ambience within which the gentlemanly pursuit of liberal knowledge took place, first an enthusiasm for social contact, with a related emphasis on conversation, and secondly, a taste for the earthy which, despite any modern associations with Squire Western, could not at all be taken as a sign of the barbarian. A third feature of the social context of the period which has, I think, particular relevance for present purposes, that is in the discussion of intellectual and artistic interests, was the very limited membership of that privileged circle which comprised both the highest ranks of society and those who had been recruited for the eminence of their abilities. No greater than would

[1] Fitzmaurice I, 1875, pp. 311, 313, 315, 316; II, 1876, pp. 234, 236, 254-9. The last reference is to a memoir (in French) by Morellet which shows clearly how cultured was the tone maintained at Bowood and Shelburne House.

[2] See for instance the letters of Lady Pembroke in Herbert, 1939, of Lady Stafford in Granville, 1916, of Lady Bessborough in the same, of Lady Spencer in Cannon I, 1970, and of Lady Sarah Lennox and Lady Susan Bunbury in Ilchester, 1902. The appearance of this cultural phenomenon can be roughly dated from a letter sent by Swift in 1735 to a female friend. "A woman of quality, who had excellent good sense, was formerly my correspondent, but she scrawled and spelt like a Wapping wench, having been brought up at a time before reading was thought of any use to a female." (Llanover I, 1861, pp. 51-2).

nowadays be found in a large village, the population of this narrowly circumscribed group was in fact so restricted that, under the influence of the social convention that prevailed at the time, it was possible for a substantial proportion of members either to know each other personally or at least to be in proximate contact through their many common acquaintances. This club-like quality of upper class life is constantly apparent in the correspondence of the period. As in the novels of Anthony Powell - and the similarity is striking - the protagonists inhabit an 'acceptance world': the same names recur, sometimes after long absences, and the principal characters, George Selwyn, Charles Fox, Lord Thurlow, can become so familiar that they acquire the warmth almost of personal connections.

Such conditions were of course well suited to encourage a powerful convergence of understanding and inclination.[I] Those interests which, for various historical and educational reasons, had found a place in the upper layer of society were constantly reinforced both by conversation and reading, and they gained an added fascination from being entangled in men's minds with personalities and personal relationships. It would be wrong, however, to think of the intellectual climate that resulted as claustrophobically narrow. Politics, religion, the classics, architecture, gardening, painting, music, the theatre, history, the writing of verse, field sports, agriculture, foreign travel (as well as fashionable triviality) were all subjects in which the ideal aristocrat was knowledgable and, as we shall see, enough real ones approached the idea for it to have some substance in

[I] A. O. Lovejoy has coined the word 'uniformitarianism' to denote the powerful assumption in eighteenth century literature that all men incline naturally to agree on matters of value and truth. The misapprehension was founded on contemporary observation of that transient homogeneity in culture which seems to have stemmed largely from the common classical basis that underlay European education and the unparalleled opportunity enjoyed by a wealthy and leisured class to mix socially (Lovejoy, 1957, pp. 288-293).

reality. Besides, aristocratic patronage ensured that there was a continual flow of new thought to fertilise the old and the nobility was not in any case so exclusive that there were prevented social connections with the middle levels of society.

The association of a regard for intellect and a closeness within society is well illustrated by the ephemeral political writing of the period and by the reaction to it of the upper class public. Subtle and witty political verse such as can be found in the Rolliad and the Anti-Jacobin[1] was widely read and appreciated in the most well-to-do salons and a critic like Junius was admired as much for his style and learning as for the pith of his commentary. The attractiveness of these in the eyes of the political class, however, lay not only in their content and quality but also in the fact that the reader could recognise the figures portrayed as men whom he knew well and thus matter, art and character were intimately and compulsively blended.

I have stressed the sociability and closeness of upper class life. There was, however, an almost opposite aspect which is of scarcely less importance for an understanding of many of the politicians with whom we are concerned. Not only in the 'Augustan' period of the reigns of Anne and the first two Georges, but right through to the end of the century, it was a fancy of the British aristocrat to see himself in the role of a Roman nobleman of the great age of Augustus, soaked in the corruption of Rome, yet attached at heart to the wholesome freshness of life on his country estates. Thus were the favourite poets of the period Horace and Virgil.

[1]See, for example, the parody of Shelburne's oratorical style in the Rolliad (1795, p. 156). It is worth noting that in this work both Shelburne and the Duke of Richmond are disdained for the inadequacy of their classical knowledge.

The essence of the conceit lay in the possibility of retirement, the withdrawal from the artifice of the city to the purer existence of the rural provinces.[1] I have said 'conceit' though it would be false to suppose that the stance represented merely an affectation; there was clearly a real and deep satisfaction in country living among the great landowners and in this they marked a major difference between themselves and both the courtier nobles of France and the urban aristocracy of Italy.

The authentic note of the gentleman, content in the country, though certainly not roughing it, is sounded by William Windham during a visit to Holkham in 1786. He writes in his diary,

> Of all the modes of existence that vary from day to day, none is to me more pleasing than habitation in a large house. Besides the pleasure it affords from contemplation of elegance and magnificence, the objects it presents, and the images it gives birth to, there is no other situation in which the enjoyment of company is united to such complete retirement. A cell in a convent is not a place of greater retirement than a remote apartment in such a house as Holkham.[2]

One should add that for Windham the most attractive of the "remote apartments" at Holkham seems to have been the great house's library. Other politicians were hardly less passionate about life out of town, Fox at St. Anne's Hill, North at Dillington, Shelburne at Bowood, Portland at Welbeck, and in Stanhope's life of Pitt we read the unlikely account of the young first minister, with his friends Grenville and Wilberforce, demonstrating that for them at least provincial existence was not insulated from the soil as they laboured with bill-hooks to clear Pitt's garden at Hollwood.[3]

[1] A brilliant account of the retirement movement in relation to the writing of Pope is given in Mack, 1969.

[2] Stirling, 1912, p. 204.

[3] Stanhope, I, 1867, p. 322.
A fine contemporary description of eighteenth century country life, slow and literary, is given in Ilchester, 1937, pp. 45-6.

The eighteenth century nobleman is, then, not at all easy to characterise. He was wholly at home in the city, yet he identified strongly with the slow life of the country; he was polished and elegant, but also rowdy and physical; he was affluent and powerful, yet, as we shall see, he nevertheless held sacred at the heart of his political beliefs the idea of individual liberty. These are antitheses which must be held constantly in mind if the concept of the Georgian aristocrat is not to persist at that rudimentary level which has been sustained by the cultural and political prejudices of the succeeding centuries. I shall turn now from these wider matters to try to illustrate briefly from the lives of senior ministers a principal assumption of the second part of this research, that the governing elite of the period was composed of men of broad and liberal interests. A good deal more evidence on this subject will be presented in subsequent chapters.

Of architecture, gardening, interior design, painting and sculpture there is, I think, little point in writing at length at this stage. These were the common enthusiasms of men who had travelled widely at home and abroad and had built, or filled with great art, the houses which still stand as monuments to the distinction of their taste. Of more literary interests there remains equally concrete evidence in the libraries of the great country houses[1] as well as numerous indications in the letters and memoirs of the period. In the coalition of 1783, for instance, we know that of the ten ministers who qualify for the present sample, five, Fitzpatrick, Carlisle, Stormont, Fox and North, wrote verse, though in the latter's case

[1] A recent study of the educational significance of these libraries is contained in Dent, 1974.

there are only extant examples published in an anthology of pieces by Eton scholars. Carlisle's work included a five act play in verse which was praised by Dr. Johnson, though his poetry in general was categorised by his ward, Lord Byron, as "paralytic pulings", a judgement which owed more to spite than objective criticism. Richard Fitzpatrick, whose social verse is witty and elegant was a co-author of the Rolliad. Of Fox's literary inclinations quite a lot will be said in later chapters but it may be worth observing here that he was an avid reader of drama and that in later life he turned, not altogether successfully, to the writing of history. Fox's dramatic interests, and those of his friend, Fitzpatrick, were reflected also in a devotion to amateur theatricals.

In this same administration Lord John Cavendish was described by Burke as "An accomplished scholar, and an excellent critic, in every part of polite literature, thoroughly acquainted with history ancient and modern"[1], a paean which, allowing a good deal for loyal hyperbole, provides a clear indication of Cavendish's tastes. Viscount Stormont was similarly praised by Winckelmann in Rome as "the most learned person of his rank I have yet known." In particular he was commended for his Greek[2] In fact most ministers were well enough grounded in the classics both to employ classical quotation and illusion themselves and to appreciate it in the oratory and conversation of others, and most, as I shall show, were also competent modern linguists. Of cultivation in fields other than the literary, examples are provided by the Duke of Portland, first minister in the coalition, who was passionately fond, and a student, of music and by Viscount Townshend who was reputed to have had great skill as a caricaturist.[3]

[1] D.N.B..

[2] D.N.B..

[3] D.N.B..

It is not difficult to find in other administrations equally strong evidence of liberal interests among senior ministers. This will, however, be more conveniently done during the consideration of upbringing. Here I am concerned only to try to convey the scent, the impression, of a period. I shall therefore round off the present discussion, before touching briefly on politics, with an evocation by Lord Egremont of the ethos of his youth which catches, I think, something of the liberal mood of high society and associates it both with its European context and with that libertine worldliness to which the Victorians took such great exception.

> When I came into what is called the world Voltaire and Rousseau were both alive and their art and their doctrines engrossed the attention of everybody and not a day passed without hearing their names talked of either with admiration or censure; and added to this everything in fashionable life, dress, food, amusements, morals and manners, all must be French. Gramont memoirs, the French novels, Crébillon etc., came in aid of the living philosophers as standards of ethics and there was hardly a young lady of fashion who did not think it almost a stain on her honour if she was not known to have cuckolded her husband.[1]

It is possible to sense here, I think, something of the spark of civilisation though we are still jolted by a brazen disregard for appearances which is so different from anything that we have encountered in our own times.

On the political system of George III's reign far more august pens than mine have written in modern times. Since, however, it cannot be assumed that all readers of this thesis will be specialists in eighteenth century history, it may be helpful to describe briefly the administration of politics of the period, though in such a complex and alien area the opportunities for misrepresentation by omission are, it must be stressed, considerable, I shall at the same time touch lightly on certain topics which I hope to develop as major themes in the chapters that follow.

[1]Wyndham, 1950, p. 217. Egremont was born in 1751.

Members of parliament of the time were not, of course, by modern standards, the chosen representatives of the British people. The great majority was elected for boroughs in which the enfranchised population was both small and susceptible to pressures of a kind only distantly related to what are usually considered political matters. In some boroughs this influence was exercised customarily through the prestige and power (as landlords, employers and patrons) of a particular family or of the government, while in others votes were ostentatiously on sale to the highest bidder. Even in the more subservient 'pocket' boroughs, however, some management and lubricious expenditure was usually required during elections. In the counties, because the electorate was relatively large, the opportunity for manipulation was slightly less but even here the influence of local magnates, the crown or the treasury was still invariably strong.

Among the members of the two houses of parliament a similar pattern of what would nowadays be described as corruption was evident. Few were so indifferent to the favour or displeasure of king, administration or great men that they would be expected to show generally an objective concern for questions of policy. Thus a good deal of the political effort of the time was directed not so much towards persuasion by reason but rather to a tedious exploitation of the labyrinthine web of influence.[I] It is extremely tempting, indeed, to form the opinion that eighteenth century political processes were

[I] It has been one of the achievements of modern scholarship to show that there was no two party system of whigs and tories in the later eighteenth century (c.f. Namier, 1930; Pares, 1953). Indeed, as we shall see in the chapters that follow, more or less every aristocratic politician considered himself a whig.

both thoroughly unsavoury and, since impersonal judgement was so little in evidence, necessarily inefficient in the conduct of the country's business. Such a conclusion, however, would be too harsh, an example indeed of that application of inappropriate yardsticks which has so often prevented a balanced appraisal of Georgian civilisation. For, dealing first with the moral question, while it is impossible to deny that votes were for sale in parliament, it is also important to distinguish between blatent corruption of the sort which gave the anathema to Henry Fox in his lifetime, and culturally acceptable, even required, behaviour in a society where the claims of interest and the debts of obligation were honourable ties. Corruption after all implies a state of mind. When Horace Walpole inveighed, as did many of his contemporaries, against bought men, it was as the holder of sinecures worth, at the time of his father's death, £3,400 per annum (or perhaps £40,000 after tax in modern terms). Clearly, since he was living so well on the proceeds of Sir Robert's political success, he could not really have objected to the principle of payment for services rendered. Rather we must assume that he was concerned with the way in which such payments were made and whether the recipients had neglected those articles of political faith which, though few in number, loomed monumentally in the minds of members of Walpole's class (and which will be a major concern of the present study).

As for the efficiency of administration, this is a matter in which any comprehensive and weighted list of the criteria of success is unlikely ever to receive the assent of more than a handful of critics. Nevertheless, there were discernible in the late eighteenth century marks which are certainly among the indicators of successful government. First, the rulers

were to a large degree acceptable to the ruled, and there was therefore comparatively little popular support in Britain for the subversive impulse which was so powerful in Europe at the time.[1] This acceptability of aristocratic political style to the people of Britain, which, coupled with the remarkable political liberalism of the ruling class, permitted a fairly peaceful evolution towards modern parliamentary democracy, will form an important strand in the second part of this survey.

Secondly, and quite unprecedented in the histories of major nations, in Britain in the late eighteenth century, a ruling class adopted as a matter of principle a policy of limited interference with the freedom of other sections of society. Thus when the younger Pitt said in the Commons in 1793 that "no man in consequence of his riches or rank is so high as to be above the reach of laws, and no man is so poor or inconsiderable as not to be within their protection",[2] he was certainly not intending to engage in polemics. Of course one could claim that the minister deceived himself.

[1]It is a truism to say that historical judgements are necessarily relative. Nevertheless this truth is easily forgotten. Certainly there were jacobin notions abroad in late eighteenth century Britain but, contrasted with such ideas in other parts of Europe, their immediate influence was mild. In Professor Perkin's words, "As long as the Great French Wars lasted, patriotism reinforced paternalism to hold overt class conflict in check." (Perkin, 1969, p. 208). Even in this judgement there is, perhaps, some need for a more sensitive expression of relativities. For, as I hope will become clear during the present survey, the paternalism of the British nobility did not at all imply, by continental standards, a high degree of authoritarianism. Indeed, in the context of world history to that time, we may properly call the political and social stance of the British aristocracy, liberal, a contention which I shall follow much further.

[2]Stanhope II, 1867, p. 193.

Such a response, however, would be unimaginative, for Pitt's statement reflected a conviction which appears to have been shared by both high and low alike and which was therefore, merely as a belief, a potent force in society. That is, though it was not considered that all men had a right to be the equals socially and economically of members of the political classes, there was a feeling abroad that every citizen had substantial equality before the law and an opportunity in consequence to influence his fate free from the arbitrary dictates of a capricious authority. In a world of traditional oppression this added notably to individual self respect and to national morale.[1] There is evidence, indeed, that this sense of an openness in society which pervaded late eighteenth century England is not to be explained only in terms of confidence. The editor of the Dictionary of National Biography suggested that more Englishmen rose from poverty to eminence during the years 1775 to 1830 than in any other period of history and Professor Perkin in his recent study of the development of modern English society has also shown himself inclined to support this view.[2]

[1]Evidence of a high national morale is bound to be largely impressionistic. Conviction can in the end come only as the distillate of a good deal of reading of contemporary sources. At a fairly low level of recognition it will be agreed, I think, by those who have sifted through eighteenth century literary remains that they convey little feeling of social oppression, while at the highest level they can carry a sense of individual and collective sturdiness of spirit which can seem to us quite foreign. To illustrate this thoroughly would be a considerable undertaking but the temper that I am trying to define is caught in the passage that follows by William Hutton, the first historian of Birmingham. It describes his impressions on arriving at the city in 1741. "I was surprised at the place, but more at the people. They possessed a vivacity I had never beheld. The very step along the street showed alacrity. Every man seemed to know what he was about." (Hutton, 1860, p. 75). One must tread gingerly among such enthusiasm, but it should not be ignored, for there is usually no other way of touching the subjective part of a society's vitality.

[2]Perkin, 1969, p. 425.

In economic matters the effect of the political restraint of the Georgian aristocracy seems to have been particularly profound. For those among the lower and middle classes who were able and willing to manufacture and distribute were permitted by and large to indulge their talents and inclinations and this added materially to a rapid increase in real per capita purchasing power. To be appreciated in its full force the point must be seen against the background of Europe, and indeed of world history up to that time, for elsewhere and in other periods the effect of the customary monopolistic privileges and of government interference was to ensure pedestrian, if not negative, rates of economic growth.[1] This connection between aristocratic political liberalism and material prosperity is a subject to which I shall return after the survey of upbringing. The gain in Britain was not, it should be added, entirely a fortuitous by-product of libertarian philosophies, for the economic principles involved were quite commonly understood by the political leaders of the time and particularly by those who took senior positions in the administrations of the last two decades of the century.[2]

I have, in this introductory chapter, been more concerned to distinguish between social and political currents in Britain and in Europe than to point out their similarities. Since a major aim of the present survey is to suggest why certain developments - the industrial revolution and the shift towards parliamentary democracy - were able to take place in Britain

[1] Of course, for those who do not believe in this causal link there is little point trying to provide evidence in this short commentary; recent political history is after all a monument to their disbelief.

[2] I refer principally to the theories of the Abbé Morellet and Adam Smith. There were, however, strongly established rationales for social laissez-faire long before the advent of classical economics (c.f., for example, Professor Willey's essay on Mandeville in Willey, 1962, pp. 95-9).

and not elsewhere, this should not be surprising. Of course it would be wrong to infer that events in the British Isles owed nothing to European movements and particularly to that crucial and fairly thoroughly explored change in patterns of thinking which is called the 'enlightenment' (and which has given to the eighteenth century its helpful, if overstated, label, 'the age of reason'). Undoubtedly in economic and political terms there was some gain, or rather the removal of an impediment, when the way in which men thought moved slightly, but critically, away from that odd combination of fanciful speculation and fundamental rigidity which is mediaeval towards the empiricism represented by Bacon and Locke. However, though the benefits were available potentially to men in a number of countries, it was only in the United Kingdom that circumstances conspired to encourage those industrial and political climates which we can see in retrospect were of major significance in the development of the world that we presently inhabit and it is towards the detection of some of these particular and local circumstances that this research is directed.

I have also refrained to some degree, both in this introduction and during the discussion of upbringing, from laying great emphasis on the historical process which led towards the situation that came to exist in Great Britain in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The reason, again, is that in a necessarily limited study it has seemed most worthwhile to concentrate on the description of a place and a time which were of special importance in the evolution of modern society. I have not, however, by any means completely avoided the subject of historical antecedents and will attempt, in fact, in the concluding chapter, to provide some educational answers to what are indeed for our times basic questions: why in Britain was

a high rate of industrial growth possible in the eighteenth century and not in either the seventeenth or the greater part of the centuries that followed; and how was it that this vigour was able to coexist with a refinement in the arts and a quality of intellect which in our industrial society can seem both so desirable and so remote?

CHAPTER VI

THE UPBRINGING OF THE POLITICAL ELITE

DEFINITION AND IDENTIFICATION OF A SAMPLE

The preceding chapters have provided, I hope it may be claimed, evidence of the powerful effect of upbringing in the professional lives of members of Britain's industrial elite of the late eighteenth century; the wind of inspiration, it would seem, blew by no means willy-nilly. In what follows I hope to show that similarly early and important causes were at work in the careers of the most influential politicians of the period; that there was indeed a pattern of experience sufficiently uniform to be called a politician's upbringing and that such an upbringing was both an influence in favour of, and a preparation for, a political vocation. The third of the major themes that were outlined in the introductory chapter, the relationship between the education of the British aristocracy and the involvement of its members in the acquisition of liberal knowledge, can be dealt with conveniently as a parallel topic since, as should become apparent, it was from men brought up within the culture of the nobility that the country's governing elite was largely drawn; that is the men who form the political sample provide also a useful, if not randomly selected, group for the study of general upper class education.

As representative of Britain's political leaders during the years under review, that is between 1775 and 1800, have been selected all holders of the great offices of state. Most sampling procedures, exclude, of course, some of the most typical examples and this one is certainly no exception.[I] The

[I]See above, p. 16.

method adopted does, however, have the advantage of being based clearly on objective criteria whereas all, I think, of the simpler alternatives would have necessarily been firmly grounded in opinion and therefore open immediately to criticism of their fundamental statistical design.

To illustrate at once how aristocratic in their composition governments were at this time it may be worthwhile including at this stage a list of the various administrations rather than relegating it to an appendix. The offices involved are those given in The Political History of England, 1760-1801 by William Hunt.[I]

[I] Hunt, 1905, Appendix III.
The dividing line between major and minor posts is of course to a degree adjustable. It is, for instance, a nice point whether Paymasters of the forces should be included among the former (which would have brought Burke within the terms of reference). In such circumstances the requirements of both impartiality and convenience have, happily, coincided and I have accepted Hunt's lists in their entirety.

Lord North's Administration

First Lord of the Treasury.....1770, Lord North

Secretary of State for the Southern Department.....1770, Earl of Suffolk

1779, Viscount Stormont

Secretary of State for the Northern Department.....1770, Earl of Rochford

1775 (Nov.), Viscount Weymouth

1779, Earl of Hillsborough

Secretary of State for the Colonies.....1772, Earl of Dartmouth

1775 (Nov.), Lord George Germain

1782, Welbore Ellis

Lord President of the Council.....1770, Earl Gower

1779, Earl Bathurst (Lord Apsley)

Lord Chancellor.....1771, Lord Apsley

1778, Lord Thurlow

Lord Privy Seal.....1771, Duke of Grafton

1775, (Nov.), Earl of Dartmouth

First Lord of the Admiralty.....1771, Earl of Sandwich

Master-General of the Ordnance.....1772, Viscount Townshend

Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.....1772, Earl Harcourt

1777, Earl of Buckinghamshire

1780, Earl of Carlisle

Secretary at War.....1770, Viscount Barrington

1778, Charles Jenkinson

The Marquis of Rockingham's Administration

First Lord of the Treasury.....1782 (Mar.), Marquis of Rockingham

Secretary of State for the Home Department.....Earl of Shelburne

Secretary of State for the Foreign Department.....Charles James Fox

Chancellor of the Exchequer.....Lord John Cavendish

Lord President of the Council.....Earl Camden

Lord Chancellor.....Lord Thurlow

Lord Privy Seal.....Duke of Grafton

First Lord of the Admiralty.....Viscount Keppel

Master-General of the Ordnance.....Duke of Richmond

Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.....Duke of Portland

Secretary at War.....Thomas Townshend

The Earl of Shelburne's Administration

First Lord of the Treasury.....1782 (July), Earl of Shelburne

Secretary of State for the Home Department.....Thomas Townshend

Secretary of State for the Foreign Department.....Lord Grantham

Lord President of the Council.....Earl Camden

Lord Chancellor.....Lord Thurlow

Lord Privy Seal.....Duke of Grafton

Chancellor of the Exchequer.....William Pitt

First Lord of the Admiralty.....Earl Howe[I]

Master-General of the Ordnance.....Duke of Richmond

Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.....Earl Temple

Secretary at War.....Sir George Yonge

[I]Given by Hunt as Viscount Keppel but this is incorrect.

The Duke of Portland's Administration (coalition)

First Lord of the Treasury.....1783 (April), Duke of Portland

Secretary of State for the Home Department.....Lord North

Secretary of State for the Foreign Department.....Charles James Fox

Lord President of the Council.....Viscount Stormont

Lord Chancellor.....Seal in commission

Lord Privy Seal.....Earl of Carlisle

Chancellor of the Exchequer.....Lord John Cavendish

First Lord of the Admiralty.....Viscount Keppel

Master-General of the Ordnance.....Viscount Townshend

Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.....Earl of Northington

Secretary at War.....Richard Fitzpatrick

William Pitt's Administration

First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.....1783 (Dec.), William Pitt

Secretary of State for the Home Department.....1783 (sole Secretary for one day), Earl Temple
1783, Lord Sydney (Thomas Townshend)
1789, W. W. Grenville
1791, Henry Dundas
1794, Duke of Portland

Secretary of State for the Foreign Department.....1783, Marquis of Carmarthen
1791, Lord Grenville (W. W. Grenville)

Secretary of State for War.....1794, Henry Dundas

Lord President of the Council.....1783, Earl Gower

1784, Earl Camden

1794, Earl Fitzwilliam

1794, Earl of Mansfield (Viscount Stormont)

1796, Earl of Chatham

Lord Chancellor.....1783, Lord Thurlow

1793, Lord Loughborough

Lord Privy Seal.....1783, Duke of Rutland

1784, Earl Gower (1786, raised to Marquis of Stafford)

1794, Earl Spencer

1794, Earl of Chatham

1798, Earl of Westmorland

First Lord of the Admiralty.....1783, Earl Howe[I]

1788, Earl of Chatham

1794, Earl Spencer

Master-General of the Ordnance.....1783, Duke of Richmond

1795, Marquis Cornwallis

Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.....1783, Duke of Rutland

1787, Marquis of Buckingham (Earl Temple)

1790, Earl of Westmorland

1794, Earl Fitzwilliam

1795, Earl Camden

1798, Marquis Cornwallis

[I]Viscount Hood is given here by Hunt but this is again incorrect.

Secretary at War.....1783, Sir George Yonge

1794, William Windham

In fact not all of those with titles listed above had succeeded to them. The Lords Chancellor Thurlow and Loughborough were lawyers by training who, having a rare talent as parliamentary speakers, had made themselves sufficiently indispensable to the government to win high office and a peerage. Similarly Earl Camden was a former Lord Chancellor who had taken that high road to preferment in Britain of following practice at the bar with a vigorous incursion into Commons debates. However, to offset the dilution of hereditary aristocratic dominance in government introduced by these three barristers, the 'commoners', Fox, Townshend, Pitt, Grenville, Fitzpatrick and Dundas had all been born into noble families and Keppel, though the first holder of his title, was also an aristocrat by birth, being a younger son of the Earl of Albermarle. Thus, of the forty-seven officers of state within the sample, thirty had inherited peerages, two more, Cavendish and Germain, were designated Lord as the sons of Dukes, North was the heir to the Earldom of Guildford and seven more had been born aristocrats. In all, then, forty of the ministers were noblemen by birth, that is eighty-five per cent.[I] Of the four men not yet accounted for, Ellis's father had held the premier Irish bishopric of Neath, Jenkinson's grandfather had been a baronet, as had Yonge's father also, and the family of William Windham was regarded among the Norfolk gentry as little inferior in rank to those of the Walpoles, Townshends and

[I]The social status of their families varied considerably; Dundas, for instance, as the grandson of a Scottish baron, would certainly not have expected, were it not for his political success, to mix on easy terms with English earls.

and Cokes.[I] None could have been called parvenus to the upper class though only Windham would have been considered by members of the aristocracy as having, by his origins, any claim to rub shoulders with themselves. The British governing class was in fact perfectly prepared to welcome rising talent provided that the rise had not been too spectacular, and in practice this meant, as we shall see, that the newcomers were expected to move confidantly in the milieu to which they aspired.

It will be convenient in the discussion that follows to consider the politicians' upbringing under four headings: home, school, university (and inn of court) and foreign travel. Within each of these sections the twin themes of political education and initiation into liberal knowledge will be dealt with consecutively.

THE HOME

To attribute some aspect of social behaviour to the influence of custom is, of course, to provide a fairly low level of explanation. Of far more interest, sociologically and psychologically, is the attempt to expose the specific means by which the behaviour has been determined. There can be no doubt that the aspirations of young eighteenth century aristocrats towards a career in politics was, in a sense, to be ascribed merely to the custom of their class. It is however one of the principal aims of this research to try to provide a rather fuller account by suggesting some of the particular mechanisms which may have inspired such a vocation, and among these it would not, perhaps, be unexpected to find high in importance the influence of members of earlier generations of the politician's family.

[I] An insight into precedence in Norfolk is provided by a remark of Thomas Coke's very starchy aunt when informed that her nephew and heir had been dancing with a Miss Pratt. "Sir," she said, "you should have led out no-one of lower rank than Miss Walpole." (Stirling, 1912, p. 62).

That politics was indeed a family tradition for leading members of the administrations of the later part of the century, there is clear statistical evidence. Among the forty-seven ministers with whom we are concerned the fathers of thirty-two had been members of the House of Commons. Seven more had grandfathers and two uncles who had also held seats in the Lower House. Thus, in all, forty-one, that is eighty-seven per cent., had close family connections with the active centre of the developing parliamentary system.[I] Of the seven politicians with no such association, Dundas's father, Robert, had been a solicitor-general and lord advocate for Scotland and, in the late twenties and early thirties, leader of the Scottish opposition peers (though himself only the second son of a peer); the father of Welbore Ellis had held a seat in the Irish Privy Council; Lord George Germain's father, the first Duke of Dorset, had held senior political posts as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland and Lord President of the Council; Keppel's grandfather, the first Earl of Albermarle, had been brought to England from Holland to be one of one of William of Orange's most trusted counsellors; the grandfather of Lord Loughborough had been involved in Scottish politics; and, finally Weymouth's grandfather, Lord Granville, had held at various times the positions of Secretary of State, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland and Lord President of the Council. There is left therefore only one man, Thurlow, who did not have, through one or both of the two previous generations a close link with English or Scottish political life.

A still stronger indication of the vigorous political tradition which existed within certain upper class families is shown by the degree of involvement in national politics of the fathers, grandfathers and uncles of

[I]For details of some of the family political connections of sample members see appendix B.

the ministers in this survey. In fact thirteen of the politicians who are listed above had fathers who had also held high government office[1] and eleven more had grandfathers, and two uncles, who had been similarly placed. In all, then, twenty-seven of the political leaders with whom we are concerned had been preceeded in senior government posts by near relatives in one of the two previous generations. Even this high proportion, fifty-seven per cent., could be increased by including fathers and grandfathers who, without having taken a high formal status in administration, had nevertheless been influential in government. In this category would lie Earl Howe's grandfather who had been raised to high rank as one of the leading promoters of the Revolution of 1688, and the grandfathers of Lords Keppel and Rochford both of whom had been Dutch noblemen owing their English and Irish estates to their positions as the closest confidants and advisers of William I.

It would appear, then, that there are strong grounds for believing that there would indeed have been found among the youthful experiences of the men who are the subjects of this study a strong flavour of politics. The precise identification of this political constituent in the aristocratic family ethos can of course only be established by an investigation of case histories and in the remainder of this section I have attempted to make such an enquiry. Because, however, documentary material is available for only a minority of sample members[2] it is necessary to interpret it in the light of the statistical

[1] As defined on p. 212.

[2] The wealth of editions of collected papers for this period are, unfortunately for the social historian, selected by and large for their political interest, and this is the case also for the biographies of eighteenth century statesmen. There are indeed very considerable deposits of manuscripts in record offices and in the muniments rooms of great houses which would provide invaluable material for research in social history but only a tiny proportion have been sifted with such a purpose in mind. Thus studies of domestic life, such as Gladys Scott Thomson's on the Russells and Lord Holland's on Holland House, are oases in a desert.

data given above; that is the assumption must be made that whatever influences were at work among the minority would probably have acted also upon the remainder. Further, I have included a few illustrations from the upbringing of young noblemen who did not rise eventually to parliamentary eminence. Though these cannot, of course, carry the weight of examples taken from the early lives of future ministers, they do nevertheless provide some indication of the sort of family and social pressures that were applied to the sons, and particularly to the eldest sons, of high ranking noblemen.

The encouragement of political ambition

Very near indeed to the heart of the upbringing given to a Georgian aristocrat lay an understanding, shared by both the child and those among whom he grew up, that his success in the world would be judged ultimately by the figure which he made in the national political life or by the glory of his military achievements. And indeed even military eminence was to be improved upon by subsequent distinction in government. Locke, whose importance in the history of upper class education was probably rather as the theoretician of what was fashionable than as a moulder of opinion,[1] was expressing a general assumption when he wrote that the proper calling of a gentleman "is the service of his country and so is most properly concerned in moral and political knowledge."[2] With the emphasis only slightly shifted the theme is echoed, as on many other occasions, by Lord Chesterfield, who had as a popular educationist considerable advantages over Locke, being both of high birth himself and regarded also as something of a paragon of the gentlemanly virtues which he preached. To his eleven year old godson and

[1] Where Locke's views differed from those which were in vogue they appear to have had little influence. For example, the low esteem which he held for the public schools seems to have had a negligible effect on their popularity.

[2] Locke, 1968, p. 398.

heir he wrote in 1766, "Fix this truth in your mind that no man can be considerable in this country, without distinguishing himself as a speaker in one or other House of Parliament."[1] Two years later he added, "My two objects in your education are and always have been to give you learning enought to distinguish yourself in Parliament and manners to shine in courts."[2] The second of these functions was, in a sense, no more than a continuation of the former, arising from the duty of the nobleman to fit himself to give counsel to his prince, a role which had been considered of the first importance in the great courts of the Renaissance and which had been extolled most influentially by Castiglione and Elyot. For both Locke and Chesterfield birth was of trivial value to a man if he did not use the advantages which it brought him to prepare for a career in the service of the state. "None but fools," claimed Chesterfield, "are proud of their birth or rank."[3]

This stress on political service, which it would be difficult and unprofitable to try to separate from the less praiseworthy connotations of 'making a figure'[4] - motives are, after all, often to be found mixed[5] -

[1]Carnarvon, 1889, p. 230.

[2]Ibid., p. 259.

[3]Ibid., p. 28. Chesterfield's commentators, from Dr. Johnson onwards, have of course been scathing about his sense of moral priority. The later letters to his godson are however far more concerned with encouraging the traditional virtues than are the letters to his son. "Si Je povois empêcher qu'il n'y eut un seul malheureux sur la Terre," he writes to the godson who is six, "J'y sacrifierois avec plaisir mon bien, mes soins, et même ma santé, et J'espere, et même je croy, que vous feriez la même chose." (Ibid., p. 106). One could hardly wish for a more commendable exhortation than this.

[4]The notion of 'making a figure' is commended frequently in eighteenth century writing and is, on the whole, what is to be expected from that esteemed character of the period, the 'man of parts'.

[5]The confusion of the altruistic and the interested in the concept of state service is shown in a letter to Lord Titchfield from his father, the second Duke of Portland. The boy, who was at Westminster, was told, "I hope to hear that it is not from the hope of gain that you do well, but from the hope of praise, and a desire to be esteemed by all good and virtuous people." (Tuberville II, 1939, pp. 34-5).

is to be found at the centre of the upbringing given to many young noblemen. Writing to the future Duke of Portland, Mrs. Delany, a friend of his family, exhorts the youth on entering Oxford at sixteen to be virtuous and to remember the promise he had shown of becoming "a senator of eminent integrity and ability."[1] This same idea of the senator occurs in a letter to Lord Althorp, later the Earl Spencer, from his former tutor, William Jones, the Arabic and oriental scholar. Jones, who viewed his relationship to Althorp as that of friend and unofficial mentor, looks forward to the time

> when there will be less interrruption to our friendship, when we shall confer together about the great interests of our country, when you in the Senate, and I at the Bar, shall endeavour to deserve well of mankind by ensuring and promoting their happiness.[2]

We may deduce that the elder Pitt was also concerned to encourage in his son an ideal of service rather than merely a desire for wordly advancement for the young William writes home from Oxford when he is fourteen that his father's last letter

> must incite me to labour in manly virtue and useful knowledge, that I may be, on some future day, worthy to follow, in part, the glorious example always before my eyes.[3]

Charles Townshend, too, it would seem, had no doubt that in the eyes of his father, Viscount Townshend, credit would lie in service rather than material gain for, in a letter written while he was an undergraduate, he insists that he has "less regard for wealth than honour, more desire of being a good than

[1] Ibid., p. 36.

[2] Cannon, 1970, p. 134. Charles Churchill, too, was clearly encouraged to think of himself as a prospective senator for in 1728 his grandmother, the Duchess of Marlborough, warns him that "it is disagreeable not to speak distinctly, 'especially to a man that has a great taste to be a senator...'" (Rowse, 1958, p. 21).

[3] Taylor IV, 1840, p. 249.

a rich man."[1] A vocation in politics is not here specifically mentioned but it must be likely, in the light of Townshend's patently appropriate gifts, that the possibility lay uppermost in the minds of both father and son. Though it relates to a politician of a rather later period than the one with which we are primarily concerned, a similar parental emphasis on service occurs in a letter sent by Lady Stafford in 1789 to her fifteen year old son, Lord Granville Leveson Gower. She recommends Pitt as a model and a leader for the boy

> for his Principles, his Intentions are good, and I would prefer you were out of the way of Preferment with him, than high in office with those who have neither Religion nor Principle.[2]

In general there can be little doubt that hopes of a political career for the heirs to large fortunes was held dear in the thoughts of parents and friends. The point is illustrated succinctly and forcibly by the widowed Duchess of Marlborough in a letter to her eldest son's tutor. Referring to the young Duke she writes,

> ...I...wish him to apply himself to the Modern History of Europe and Laws of his own country in which he is born to be a principal actor, and I make no doubt a very shining and exemplary one.[3]

[1] Namier and Brooke, 1964, p. 4. Townshend was of course a senior minister, but of a period before that covered by this survey. However his elder brother, George, the fourth viscount, is a member of the principal sample group and Charles' upbringing is therefore of particular interest for the light it casts on that of George.

[2] Granville, 1916, p. 14. The implication that some contemporary politicians were devoid of both religion and principle is probably best accepted as an example of understandable partizanship on the part of a woman whose husband was a member of Pitt's government. Certainly I have discovered little evidence of the encouragement or profession of such attitudes in the childhoods or adult lives of the men, such as Fox, Spencer, Portland, Fitzwilliam and Windham, who were in opposition at this time.

[3] Rowse, 1958, p. 94.

In fact the inheritor of the great wealth of the Churchills turned out to be not of the stuff of which statesmen are made but we can hardly doubt that this was through no lack of encouragement by his mother and her friends.

Similar, if less explicit, influences can be established in the lives of many other children born to high rank. Writing to her nine year old grandson, Lord Titchfield,[1] the Countess of Oxford, herself the widow of a first minister, remarks with approval

> The progress you make in your learning, the Good Sense God has endowed you with, your right judged Ambition and Industry, gives me, your Parents and Friends the Greatest Hopes, you will make one of the best Appearances in the Age you live in.[2]

William Windham's guardian, Dampier, the Eton Lower Master, after visiting Windham at Oxford, reported to the boy's mother that he could not fail "of making a very considerable figure in the world."[3] Though politics is not specified as the arena for Windham's prospective triumph, we may be fairly confident that it was intended. With a similar aspiration, if not expectation, the tutor of the future Earl of Pembroke wrote of his charge to Lady Pembroke, "I wish very much he would take a turn for politics."[4]

Lord Shelburne, late in life, recalled how, before entering Oxford at sixteen, he was taken by his father to the House of Commons. "I shall never forget," he claimed, "the scolding he gave me for not staying to hear

[1] Heir to the Dukedom of Portland.

[2] Turberville II, 1939, p. 33. That the ambition to which Lady Oxford referred was political is made fairly clear by the extract from Mrs. Delany's letter which has been quoted above.

[3] Ketton-Kremer, 1962, p. 163.

[4] Herbert, 1939, p. 126. In this case the hope bore little fruit though the eleventh earl did make some small mark in diplomacy.

Lord North speak a second time, having heard him once and disliking his manner."[1] We may suspect from the vigour of the elder Shelburne's reaction on this occasion, that his motives were not entirely disinterested. Charles Fox, too, was taken to hear debates by his father and was present when the famous resolution was passed deploring Wilkes' 'North Briton', number 45.[2] A rather more direct indication of the political ambitions which the Foxes held for their prodigious son shines through a remark which Charles' mother, Lady Holland, was reported to have made to her husband after a visit to the Pitts.

> I have been this morning with Lady Hester Pitt, and there was little William Pitt, not yet eight years old and really the cleverest child I ever saw, and brought up so strictly and so proper in his behaviour, that, mark my words, that little boy will be a thorn in Charles' side as long as he lives.[3]

Contained in this statement there is, of course, a clear assumption about the likely career of Chatham's son as well as of her own. That this assumption was shared by the Pitts is confirmed by the deliberate fashion in which the first Lord Chatham encouraged in his son skills which were quite obviously intended for a parliamentarian. The full story is probably too well known to merit repeating but it is perhaps worth recalling in illustration of the methods employed that William was required to translate verbatim from a book in a foreign language, "stopping where he was not sure of the right word to be used in English until the right word came to his mind,

[1] Fitsmaurice I, 1875, p. 18. In fact Shelburne's memory seems not to have been as clear as he thought. If indeed he went up to Oxford at sixteen this would have been in 1753, yet the registers of his college show him as having matriculated in 1755. Further, North's biographer records that he did not speak until his third session which would have been in 1756 (Pemberton, 1938, p. 21).

[2] Russell I, 1853, p. 17.

[3] Ibid., p. 25.

and then proceed."[1] In this way, after long practice, the pauses became shorter and the words came more fluently. That the child had been successfully inspired even at seven to emulate his father is recorded in a letter from the family tutor to Lady Chatham. William, he reported, "was glad he was not the eldest son, but that he could serve his country in the House of Commons like his papa."[2]

As a postscript to this account of the presumption of political leanings among children of noble family it may perhaps be pardonable to repeat a story of Lord North's, characteristically at his own expense, which was repeated to Queen Victoria by Lord Melbourne. "When Lord North was at school," Melbourne claimed, "his Tutor told him, 'You're a blundering blockhead, and if you are Prime Minister it'll always be the same'; 'and it turned out to be so', Lord North said."[3]

The encouragement in young aristocrats of parliamentary ambitions took place not only through admonition and innuendo; the very fabric of their world was so raddled with politics that it could hardly have been avoided, and, personalised as it was in the figures of men they knew well, the subject acquired in consequence a considerable human fascination. Constant visiting, in country and town, and the extremely high place to which conversation had been raised by the nobility and upper gentry both acted to augment this interest. Charles Fox in adult life, on being told by an acquaintance what a mature child he had been, remarked, "I will not deny that I was a very sensible little boy; a very clever little boy. What I

[1]Stanhope I, 1867, pp. 8-9.

[2]Taylor III, 1839, p. 27.

[3]Quoted in Pemberton, 1938, p. 12, from Esher II, p. 294.

heard made an impression on me, and was of use to me afterwards."[1] The interpenetration of politics and the daily round which resulted from the Georgian social convention is endlessly exemplified in the letters and journals of the times. In the London life of the fifteen year old Duke of Richmond, who was to be Master-General of the Ordnance in three administrations, the mixture is illustrated in a letter written to his brother-in-law, Henry Fox, who was at this time Secretary at War.

> I was at Vauxhall you may imagine, where I supped with Rigby, next box to Sr George Vandeput, and drunk Ld Trentham's health as loud as we could and confusion to the Independent Electors, and after supper diverted myself with Patty Rigby in the dark walks as well as I could wish.[2]

A similar racy mélange is exhibited by the Earl Brooke's heir, fourteen years old, writing to his uncle from Edinburgh in 1760.

> Don't imagine we live luxuriously, no! no! A muckle great piece of Beef boiled has lasted the whole Family these fifteen days past for dinner and supper, it was finished and sliced fairly to the bone yesterday, and then given to the Bearns to suck... Pray tell me some newes, for I assure you there are not greater Politicians at the Smyrna or Mountin London than there are in the New and St. John's Coffey houses in Edn. I have seen Dr. Pitt up all night to wait for the Post, to hear of the K. of Prussia's victory.[3]

[1] Trevelyan, 1880, p. 46. Just how extensive was the visiting which could stimulate this precocity is shown in the delightful memoirs of John Macdonald who was a servant to some twenty-six gentlemen during the middle years of the eighteenth century. In 1750, for example, Macdonald writes that "After the new coach had come, that summer and harvest we rode all over the west of Scotland." (Macdonald, 1927, p. 26). The next year, from May until October "the Bargeny family made a tour of all the east part of Scotland." (Ibid., pp. 27, 29).

Lord Malton, who as Marquis of Rockingham was to be twice first minister, was sent as a very political youth to make "a progress to see all the most considerable places (that is houses) in England..." (Hoffman, 1973, p.6).

[2] Ilchester, 1937, p. 66.

[3] Warwick II, 1903, p. 753. In fact the child was not destined to make any great impact in politics.

Rarely to be outshone in any display of childish political precocity, Charles Fox, before he was seven, was able to write to his brother,

> I hope you are well as I am...The King of Prussia has beat the French and the Germans. I shall take it very ill if you don't write to me next Post. FitzGerald desires that you would send him the Cricket Ball which you Promised him half a year ago.[1]

Political character

As well as having his attention directed both by design and through the customary preoccupations of his class towards a career in politics, the young aristocrat was also able to develop within his milieu attitudes and personality traits which appear in a number of respects to have suited admirably his future situation as a leader in an embryonic industrial society which was edging towards democracy. 'Suited' here has two connotations. At the lower level it refers simply to the capacity of the politicians to survive, and in this sense, certainly, it is relevant to the great landowners of the eighteenth century who, at a time[2] when Europe as a whole was far from stable, maintained within Britain a clear cut ascendancy. Later I shall support the view that for the country's cultural life, and especially for its intellectual and artistic vitality, this mere survival produced considerable benefits. At the second level, the suitability of the nobleman's political character stemmed from the part that he was to play in the two great developments of his age, that is the growth of industry and the movement towards parliamentary democracy. In these major areas the key to his influence was, I shall suggest,

[1] Reid, 1969, p. 9. It is clear from the few early letters in Russell's Memorials of Fox that the proportion of political content in the boy's personal letters became substantially larger as he grew older.

[2] The time referred to here is not limited by the neat boundaries, 1775, and 1800. Much of what is said could indeed be applied to the greater part of the first half of the nineteenth century.

an inherited reverence for the idea of liberty. This, however, will require a discussion in which it will be necessary to steer very carefully in order to avoid misunderstanding and I may be forgiven perhaps for deferring it until after the consideration of rather less contentious aspects of upper class political character.

In the order, then, in which they will be reviewed here, the facets of aristocratic belief and style which appear to have been advantageous both to their possessors and to their country were, first, a willingness to work hard and with concentration in the preparation for office and in its conduct, secondly, as an intrinsic and major part of the notion of 'breeding', the ability to appear 'aimable', thirdly, the assumption of an overtly rational, rather than peremptory, manner in the determination of policy, and finally, a version of egalitarianism which if not exactly radical by modern standards was certainly eccentric in the context of the world at that time.

Of the application to business of the holders of high office Lord Shelburn wrote, "It is a mistake to suppose that these remarkable men are not diligent, I have known many and never knew an instance to the contrary."[1] There is ample evidence to confirm this view. The younger Pitt, for example, standing for Cambridge University in 1779, claimed in a letter to a friend to have written more than four hundred election letters in one week;[2] clearly there was no reliance here on charisma rubbed off from his father. Of Charles Fox, for all his air of easy mastery, Trevelyan pointed out that Lord Holland,

[1]Fitzmaurice I, 1875, p. 87.

[2]Weigall, 1908, p. 247.

who knew his uncle far better than all other people together who have recorded their impressions of his character, tells us that the most marked and enduring feature in his disposition was his invincible propensity "to labour at excellence".[1]

Even Lord North, who of all ministers of the period is traditionally characterised as having been indolent, was, according to his biographer, "very industrious" and gave an impression of laziness more by his manner than by his methods.[2] Serving under North were two men who were, by their peers and by the 'whig' historians of the last century, reviled even more than their leader.[3] Yet whatever judgements come at last to be accepted on Sandwich's and Germain's conduct of the American War - and the former's incompetence is certainly far from proven[4] - there can be little doubt that to neither of them can be ascribed the fault of lethargy; rather they were both probably inclined to take to themselves too much of the direction of the distant action.[5]

I have given these few examples of diligence in ministers - and it would have been possible to do similarly for many more - because there is not infrequently associated with the idea of a gentleman a flavour of insouciance, of dilettanteism, whereas it would in fact be much nearer to the truth to regard most leading eighteenth century politicians as fairly hard working professionals. The advantages to them of this dedicated approach to politics were twofold.

[1] Trevelyan, 1880, p. 66.

[2] Pemberton, 1938, pp. 79, 173.

[3] After reading some of the vituperation that was levelled against North's administration by the contemporary opposition and by their political descendants who wrote history in the next century, it is endlessly surprising to find that North carried such large majorities, and this for twelve years.

[4] For a powerful defence of Sandwich, c.f. Martelli, 1962.

[5] Even the Dictionary of National Biography, a fecund source for the uniformly anti-ministry views of Horace Walpole, admits that Sandwich was "assiduous and punctual in the dispatch of business..."

First, having prepared thoroughly for their vocations, they sounded and behaved like political leaders and tended therefore to inspire confidence, or, at the very least, they appeared to be by far the best candidates in view, for certainly at this time there was no competition from the most likely alternatives, the merchants and rising industrialists. Secondly, unless one's cynicism runs rampant, it must, I think, be assumed that, all else being equal, application increases substantially the prospect of success in most walks of life, politics being no exception. It is tempting to try to justify these assertions in detail but since the primary aim of the present research is to investigate the seeds rather than the fruit of behaviour, I shall turn attention rather to the part that upbringing played in encouraging this aristocratic diligence.

For Locke, many of whose opinions were, I have suggested, disseminated through the intermediary of Lord Chesterfield, idleness was not to be tolerated in children.

> ...there is sometimes observable in Children, a listless carelessnes, a want of regard to any thing, and a sort of trifling even at their Business.[1] This Sauntering Humour I look on, as one of the worst Qualities can appear in a Child...[2]

Where such a disposition does occur Locke advises that it be rooted out as quickly as possible. In Chesterfield's Letters this view is assimilated into the doctrine of the 'Hoc Age', which is "do whatever you are doing with attention".[3] His godson is recommended to "Study heartily, and play vigorously; but always do one or the other, and never be idle."[4] There is good reason to believe that such precepts were very acceptable to the parents of young

[1] That is, schoolwork.

[2] Locke, 1968, p. 232.

[3] Carnarvon, 1889, p. 34.

[4] Ibid., p. 2. The boy was four.

noblemen, and even more for believing that the youngsters who were to become ministers were especially assiduous in their application of Chesterfield's maxim. Many of the examples that can be given in support of this claim belong properly to the later discussions of school, university and foreign travel but it would perhaps add conviction to the general view of upper class education that is being outlined to give some illustrations at the present stage. Charles Townshend,[1] for instance, whose father, Viscount Townshend, was quite ready to suspect his son of idleness at Cambridge, was drawn to reply to parental criticism in a tone which is strongly suggestive of the importance placed by the father on hard work. "That I have been diligent," he wrote, "in the prosecution of my design and made few allowances of my time for diversions or company, all I believe who know me will bear witness, nor do I imagine that I have ever had it in my power to increase my application without endangering my health."[2] It seems likely, then, that Charles' brother, the fourth viscount, a future minister, would have been subject to similar pressure to apply himself to his books. There can be little doubt too that the Marquis of Titchfield[3] received strong family encouragement to work hard at his studies. When the child

[1] Townshend had been Chancellor of the Exchequer at his early death and had seemed set for a political career of the first rank. Though he did not hold office during the years with which we are principally concerned, his elder brother, George, and his cousin, Thomas Townshend, did take senior government posts during the last quarter of the century.

[2] Namier, 1964, p. 8.

[3] The heir to the Dukedom of Portland.

was nine his grandmother, Lady Oxford, as we have already seen,[1] praised his industry making it clear that in her opinion this was unquestionably the way to succeed in life. Three years later she wrote to him, "I rejoice at the success of your laudable ambition for learning".[2] The boy's father too was not backward in encouraging his son's studies even though his priorities appear to have been rather confused. In a letter to Titchfield at Eton his recommendations ranged from

> the excellent practice of doing Latin verses and the desirability of remembering the rules of prosody; to the absolute necessity, if clothes do not fit comfortably, of immediately getting the tailor to alter them.[3]

We may deduce that the future Duke of Richmond was also strongly discouraged from a slipshod approach to his studies. In a letter to his father he claimed to be

> very sorry I gave occasion to you to caution me about my writing well, which was in some measure owing to my not having good pens but chiefly to my own negligence concerning which I shall take greater care for the future.[4]

A rare insight into the sustained nature of the pressure to achieve that might be applied to a young nobleman is provided in William Jones' letters to Lord Althorp.[5] In 1768, when the child is ten, Jones confides to his mother,

[1] Above, p. 225.

[2] Turberville II, 1939, p. 34.

[3] Ibid..

[4] March, 1911, p. 694.

[5] Althorp, later Earl Spencer, was Jones' pupil from 1765-70. After this Jones continued to act as an unofficial counsellor.

> ...though I do not allow him to apply closer than is necessary for his age...I have not a doubt of his becoming one of the first scholars of the age; the vulgar notion that a little learning is sufficient for a gentleman is extremely absurd, and not less ridiculous than the common maxim that things should be learnt in preference to words...[1]

Four years later Jones is able to report to Lady Spencer that her son is "modest, attentive, and sweet-tempered, has fine parts and uncommon industry."[2] In 1775, when Althorp is at Cambridge, his ex-tutor warns him, "...consider hunting, musick, and all amusements, as amusements only..."[3] and, shortly afterwards, he amplifies this advice:

> Persist in the study of our history according to your method, continue your taste for musick...but fix your mind...on the grand object of life, the benefit of our country and of all the human species[4]

Here, then, the emphasis is clearly on a sober and determined preparation for a serious career and very far indeed from anything resembling dilettanteism.

Direct evidence of the influence of Chesterfield's advocacy of concentration on the matter in hand occurs in a letter from the Earl of Pembroke to his son's tutor. Pembroke claims that for the boy, "I dreaded nothing, but the want of a certain Hoc Age."[5] In fact it was Lady Pembroke who appears to have been the principal driving force behind her

[1] Cannon, 1970, p. 16.

[2] Ibid., p. 121.

[3] Ibid., p. 209.

[4] Ibid., p. 210.

[5] Herbert, 1939, p. 109. That Pembroke had read Chesterfield is confirmed on pp. 115 and 184. The child did not become a leading politician.

son's academic studies. Writing to the Rev. Coxe, who was travelling with Lord Herbert on the Continent, she quotes with approval a passage from the youth's last letter home:

> "I like Mr. Coxe amazingly. We begin upon our hard work on Monday," which two sentences being join'd together, I think, looks well.[1]

Other examples of the early adoption of habits of attention by future ministers can be dealt with most conveniently in the chapters that follow on the institutional aspects of upper class education. For the moment the catalogue will be lightly closed with an observation by Charles Fox's Oxford tutor on a proposed visit to Fox to Paris. "Application like yours," Dr. Newcome wrote, "requires some intermission..."[2] During the later years of Fox's political life, when his employment of the 'Hoc Age' had rather lapsed, he was inclined to flourish this testimonial before his detractors as incontrovertible evidence of the fundamental thoroughness of his nature.

Second in the list of politically advantageous aspects of aristocratic character, I have included the capacity of appearing 'aimable', a quality which lay at the core of the concept of 'breeding'. For both Locke and Chesterfield 'breeding' was the cement that bound into a whole all those characteristics to which a gentleman should aspire. "Courage in all ill-bred Man," Locke wrote,

[1] Ibid., p. 60.

[2] Russell, 1853, p. 22.

> has the Air of, and escapes not the Opinion of Brutality: Learning becomes Pedantry; Wit Buffoonry; Plainess Rusticity; Good Nature Fawning. And there cannot be a good quality in him which want of Breeding will not warp, and disfigure to his Disadvantage.[1]

In what did this breeding consist?

> A graceful Way and Fashion, in everything, is that which gives the Ornament and Liking...a due and free composure of Language, Look, Motion, Posture, Place, &c. suited to Persons and Occasions, and can be learn'd only by Habit and Use...[2]

Elsewhere Locke suggests that all of this can be condensed into a simple formula:

> There are Two Sorts of ill Breeding; the one a sheepish Bashfulness: And the other a mis-becoming Negligence and Disrespect in our Carriage: Both which are avoided by duly observing this one Rule, Not to think meanly of ourselves, and not to think meanly of others.[3]

Such an attitude was not only morally commendable, it produced, too, considerable social benefits:

> For the very end and business of Good-breeding is to supple the natural stifness and soften Men's Tempers that they may bend to a compliance and accommodate themselves to those they have to do with.[4]

Chesterfield, more even than Locke, is concerned with the "infinite utility of pleasing",[5] though he gives to it perhaps rather more of a

[1] Locke, 1968, p. 191.

[2] Ibid..

[3] Ibid., p. 245.

[4] Ibid., p. 247.

[5] Carnarvon, 1889, p. 168.

Machiavellian, and less of a recipricolly beneficial, nature; that is, he implies that a man should be agreeable primarily in order to be loved.[1] The art of pleasing, Chesterfield illuminates constantly from many angles; it consists of "La douceur et la politesse dans l'air et dans la manière",[2] "sweetness, modesty and attention";[3] "never ridicule, smile often but laugh low and seldom";[4] wit must be kept tightly reigned in - "everyone admires it, most people aim at it, all people fear it, and few people love it unless in themselves".[5] Most important of all for the purposes of the present contention, that breeding was a political asset, Chesterfield tells his godson that he must "maintain (his opinion)...only with modesty, calmness and gentleness, but never be eager, loud, and clamerous..."[6] It is essential to stress that a gentleman was to be 'aimable' not only to other members of his own class but to all ranks of society.

> The lowest and poorest people in the world expect good breeding from a gentleman, and they have a right to it; for they are by nature your equals, and are no otherwise your inferiors than by their education and their fortune. Therefore whenever you speak to people who are no otherwise your inferiors than by these circumstances, you must remember to look them in the face and to speak to them with great humanity and douceur, or else they will think you proud and hate you.[7]

> ...but if...riches are attended by an extensive beneficence, and... Titles by an easy affability, the possessors will then be adored.[8]

[1]See, for example, ibid., p. 16. Nevertheless, in the letters to his godson, Chesterfield takes many opportunities to recommend a charitable outlook so that it would not be just to condemn his approach as purely self-seeking. "Ayez donc," he wrote to his young heir, "une grande Charité pour l'amour de Dieu, et une extrême Politesse pour l'amour de vous même." (Ibid., p. 134).

[2]Ibid., p. 13.

[3]Ibid., p. 92.

[4]Ibid., p. 91.

[5]Ibid., p. 180.

[6]Ibid., p. 172.

[7]Ibid., p. 14.

[8]Ibid., pp. 290-1.

Here then, in the justifications of Locke and Chesterfield, we can see the political advantage of good breeding; the administrator whose manner was by design and habit charming, and to whom, therefore, popularity was clearly a measure of wordly success, was far more likely to persuade others to acquiesce in his policies than one who was dictatorial and boorish. It is this to which Dr. John Moore, one of the most perceptive of eighteenth century English travellers, is referring when he writes that

> In France, Germany, Spain, Italy the sentiments of the people are disregarded; whereas, in England, popularity is of real importance; and the higher a man's rank is, the more he will feel the loss of it.[1]

The English gentleman was in fact by contemporary definition a most agreeable person, and if the reality did not match fully the ideal, it was, nevertheless, sufficiently close for the members of the upper class to be, by any standards, but those of the twentieth century, among the least irksome and provocative of governors.

[1]Moore, 1779, p. 288.

[2]There is but a short step from the desire to be pleasing to the outright cultivation of hypocrisy yet these two can, of course, represent quite different moralities. Thus, on the one hand, it is possible to be pleasant in most matters without denying one's deepest convictions, while, on the other, affability becomes an habitual means of disguising one's true intentions and beliefs. The former may require a degree of compromise, but the latter involves the wholesale acceptance of mendacity. In France of the ancien régime this boundary appears to have been crossed; or at least it appeared so to Englishmen at the time. Lord Herbert's tutor writes from France, "He (Herbert) sees at once that all their compliments mean nothing, and that when they seem to be your greatest friends, they care little about you." (Herbert, 1939, p. 66). Harold Nicolson was making the same point when he wrote, "The desire to please has in fact always constituted a fungus destructive of the bright flower of French civility." (Nicolson, 1955, p. 175).

A manner designed to be ornamentally agreeable may also of course be used as a cloak for ignorance. The Englishman of the eighteenth century was inclined to believe that the French were not guiltless on this score either. Chesterfield, a considerable Francophile, nevertheless wrote, "Les petits Marquis François sont souvent très aimable, par leur Politesse, et leur enjouement, mais ils sont rarement sçavans..." (Carnarvon, 1889, p. 46). Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who lived for many years in France, thought similarly. In a letter to Lady Bute she claimed that Bolingbroke's writings were like "the French eloquence. I mean a poor or, trite thought dressed up in pompous language." (Wortley, 1925, p. 36).

Though the theory of breeding that has been outlined is based on educational writings, those of Locke and Chesterfield, it is difficult to discover specific examples of the process of transmission. For breeding, more than most qualities, represents behaviour that is 'picked up' by the observation and imitation of those who already possess it. As Locke expressed the point, "This is an Art not to be learnt, nor taught by Books. Nothing can give it but good Company and Observation joyn'd together".[1] It is therefore essential, he holds, that a tutor must always himself be a man of breeding. Chesterfield similarly insists on the mystique of the concept, its "Je ne sçay quoy". "I will endeavour," he tells his godson, "to give you a general notion of it, though I cannot give you an exact one; experience must teach it you, and will, if you attend to it."[2]

We probably can see reflections of a respect for breeding in the opinion expressed by the Harrow masters of Lord Althorp, that he was "modest, attentive and sweet-tempered".[3] On the whole, however, a teacher or tutor was not likely to report directly on a matter so near to the heart of a gentleman's amour propre. Sir Philip Yorke, later Earl Hardwick, a leading politician of George II's reign, was provided with an oblique opportunity of guiding his sons' thoughts in the right direction when he was asked to contribute to a magazine that the boys were editing while at school. Writing on 'The Government of the Mind', he said,

> It appears, in fact, to have been due to a Frenchified over-affectation of courtesy and an allied reputation for duplicity that Shelburne was so unpopular.

[1] Locke, 1968, p. 190.

[2] Carnarvon, 1889, p. 262.

[3] Cannon, I, 1970, p. 121.

> If we could but consider the world about us, a just esteem for others, or that regard for those we converse with, which is called good breeding would be a constant monitor to the exercise of...dominion over ourselves."[1]

In the absence of a body of comparable evidence, however, it is not, I think, unreasonable to assume that what Locke and Chesterfield considered of such crucial importance to a gentleman represented not some fancy of their own construction but a quality that was equally considered desirable by the greater part of their class and which was therefore an essential element in the upbringing of every serious aspirant to gentility.

The third way in which the aristocratic approach to government produced, I have suggested, powerful political benefits, was through a reliance on an overt rationalism, a preparedness to discuss and to compromise, rather than on a style of absolute and paternalistic command. It is not, I think, necessary, to establish this point by means of an accumulation of anecdote; Parliament was, after all, in its essence, a forum for debate and a place where all executive decisions were to be justified, ostensibly at least, by reason. What is of interest here is the means by which the appropriate outlook was transmitted to the children who were to become the political leaders of their generation. Once again a part of the answer belongs to the analysis of educational sectors other than the domestic and will therefore be dealt with later, but it is probably true in this case that the major influences are to be attributed to the children's parents and especially to the fathers who are in most cultures the principal source of attitudes to the exercise of authority.

The most immediate impact on a modern investigator leafing for the first time through letters sent and received by the boys of eighteenth century noble families will almost certainly be astonishment both at the

[1] Yorke, 1913, p. 103.

extra-ordinary precocity of the children and also at the assumption of such precocity by their correspondents. The origin of this maturity, so premature by present day standards, is, I suspect, to be found partly at least in the insistence of Georgian upper class parents on treating their offspring as fundamentally rational beings.[1] Parental policy was not on the whole to coerce children into obedience but rather to persuade them; far from their views being treated as of little consequence opinions were deliberately sought on all sorts of occasions. A rationale for such an approach is once again provided by Locke. Children, he claimed,

> understand (reasoning)...as early as they do Language; and if I mis-observe it not, they love to be treated as Rational Creatures sooner than is imagined. 'Tis a pride should be cherished in them, and as much as can be, made the greatest instrument to turn them by.[2]

One of the ways in which fathers could encourage this youthful capacity for the 'reasonable' determination of conduct was, Locke suggested, by appealing to their sons for advice.[3] Chesterfield, who with Locke must be always the first source for patrician educational theory, clearly thought similarly, for, though he did not broach the subject explicitly, he nevertheless gave in the letters to his son and godson monumental proof of an underlying belief in the high reasoning power of children.[4]

Indications of a precocious initiation into rationality are hardly less common than are surviving letters sent and received by young noblemen.

[1] In fact the precocity appears to consist of three elements: rationality, learning and elegance of expression.

[2] Locke, 1968, p. 181.

[3] Ibid., p. 203.

[4] Chesterfield again provides a hint that he has absorbed Locke thoroughly when he writes to his godson shortly after the boy's thirteenth birthday, "You are now of an age to be consulted as well as taught..." (Carnarvon, 1889, p. 276).

Those from William Jones to the future Earl Spencer, which are quoted often in this research, provide many examples. Thus Jones writes in 1768 to his pupil, who is at the time ten,

> I am much obliged to you for the agreeable account of what you saw in the house of Commons; and I beg you will continue to let me know what passes in town, and particularly if you hear anything about the navigable canal which will be cut from Oxford to Coventry, if the bill passes the house.[1]

Even when his letters are concerned with more light-hearted topics, which is frequent, Jones still displays in them a strong pattern of logic, a regard for precise expression and a willingness to use the more complex conceptual structures which are the mark of high rationality.

Evidence of these same abilities in a child are shown by the Earl of Bute's third son, ten years old, in a letter to Charles Jenkinson. The child writes,

> I expected a letter from you a long time ago, but as I had not the happiness of hearing from you I thought of writing to you to put you in mind; if you will send me an answer as soon as you receive this I shall be obliged to you. I desire you will send me 4 or 5 dozen of franks for I have promised as many as ever the Duke of Newcastle did places.[2]

At the age of seven, while he was at Eton, the Marquis of Blandford[3] was able to compose the following rather esoteric message for his sister:

> I write to tell you some sad news My Poor Brother Monkey at Mr Days at Hounslow is dead therefore you and I must go in Mourning so pray tell Mama to send me down some new Mourning Cloaths. I tell you this that you and all of us may go in Mourning. My Tears hinder me from saying any more.[4]

[1] Cannon I, 1970, p. 27.

[2] Jucker, 1949, p. 268.

[3] Heir to the Dukedom of Marlborough.

[4] Herbert, 1939, p. 23.

Examples such as these, which are it must be insisted typical, of a maturity of style and an intellectual forwardness surely remarkable in children so young could be added to indefinitely (and indeed a number have been given on earlier pages). Such an extension of evidence is, however, probably unnecessary at this stage since a great deal of the material which will be used to illustrate other aspects of upper class education illuminates also, again and again, the essentially rational nature of an aristocratic upbringing. The present list will therefore be closed with an extract from a letter sent by Charles Fox, a very old fifteen year old, to his friend Sir George Macartney:

> ...Churchill is dead. His friend Wilkes has published a pamphlet called a letter to his constituents at Aylesbury, and sent it to London by Mr. Stanley's servants to Lords Mansfield, Halifax, Sandwich, Temple and others. It contained nothing but a justification of his conduct as to the 'North Briton'. He says it was respectful to the king. The 'Essay on Woman' he calls an idle poem, in which he had ridiculed nothing, but a creed which the great Tillotson wished the Church of England fairly rid of. It contains violent abuse of Lord Mansfield...[1]

Able and encouraged, then, at a tender age to make exact statements and fine discriminations it can hardly be surprising that an aristocrat grew up to respect and expect such standards in the execution of government and that he had a confidence in employing them which could often seem in a young man almost unnatural. It was this, one would guess, as much as the display of knowledge and manners, which led Horace Walpole to exclaim in his journal, "The youths of this period who had any parts came out full-blown,"[2] So rare and so strong a dedication to reason was of advantage both to the politicians themselves and to the country which they governed. For at a time when the

[1] Russell, 1853, p. 15.

[2] Walpole, 1948, p. 335.

the middle classes were growing rapidly more aware of their considerable capability for power, and when among the working classes there could be detected the first stirrings of political hunger, the effect of the nobleman's devotion to the principle of rationality was to mitigate the violence of opposition and to permit change in areas where a traditional autocratic aristocracy would have been far more uncompromisingly wedded to the preservation of hereditary privileges. The spirit that was about is evoked in a letter of 1760 by Horace Walpole (though one may feel that he was on far stronger ground in associating it with the country that he lived in and knew than with the monarchies of the continent).

> A century had now passed since reason had begun to attain that ascendant in the affairs of the world, to conduct which it had been granted to man six thousand years ago. If religion and governments were still domineered by prejudices, if creeds that contradict logic, or tyrannies that enslave multitudes to the caprice of one were not yet exploded, novel absurdities at least were not broached; or if propogated produced neither persecutors nor martyrs.[1]

If diligence, courtesy towards inferiors and persuasiveness are qualities that may seem surprising in a nobleman, a regard for social equality must appear thoroughly unlikely. Yet there are strong grounds for believing that such an outlook was instilled as a normal part of an upper class upbringing and that it brought to its possessors and to the nation as a whole considerable political advantages. Now 'social equality' is of course always to be understood with reference to some norm and in the context of late eighteenth century Europe this norm related to aristocracies that were, by and large, privileged at law, authoritarian and ostentatiously haughty. In France, for example, in the words of Professor McManners, "The famous 'douceur de vivre'

[1]Quoted in Rowse, 1958, p. 96.

of the old régime was concocted from a very simple formula, privilege without responsibility."[1] The privilege was exhibited, among other ways, in a substantial exemption from taxation and in the right to collect feudal dues. Authority was such that local magnates had de facto the power even to put peasants to death without trial. And of course the arrogance of the French noblesse in the exercise of their prerogative is legendary.

In Britain, by contrast, the privileges in law of the peerage were negligible.[2] Far from being exempt from taxation, the owners of land were its principal target. Within their domains the landlords' authority rested largely on tradition, having, by their consent and encouragement, little foundation in law, and outside of the home territory even this mild form of power was considerably reduced. Indeed in London, where a nobleman spent a large part of his life, the common people were famous, even notorious, for the way in which they welcomed opportunities to emphasize their independence.[3] And finally, of haughtiness, the British aristocrat, though by no means free, was by the standards of his age and by the standards of the past, remarkably lacking. Thus it was socially acceptable, for example, during the Westminster election of 1784, for Georgiana, the beautiful Duchess of Devonshire, and her sister, Viscountess Duncannon, to canvass from house to house. Of the former Lord Cornwallis was able to write on 9th April, "She was in the most blackguard houses in Long acre by eight o'clock this morning."[4]

[1]Goodwin, 1953, p. 29.

[2]In 1758 Earl Ferrers, after the normal processes of law, was executed for the murder of his steward (Hickey 1913, p. 20). In France this would hardly have been conceivable.

[3]See, for instance, Pastor Moritz's account of elections in London in 1782 (Moritz, 1782, pp. 61-5).

[4]Reid, 1969, p. 202.

The comparison that has been made between aristocratic approaches to the exercise of authority in Britain and in Europe is intended only as an introduction to a subject on which I hope to cast light from many directions in the pages that follow. Primarily, of course, in an educational thesis, I shall be concerned to discover the childhood determinants of those attitudes which not only ensured that the British nobility refrained on the whole from systematic oppression but led them, more positively, to court the approval of the lower ranks of society and to seek to protect their liberty with the weight of law. The roots of this behaviour are, I think, three. First, children of noble family were brought up robustly and, despite the warnings of Locke, mingled often with members of lower classes. Further, in the comparatively unstratified societies of school and university, they learned to mix on fairly equal terms with one another. Secondly they were taught to have some respect of those of lower rank than themselves, a belief which was closely associated in their minds with the notion that the only commendable pre-eminence is that of ability. Finally, and of the greatest importance, the young aristocrats learned to regard the idea of liberty as sacred, the lynch pin in fact of their venerated constitution. In the discussion that follows the second and third of these points will be dealt with together since the transmission of concepts of the underlying 'sameness' of men and of their right to liberty were often inseparable in the process of upbringing. It is probably worth emphasising that all three ways of inculcating egalitarian attitudes define of course only tendencies in an upper class upbringing; it is rare for any general form of behaviour in social history not to have many exceptions. The reader will no doubt be able to think of many examples of aristocratic conduct that were anything but egalitarian. I hope, however, that through an accumulated weight of evidence it will be clear by the end of this survey that within the eighteenth century British upper classes there had been instilled a dislike of arbitrary

authority and a corresponding regard for the autonomy of the individual citizen which, though far from total, were in a hereditary nobility truly original.

What I have called the 'robust' nature of aristocratic upbringing had two aspects. One, which was physical, involved an acceptance of vigorous action, bodily contact and, at school particularly, a meanness of living conditions which are, by and large, experiences antithetical to the development of social fastidiousness. The other, purely social, reflected the many opportunities for mixing at various class levels that an upper class education provided and which ensured that those who had passed through the normal system were accustomed to adapt themselves to a variety of acquaintances. The illustration of both of these meanings belongs largely to the consideration of school and European travel. A few examples, however, will not be out of place at this stage.

Henry Angelo, for instance, in his Reminiscences, tells a story of the Duke of Rutland's father, the famous Marquis of Granby, which showed him to have had little of the physical squeamishness that might be expected in a peer sensitive about his dignity.[1] While sitting for a portrait by Hayman, whom he had heard was something of a boxer, the general, anxious to relieve the tedium of his passive situation, challenged the painter to a bout there and then in the studio. The offer, Angelo records, was accepted and so violent were the ensuing thuds and crashes that an astounded Mrs. Hayman was brought running to investigate.[2] It seems unlikely that so hearty a father

[1] In his manual of courtly behaviour Castiglione advises the nobleman to avoid trials of physical prowess with men of lower rank than himself since this could easily lead to a loss of esteem that the courtier has been so careful to contrive.

[2] Angelo, 1830, pp. 92-3.

would have brought up his son to be distant and haughty. That William Windham was quite capable of looking after himself by the time he entered Eton at seven we may judge from a letter sent to his father by a Rev. Dobyns. "I am rejoyc'd," wrote the clergyman, "that your Son has been victorious in three engagements. I pray to God that he may be so in every concern in life."[1] Lord Shelburne when a child was also by no means protected from the bustle of the world for at the age of, it would appear, about four he was sent to "an ordinary publick school" in Ireland where he considered that his formal education was greatly neglected.[2] The heir to the great Holkham estates, Thomas Coke, who became a notable politician, though not a statesman, also began his academic education at a village school, in Langford, Derbyshire.[3] Passionate about shooting even as a young boy, he used to get up before dawn during these years, soak a few crusts in cream from the fresh milk in the dairy and be in the fields with his gun by the time the sun had risen.[4]

The role of sport in encouraging both physical sturdiness and the mixing of classes is not in fact to be underestimated. Among the Italian and French nobility, who were primarily dwellers in court or city, English gentlemen were notorious for their undignified fondness for various forms of hunting. Indeed Chesterfield, always attracted towards French manners, predictably proscribes "those rustick illiberal sports of guns, dogs, and horses, which characterise our English Bumpkin Country Gentlemen."[5] He was

[1]Ketton-Cremer, 1930, p. 57.

[2]Fitzmaurice I, 1875, p. 14.

[3]Stirling, 1912, p. 48.

[4]Ibid., p. 14.

[5]Carnarvon, 1889, p. 228.

here, however, fighting a battle that had long since been lost, for, living as they did for a large part of the year in the country, the great majority of English aristocrats were drawn into rural sports both by the habits of tradition and the social demands of frequent visiting. Now it is clearly difficult for a man who has tramped through deep mud, been soaked to the skin by rain and has suffered the ludicrous effects of misadventure and his own deficiencies in performance, to maintain an air of poised aloofness among his employees and tenants. Thus, from an early age, the nobleman who took part in hunting and shooting excursions learnt how to behave rather more like an officer in the field with his troops than a seigneur protected from the world's gaze by an elaborately contrived barrage of ritual. This common touch of the English gentleman was encouraged also by the considerable interest in agricultural improvement that was developing among landlords as the eighteenth century progressed, for it was not really practicable to engage in experiments in cultivation without talking frequently and at a fairly colloquial level with the men who actually tilled the land. Fathers and grandfathers who had been thus involved[I] tended to pass on to the children of the family rather less of a distaste for the acquaintance of ordinary working men than did continental habitués of courts and salons. However, by far the most convincing illustrations of ways in which young aristocrats were prepared by their upbringing to mix easily with men of differing condition and class lie within the consideration not of family life but of schooling and foreign travel and it is in the sections dealing with these topics that the present discussion will be continued.

[I] An outstanding example is the second Viscount Townshend who is, for his rather obsessional concern for agricultural innovation, remembered as 'Turnip' Townshend. He was the grandfather of two late eighteenth century ministers of state.

At a more theoretical level, on the question of the intrinsic value of noble birth and the attitude that should be adopted by noblemen towards the members of lower classes, both Locke and Chesterfield were, in their educational writing, in agreement and perfectly explicit. The former refers to "the Shufflings of outward Conditions" and advises that children should be taught to be "gentle, courteous, affable" towards lower ranks. "Domestics," he writes, "will pay a more ready and cheerful Service, when they find themselves not spurn'd because Fortune has laid them below the Level of others, at their Master's Feet."[1] Chesterfield, whom one once more suspects has read Locke thoroughly, has much to say in similar vein. To be proud of birth and rank, he tells his heir, is quite silly; these are merely the results of good fortune; only talent is to be respected.[2] Like Locke he recommends gentleness and humanity in dealing with inferiors.[3] Later this advice is expanded into a full-blooded statement of laissez-faire egalitarianism;

> Service is a mutual contract, the Master hires and pays his servant, the servant is to do his master's business; but each is equally at liberty to be off the engagement, upon due warning. Servants are full as necessary to their Masters, as their Masters are to them...[4]

If there should be a suspicion that Chesterfield is here stating some ideal of freedom that servants never in reality possessed it may quickly be dispelled by a cursory dip into the memoirs of the footman, John Macdonald, who was hired by twenty-nine gentlemen in thirty-three years and was never in the least backward about expressing displeasure either with his tongue or by changing his employer.[5]

[1] Locke, 1968, p. 228.

[2] Chesterfield plays many variations on this theme. See, for example, Carnarvon, 1889, pp. 223-5, 258.

[3] Ibid., p. 268.

[4] Ibid., p. 288.

[5] Macdonald, 1970.

That the opinions of Locke and Chesterfield were held widely within the nobility is not seriously to be doubted although the behaviour of some members may not have reflected this belief. To adapt an epigram of Eliot's: they may frequently have performed autocratic acts; they rarely attempted to defend their actions on autocratic grounds. Indeed, making as they did theoretical obeisance to notions of equality, even the acts were strongly discouraged. The essence of these libertarian ideas was enshrined in the name 'whig' which by the second half of the century had, among the overwhelming majority of aristocrats, only desirable connotations.[I] It described, of course, in theory the heirs of that political movement which had broken the despotic power of the Stuarts; that is, it represented in the aristocratic conceptual scheme those who had upheld freedom against the claims of arbitrary authority. Any nobleman, therefore, who was taught to believe himself a whig was, in effect, being invested as a champion of liberty; and the attribution had all the more immediacy for the fact that in the lifetime of the ministers who served between 1775 and 1800, or in the lifetime of their parents, the threat of a return of Stuart rule was far more than a figment of the imagination.

Now, because it was necessary to dispense with the spirit of the belief in the divine right of kings in order to bring about the events of 1688, and because the eighteenth century was a rational age and the apologists of the Revolution rational men, there took place, almost as a matter of course, an extension of the 'right' to freedom from royal interference claimed by the

[I] In a letter to his friend, Lord Westmorland, Pitt, who was standing for Cambridge University, said that he would call himself "an independent whig which in words is hardly a distinction as everyone alike pretends to it." (Weigall, 1908, p. 248). Professor Pares, following the same theme, writes of the early sixties, "it was useless to appeal from whigs to tories if there were no effective tories to answer. Horace Walpole once said, 'In truth all the sensible Tories I ever knew were either Jacobites or became Whigs.'". (Pares, 1953, p. 72).

whig peers and their supporters in the City to include, in fact, a similar demand on behalf of all men. Thus to be a whig was to be, in principle, a supporter of universal liberty. Of course the lineage of liberty in England was far longer than the period that had elapsed since the expulsion of James II, but 1688 crystallised a way of thinking and the label 'whig' allowed men to identify positively with that train of thought.

A Georgian nobleman, then, even at his most perverse, would not cheerfully support a domestic policy that might be interpreted as the imposition of arbitrary power and, at a personal level, would be loathe to adopt a manner that could be described as dictatorial.[1] "Wilkes and Liberty" and "No taxation without representation" were slogans calculated to strike very near to the core of an aristocrat's deepest beliefs and when Shelburne, belabouring the government in 1775, said that the principles of Selden and Locke "had since the Revolution been considered the surest guide for English statesmen but the present ministers were reverting to the precedents of the Stuart period",[2] he was attempting to tap a consensus that he clearly did not doubt lay somewhere beneath the variegated periwigs of the Upper House. The pervasiveness of this mood that was abroad among the political classes is suggested in a letter of the young Earl of Carlisle to George Selwyn, dated 1767.

> I dined yesterday with the governor of Villa Franca, and saw the galley-slaves, which is a shocking sight to every one, but would have been more so to you, who hear, when you are awake, so much about liberty in your

[1] Boswell, who was, of course, under Samuel Johnson's tutelage, a fervent reactionary, went so far as to associate the whig's libertarian views with that most avant-garde of political creeds, democracy. "I am willing" he wrote, "to do justice to the merit of Dr. Towers (a Unitarian preacher and political writer), of whom I will say, that although I abhor his Wiggish democratical notions and propensities (for I will not call them principles), I esteem him as an ingenious, knowing, and very convivial man." (Boswell, pp. 290-1).

[2] Paraphrased in Fitzmaurice II, 1876, p. 314.

House of Commons.[1]

'Liberty', 'whig principles', 'constitution', approbatory words almost inseparable in emotive content, hung, then, constantly upon the lips of members of the nobility and were part and parcel of the unquestioned cultural milieu in which their children were raised. Conversely, 'despotic', 'arbitrary' 'Tory', were perjorative concepts, charges to be set off by any politician skilled enough to locate the appropriate trigger. Coke of Norfolk, later Earl of Leicester, who though never a minister was an active parliamentarian, recalled his grandfather taking him upon his knee and saying, "Now remember, Tom, as long as you live, never trust a Tory!" Afterwards Coke's father was to repeat the advice.[2] The Marquis of Rockingham also

> was bred in the strictest of whig principles, and even in his boyhood was so full of zeal for the house of Hanover that during the winter of 1745-6 he slipped away from Wentworth and joined the Duke of Cumberland's standard at Carlisle.[3]

He was at the time fifteen. In the next generation it is possible to follow closely part of the process of induction of the future Earl Spencer into the theory of constitutional liberty since a large number of his tutor's letters have been preserved and published. In 1777 the tutor, William Jones, writes to his pupil,

> Let no man talk to me of a <u>mild monarchy</u>; I will have no monarchy at all in the true sense of the word; that is, I will not be governed by any single man whatever; but will be guided by the agregate will of the community, which alone is Law, whenever that will can be collected as nearly as possible and without corruption...I am not for pure democracy, because men are not virtuous enough to bear it; but I prefer a mixed republick in which a single man is only an accountable magistrate, whose magistracy is only made hereditary to avoid the inconveniences of

[1] Jesse II, 1901, p. 10. A large majority of the ministers in the present sample had held seats in the Commons.

[2] Stirling, 1912, p. 47.

[3] <u>D.N.B.</u> (Watson-Wentworth, Charles); c.f. also Hoffman, 1973, pp. 2-4.

election.[1]

The following year Jones proclaims "that, except in compliance with the forms of society, I acknowledge no man as my superior, who is not so in virtue or knowledge..."[2] And not long afterwards he tells Althorp, "You know I have set my mind on your being a fine speaker in the next parliament in the cause of true constitutional liberty..."[3] As a corollary of this regard for liberty, Jones was quite clear about the trivial value of rank; he writes to the fifteen year old lord,

> ...I have always thought that virtue and merit were treated with great respect whether of rank or no, and I never learned that rank, (which may one day be conferred by the king on any man in the kingdom), unless it had something else to recommend it, was entitled to any respect by the rules of nature or society.[4]

Of the Duke of Grafton's initiation into whig principles, a brief insight is provided in his political autobiography. While on the Continent, he wrote,

> a natural inclination leading me...to study those principles of government which were ever present to my mind from the first time I read the sound system of Mr. Locke, I lost no opportunity of improving myself in that science in which the most essential interests of mankind in this world depend.[5]

[1]Cannon I, 1970, pp. 246-7. Jones is here splendidly defending the status quo while at the same time maintaining an almost revolutionary tone. Some forty years previously Lord Hardwick had expressed essentially the same point of view as being the traditional base on which the British constitution was built. Addressing a jury while on circuit he said, "Tis, the great advantage and happiness of this Nation to live under a Government the best constituted of any in the world - administered over us and secured to us by the best body of Laws that human wisdom can frame.

'Tis the particular excellence of these Laws that they have not been made by the arbitrary will of one man, nor by the humour or ambition or private designs of a few...But they are Laws establis'd by the tacit concurrence of the whole Nation...or else compil'd by the joint deliberation and consent of the representative body of this free people in full and free Parliament." (Yorke I, 1913, pp. 144-5.)

[2]Ibid., p. 269.

[3]Ibid., p. 275.

[4]Ibid., p. 200.

[5]Grafton, 1898, p. 4.

Since he was about eighteen at the time of his departure from England it is clear that this introduction to the liberal influence of Locke had taken place at a fairly tender age. It is worth noting that so keen a whig as Grafton was a descendant, though illegitimate, of Charles II. Another scion of Stuart stock, the second Duke of Richmond, grandson of Charles II and father of the minister in the present sample, was also conditioned early to the new dispensation. To a friend he writes in 1743,

> I was bred up from a child in Whig principles and consequently my attachment to him (the king) and his family is so fix'd in my mind and heart, that not even ill usage can efface it....[1]

Here the king is to be seen as the symbol of the revised order in which the autocratic power that had been exercised by Richmond's uncle was now severely limited.

A rather more subtle indication of a child's cast of thought and of that of his parent is provided by the Marchioness of Stafford whose husband had been advanced from the rank of earl and whose sons, therefore, were entitled to become by courtesy 'lords'. To her son, Granville, who was twelve, she writes, "I am not surprized that you do not like to be call'd Lord. There is no advantage in it."[2] The opinions of both child and mother may have been somewhat extreme but they were nevertheless perfectly respectable and indicative of attitudes that were at the time much in the air. We can hardly doubt that the younger Pitt would have been raised in such an atmosphere, cast as he was as the political protégé of a father who took considerable delight in being known as 'the great commoner'[3] and who extolled

[1] March, 1911, p. 412.

[2] Granville I, 1916, p. 6. The boy was of a slightly later generation than the politicians in whom we are most interested but since class attitudes alter only slowly the illustration is probably pertinent.

[3] Even though he ultimately so lapsed from grace as to accept a peerage.

endlessly the whig principles which were in his histrionic imagination a emotionally bound up with the importance and dignity of the ordinary citizen. The sort of mood that was generally abroad is evoked in Gibbon's autobiography.

> The favourite companions of my leisure (as a young man) were our English writers since the Revolution: they breathe the spirit of reason and liberty...[1]

Of course, it would be foolish to claim that in the second half of the eighteenth century men could not passionately desire high rank - Charles Fox's father, Henry, is one who most certainly did. Because, however, liberty was now in principle sacred and all men potentially entitled to the highest respect, a peerage did not quite seem so intrinsically valuable as it had in earlier centuries (and as it did at the time throughout most of Europe); possession involved an element of playing down, an acceptance, overtly at least, that it was only training, effort and achievement that could confer distinction.

Political skills

So far I have been concerned to illustrate some of the pressures and influences that directed a young nobleman's attention towards a vocation in politics and also to suggest ways in which he developed what I have called a 'political character', that is attitudes and beliefs which had some bearing on his performance while in office. In the paragraphs that follow I shall try to show that an upper class home education was also strongly oriented towards providing the aspiring statesman with skills that might be expected

[1] Gibbon, 1907, p. 98. It is evidence of the dominance of a particular political mentality that Gibbon remembered bitterly "how often in the year forty six I was reviled and buffeted for the sins of my Tory ancestors..." (ibid., p. 33). He was at the time nine and boarding at a school in Kingston-upon-Thames.

to prove valuable to him both in the execution of his administrative duties and in the day to day routine of parliamentary life. In fact it is sometimes difficult to establish that the inculcation of these skills was deliberate but there are, it should become apparent, clues here and there which suggest that this was not uncommonly the case, and it is, after all, likely that families which were so conscious of their ambitions for the younger men would have been perfectly aware of the political advantages of the sort of upbringing that they offered.

Some of the aspects of education that will be discussed have tended to be neglected in studies of eighteenth century schooling, presumably because they did not appear on the principal curricula of the great public schools. In a gentlemanly upbringing, however, a great deal was taken seriously which was imparted outside the classical rituals of the schoolroom and these departures from the well-known routine are of great importance in helping to account not only for the political inclinations and abilities of the nobility but also for the considerable breadth of the eighteenth century concept of liberal knowledge, which is of course one of the principal themes of the present work.

Of these 'extra' subjects, perhaps the best documented is that of modern languages, and especially French. About the latter Lord Chesterfield wrote to his godson, who was at the time six, "...le François (est)...devenue presque la langue universelle de l'Europe..."[I] At the age of four certainly the child was being taught the language by his tutor. Confirmation of the central importance of the subject is provided in William Hickey's Memoirs.

[I]Carnarvon, 1889, p. 31.

At the age of fourteen Hickey was sent from Westminster to a school at Streatham in order that he "should be instructed in the common acquirements of a gentleman for at Westminster nothing is taught but the classics."[1] This tardy initiation consisted of arithmetic, writing, Franch, drawing and dancing. Among the politicians who are the principal subjects of this survey there is ample evidence that a strong grasp of foreign languages was quite usual. George Selwyn's letters to the young Earl of Carlisle, for instance, contain commonly long passages in French[2] and it is clear from a reference in one of them that Carlisle read Italian.[3] Again a M. de Roguin, who appears to have been a paid companion of Lord Brome,[4] reported from Turin Military Academy to his charges father entirely in French. It must therefore seem likely that Brome himself would have understood the language also. Similar deductions can be made for the Duke of Richmond and Richard Fitzpatrick since the former's sister, at the age of four, spoke nothing but French,[5] and Fitzpatrick's elder sister, Mary, Lady Holland, was able to write to her friends in the language in a most literary style.[6]

Charles Fox's early linguistic prowess is particularly well attested. "While still a boy," Trevelyan wrote, "he had as much French as most diplomatists would think sufficient for a lifetime"[7] and at fifteen he was

[1]Hickey, 1913, p. 41.

[2]Carlisle, 1897, p. 224 and seq..

[3]Ibid., p. 231.

[4]Ross, 1859, p. 5. Brome was heir to the earldom of Cornwallis.

[5]Ilchester, 1937, p. 71.

[6]Ibid., p. 105.

[7]Trevelyan, 1880, p. 64.

writing French verse.[1] Four years later, while staying at Genoa, he begged his friend, Fitzpatrick, "For God's sake, learn Italian as fast as you can, to read Ariosto. There is more good poetry in Italian than in all the other languages I understand put together."[2] It is clear in fact that Fitzpatrick already had some Italian since the letters to him from Fox in the previous year had been mostly in that language.[3] The younger Pitt, Fox's great political rival, also spoke and wrote good French and knew French literature well though this was his only modern language.[4] The tutor of the future Duke of Portland, Maria Elstob, spoke no less than eight languages, though among them French was surprisingly not included. When the child's mother was taken to task by her father, Lord Oxford for this deficiency she pointed out that she would "have a master for that, or a maid to talk..."[5] Of Lord Sandwich's ability at languages while still a schoolboy, we read in Benson's history of Eton that "He was a promising boy, and spoke French and Italian fluently, besides being able to read both German and Spanish."[6]

Though evidence is lacking of youthful proficiency it can be established that a number of other late eighteenth century ministers had been exposed at some time to linguistic training. Thus William Windham[7] spoke fluently in both French and Italian and Lord Spencer certainly had some knowledge of both

[1] Stanhope I, 1867, p. 98.

[2] Trevelyan, 1880, p. 64.

[3] Russell I, 1853, p. 29.

[4] Stanhope I, 1867, p. 17.

[5] Llanover II, 1861, pp. 14.

[6] Benson, 1899, p. 159.

[7] D.N.B..

languages; Germain[1], Stormont[2], Shelburne[3] and Wedderburn[4] (later Lord Loughborough) had all learned French; Dartmouth[5] and North[6] spoke Italian; Grantham would almost certainly have known German[7], and since Keppel's father was brought up in Holland[8] it seems not unlikely that his son would have understood Dutch. So widespread in fact are indications that members of the political class had at least a second language that it must be assumed that the cultivation of such an acquirement was considered de rigeur in the highest society. Only among some of the newcomers to the highest reaches, men such as Dundas, Jenkinson and Thurlow, is there a sufficient lack of positive evidence for it to appear that a modern language may not have been a customary accomplishment. Of course the extended continental 'Grand Tour', which was the most usual way of rounding off a nobleman's formal upbringing, would have helped a great deal in bringing his mastery of European languages to perfection but there are enough examples of an earlier introduction[9] to suggest that instruction by a private tutor was very common.

[1] Fitzmaurice I, 1875, p. 354.

[2] G.E.C.Peerage.

[3] Fitzmaurice I, 1875, p. 14.

[4] Campbell IV, 1847, p. 10.

[5] Pemberton, 1938, p. 16.

[6] Ibid..

[7] D.N.B. (Robinson, Thomas).

[8] D.N.B. (Keppel, William Anne).

[9] References to Fitzpatrick, Fox, Portland, Spencer and Shelburne above. The future Viscount Townshend and Fox attended a preparatory school at Wandsworth which was kept by a French refugee, M. Pampellonne, and, after his death, by his widow. Among their fellow pupils were the holders or later successors to the peerages of Egremont, Ilchester, Leinster, Fortescue, Braybrooke and Aylesford (Stirling, 1912, p. 48). Some years earlier the future Earl of Pembroke had also boarded there (Herbert, 1939, p. 18). The pupils were very young; Egremont had attended between the ages of six and eight (Russell I, 1853, pp. 8, 9) and Fox appears to have left at nine (Reid, 1969, p. 13). The young Duke of Bedford, though not within the primary sample, was also during the early fifties taking, with his sister, lessons in French and Italian at home (Thomson, 1940, p. 206).

Though it has not been established what part literary study played in these language lessons it is clear that Fitzpatrick, Fox, Spencer and Loughborough had all made some contact with foreign literature before adulthood. Loughborough, for instance, had translated Pascal's letters by the time he was twenty[1] and Spencer at fourteen was reading Millot's history of England in French.[2]

While supporting material is not nearly as extensive as for the study of languages, there is reason to believe that instruction in modern history was also taken seriously by the parents and tutors of young aristocrats, partly at least as an element in the education of a statesman. Chesterfield, always the first touchstone of gentlemanly conduct, wrote to his nine year old heir, "...a perfect knowledge of History is absolutely necessary for a Gentleman and Minister of State which you intend to be."[3] That the history was to be by no means only Greek and Roman[4] is made clear in a letter Chesterfield sent to the child's father where he referred to "modern history-the most useful of all acquisitions."[5] A similar estimate of the importance of history is made by the Duchess of Marlborough in a passage which has

[1]Campbell IV, 1847, p. 10.

[2]Cannon I, 1970, p. 125. Voltaire's notoriety among the British aristocracy as a man with interesting if disreputable opinions indicates something of a European outlook towards letters. Lord Herbert, for instance, during his 'Grand Tour', which began in 1775, was instructed to "send home Books that are done with, (except Voltaire) & anything else to Lord Pembroke." (Herbert, 1939, p. 53). Later Herbert's tutor wrote to Lady Pembroke, "I have talked with him much about Voltaire and have given him my opinion about him, which as your L'p knows already, I have no occasion to repeat. I have particularly mentioned to him several mistakes of that writer, which are too glaring to have an influence upon so good an understanding as has Ld. H." (Ibid., p. 62).

[3]Carnarvon, 1889, p. 130. There are included intermittently in this series of letters vignettes from modern European history.

[4]The importance which was attached to the study of the classical historians is discussed later in the chapter on schooling.

[5]Carnarvon, 1889, p. 323.

already been quoted. Of her eldest son she wrote, "...I...wish him to apply himself to the Modern History of Europe and Laws of his own country in which he is born to be a principal actor..."[1] Lady Pembroke, though not so explicit about her motives, felt very much the same. "I hope," she told her eldest son's tutor in 1776,

> you will be stout about George's readings, & that there may be many of the Roman, Grecian and English Historys pour'd into his head gently, to make their impression well, before he goes to the more general Historys, for if they do not come now they will never come. The Skimming Books will do very well afterwards, but if they come first, they will use him to a flowery way of telling things, that will spoil him for all others, and he will never know more than what they contain.[2]

Clearly history was to be dealt with thoroughly. In his reply Lord Herbert's tutor commented, "I think History the most essential of all studies for his Lordship..."[3] It is difficult to see why both parent and teacher should have rated the subject so highly unless, like Chesterfield, they considered it as a means of training the judgement of a prospective minister.

In fact none of the three children whose reading of history was considered so important was destined to make much impact in national affairs but we may reasonably suppose perhaps that the preoccupation of their mentors with the subject was not untypical. Among the future ministers Lord Althorp,

[1] Rowse, 1958, p. 94. An earlier generation of Churchills had also been instructed in modern history while on the Continent (Ibid., p. 17).

[2] Herbert, 1939, pp. 64-5. The implication here and elsewhere in this collection of letters that Lady Pembroke's own level of education was quite creditable is one piece of evidence among many that may be encountered among eighteenth century papers that aristocratic women were very far from ignorant. Indeed it may appear to a reader of this thesis that the mothers of young noblemen were a potent influence, often the most potent, in keeping the standard of their children's tuition at a high level.

[3] Ibid., p. 68. Among the texts used by Lord Herbert was Voltaire's Histoire de Charles XII (Ibid., p. 81).

later Earl Spencer, on entering Cambridge at eighteen, was advised by his tutor, William Jones, to "Persist in the study of history according to your method..."[1] Undoubtedly Jones, whose educational opinions were based firmly on those advocated by Milton,[2] would have set most store by the Greek and Roman histories but that this was not all that Althorp encountered is shown by his having read at fourteen a history of England[3] and, three years or so earlier, an account of the British in Indostan.[4] Other examples illustrating the attention that was paid by the political class to the study of history are available but as they belong properly to the discussion of university education and of foreign travel they will be dealt with later under those headings.

I have tried to show that during the eighteenth century the study of modern languages and of modern history were parts of the more formal side of domestic upper class education and that as well as being fairly obviously components in a liberal course of study both could be considered aspects of the training of a politician. Though rather less consciously intended as a part of 'education', another subject which was regarded highly by the adults and children in the great houses, and which also served a purpose both political and liberal, was drama. For a man to make his mark in Parliament it was expected on the whole that he would make declamations rather than the lower keyed expositions that are nowadays called speeches. Three hours

[1] Cannon, 1970, p. 210.

[2] Ibid., pp. 71, 74.

[3] This was by Millot, in three volumes (Ibid., p. 125).

[4] Ibid., p. 26.

was by no means an unusual length at the time for the oration of a leading politician and during this performance he would be expected not only to develop a more or less coherent argument but also to display the rhetorical skills that befitted an educated man who had studied the classical orators.[1] Thus the histrionic demands of public speaking, which are always of course present, were of particular importance and clearly in these circumstances it was of advantage to a parliamentarian to have had some opportunity of developing the appropriate skills, that is a sense of style in spoken language, a control of timing and gesture and a capacity to feel and respond to an audience. In fact such an opportunity did exist, through the performances of plays by children and, less frequently, their elders in the large houses of London and the provinces and through the declamations and recitations, and the productions of Greek drama, that were a feature of a public school education. In the present section it is the former with which I am concerned.

For drama, as for so many areas of aristocratic upbringing, what was 'done' and its benefits can be distilled briefly and accurately from the writings of Lord Chesterfield. Having no great desire to change the social order in which he had so comforable a place, he can be relied upon usually to define sharply the wordly advantage in the established fashion. Thus he

[1] Demanding the impeachment of Warren Hastings in 1787 Sheridan spoke continuously for five hours and forty minutes and was treated to a rapturous ovation (Stanhope I, 1867, p. 327). At the beginning of Hastings' trial in the following year Sheridan was on his feet for three days, not of course without pause. Yet even this was capped by Burke who continued for four (Ibid., p. 357). These remarkable exhibitions of stamina demanded similar characteristics from their audiences and it is a testament both to the interest of the mass of M.P.s in oratory and to the considerable talents of the leading politicians of the period that such a quality of endurance was indeed to be found. Nevertheless there did develop as the century progressed a growing disaffection with the more extreme of the inflated verbosities of certain performers and it is probably due to this increasing impatience that Burke owed the unpopularity of the middle years of his career when his rising in the House was taken not infrequently as a signal for a substantial exodus of members. Pitt expressed the prevailing ambivalence of attitude towards Burke when he wrote to his mother in 1780 of "Burke's speech, which I think will entertain you both with real

points out to his godson, who is at the time eleven, and who has taken part in a play at his tutor's house, that

> Theatrical exercitations...will teach you to speak properly and distinctly, and will by degrees qualify you to act and speak on a much greater Theatre, one of the two houses of Parliament.[1]

Three years later we read of the boy taking part in a production at Lord Harrington's.[2] Chesterfield himself, in his youth, it appears, had been involved in similar performances.[3]

At the age of thirteen the younger Pitt had not only acted with his brothers and sisters in a play, Laurentius, King of Clarinium, he had actually written it. "The tragedy," wrote Macauley, "is bad of course, but not worse than the tragedies of Hayley...There is no love. The whole plot is political; and...the interest...turns on a contest about a Regency."[4] The audience at the premiere at Burton Pynsent were William's parents and a small group of their friends including Lord and Lady Stanhope. Charles Fox, whose upbringing has been compared to its disadvantage with that of Pitt,[5]

beauties and ridiculous affectations." (Ibid., p. 38). Charles Fox, who was, with Pitt, the outstanding speaker of the last quarter of the century, had, surprisingly for the times, a style of speechmaking which was "natural, simple, unaffected, conversational", though still showing the influence of classical studies (Reid, 1969, pp. 14, 15).

[1] Carnarvon, 1867, p. 242.

[2] Ibid., p. 382.

[3] Ibid., p. 237.

[4] Quoted in Stanhope I, 1867, p. 5.

[5] The first Lord Chatham considered Fox's father "the blackest man that ever lived...He educated his children without the least regard to morality, and with such extravagant vulgar indulgence, that the great change which has taken place among our youth has been dated from the time of his son's going to Eton." (quoted in Maxwell Lyte, 1899, p. 340). Some, possibly unintentional, support for this view, by Fox's mother, has been quoted above, p. 226.

developed an interest in drama in his childhood which grew into an adult passion. In the late fifties and early sixties plays were regularly performed at Holland House,[1] often by the children of the family, the three Fox boys, and their cousins, Lady Sarah Lennox,[2] Lady Susan Fox-Strangeways[3] and the sons of Lord Kildare. Horace Walpole was amused by a production in 1761 in which "all the parts were clothed in ancient habits, and with the most minute propriety." Dr. Francis, the translator of Horace, who was chaplain to Lady Holland and tutor to Charles, had written a prologue for the occasion.[4] A painting by Hogarth of 1731 which is in Lord Ilchester's collection shows a scene from Dryden's Indian Emperor in which Fox's mother, then a child, was taking a part.[5]

Neglecting for the moment performers in school productions, only one more of the ministers in the main survey can be established with certainty as having been a childhood actor; Lord North played Syphax in Addison's Cato when it was produced at Leicester House in 1749.[6] However a number of others can be identified as having been sufficiently enthusiastic adult actors and playwrights for it to appear at least likely that they had been caught up at an early age in what was a popular contemporary aristocratic

[1] Ilchester, 1937, pp. 79-81.

[2] A daughter of the Duke of Richmond with whom George III fell in love at about this time.

[3] Lord Ilchester's daughter who scandalously married an actor who had helped in the Holland House productions (Ibid., p. 82).

[4] Ibid., pp. 81-2.

[5] Ibid., p. 79.

[6] D.N.B. (North, Frederick).

pastime.[1] Thus the Earl of Carlisle at nineteen took part in a play performed at Florence in 1767 by British visitors[2] and later in life wrote a five act tragedy in verse which was praised by Johnson,[3] the Marquis of Carmarthen was the author of two comedies[4] and Richard Fitzpatrick[5] and the Earl of Sandwich[6] were both greatly attached to the amateur theatre. Later, in the chapter on schools, this discussion of the ways in which dramatic interests were encouraged among upper class children will be taken up again.

A subject with rather less widespread appeal to aristocratic parents and their children, but which was nevertheless encouraged to a limited extent either as a 'political' accomplishment or simply as a worthwhile interest, was mathematics. This view is expressed succinctly by Lady Stafford in a letter to her son, Granville Leveson Gower. She writes,

> I wish my Leveson in all his Studies to equal any of the young Men and to excel most of them. I believe (mathematics)...to be a very interesting Study, but Men say it is very useful, that it gives a Power of supporting Ideas, and of convincing in Argument - and I wish you to possess every Advantage of which the human Mind is capable; but in Mathematiks I am anxious you should be superior to most.[7] Much earlier in the century, the

[1] Mingay, 1963, p. 144, mentions amateur dramatics as one of the social activities of country house life citing a production of Hamlet by the Grosvenor family at Eaton Hall in 1788. One might add a production of a play translated from the French put on by two daughters of the Earl of Berkeley and a performance of Othello at Lord Cork's house, both of which were mentioned in a single letter by William Jones who was to attend them (Cannon I, 1970, p. 265). In 1748 the Butes, helped by the "numerous members of the Argyle and Stuart clans", staged Young's The Revenge, and a cousin of Lord Bute, the Duchess of Queensbury, was stage-manager for a production of Otway's The Orphan which was so successful that, after three repeats, it was performed once more at Leicester House for the Prince of Wales (Wortley, 1925, p. 16).

[2] Russell, 1853, p. 43.

[3] D.N.B. (Howard, Frederick). Being something of a snob, though not a liar, Johnson tactfully failed to draw attention to the weaknesses of the poetry. Trevelyan in his life of Fox has rectified this omission (Trevelyan, 1889, p.62)

[4] D.N.B. (Osborne, Francis).

[5] D.N.B.

[6] Martelli, 1962, p. 23.

[7] Granville I, 1916, p. 18.

daunting Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, provides a hint of a similar conviction in a letter that she sent to a Captain Fish who was acting as official mentor to her sons while they were on the Continent. "The mathematics," she writes, "I have always thought was the most desirable knowledge..."[1]

A number of young noblemen were certainly encouraged in some branch of mathematics by their parents. The Duchess of Bedford, for example, in the twenties, instructed her children thoroughly, girls as well as boys, in the keeping of accounts[2] and Lord Mahon, the heir to the earldom of Stanhope, was taught mathematics by his father, an enthusiastic student of the subject.[3] Among the late eighteenth century ministers, William Windham's deep involvement with mathematics[4] was probably fed by the mathematical interests of his polymath father[5] but in other cases where similar, if less passionate, inclinations can be detected, such as those of Pitt and Fox for instance, the major influences seem to have occurred at university and therefore their discussion will be delayed until that area of education is dealt with at length.[6]

[1] Rowse, 1958, p. 18.

[2] Thomson, 1940, p. 152.

[3] Newman, 1969, p. 130.

[4] He composed three (unpublished) mathematical treatises (D.N.B.).

[5] Ketton Cremer, 1930, p. 35.

[6] Of course, one cannot always infer that where parents inspired a concern with mathematics, their motives were political. At least as important was the belief that knowledge of this kind would be of advantage to a landlord in protecting himself from the preculation of unscrupulous agents. Such an opinion was put forward, for example, by Lord Shelburne who was insistent that a nobleman should overlook his own accounting. In expressing this conviction he also confirmed incidentally that mathematical tuition seemed to be more common in his own lifetime than it had been earlier in the century. (Fitzmaurice II, 1876, p. 345.)

Liberal Knowledge

The four aspects of domestic education that have been considered up to this point, modern languages, modern history, drama and mathematics, have all been included primarily for the part they played in preparing a nobleman for a role in government though I have pointed out that they were also facets of that broad sort of education to which one may apply the description 'liberal'. There were, however, other features of an upper class home upbringing which were only peripherally related to a political vocation but which contributed a great deal to a liberal outlook. The remainder of this section is concerned with some of these.

It would be an over-simplification to attribute the comparatively low status within Europe of British music during the second half of the eighteenth century to a lack of interest on the part of the British aristocracy. Both in childhood and later music took a significant place in the life of many noblemen. A high standard was set by George III, a flautist, and his queen, whose Master of Music was J. C. Bach, and "Concerts were held at St. James's Palace on Tuesdays and Thursdays, some two or three hundred guests being invited to music and cards."[1] A writer of 1791 claimed that "The greatest part of the foreign musicians who visit London remain there; for that great city is actually a PERU to them..."[2] and that this had been the case for many years previously will be clear to any reader of Charles Burney's History of Music.[3] Nevertheless Burney felt that there had been a remarkable improvement in taste since the middle years of the century.[4] Most of the

[1] Young, 1970, p. 259.

[2] Ibid., p. 248.

[3] Of which the first two volumes were published in 1776 and 1782.

[4] Burney I, 1776, p. 1017.

immigrant musicians, Italians largely in the first half of the century and including later a large contingent of Germans, were sponsored by the aristocracy and upper gentry either through the support of their public performances or by their employment for private concerts and as tutors. During the years when Burney was composing his History "elegant private concerts" were commonplace in the large houses[I] and public orchestral performances, oratorios and operas were attended avidly.

Outstanding among sample members for his devotion to music in adult life was Lord Sandwich who, while he was at the Admiralty, kept a private orchestra at his Cambridgeshire home, Hinchinbrooke.[2] His musical house parties held a high reputation. William Jones attended one in 1773 when Sandwich was "entertaining the county and University with Musick for a whole week."[3] Particularly popular on these occasions were the singing of catches and glees and on one the Duke of Manchester's military band took part with his grace on the kettledrums.[4] Other members of late eighteenth century administrations, a record of whose musical interests have survived, are Lords Camden[5] and Carmarthen,[6] Viscount Hillsborough, who at one time

[I] Burney II, 1782, p. 1012.

[2] Martelli, 1962, p. 84.

[3] Cannon I, 1970, p. 139. In defence of Sandwich's much defamed character it is perhaps worth noting that Jones found him "a wonderfully pleasant man in society; he is quite what the French call aimable, and possesses in a high degree the art of putting all around him at their ease...I like his conversation and his musick, but fear that his politicks and ours would not make good harmony." (Ibid., p. 338; letter of 1780 to Lord Althorp.)

[4] Martelli, 1962, p. 84.

[5] D.N.B. (Pratt, Charles).

[6] G.E.C. Peerage (under Duke of Leeds).

"had organised a society of musical amateurs",[1] Viscount Barrington, who, according to Fanney Burney, attended concerts given by her father,[2] and the Duke of Portland who was both passionately fond, and a student, of music.[3] Only in Lord North are we definitely disappointed for, on being entreated by the Italian singer, Manzolini, to allow his clothes to be released from the custom house, the future prime minister was, a contemporary claimed, greatly diverted "as he says that not one of the Treasury know (sic) a note of music or care one farthing what becomes of Manzolini..."[4]

For only one of the present sample has it been possible to trace a specific example of an early contact with music. This was Lord Harcourt who while touring on the continent took lessons on "the German flute".[5] It is unlikely, however, that many of the other future political leaders would have avoided exposure to music in their childhoods, brought up as they were within a class for which music was so great a delight. Dr. Burney, we know, visited the leading Norfolk families, the Cokes, Walpoles, Townshends and Wodehouses, during the years 1751-60 as a music master[6] which makes it seem at least possible that Viscount Townshend and Thomas Townshend, who were cousins, would have had contact with a similar tutor. Hints also occur in three of William Jones' letters to Lord Althorp; in 1775 he writes, "...I conjure you to consider hunting, musick, and all amusements as amusements

[1] Terry, 1967, p. 141.

[2] Burney, 1778, pp. 115-6, 124.

[3] D.N.B. (Bentinck, William).

[4] Terry, 1967, p. 82.

[5] Harcourt III, 1880, p. 24.

[6] Stirling, 1912, p. 63.

only..."[1] and a month later he advises his former pupil, "...continue your taste for music..."[2] More pointedly, in 1777, he comments, "Of musick I conclude you have as much at Althorp as your heart can desire."[3] Though not concerned with one of the budding statesmen, we do learn from Lord Herbert's journal that during the fourth year of his 'Grand Tour' he was playing the violin and violincello[4] having apparently begun lessons in his first year abroad.[5]

Where the details of tuition and performance are missing, however, there can be no doubt about the musical ethos within which many of the prospective ministers were reared. No less than six had fathers or grandfathers who had been directors of the Royal Academy of Music which had been founded in 1719.[6] Of these the second Duke of Grafton had been Governor and the second Duke of Richmond Deputy-Governor. In addition Baron Bathurst, the father of Earl Bathurst, with the Duke of Portland and William Yonge, had been one of the original subscribers to the Academy having contributed a guarantee of £200.[7] Three of these seven men, Bathurst, Richmond and Rutland, became in 1733 directors of an opera company that was established at Lincoln's Inn Fields in opposition to Handel's company which was based at the Haymarket.[8] The family

[1] Cannon I, 1970, p. 209.

[2] Ibid., p. 210.

[3] Ibid., p. 251.

[4] Herbert, 1939, p. 54.

[5] Ibid., p. 366. Herbert's father, Lord Pembroke, was clearly an advanced musician and appears to have engaged in composition (Ibid., pp. 156-7).

[6] Grafton's grandfather (Deutsch, 1955, p. 160), Keppel's father, the Earl of Albermarle (Ibid., p. 199), Portland's grandfather (Ibid., p. 174) and Yonge's father (Ibid., p. 199). In the directors list of 1726 there were two dukes, one marquis and three earls among twenty-two names (Ibid.).

[6] Ibid., p. 91.

[7] Ibid., p. 304.

of Lord George Germain, too, can be associated with music through his eldest brother, Lord Middlesex, who in 1741 had "taken upon himself the perilous and troublesome office of impresario of Italian operas for...which he had engaged the King's theatre in the Hay-market..."[1]

It is possible to trace an interest in music, if not a great involvement, for the parents and grandparents of several more of the subjects of the main survey in a large collection of miscellaneous contemporary material on Handel arranged by Otto Deutsch.[2] The record of such a chase would add some statistical weight, though in detail little of great moment, to a contention that is in any case probably sufficiently well established, that music was an integral part of the culture within which upper class children were raised. It is, however, necessary to add a cautionary note to this conclusion. It has not proved possible to discover whether the playing of instruments had any large part in this musical tradition.[3] Indeed, for the two leading theoreticians of gentlemanly education music was quite clearly regarded as a form of relaxation and not as a skill to be developed. Locke believed that making music "wastes so much of a young Man's Time, to gain but a moderate Skill in it, and engages often in such odd Company, that many think it much better spared."[4] Elsewhere he added, "amongst all those

[1] Burney II, 1782, p. 838. Six years later he was still patentee and sole director but was then joined by a number of other noblemen (Ibid., p. 846). During the following winter the group produced "a pastaccio...chiefly from Handel" which was performed twenty-two times, "an uncommon number of representations for any opera...during this period!" (Ibid., p. 84).

[2] Deutsch, 1955.

[3] During their Grand Tours, Lord Herbert, Earl Harcourt and one of the Duke of Marlborough's grandchildren all took lessons on musical instruments, the first upon the "fiddle" and the last two on the flute (Herbert, 1939, p. 74: Harcourt III, 1880, p. 24; Rowse, 1958, p. 11).

[4] Locke, 1968, p. 311.

things that ever come into the list of accomplishments, I give it next to poetry the last place."[1] There is here a glimpse of a philistinism which was, I suspect, not infrequently close to Locke's skin. Lord Chesterfield, though not such a dullard, showed a similar apprehension in a letter to his son.

> If you love music, hear it; go to operas, concerts, and pay fiddlers to play for you; but I insist upon your neither piping nor fiddling yourself. It puts a gentleman in a very frivolous, contemptible light; brings him into a great deal of bad company; and takes up a great deal of time, which might be much better employed.[2]

However, though Chesterfield must always be the first source to which a student of Georgian upper class manners will turn, he is not on every matter the mirror for his class. Indeed, in the letter which has been quoted, he condemns "Scottish drinking, indiscriminate gluttony ...(and) fox chases"! The case for widespread tuition in instrumental playing must remain for the moment unproven.[3]

To dwell on the association in the eighteenth century between aristocratic domestic life and graphic art would be gratuitously tedious; the evidence for the connection abounds in country houses throughout Britain. In each generation the members of a noble family would have expected to be painted at some time in their lives by a fashionable artist, and for the men especially these occasions would probably have occurred on several occasions. Among the accumulating splendour of this tradition a child of the household would have first become conscious of the world about him;

[1] Ibid., p. 358.

[2] Dobree IV, 1932, p. 1331.

[3] Among upper class women instrumental playing was of course commonplace.

the small talk inspired by the portrait of this or that ancestor, opinions of the painter's merit and the comparison of his style with others', would have been a part of the texture of ordinary family life. No doubt too, sooner or later, the child would have been drawn into the discussion of who was to be given the next commission, perhaps a portrait of himself.[1] Of course the great houses contained collections of other forms of painting than the family portrait; cinquecento masterpieces, landscapes by Poussin, Claude and Rosa, sporting scenes, conversation pieces, frescoes, classical sculpture, were, in a sense, the bric-a-brac of the child's nursery and within the aura of their influence his imagination grew.

The young aristocrat's contact with art was, however, more than merely casual. While at school, as part of his extra-curricular programme, the well-to-do youth was frequently sent for lessons to a drawing master, and it was usually regarded by his parents as one of the central purposes of the great continental tour to encourage in their child an acquaintance with, and an appreciation of, the art of the Italian civilizations. That in this they were, by and large, successful is hardly to be doubted. These are matters however that will be considered in later chapters. Of deliberate art instruction at home, for boys at least, there is in fact very little indication.[2]

[1] Henry Agelo remembered "no less than ten painters who occupied houses or apartments on...(one) side of Covent Garden" in 1764 (Angelo, 1830, p. 112). This provides a hint of how flourishing was painting at this time.

[2] In art as in music George III set a high tone. Eleven artists, among them Gainsborough, were employed to instruct the royal family in a variety of techniques including landscape drawing and etching in copper (Angelo, 1830, p. 149).

Much that has been said of painting applies also to architecture and to the cultivation of gardens. In the houses of his family, and in their grounds, not only was the young aristocrat in contact with great art, a minimal necessary condition for its appreciation, but the art represented the enthusiasms and achievements of his own ancestors, probably of his parents and grandparents, and it was therefore in a double sense part of the matrix of family life, warm, personified, familiar, a matter ultimately for pride. The process of assimilation can be seen at work in the childhood of the Duke of Portland. Heir to the large estates of his maternal grandmother, the Countess of Oxford, and to her country seat, Welbeck Abbey, he was kept constantly informed of the building in which the old lady was for many years engaged at "the only Habitable Seat of my Ancestors."[I] When her grandson was fifteen, she wrote to him, "The Encouragement you me give by liking my Improvements makes me continue them with Pleasure..."[2] That her affection for Welbeck and her confidences bore fruit is confirmed by the Duke's choice of the house for his principal home in preference to his father's seat, Bulstrode.[3] Welbeck's historian writes, "When...(the Duke) was not engaged in business, he seems to have been devoted to his horses, and to the adornment of Welbeck and its gardens."[4]

[I]Turberville I, 1938, p. 393.

[2]Ibid., p. 398.

[3]Ibid., Vol. II, p. 41.

[4]Turberville II, 1939, p. 41.

A relationship between cause and effect as apparently direct as this can hardly have been uncommon during a century when the passion for building and for planting flowed so powerfully through the members of each generation. There were, however, other means by which architectural knowledge and a feeling for landscape and for gardens was diffused into the sensibilities of Georgian upper class youth, but this, like the teaching of painting, belongs really to the chapter on foreign travel and it is there that the thread will be taken up once more.

The last of the areas of liberal knowledge with which I shall deal in this discussion of domestic influences is that of literature. Clearly a topic so central to the system of formal education that prevailed at the time will need to be considered in some detail in later chapters. For the moment, however, discussion will be confined to an investigation of the literary inclinations of close relatives of the sample members and to indications of the encouragement of similar interests in the children.

Among the fathers of the forty-seven politicians with whom we are primarily concerned, sixteen had been at Oxford University, nine to Cambridge, one to either Oxford or Cambridge and three to Utrecht, though of the last group only one had not also attended an English university. One father additionally had studied at an inn of court although five others had done similarly after a period at university. The fathers of two more had been trained for the Scottish bar. In all, then, thirty, or sixty-four percent., of the fathers had been students at an institution of higher education. Of those remaining, four had been pupils at Eton and two at Westminster. Thus thirty-six out of forty-seven, that is more than three quarters, had certainly

received a fairly rigorous classical training. It is important to emphasize that these are minimum estimates since the various lists of alumni that have been culled are by no means complete and it is not at all unlikely therefore that the true total is significantly higher than seventy five per cent..

Of the eleven politicians whose fathers cannot be shown to have been exposed to a classical training, the grandfather of one had been to Oxford, one to Cambridge and of another to Eton, while Stormont's uncle, Lord Mansfield, had attended both Westminster and Oxford. It seems reasonable to surmise, therefore, that the four ministers to whom they were related would also have had fathers who had been instructed in the classics. Finally, since Yonge's father was a minor literary light of his time, it is probable that, altogether, no more than six, and very likely substantially fewer, of the politicians of the main survey had not been born into families with strong connections with literary studies. It may be objected that a spell at a public school provides no certainty of such an association. This is however, as I hope the discussion in the chapter on schooling will make perfectly clear, to underestimate considerably the rigours of 'business' at Eton and Westminster.[I]

We have established then that a literary education had been received by the fathers or grandfathers of a high proportion of the ministers who held office during the late eighteenth century. It remains now to show that the members of these earlier generations demonstrated an interest in books and writing during their adult lives. Though information on this point is not abundant there is sufficient to suggest that there was indeed such a literary ambience in the childhoods of many of the politicians with whom we are concerned.

[I] A table showing all the links that have been summarised above is given in appendix B.

For nineteen of them, in fact, an association has been definitely established. Clearly, then, these influences were common enough to have helped considerably in encouraging the avid literary tastes of the later years of the century. Though a brief catalogue of all of the evidence available may seem a little long-winded, there is, I think, some justification for it since a clear insight is provided of the variety of ways in which literature could be encountered in Augustan upper class homes. The arrangement that has been used is alphabetical.

Viscount Barrington: the first viscount (1720), his father, wrote theological works and two books on politics and religious toleration.[1]

Earl Bathurst: the first Baron Bathurst (1712) and first earl (1772), the father of the minister, according to the Dictionary of National Biography, "from youth to age sought the society of wits and poets. Pope addressed to him the third of his Moral Essays...Pope and Swift corresponded with him, and Congreve and Prior were his friends."[2]

Earl of Carlisle: his grandfather, the third earl, was something of a writer and poet.[3]

Lord John Cavendish: the third Earl of Burlington, the exponent of Palladian architecture, was his maternal grandfather. He was praised by Pope and Gay for his devotion to literature. He died when Cavendish was twenty-one.[4]

[1] D.N.B. (Barrington, John Shute).

[2] D.N.B. (Bathurst, Allen).

[3] G.E.C. Peerage.

[4] D.N.B. (Boyle, Richard).

Earl of Chatham: the elder Pitt, his father, wrote, according to Lord Chesterfield, excellent verse though seldom admitting it. A few poems in both Latin and English are extant.[1]

Earl of Dartmouth: his grandfather, the first Earl (1711), was called by Swift "a man of letters".[2] The future minister was nineteen at his grandfather's death.

Welbore Ellis: the Rev. John Ellis, his grandfather, was the author of a theological book.[3]

Charles Fox: his father, the first Baron Holland (1763), wrote poetry.[4]

Earl Harcourt: the first baron (1711) and viscount (1721), his grandfather, who died when his grandson was thirteen, was visited constantly by Pope, Prior, Gay and Swift.[5] Harcourt's father wrote verse.[6]

Baron Loughborough: his mother, the wife of a Scottish lawyer, "was possessed of a taste for literature" and "early inspired him with a love of books".[7]

Earl of Northington: his grandfather was a companion of "the first wits of his time" including Swift, Pope and Arbuthnot.[8] His father, the first baron (1760) and Earl (1764), retained in adult life an interest in the Greek and Latin authors and had some knowledge of Hebrew.[9]

[1] D.N.B..

[2] G.E.C. Peerage.

[3] D.N.B. (Ellis, Welbore).

[4] D.N.B. (Fox, Henry).

[5] D.N.B. (Harcourt, Simon).

[6] D.N.B. (Harcourt, Simon).

[7] Campbell VI, 1847, p. 5.

[8] Ibid., Vol. V, p. 175.

[9] Ibid., p. 226.

William Pitt: c.f. Earl of Chatham.

Duke of Portland: his mother was a friend of Garrick, Rousseau, with whom she corresponded, and Edward Young, the author of Night Thoughts.[1] His grandmother, who was influential in his upbringing, was extremely well read.[2]

Earl of Sandwich: his grandmother, the wife of the third Earl, with whom he probably lived during much of his boyhood,[3] was a noted 'blue stocking' who conversed, Chesterfield told his son, on "literature, criticism, history, etc.". She was an acquaintance of both Pope and Prior.[4]

Earl Spencer: his tutor, William Jones, appears to have believed that both parents were interested in poetry since in his letters he quoted Milton to Lady Spencer[5] and sent what was probably a Latin ode for Lord Spencer to look over. Spencer's grandfather, Stephen Poyntz, was tutor to the first Viscount Townshend.[6]

Thomas Townshend: his grandfather, the second Viscount Townshend, who died when Thomas was five, had a reputation for learning.[7]

Viscount Townshend: for his grandfather, the second viscount, see above. His mother was "an intellectual, famed for her wit".[8]

William Windham: his father, whose interests were certainly eclectic, collected books and prints, "read incessantly, and wrote a lively pamphlet attacking Smollet's specimen of his proposed translation of Don Quixote."[9]

[1]Turberville II, 1939, p. 22.

[2]Ibid., Vol. I, p. 392.

[3]Martelli, 1962, p. 21.

[4]Falk, 1947,pp. 289-90.

[5]Cannon I, 1970, p. 38.

[6]Ibid., p. 54; Venn, 1922.

[7]D.N.B. (Townshend, Charles).

[8]Namier, 1964, p. 2.

[9]Ketton-Cremer, 1962, p. 143.

Sir George Yonge: Sir William Yonge, his father, wrote poems, songs for a comic opera[1] and an epilogue to Johnson's Irene.[2]

The only two exceptions that have been encountered to this family literary ethos occur in the cases of the two 'royal' dukes, Grafton and Richmond, both descended from bastards of Charles II. Grafton, after his father's death, was brought up from the age of six by his grandfather[3] who has been described as "totally illiterate" by a contemporary,[4] though without doubt the ascription is much exaggerated. Richmond's father, the Dictionary of National Biography claims, received "a defective education". In both cases, however, the children grew up with literary ability, Grafton becoming the author of two religious tracts[5] and Richmond showing in his letters an excellent gift for lucid exposition.[6] It is perfectly possible of course that their mothers or some other relations had provided some encouragement in their reading.

* * * * *

The kind of educational influences that have been outlined above represented a significant shift from those that had been recommended by Elyot for his Renaissance courtier. Though, as we shall see in the next chapter, great weight continued to be given to the classics, there had been

[1] D.N.B..

[2] Boswell, 1894, p. 65.

[3] Grafton, 1898, p. 3.

[4] G.E.C. Peerage. Grafton's father had in fact attended Eton.

[5] D.N.B..

[6] See, for instance, an example in Stanhope II, 1867, pp. 75-80.

a swing towards modern studies and especially towards languages, history and literature. Thus the wisdom and virtue which it was intended the aspiring statesman should gather from the Roman and Greek historians, philosophers and poets were to be supplemented, we might suppose, by what might seem to be a more directly relevant knowledge of modern history and literature. A similar extension of training had taken place in oratory, for the great interest in amateur theatricals of the Georgian upper class added notably to skills that were provided by the customary instruction in classical rhetoric. In general it is true to say that the humanist ideals of the Renaissance were certainly maintained by the eighteenth century aristocracy but that the scope of learning had broadened as the centre of educational gravity moved several degrees towards the modern - which was, after all, only to be expected since by the eighteenth century the post-Renaissance world had existed for long enough to have generated an interest in its own achievements. In a sense, indeed, the influence of humanism had much increased for where a substantial section of the Tudor nobility belonged still in spirit to the middle ages, by late Hanoverian times it was very much the exception for an aristocratic young man, and many young women too, to have avoided a fairly prolonged formal education. These contentions about the breadth, and the widespread nature, of learning among Georgian nobles will, I hope, be strongly confirmed by the pages that follow.

CHAPTER VII

SCHOOL

It was suggested in the introduction to this thesis that the educational history of the eighteenth century has been written, by and large, from three standpoints. First, it has been concerned with changes in education imposed by a changing society; secondly, the school has on the whole been singled out for the major share of attention thus accentuating its significance within the total area of upbringing; and lastly, evidence has been gathered more often than not from the published opinions of men who have written to influence the public at large. To the extent that historical criticism, like that in the social sciences, must have some perspective and can never be objective to the degree that it is possible to aspire in the natural sciences, these approaches have of course been perfectly acceptable. However, it can also be argued, as I have pointed out at some length, that these particular strategies have not been especially useful in helping to account for the sort of society which came to exist in the later eighteenth century and in explaining the development of that society during the century that followed. These limitations of the traditional viewpoints may be worth recalling briefly at this stage.

First, the conventional emphasis on the dependent status of education within society, while illustrating a version of the truth, minimises the influence of education as a means by which society is moulded. Thus little serious attention has been given to the question of how the momentous industrial changes and political attitudes of George III's reign were determined by, among other factors, the child rearing methods of the day.

Secondly, and allied to this, there has been a tendency to ignore the complex and integral nature of upbringing in favour of a limited concern with the school while at the same time misrepresenting the deficiencies of the school by insisting that it did not do what it was in fact never intended to do by the parents who were its patrons. And finally, the educational history of the eighteenth century, in its reliance on the commentary of contemporary theorists, who were, in the manner of polemicists, not always reliable either in their statistics or balance, has been inclined both to underestimate the considerable uniformity of institutional forms of education within the highest stratum of society and also to dwell more upon the weaknesses than the strengths of these forms.

In no area, I suspect, have the customary critical methods been less sensitive, if not indeed less accurate, than in the question of the role played by the public schools within the culture of Georgian Britain. Their place was, we are led to believe both by assertion and omission, qualitatively and quantitatively minor. This more or less universal view is seen, for example, in Professor Simon's observation that "A recognised form of education for the upper classes became tutoring at home, often followed by the Grand Tour on the continent"[1], and elsewhere that "It was not only the obscurantism and uselessness of the public school that was criticised, but also its moral worthlessness, indeed decadence."[2] Brauer, also, in The Education of a Gentleman, stresses the declining importance of the public schools: "The evidence indicates that on the whole, families of quality preferred the private to the public method."[3] A similar story is told by Adamson:

[1]Simon, 1960, p. 28.

[2]Ibid., p. 34.

[3]Brauer, 1959, p. 195.

> In the public schools the eighteenth century had been a time of stagnation; the number of boys in attendance underwent startling fluctuations with a general movement towards a low level.[1]

Professor Hans, of course, as has been indicated earlier, has sounded a note of caution in his survey of eighteenth century education based on the Dictionary of National Biography, suggesting that perhaps two thirds of the sons of peers attended the great public schools and that roughly half of these had been pupils of Eton or Westminster. However, as the title of Hans' work indicates, the principal aim of his investigation was to explore new trends in education.[2] Consequently the remarkable consistency in aristocratic practice that is revealed (and which is, if anything, understated[3]) is unfortunately followed no further and the theory of the decline of the public schools has continued subsequently largely unmodified.[4]

In the present chapter, then, I would like to try to do three things: first, making use only of the sample of leading politicians that has been isolated, to assess the frequency and length of a public school education among future members of the nation's governing elite; secondly, a far more delicate task, to offer some tentative proposals towards a theory of the part played by such an education in the political life of the times; and thirdly, since one of the aims of this research is to explore the means by which liberal knowledge was transmitted, to suggest ways in which a public school education may have contributed to this process.

[1] Adamson, 1930, p. 54.

[2] The book is reviewed above, p. 17ff.

[3] See appendix C.

[4] Apart from the examples which have been given above it is perhaps worth pointing out that Dr. Mingay, in his excellent study of English landed society, holds that "The prevalence at school and university of 'transgressions', unruly behaviour and waste of time gradually led an increasing number of parents to prefer private tuition at home."

A table showing the formal educations of the forty-seven ministers with whom we are primarily concerned is given in appendix A though in a few cases the relevant information has not been available. In contrast to Hans' figure of about fifty per cent. for the proportion of noblemen who had attended either Eton or Westminster schools, it can be seen that at least thirty-four, that is seventy-two per cent., of the politicians in this survey had been pupils at one of these two establishments. Two, Lords Howe and Sandwich, had probably attended both. The present results, it must be emphasised, set only a lower limit since many of the school lists for the period in which we are interested are no longer extant and for a few of the prospective ministers alternative sources of information are unavailable.[1] The two schools appear in fact to have achieved roughly equal popularity, eighteen sample members having attended each of them. Eton, however, seems to have maintained its standing throughout the period covered by this survey, while Westminster's declined gradually, a trend about which it is possible to hazard an explanation in terms both of changing scholastic reputation and of shifting fashions.[2]

Of the thirteen leading politicians who cannot be said to have definitely been pupils at either of the leading schools, one was an old pupil of Charterhouse,[3] one of Harrow, one of Seckars School in Norfolk and King's,

[1] Thus very little light can be shone on Viscount Barrington's schooling though the name 'Barrington' does appear in the Eton list of 1732 and could very well refer to the future minister. Viscount Hillsborough's early life, an article in the Hibernian Magazine of September, 1781 (p.449) tells us, "was devoted to the study of the sciences" which rather suggests a school education but no further clues have been uncovered. On Viscount Weymouth's early years I have found no information whatsoever.

[2] George III, for instance, was an enthusiastic advocate of an Eton education.

[3] Another, Lord Westmorland, has already been included as an old Westminster.

Canterbury, two of Dalkeith School[1] and two of the academy at Hackney, the last pair, the Duke of Grafton and Lord John Cavendish, being of particularly distinguished lineage. In total, therefore, forty-one, or eighty-seven per cent., of the future ministers had received instruction at a classical boarding school and for thirty-nine of them, that is eighty-three per cent., the school had been one of the most famous English endowed foundations. It is perhaps worth pointing out here that of the six holders of senior office who are not yet accounted for, three, certainly, undertook undergraduate courses at Oxford or Cambridge.

It is possible, then, to make the following strong statement about Britain's governing elite of the late eighteenth century: that the large majority of its members had been exposed for several of their most formative years to the experience of living in a high status, classically oriented boarding school.[2] Because Eton and Westminster were in so clearly dominant a position among the schools concerned, much of the discussion that follows will be concerned with these two institutions.

We must try now to give a more precise meaning to the period of 'several years' that was mentioned above. In fact the duration of residence at the public schools appears to have been extremely elastic, varying, where an estimate has proved possible, from two years in the case of Keppel to nine for Gower, Rutland and Windham. The average for twenty-nine sample members for whom dates, often necessarily approximate, are given in the appendix is 6.3 years, a figure which being based on data that is unlikely to be statistically biased is probably fairly reliable. One would hardly expect,

[1] One of these, Dundas, went on to Edinburgh High School.

[2] An experience which was usually followed, as we shall see, by a few years at Oxford or Cambridge.

then, the influence of the eighteenth century schools on their pupils to have been slight, for the course that was followed is longer than that which is customary in a present day public school. Indeed, the period during which boarding school life was a major influence in the childhoods of sample members was greater even than the six years that has been mentioned for several had been pupils at residential preparatory schools.[I]

Contributing to the potential that the public schools possessed for influencing the character, as well as the scholastic attainment, of their pupils was the early age of entry. For thirty-one of the boys against whose name a date of admission is given in the appendix the average age at which this took place was nine years and four months, though it did vary considerably, from six for the future Earl Howe to thirteen for Welbore Ellis. Thirty of the thirty-one were, however, admitted at the age of eleven or earlier.

It will be useful for later discussion to try to establish briefly the extent to which attendance at Eton and Westminster had been customary in the families of the politicians in whom we are mainly interested. Because the labour involved in a search of this kind could achieve the scale of a minor project in its own right, I have confined the investigation to only the most obvious sources: lists of alumni, which are even less complete for the seventeenth than the eighteenth century, the Dictionary of National Biography, G.E.C. Peerage and books which were already on the reading list for the principal survey. Thus the figures offered comprise only a rough and a

[I] Thus Charles Fox, the future Duke of Richmond and Lord Townshend were pupils at M. Pampellone's school at Wandsworth where the learning of French seems to have occupied the central place on the curriculum (Russell I, 1853, p. ; March II, 1911, p. 691; Sargeaunt, 1898, p.203). It is impossible to guess just how common was this sort of preparatory institution for few biographers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are likely to have considered them worth recording.

lowest estimate. It appears, then, that at least twenty-five of the fathers of the leading late eighteenth century politicians had attended one of the two great schools. A further five of the members of the main sample group had grandfathers who were old Etonians or Westminsters. In these earlier generations, sixteen fathers and four grandfathers had been pupils at Eton. Thus, in total, almost as many of the politicians in the main survey had close family connections with the leading schools as had themselves been pupils at these establishments.

Finally, in this statistical section, it would be helpful to determine the extent to which the schooling of the senior politicians had been typical of that of (if I may be forgiven the epithet) their peer group. In appendix C a control sample from among the highest born English noblemen has been selected and the schools which members attended has been established from the sources mentioned in the previous paragraph. Again this subsidiary investigation is far from thorough and can give only an approximate, minimum, estimate. It appears that more than eighty per cent. of the holders of the highest English titles were former pupils of the public schools. Once again Eton and Westminster take the highest places but it is interesting that Winchester occurs against four names whereas in the case of the politicians the school had not turned up at all. The sample is too small to allow firm conclusions to be drawn, but it does seem possible either that Eton and Westminster attracted those parents who foresaw parliamentary careers for their sons or that these schools provided a training that was particularly apposite for such a vocation. In any case there is provided in these figures further strong reason to doubt the widely held theory of the declining importance of the old foundations.

POLITICAL EDUCATION

It has been established, I hope, that a large majority of the senior politicians of the late eighteenth century had, for a substantial portion of their childhoods, been pupils at classical boarding schools and that among these establishments Eton and Westminster were pre-eminent. In the present section I would like to consider the part this extremely closely defined choice of schooling played in those three aspects of political education which were introduced in the last chapter: the development of political ambition, political character and political skills. Whereas in the discussion of domestic education, in an attempt to get closer to the real, rather than the alleged, nature of upper class upbringing, I have drawn illustrative material principally from the actual childhoods of young aristocrats and especially from the early lives of future ministers, avoiding, with the exceptions of the writing of Locke and Chesterfield, the commentary of educational theorists, it will, I think, be justified in the pages that follow to make use of information on the great public schools wherever it can be found. For since there can hardly be any contention about the high frequency of a public school education among the children in whom we are interested, and since the experience seems to have been fairly uniform, material from any source about the nature of these schools which appears to be authoritative can be considered equally acceptable.

Political ambition

During the eighteenth century a great deal of vitriol was poured upon the English public schools, largely on the grounds of their unsatisfactory moral influence.[I] Both Locke and Chesterfield had strong thoughts on the matter.

[I] These criticisms are discussed at length in Brauer, 1959, chap. VII.

The former believed that

> Vertue is harder to be got, than a Knowledge of the World...sheepishness and ignorance of the World, the faults imputed to a private Education, are neither the necessary Consequents of being bred at home, nor if they were, are they incurable evils. Vice is the more stubborn, as well as the more dangerous evil of the two.../ It is preposterous therefore to sacrifice his (the child's) Innocency to the attainment of Confidence, and some little skill of bustling for himself among others, by his conversation with ill-bred and vitious Boys.[1]

For Chesterfield the great endowed schools were convicted because religious and moral obligations "are never heard of nor thought...where even Cicero's offices are never read, but where all the lewdness of Horace, Juvenal, and Martial is their <u>whole</u> study, and, as soon as they are able, their practice."[2]

The truth is, however, as we have seen, that aristocratic patronage of the public schools continued to flourish despite such vigorous opposition. As far as it is possible to judge from rather limited evidence, there were, it would seem, apart from the question of vogue, two outstanding reasons for this resilience. The first was the opportunity that residential establishments provided for children to learn, in the most social of ages, how to get on with their fellows, or, more crudely, how to look after themselves, arts that have fairly obvious political connotations. Locke, we have noticed, was keenly aware of these advantages and at pains to play them down. Chesterfield, despite the animadversions quoted above, was sufficiently inconsistent to write not long afterwards to his godson's father,

> I can hardly think of anything but choosing the boy's next school and suggest sending the child to Westminster...It will teach him to shift for himself and bustle in the world, and he will get a tolerable share of classical learning.[3]

[1]Locke, 1968, pp. 166-7.

[2]Carnarvon, 1889, p. 323. The passage shows again the increasingly moral tone of Chesterfield's later writings.

[3]Ibid., p. 359.

The second major reason for the attractiveness of the public school in the eyes of parents was its policy of encouraging excellence by means of competition. The complete rationale is expressed succinctly by the poet, Edward Young, in a letter to the Duchess of Portland who had apparently asked for his advice about her son's education.

> Whatever advantages a private education may have, two very great ones it wants, emulation and early experience in the tempers and talents of others; the first is the greatest spur to diligence, and the last is an absolutely necessary qualification for making a figure in public life.[1]

The second of Young's points will be considered in the section that follows on the formation of political character. The former, I am inclined to think, was the major contribution of the English public schools to the encouragement in their pupils of political ambition for the deliberate cultivation of a competitive ethos among boys and youths whose interests already tended strongly towards the political can hardly have failed to sharpen the desire for parliamentary pre-eminence, particularly among those who found within themselves a capacity to excel and who therefore tasted early the sweetness of popular success.

That the spirit of emulation which Edward Young had praised was encouraged both by parents and school authorities there can be little doubt. For neither group was there cachet in genteel diffidence.[2] To the Marquis of Titchfield,[3] for instance, ten years old and at Westminster, his grandmother wrote, "your keeping your selfe so long Captain of the Second Form, is eaqualy a Pleasure

[1] Turberville II, 1939, p. 35.

[2] Which is not by any means the same as saying that an air of easy mastery was not admired.

[3] Later Duke of Portland.

to your Gaining of it so early."[1] Charles Fox's father showed that he definitely approved of combative learning when he wrote to his brother, Lord Ilchester,

> There is at present a great vying between Lord Stavordale and Charles. Your son intends, if possible, to recover the place he has lost as to making Latin, in which mine is got before him; and mine is determined he shall not. This do's Lord Stavordale good, but Mr. Devis seems pretty sure that Lord Stavordale's ambition (as he calls it) will not be durable, and that Charles's will. It seems Charles has more emulation than anybody almost ever had, and the pains he now takes that he may get into the 4th form next year as young as Faulkner now is, who is just got there, is surprizing.[2]

The scene of this aggressive scholarship was M. Pampellonne's preparatory school at Wandsworth and Fox was at the time eight.

The theoretical, if probably overstated, position of Markham, headmaster of Westminster from 1753 to 1764, is indicated by his reported remarks to a young nobleman who enquired where a boy of his rank should sit.

> It is...my duty to inform you that the only distinctions made here are those that arise from superior talents and superior application. The youth that wishes to obtain eminence must endeavour by assiduity to deserve it. Therefore your place at present is the lowest place in the lowest form.[3]

If time has embellished this story, the fact that it was told at all is still, one suspects, indicative of an outlook. Certainly the marks of a competitive atmosphere can be discerned in the practice at both Westminster and Eton of keeping down boys who failed to pass their examinations, and, in the former school, of providing monetary rewards for exercises well done and for promotion to a higher form (chargeable, of course, to the father's account).

[1] Turberville II, 1939, p. 34.

[2] Ilchester II, 1920, pp. 96-7.

[3] Sargeaunt, 1898, p. 194.

Of the examinations at Eton, a master who was later to become head at Rugby, wrote, "these tryals will be necessary to raise emulation in the boys." Prizes, he believed, were "a great help in encouraging diligence and ambition."[1] Clearly it will not ever be possible to measure just how much of this carefully nurtured competitiveness spilled over into politics but it is unlikely that so generalisable a characteristic would have been left behind in the classroom.

Political character

There were, it was suggested in the previous chapter, four aspects of Georgian aristocratic style, all firmly rooted in an upper class upbringing, which appear to have contributed to the continuing fairly easy ascendancy of the nobility during the social and intellectual disturbances of the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Of these, three, diligence, an overt rationalism and a limited but plainly identifiable egalitarianism, were strengthened to varying degrees by residence at a public school. For the fourth, breeding, as Lord Chesterfield pointed out,[2] and as will in any case become clear by the end of this section, it would be extremely perverse to claim reinforcement at either Eton or Westminster.

The case for the encouragement of diligence is related entirely to the thoroughness with which studies were pursued at the great endowed foundations. It would be quite wrong to distil from the generally perjorative nature of Victorian and twentieth century commentary on these establishments that in the matter of 'business' they were anything but demanding. Of course a proportion of the masters was inadequate, just as a minority is inadequate

[1] Hickey 1913, p. 26; Maxwell Lyte, 1899, p. 324. The Duke of Bedford's eldest son, who was at Westminster in the fifties, seems in fact to have had form positions (Thomson, 1940, p. 199).

[2] Above, p. 292.

in present day grammar schools - this is hardly to be avoided in any large organisation - but, just as at the present time grammar schools are, by and large, successful in stimulating application among children from homes well disposed towards school, so eighteenth century public schools seem to have been equally successful with their highly motivated young noblemen.[1] The rigour of the regimen, allowing several degrees for hyperbole, is indicated in a letter sent in 1733 to the Duke of Newcastle by the tutor of his nephew, Lord Lincoln, who was in the fourth form at Eton. The boy had no time to write to his uncle, it appears, for

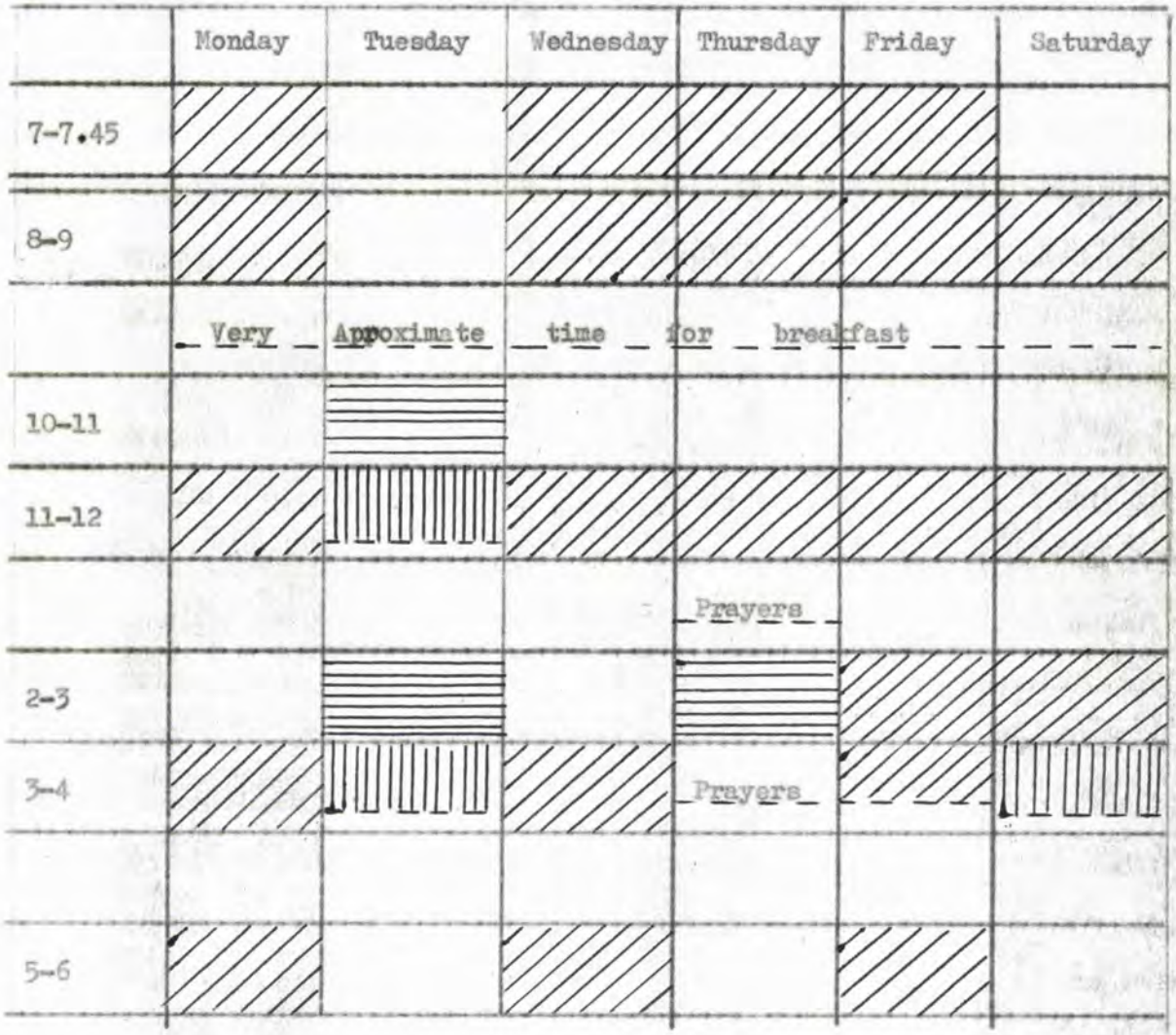
> He has twice as much book (sic) and desire to play as ever he had in his life, and cant find a moments leisure; From construing and pearcing (sic) Greek he is gon to make verses, and from verses to prose, and from prose to Greek again; what time for letters?...Nevertheless the number of boys in the same case with himself makes the pill go down tho' tis a bitter one.[2]

A rough time-table for an Eton fourth former, which is not noticeably more severe than for a member of the lower school, can be constructed from notes taken between 1766 and 1771 by a master at the school.[3] It relates to regular weeks though these were often disrupted by extra 'holidays' and 'half-holidays'.

[1]Of parental encouragement examples have been already given and the evidence will be extended in the discussion of curricular elements later in the present chapter.

[2]Maxwell Lyte, 1899, p. 309. The deplorable style and spelling of this letter makes it very difficult to accept that the author was indeed a tutor.

[3]Ibid., pp. 316-324.



Key

classics

extra subjects[I]

church

Tuesdays and Thursdays were known, surprisingly, as 'holidays' and 'half-holidays' respectively. Many red letter days were similarly treated as 'holidays' and their vigils as 'half-holidays'. Almost certainly more time was devoted to church and prayers than has been recorded. In addition

[I] Which for a fourth former meant writing and arithmetic.

to the regular lessons, extra ones were given by tutors both in classical studies and in other subjects such as French, drawing, dancing and fencing.[1] In other forms, geography, algebra and 'Euclid' were also taught. Finally preparation for lessons and private study was carried out in the boys' own rooms in time not allocated on the above programme.

I have been fairly meticulous in describing an Eton time-table so that it will be clear just how serious were its claims, during the average residence period of about six years, on pupils who would in most cases have already received sound preparatory instruction. 22½ hours per week were spent on normal lessons, which compares with perhaps 26 in modern secondary schools, and in addition there were to be fitted in, certainly for the well-to-do schoolboy, private lessons, tutorials, preparation and private study. Holidays were shorter in total duration than at the present time, comprising a month at Christmas, a fortnight at Easter and a month at August.[2] It would be fair to say, I think, that though 'business' was not as onerous in the eighteenth century as it had been in previous periods, it was nevertheless substantial and sustained and therefore well suited to encourage the habits of diligence which, it has been claimed earlier, were commonly to be found in politicians of the time. Moreover, the systems of private study which existed at both Westminster and Eton[3] would presumably have contributed towards the internalisation of this trait which is by definition essential if character is to be permanently affected. Certainly it must be likely that a school training of this nature would have given a greater emphasis to

[1] Maxwell Lyte, 1899, pp. 327-8. The Marquis of Tavistock was taught writing, French, dancing and fencing while he was at Westminster in the mid century (Thomson, 1940, p. 199). These extra-curricular lessons will be discussed more fully later.

[2] There is evidence that at Westminster at least holiday tasks were set (Mingay, 1963, p. 132).

[3] Sargeaunt, 1898, pp. 175-6; Maxwell Lyte, 1899, p. 321.

application than would a purely domestic education under the supervision of fond and affluent parents and in the company of servants who would have known only too well where lay the key to their long term prospects of comfort and advancement. Such certainly seems to have been Lord Thurlow's view for in a letter to Earl Gower he recommends strongly that Gower's son be sent to school rather than be taught by his father;

> It would be more a Pity than a wonder, if you were seduced by the pleasure of it, to keep Him from a place of more certain and constant drudgery; which ought if possible to be made his Habit, and the training should begin forthwith, I think.[1]

Of the cultivation of rationality, little can be added to what was said in the chapter on education in the home. It would not be unreasonable to suppose that the precocious young nobleman progressed further towards intellectual maturity sustained by a diet of the great Roman and Greek writers and compelled as he was to practise precise expression in the strong emphasis placed on composition both in prose and verse.[2] Such an advantage for a humanistic classical education is hardly after all an original claim.[3] It is probably worth pointing out that in France at this time, where education was controlled very largely by the Church, the study of the classical languages belonged less to the Renaissance, and more to the scholastic tradition, than in Britain, and that in consequence, after some linguistic drill, the French children in their early teens were more likely to be engaged in Aristotelian disputation and fanciful metaphysics than in

[1] Granville I, 1916, p. 3.

[2] C.f., for example, Bargeaunt, 1898, pp. 179-180, 202-3; Maxwell Lyte, 1899, pp. 321, 323.

[3] That studies were essentially humanistic I hope to show in the last part of this chapter.

reading Vergil, Horace and the historians, and in developing their skills at expressing the more worldly and liberal preoccupations of civilisation. It is also the case that in France classes were very large, more like lecture groups, and this cannot have helped the development of a critical approach to learning.[1] There is nothing here, I hope, of xenophobia; between upper class schooling in Britain and France there was indeed a gulf which played its part in the differing social evolution of the two nations.

It is with the last of those aspects of aristocratic style that have been picked out as political assets that this section on the public school must be primarily concerned, that is with the nobleman's assumption of certain attitudes and forms of behaviour that can broadly be described as, by the standards of the times, egalitarian. For it was at institutions like Eton and Westminster that what I have called the physically and socially robust nature of an upper class upbringing could be seen at its clearest. Corporeal, austere, encouraging a sociability that was to a degree undiscriminating, residential life at these schools did a great deal to discourage the exaggerated sensitivity in social relations that a high born and affluent child might easily have developed. In Edward Young's words, which have already been quoted, a boy learned to adjust himself to "the tempers and talents of others" which "is an absolutely necessary qualification for making a figure in public life." Further, the traditional libertarian whig doctrines[2] which the

[1] See, for example, Aries, 1960, pp. 186, 212-7, 280. The philosophes would, of course, have been the last to claim a causal relationship between their schooling and their liberal interests. Diderot's own views are quoted in Gay II, 1970, p. 503.

[2] I have discussed these on pp. 251-6, below.

aristocratic child inherited from his family had every chance for consolidation within concentrations of like minded youths, particularly since he found himself the underdog in a rigidly hierarchical situation, a position which evoked no doubt echoes from within the collective memory of his class. As Westminster's historian observed about the unruliness of the school during much of the eighteenth century, "the Whigs predominated, and it must be admitted that they showed the spirit which Swift had attributed to them. A Whig, wrote the Examiner, is against all discipline."[1]

The strong physical component in public school life contained three elements: fighting, games playing and the ascetic nature of the living conditions. Of the first of these there is sustained evidence throughout the period with which we are concerned though it may well have become most marked from the mid sixties.[2] We have heard already how, within a few weeks of entering Eton at the age of seven, William Windham had been involved in three violent encounters.[3] When Horace Walpole was at school, expeditions against the local bargemen were a popular pastime[4] and later, in adult life,

[1] Sargeaunt, 1898, p. 197. One of the means by which this juvenile individualism was asserted appears to have been through the mutinies against school authority for which the public schools of this period are notorious. It is interesting, perhaps, that during the disturbances at Eton which followed the appointment of Foster as headmaster in 1765, two of the boys who were to become ministers under Pitt, William Windham and George Grenville (later Earl Temple), were compelled to leave as ringleaders while a third, the future Duke of Rutland, having absconded in fear of retribution after the rebellion of 1768, was returned by his father to be flogged. (Ketton-cremer, 1930, pp. 59-60; Maxwell Lyte, 1899, p. 349; Angelo, 1830, p. 89. In fact Maxwell Lyte refers not to George Grenville but to his brother, William, who was also to become minister. However it was the former who left Eton rather early, in 1768, whereas William did not enter the school until 1770).

[2] There is some slight indication that turbulence and dissipation in general increased somewhat at this time which gives some force to the elder Pitt's unlikely assertion that "the great change which has taken place among our youth has been dated from the time of...(Charles Fox's) going to Eton." Fitzmaurice I, 1875, p. 78).

[3] Above, p. 248.

[4] Maxwell Lyte, 1899, p. 306.

when he wished to visit his mother's tomb in Westminster Abbey, he claimed that he did not dare do so for fear of being attacked by some of Westminster's more riotous pupils.[1] Indeed six boys from the school were on one occasion brought before the London magistrates

> for an assault on a man in Dean's Yard, when they 'beat and wounded him in a most shocking manner', threatening to 'rip him up' if he would not kneel down and ask their pardon.[2]

At Eton, in 1768, there apparently took place a major battle, in which Windham was a leading light, between the boys and the butchers of Windsor after which a number of the former were able to return across the bridge only by dressing as women.[3] No doubt practice at cudgelling, which seems to have been a favourite pastime at the school throughout the eighteenth century, would have made the Etonians formidable opponents.[4] There are for this period no surviving records so extraordinary as the accounts of the regular battles at Westminster in the first decade of the next century between boys and masters, encouraged it would seem by the head, himself an Old Westminster.[5] Trevelyan has pointed out a letter in the Grenville Papers which recounts how Thomas Whately and Lady Mulgrave and her child were riding through Eton when they were mobbed by a crowd of boys from the school.

[1] Sargeaunt, 1898, p. 198.

[2] Charleton, 1965, p. 33.

[3] Angelo II, 1830, p. 298.

[4] Hollis, 1960, p. 132; Maxwell Lyte, 1899, p. 331.

[5] Sargeaunt, 1898, p. 215.

> Things were beginning to look serious, (Whately wrote) when George Grenville's son (two of whose brothers became high ranking politicians), who happened luckily to be in the crowd, came to the rescue. Her ladyship was frightened, dismounted and fled for refuge into Lord Mulgrave's chaise, leaving me and the little urchin in the midst of the circle. My good friend Tom (Grenville) gave me a wink and a whisper advising me to make a retreat as soon as possible. I followed his advice and I think he got me out of a scrape. [1]

That Whateley's fears were not exaggerated is made clear in another contemporary letter in which the author recalled being attacked in a Windsor inn, while he was dining, merely because he would not tell some Etonians his name.[2] Such violence was not reserved for outsiders for Cowper remembered Lord March, later, as the Duke of Richmond to be one of the leading politicians of his time, setting fire to Vinny Bourne's (a master's) "greasy locks and boxing his ears to put it out again."[3]

These stories indicate clearly a level of schoolboy aggressiveness several stages above that of the post-Jamesian era, even allowing for the fact that only the more extreme manifestations would have seemed worth recording. The Victorians made great play of such behaviour in their castigation of the eighteenth century public schools on grounds of moral debasement, though the criticisms are perhaps a little insensitive, taking no account of the lingering association between the Georgian nobility and

[1] Trevelyan, 1880, pp. 49-50.

[2] Cheetham, 1964, p. 82.

[3] D.N.B. (Lennox, Charles).

the deep rooted European tradition of a warrior aristocracy.[1] From the point of view of the present thesis however this appetite for battle of the well born pupil is of interest because it provides us with one possible reason why a gentleman who had survived Eton or Westminster was not particularly fastidious about contact with members of other classes. It would perhaps be as well to emphasize that a brawling disposition in schoolchildren of this period was not, paradoxical as this may appear to a twentieth century observer, antithetical to the intellectual and social graces. Thus a child who had rioted at school might easily mature into an adult of charming manners and liberal interests - though probably still quite capable of a descent into violence.[2] Indeed the compatibility of the refined and the lusty in an eighteenth century gentleman was, as I have pointed out elsewhere, a most essential feature of his character, though one which from a modern perspective is by no means easy to grasp.

[1] Many parents of the highest social status intended their sons for military and naval careers. This is clear both from the high proportion of politicians in this survey who had held senior commissions in the services and also from the even higher number of the most blue-blooded noblemen (appendix C) who, after completion of their formal education, were sent straight into the army or navy.

Just how strong was the potential aristocratic influence at the great public schools is suggested by an Eton list of 1767 copied out by Henry Angelo who was a pupil at that time. At least thirty-seven pupils were present who either already had, or subsequently acquired, titles.

Despite the pugnacity of the public schoolboys, they were still subject, during much of the eighteenth century, to substantial constraint within school by the staff and elsewhere by a sort of code of acceptable conduct. While Nicholl was headmaster of Westminster from 1733 to 1753, there existed "a court of honour, to whose unwritten laws every member of the community was amenable, and which to transgress by any act of meanness, that exposed the offender to public contempt, was a degree of punishment, compared to which the being sentenced to the rod would have been considered as an acquittal or reprieve." (Sargeaunt, 1898, pp. 167-8).

[2] See, for example, the account of Marquis of Granby's fight with the painter Hayman, on p. 247.

In addition to open combat the physical aspect of public school life was shown too in the interest taken by the pupils, if not encouraged by the masters, in sport. Thomas Coke, later Earl of Leicester, a most dedicated sportsman, used, while at Eton, to poach in Windsor Great Park "and his gun provided suppers for his schoolmates...On one occasion he was found with seventy snipe in his room..."[1] Charles Fox, too, shot partridge while at Eton, as well as playing cricket, and his rather unlikely interest in tennis as an adult also suggests some involvement at school.[2] Throughout the eighteenth century cricket was a growing passion at both Westminster and Eton. Among sample members, Lord Sandwich provided evidence of former enthusiasm when in 1751 he captained a team representing Eton past and present, and Earl Howe, who was also a team member, had clearly a similar background.[3] In 1768, Lord Francis Osborne, who as Marquis of Carmarthen was to become a secretary of state, was playing for Westminster in an old boys match against Eton.[4] There is a direct hint of the democratising influence that cricket could exert in the captaincy in 1769 by the Duke of Dorset of a Knole cricket team made up largely of servants and gardeners.[5] Hockey we know was played at Eton since the future Marquis Cornwallis, another sample member, received a permanent injury when a hockey ball struck him in the eye.[6] In fact a large part of the unsupervised free time of pupils at the public schools was, it seems, filled with sport of one sort or another: boating,

[1] Stirling, 1912, p. 50.

[2] Stanhope I, 1867, p. 97; Russell I, 1853, p. 30.

[3] Austen-Leigh, 1927.

[4] Nicolson, 1955, p. 189.

[5] Hickey, 1913, p. 100.

[6] D.N.B..

swimming, football, as well as the activities that have already been mentioned, much of it well away from school premises and therefore particularly conducive to that softening of class demarcation which is our present theme.[1]

As well as being strongly discouraged by the pressure of his peers from any display of social fragility, the public school boarder received little confirmation from his surroundings of his high social status. Three of the ministers whom we are studying were as children elected to places as scholars on the foundations of their schools, Earl Gower and Welbore Ellis at Westminster and Earl Camden at Eton, and they would therefore almost certainly have lived in the scholars' dormitories. There, existence was the very opposite of pampered with most of the boys sleeping in one long, spartanly fitted room, completely without adult supervision, and inclined, not surprisingly in such circumstances, to maintain a way of life nearer to that of the jungle than the salon. Anecdotes of the Eton Long Chamber in particular are famous. Within it, fifty-two boys, ordered during the evenings and nights by only their evolved ritual, lived in squalor, without wash basins and without adequate food, and liable to find on waking in winter a layer of snow on their beds which had drifted in through the perennially broken windows. Animals, both of the sporting and edible sort, were sometimes kept in the Chamber and on one occasion a donkey was lodged overnight. Bullying, drinking and gambling were all part and parcel of the daily routine. Small wonder that as the century progressed it became harder and harder to find candidates for election to such honoured places.[2] At Westminster, probably due to rather less appalling conditions, there seems not to have been the same reticence about being educated on the foundation.

[1] Maxwell Lyte, 1899, pp. 328-333; Sargeaunt, 1898, pp. 133, 186-7.

[2] Maxwell Lyte, 1899, pp. 313, 360, 377, 459-69, 476; Hollis, 1960, pp. 138-9, 147.

The great majority of boys, however, did not suffer the hard lives of Collegers at Eton or Scholars at Westminster. Instead they lived as Oppidans or Townboys in the respective schools, boarding in houses outside school premises. At Eton in the middle of the century there were thirteen of these houses with an average of thirty-five pupils each, three of them kept by men, 'domines', and the rest by women, 'dames'. At Westminster, for which information is sparser, a similar system existed, though where a dame was proprietor she was supported by a male usher.[1] Within the houses not a great deal of concession was made to high birth, though it was possible for boarders to pay for separate rooms and Bentham recorded a case of a boy occupying two, if not three.[2] That single rooms were not automatically allocated to the well-to-do is shown by the fact that Dampier, the Eton Lower Master, who was a friend of William Windham's father, "was able to arrange with William's dame, Mrs. Milward, that there were not more than four boys sleeping in his room and that William should have a bed all to himself."[3] At Westminster it was not customary for boys to have a manservant[4] and there is no reason to believe that they were to be found at Eton either.

That upper class youths were neither exempt, nor expected by their parents to be exempt, from the normal processes of discipline is indicated by the treatment received by a number of those who were to become leading politicians. We have already heard briefly of the fate of certain high born pupils after the Eton rebellion of 1768. George Grenville, heir to the Temple earldom and the son of a first minister, having fled the school, was returned to be flogged before being removed for good.[5] Angelo recalled that Lord Roos,

[1]Maxwell Lyte, 1899, p. 328; Sargeaunt, 1898, pp. 158-9.

[2]Bowring X, 1962, p. 27.

[3]Ketton-Cremer, 1962, p. 161. Windham was heir to a large fortune.

[4]Sargeaunt, 1898, p. 194.

[5]Maxwell Lyte, 1899, p. 349.

grandson and eventual successor of the Duke of Rutland, escaped after the rebellion and returned with his brother to their London home. There, the Marquis of Granby, their father, enquired if they would like to visit the theatre that evening. " 'Yes', added his lordship, 'you shall go there tonight for your own pleasure, and tomorrow shall return to Dr. Foster and be flogged for mine.' "[1] William Windham appears to have been a senior conspirator in this insurrection and his mother was advised to withdraw her son from the school.[2] The same boy and Charles Fox received the last flogging administered by Foster's predecessor, Dr. Barnard, for playing truant in order to see a play at Windsor.[3] Robert Henley, son of a lord chancellor, who later as the Earl of Worthington was to become lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and William Hickey, the diarist, were, the latter claimed, "sworn brothers and many a scrape we mutually got each other into" for which Henley "came in for his share of stripes."[4]

Though fagging existed at the public schools during the eighteenth century,[5] there is no evidence that boys of high rank were expected to take part, though this is by no means a strong indication that they did not, for information about the period is remarkably sparse. However, in the still unreformed days of the early part of the next century, children undeniably well born were certainly involved in the subordinate role[6] and it is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that the same was the case fifty years or more earlier. If this was so, and it is clearly far from proven, the practice

[1] Angelo I, 1830, p. 89.

[2] Ketton-Cremer, 1930, pp. 59-60. Sir Francis Burdett, a politician of a later generation, was also expelled from Westminster for his part in the rebellion of 1786 (Patterson I, 1931, p. 8).

[3] Ketton-Cremer, 1930, pp. 59-60.

[4] Hickey 1913, p. 14.

[5] Angelo II, 1830, p. 376; Sargeaunt, 1898, p. 152.

[6] Ibid., p. 215.

would no doubt have done something to moderate the sharpness of social gradations that deference to birth did to a degree encourage, permitting, in the well worn justification, the future leaders to undergo the salutary experience of being led.

If attendance at Eton and Westminster required of the aristocratic child a degree of physical hardiness and the acceptance of a status within the community that was hardly markedly privileged, the heart of the egalitarian influence of the public schools - 'egalitarian' used of course in the limited sense which has been defined - lay in the encouragement that they gave to the development of their pupils' capacity for social adjustment. It is probably not necessary to dwell on the most obvious meaning of this assertion. Boys who for six years lived as minor members of the school society, a society differentiated to a greater extent than the world at large on the basis of other criteria than birth and fortune, and whose daily round involved constant mixing with their fellows including the sons of local tradesmen,[I] were clearly likely to develop other strategies for making life satisfactory than relying merely on money, power or inherited respect. Indeed much the same could obviously be said of socially advantaged children at a modern public school. Where, however, the present day institution does not, and, one imagines, would not be expected to, compete with its eighteenth century counterpart is in the opportunity provided for intimate contact with a whole range of living styles outside the school walls.

[I] Maxwell Lyte, 1899, p. 350; Hollis, 1960, p. 139. Angelo, the son of a fencing master, had no trouble "maintaining an equal footing with...(his) aristocratic playmates..." (Angelo II, 1904, p. xii).

Perhaps the best illustrations of this proximity of the Georgian schoolboy's world to the richness, and often to the seaminess, of contemporary urban life are provided in the memoirs of William Hickey. Admittedly the author was not a model, or even moderately well behaved, pupil but he describes vividly the forbidden pleasures that other memorials confirm were known, in lesser measure perhaps, to the generality of Westminsters. Entering the school at the age of eight, Hickey, with his boon companion, the future Earl of Worthington, soon learned to find his way about the city of Westminster. Loitering in Tothill Fields and St. James's Park, hiring rowing boats on the Thames and watching the Horse Guards exercising were among their more innocuous pleasures. Additionally, however, they were sufficiently at home in the imbroglio of London's streets to have become, before Hickey was fourteen, hardened pub crawlers, patrons of brothels and devotees of bawdy song.[I]

Though, surprisinly, he makes nothing of Hickey's recollections, Westminster's historian does illustrate graphically the riotously outward-looking aspect of school life and the subject is, I think, sufficiently close to the central theme of the political part of this thesis to justify a fairly long quotation.

> Twice a year the (cricket) ground was occupied by booths. Donkey and pony races attracted disorderly crowds. The Westminster trained bands performed there the evolutions which according to the military wits they mistook for drill....A favourite amusement of the time was breaking bounds, or, as it was called, 'going on a scheme.' The object was often a play at Drury Lane or a trial in Westminster Hall. Smuggled in by peer of doorkeeper, Westminster boys never failed to get a sight of Warren Hastings, or what Colman calls 'a slice of the Duchess' of Kingston.....

[I]Hickey, 1913, pp. 13-35.

The amusements of the elder Town boys were often such as would not now be tolerated. The wild area of Tuttle Fields, with its colony of thieves and poachers, still offered the brutalities of duck-hunting and bull-baiting. At fair times there were the dramatic booths, to which even a fag could find time to resort....The poachers of Tuttle Fields supplied the means of other amusements. They kept terriers, and would always provide rats to be killed or a badger to be drawn. The cat-hunts and duck-hunts were among the complacent memories of many Westminsters who are but lately dead. The ditch-jumping transferred itself to Battersea... Every larger ditch had its own name....and many a boy carried back in his clothes to Dean's Yard the scent of 'Big Ben' and 'Black Joke'. This would have been pardoned had the boys been able to carry themselves. As it was St. David's Day sometimes brought them back from the Red House in no state to please their Masters. The fifth of November brought trouble of another kind. The boys used to arm themselves with clubs and sally forth to seize 'guys', "You are an example, "said Usher Ward in impotent wrath," to all the rascals and scoundrels in the kingdom."[1]

Though at Eton the same opportunities for metropolitan dissipation were obviously not available, it appears that contact with the outside world was fairly thoroughly regularised.[2] Of both Eton and Westminster it might be said that the encouragement of social exclusiveness, if it were a policy of the governing authorities, was not one which was either high in priority or particularly successful. Undoubtedly the situation was emphasised by the considerable lack of enthusiasm in most eighteenth century boarding schools for the official supervision of leisure, a reticence that was certainly not parallelled in the Catholic schools of the continent. In consequence the boisterousness, the austerity, the comparatively low regard for rank per se and the preparedness to jostle in the throng of humanity so typical of the period, together with the influence of the traditional whig affection for the idea of liberty, were all allowed to contribute at the great public schools to the development of that common touch which was, I suspect,

[1] Sargeaunt, 1898, pp. 187, 197, 216-7.

[2] Maxwell Lyte, 1898, pp. 306, 334, 548; Cheetham, 1964, p. 82; Ketton-Cremer, 1930, p. 59; Hollis, 1960, p. 178; Adamson, 1930, p. 55 (this refers to a quotation of 1834 but the general character of the schools seems to have evolved very little during the previous century).

such a significant factor in the long term survival of the British aristocracy as a dominant political force.

Of course one can see the possibility of truth in Chatham's comment to Shelburne,

> that his reason for preferring a private to a public education was, that he scarce observed a boy who was not cowed for life at Eton; that a public school might suit a boy of forward disposition, but would not do where there was any gentleness;[1]

though it is difficult to detect many indications of being cowed among the ministers in this survey or indeed in Chatham, himself an Old Etonian. One can sympathize also with Sidney Smith's criticism of the "system of premature debauchery" at the public schools which "only prevents men from being corrupted by the world by corrupting them before their entry to the world."[2] But from the political perspective with which we are presently concerned there seems to be sound reason for believing that the part played by the public schools in the lives of the aristocrats who attended them was, for these pupils, for their class, and indeed for their country, extremely valuable. Such certainly was the view of Gibbon who as a historian might perhaps be expected to have been concerned with the schools in their broad effect upon society. In his autobiography, published in 1796, he wrote,

> I shall always be ready to joyn in the common opinion, that our public schools, which have produced so many eminent characters are the best adapted to the Genius and constitution of the English people. A boy of spirit may acquire a praevious and practical experience of the World, and his playfellows may be the future friends of his heart or his interest. In a free intercourse with his equals the habits of truth, fortitude and prudence will insensibly be matured: birth and riches are measured by the standard of personal merit: and the mimic scene of rebellion has displayed in their true colours the ministers and patriots of the rising generation.[3]

[1] Fitzmaurice I, 1875, p. 72.

[2] Quoted in Barnard, 1961, p. 19.

[3] Gibbon, 1796, p. 38.

Clearly to Gibbon the function of the public schools was, in its essence, political[1] and the comparison that he implies is of course between the English public school and institutions of upper class education on the continent where schooling consisted in the main of either a fundamentally scholastic training in colleges under the strict social control of the Church or an instruction in courtly accomplishments in establishments where the cultivation of class differences was the most deliberate feature of policy. Of both continental varieties of school, Dr. John Moore, an experienced traveller and a consistently incisive social critic, wrote in a passage that deserves quoting in detail:

> In all the countries of Europe, England excepted, such a deference is paid to boys of rank, that emulation, the chief spur to diligence, is greatly blunted. - The boys in the middle rank of life are depressed by the insolence of their titled companions, which they are not allowed to correct or retaliate...The public schools in England disdain this mean partiality; and are, on that account, peculiarly useful to boys of high rank and great fortune. These young people are exceedingly apt to imbibe false ideas of their own importance...The young peer will be taught by the masters, and still more effectually by his comrades, this most useful of all lessons, - to expect distinction and esteem from personal qualities only... He will see a dunce of high rank flogged with as little ceremony as the son of a tailor; and the richest coward kicked about by his companions equally with the poorest poltroon.[2]

Political skills

By far the greater proportion of the formal instruction at a Georgian public school was concerned, of course, with the language and literature of Rome and Greece and it seems appropriate therefore, in the present section on the more tangible aspects of political education within the school, to consider first the part played by this form of study. Discussion falls

[1] Trevelyan, in his biography of Lord Grey, also pointed out the obviously political nature of an Eton education; "It was here that he (Grey) first touched the great world of politics and fashion, to which Eton was then an antechamber" (Trevelyan, 1920, p. 4).

[2] Moore I, 1779, pp. 294-5. Moore had been tutor abroad to the Duke of Hamilton.

naturally, I think, into two parts: the influence of the classics in promoting an understanding of human behaviour and the contribution made by composition and declamation to the oratorical armory of the prospective member of parliament. The first of these I shall deal with very briefly both because the principal contention will seem perfectly familiar to anyone who has encountered some of the many defences of classical studies that have been offered during the last one and a half centuries and also because, surprisingly perhaps, the relations and tutors of the children with whom we are principally concerned had very little to say on the subject, presumably either because the reasons for learning Latin and Greek were so well known as not to call for formal elaboration or because the custom was so soundly established that its utility was left largely unquestioned.

The claim for classical learning as a source of wisdom is expressed concisely by William Jones in a letter of 1768 to Lady Spencer, the mother of his pupil, Viscount Althorp.[1]

> ...it is impossible that he who reads the admirable words of the ancients, should not at the same time that he studies the language, become master of the valuable things they contain...

Jones will ensure that Althorp studies 'Man' but it is possible, he points out,

> to live many years in all the hurry and bustle of public life, without gaining half the knowledge of human nature which may be learnt from the satires and epistles of Horace.[2]

The argument is not dissimilar to that employed in our own times by, among others, Dr. Leavis, about the sudy of English literature, and, perhaps less well known, by T. S. Eliot in favour of history. All three subjects, the theories run, enhance greatly the student's capacity for imaginative under-

[1] Later Earl Spencer.

[2] Cannon I, 1970, pp. 16-17.

standing of the human condition. Other forms of knowledge may be worthwhile but they can necessarily contribute only to a limited degree towards such perception since they are not concerned with the whole, interacting range of responses within the complex structure of real societies.[1] Such claims, though they may often be lost sight of, will probably seem fairly unexceptionable, though of course experience in actual living, as well as certain specialist knowledge, must also be unavoidable concomitants of sagacity. With these substantial provisos, however, a classical education can probably be said to have contributed more to the political acumen of an eighteenth century nobleman than would, for example, one based upon mathematics or geography or the natural sciences.

The second advantage for an aspirant parliamentarian of a public school education was the opportunity that it provided for the development of rhetorical and histrionic skills. The high place heldin Georgian parliaments by the long set-piece speech in the classical tradition, with its elaborate periods and studied use of timing and gesture, has been discussed in an earlier chapter.[2] In the schools which catered for the political class the techniques necessary for such performances were cultivated both as a matter of policy and also as a by-product of the normal methods of instruction. At Eton, Latin declamations, in which two boys opposed each other publicly in debate, were instituted in the early eighteenth century and in the sixties took place once in each term. During this latter period, time was also set

[1] One suspects that Dr. Leavis's claim, to which I have wittingly done some violence by selecting only that portion which is relevant to my immediate political purpose, is perhaps overstated since fiction is by definition not necessarily related to the real world.

[2] See p. 264-5.

aside for the formal delivery of speeches from the classical orators when, according to a master, there was to be "emphasis and proper stress on particular words." "Sixth Form boys," he continued, "...(are) suffered to skip a whole week's exercises, if they have a Declamation to make, or speech to get (up)."[1] There could hardly be a clearer indication of the political tendency in an Eton training than a contemporary description of a visit to the school in 1735 of the Duke of Cumberland and Sir Robert Walpole. After taking breakfast, the guests, who included the lord chancellor and a number of other powerful aristocratic politicians, listened to declamations on the subject, "Spectant me mille loquentum." "Then followed long copies of verses on the King and Queen and Duke and Chancellor, but mostly on Sir Robert, and lastly extempore verses on the same subjects but from different Themes."[2]

Less consciously part of a parliamentary training than these oral performances, but hardly less valuable, was the considerable attention, given to the writing of verses. One cannot doubt that the capacity for apposite and elegant expression of the noble politician of the eighteenth,[3] and indeed nineteenth, centuries owed much to long and meticulous practice in Latin composition. "If I had a boy," Charles Fox observed, "I would make him write verses. It is the only way to know the meaning of words."[4]

[1] Maxwell Lyte, 1899, p. 290, 322.

[2] Ibid., p. 308.

[3] Though the speeches of ministers who served during the last quarter of the eighteenth century are in most cases no longer extant in their exact form, it is possibly to see in the clear and harmonious phrasing of many of their business and private letters what is presumably an echo of their spoken performances.

[4] Trevelyan, 1880, p. 53.

Trevelyan who had read some of the schoolboy exercises of both Fox and the opponent of his early parliamentary career, Lord North, claimed that

> Among all Fox's imitations of the classical writers there is nothing dull or commonplace except a Greek idyll...But still more full of spirit and promise are the elegies in which Lord North, and his future rival, sang their premature loves.

Their Latin, Trevelyan though, was good.[1]

For the Earl of Carlisle, a contemporary of Fox at Eton and a future colleague in administration, there is also evidence of an early ability to use words with discrimination, though in this case the medium is English. It provides too, incidentally, an indication of Fox's precocious political promise.

> How will my Fox, alone, thy strength of parts
> Shake the loud senate, animate the hearts
> Of fearful statesmen, while around you stand
> Both Peers and Commons list'ning your command:
> While Tully's sense its weight to you affords,
> His nervous sweetness shall adorn your words;
> What praise to Pitt, to Townshend, e'er was due,
> In future times, my Fox, shall wait on you.[2]

Carlisle could not have been older than sixteen when he wrote these lines since at that age he left Eton. Coming from a present day sixteen year old they would, I think, be considered distinguished. A still earlier pointer to linguistic adroitness occurs in these lines by W. W. Grenville, eleven years old and a pupil at Eton; the poem is dedicated to his aunt, Countess Temple.

> A Traveller wandering through the maze of Stowe,
> The fairest garden here on earth below,
> Says to his guide:-'Midst all the domes and shrines,
> Where Garden Venus in her Temple shines,
> Where George's statue rears its awful head,
> Adorns and seems to rule the neighbouring mead,
> I see no Temple to Minerva's name,
> No grateful line to celebrate her fame.'

[1]Ibid., p. 52.

[2]Ibid., pp. 340-1.

'No,' says the guide, 'the sage Minerva dwells
Within the house, and in each art excels,
For both her wisdom and her skill you find
In worthy Temple's virtuous dame combined.'[1]

It is quite easy to understand how the facility and feeling for language of Fox, North, Thurlow, Loughborough, and many of their political generation, would have been nurtured by the care that they were obliged to devote to composition during their schooldays. In the Eton fifth form, for instance, in the middle years of the century,

> All the boys had to compose three Latin exercises every week, viz. an original theme of not less than twenty lines, a copy of verses of not less than ten elegaic couplets, and five or six stanzas of lyrics on the same subject as the other verses.

During some of their Greek lessons, the sixth form were expected to translate Homer into Latin, a particularly keen method, one might suppose, of taxing and training verbal dexterity.[2] At Westminster the attention given to the writing of verse was if anything even greater than at Eton. Richard Cumberland wrote in his memoirs,

> In point of composition...there is in that school a kind of taste and character peculiar to itself, and handed down perhaps from times past, which seems to mark it out for a distinction, that it may indupitably claim, that of having been above all others the most favoured cradle of the Muses.[3]

Though it is not possible to claim for construing and parsing as large a role in the development of rhetorical skills as for the synthesising exercises, nevertheless most people who have been made to practise for a year or two these analytical tasks will probably allow that they learned from the experience something about the precise use of language, even though they may believe that the time consumed was out of proportion to the achievement.

[1] Ibid., p. 321. It is worth pointing out perhaps that composition exercises were done at 'play-time', adding a large extra burden to the working week, further evidence of the pressure that was placed upon public schoolboys.

[2] Grenville VI, 1853, pp. 528-9.

[3] Cumberland, 1856, p. 45.

It would seem reasonable, therefore, to suppose that a similar benefit was gained by the Georgian schoolboy from the tedious drill of his most usual lessons. More obviously, and deliberately, of value to his political future, however, was one of the key books used in these lessons, Scriptores Romani.[1] A writer of the early part of the next century described this work as

> an odd but interesting compilation, bearing up to the last edition the impress of a mind which contemplated not merely elegant scholarship, but the training of young men for a parliamentary career, for it contained a good deal of fine hard Latin about oratory and public virtue, and though it was woefully inadequate as a thread of beads to illustrate Roman history, it betokened a lofty purpose corresponding to Lord Chatham's ideas, and it was a great relief to the intellect.[2]

There was still a third way in which the public schools contributed towards an oratorical training. It has been pointed out that in the town and country houses of the British nobility drama was, in the eighteenth century, a favourite pastime and that it had fairly obvious value in the education of a parliamentarian.[3] In the public schools of the period there was also considerable enthusiasm for the amateur theatre. At Westminster during the years in which members of the sample group were attending, that is between 1721 and 1771, a Latin play, almost always by Terence, was produced on thirty-six occasions, or rather more than twice in every three years. On the whole it was the King's Scholars who took part, though, as we have seen, at least two of the late eighteenth century ministers came into this category.[4] In addition to 'the Play', there also took place

[1] Maxwell Lyte, 1899, p. 320.

[2] Ibid., p. 393.

[3] See pp. 264-7.

[4] Sargeaunt, 1898, pp. 153, 270.

regular productions of Town boy plays which were usually modern comedies with specially written prologues and epilogues, though Shakespeare was not unknown.[1] There were even dramatic performances associated with particular houses as the following passage from a letter of Sir Francis Burdett's mother makes clear. "Next Saturday a few of the schoolboys are to perform a play at Mrs. Clapham's, Frank among the number...'Tamerlane' is the play: they have invited us..."[2] Further evidence of a regard for the theatre among Westminster pupils is provided by the choice of Drury Lane theatre as a regular target for truanting expeditions.[3]

At Eton, also, there was interest in drama, though performances were organized, it appears, on a less official and systematic basis than at Westminster, often by the boys themselves. Barnard, the most successful of the school's eighteenth century headmasters, was particularly keen "and Foote the great comedian, was often his guest, rendering valuable assistance whenever there were private theatricals at the Lodge, entertainments in which some of the scholars generally took part."[4] At Hackney School, too, where Lord Euston, later Duke of Grafton, and Lord John Cavendish were pupils, the performances of plays were a feature of school life and there is a record of Euston taking part in a Terence play in 1751 when "A great number of the nobility and gentry were present. There were upwards of one hundred gentlemen's coaches on the occasion."[5]

[1] Ibid., pp. 151, 194, 213, 292-4.

[2] Patterson I, 1931, p. 7.

[3] Sargeaunt, 1898, pp. 172, 197.

[4] Maxwell Lyte, 1899, pp. 354-6, 377; Benson, 1899, p. 178.

[5] Hans, 1951, pp. 4, 73.

LIBERAL EDUCATION

In the dissemination of liberal knowledge, the third of the cultural areas with which the present work is concerned, the part played by the great endowed foundations was quite narrowly circumscribed, which is by no means the same thing as saying that it was of small consequence. William Hickey, as we have heard, pointed out that at Westminster, where he was a pupil in the sixties, "nothing is taught but the classics."[1] At Eton the time table of a fourth former has been shown to have been rather less restricted, though even in this only twelve per cent. of lesson time was allocated to non-classical subjects.[2] In fact at both schools it was customary for well-to-do pupils to take extra-curricular lessons from private teachers and these will be discussed later. However there can be no doubt that in the eyes of parents and teachers by far the most important, and almost the only academic function of the schools was to instruct children in the classics and to do so thoroughly. They may well, Gibbon asserted, ignore the more general gentlemanly education, but they do "assume the merit of teaching all they pretend to teach, the Latin and Greek languages."[3] In an age which is inclined to attribute to what happens in schools the largest share in what it chooses to call education, it is tempting to regard the concentration of attention at the Georgian public school as reprehensible. To do so, however, would be to make too strong a judgement. For, first, in a way which may not be immediately obvious to a modern observer, or indeed in a way which may not be common to a modern parent, the eighteenth century nobleman viewed the public school as only a part, albeit an important one,

[1] Hickey, 1913, p. 41.

[2] See p. 297.

[3] Gibbon, 1796, p. 38.

in a whole system of upbringing. Tutor, preparatory school, private lessons, university, foreign travel, military training, the inn of court and, by no means least, the rich cultural environment of the aristocracy, were all expected to play their part in the complete educational process.

Secondly, the apparent restrictiveness of the public school syllabus was not in any case as severe as the victim of an 'ordinary level' Latin course in a twentieth century grammar school might imagine. For the Georgian pupils had concentrated from an early age on the classics and they were therefore by the later stages of their schooling competent linguists, in Latin certainly and in Greek to perhaps a lesser degree. Thus Chesterfield was able to write to his son, who was being prepared for Westminster,

> Pray mind your Greek particularly, for to know Greek very well is to be really learned. There is no great credit in knowing Latin, for everybody knows it, and it is only a shame not to know it.[1]

The younger Colman was even more definite about the high standards in the classics at the great public schools.

> Much courtesy is shown, in the ceremony of matriculation to the boys who come from Eton and Westminster; in so much, that they are never examined in respect to their knowledge of the School classicks: - their competency is consider'd as a matter of course.[2]

Latin was in fact used normally for conversation in the upper school at Westminster.[3]

As an aid towards a liberal education the merits of this proficiency were twofold. First, it became possible for senior pupils to make contact with the literary content, and not merely the grammatical skeleton, of classical works, though there is no doubt that, in the long European tradition,

[1] Sargeaunt, 1898, p. 180.

[2] Quiller Couch, 1892, p. 169.

[3] Sargeaunt, 1898, pp. 180, 203.

the tedium of linguistic dissection continued to hold a high place in schools.[1] In the extremely useful notes on the Eton curriculum left by the assistant master, Thomas James, the sixth and fifth forms are shown to have read, and learnt by heart, in regular lessons, Homer, Lucian, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Tibullus, Propertius, an anthology of Greek poetry and a selection from the Roman authors. For two hours each week the sixth form and the upper fifth construed plays by Sophocles and Aristophanes and the last week of the autumn and summer terms seem to have been devoted entirely to the drama of Euripides.[2]

In their leisure hours, James continues,

> The Sixth Form boys, and the Fifth, are supposed to read...Dr. Middleton's Cicero, Tully's Offices, Ovid's long and short verses, Spectator, etc. Milton, Pope, Roman History, Graecian History, Potter's Antiquities, and Kennet's and all other books necessary towards making a compleat scholar.[3]

At Westminster Lord Herbert's son was set the following holiday tasks:

> Read Dionysios after Appolodorus, Tully's Oration pro Quinto Ligaris and Translate some parts of it. Divert yourself with Virgil and Terence and don't forget Horace and Juvenal. You shall begin Homer when you return. Make some Declamations in English and Latine upon what Subjects my Lord thinks fitting.[4]

The word 'supposed' in the Eton plan is possibly significant. It would indeed have been requiring a good deal of a youth of fifteen or sixteen to have struggled through the whole of such a programme in addition to the studies that have been mentioned earlier and to his private lessons.

[1] It is difficult to understand what Adamson (Adamson, 1930, p. 55) means when he writes that eighteenth century critics claimed that contemporary continental scholarship aimed at the "vivid presentation of ancient society" in contrast to the English public school's excessive concern with composition. In most European schools, in fact, the younger pupils were grinding gerunds quite as remorselessly as their counterparts, while those of an age comparable with the English fifth and sixth formers were still engaged in the discredited study of logic and metaphysics. Moreover the classical authors that were read were emasculated by the religious emphases of the college teachers (Gay II, 1970, pp. 503-6).

[2] Maxwell Lyte, 1899, p. 320.

[3] Ibid., pp. 323-4.

[4] Mingay, 1963, p. 132.

It is after all considered reasonable to expect a modern sixth form student, who is of course older than his Georgian counterpart, to study during the two years of an English literature course no more than six set books. Nevertheless it is, I think, fair to claim that, even were the Etonian not to have completed all the reading that was hoped of him, he would have received a by no means superficial introduction to the mature work of the great writers of a high civilisation and to the history of their times, a not inconsiderable step towards a liberal education for one so young.

When he reached the university a second advantage of the public schoolboy's sound level of linguistic attainment became apparent. Because by then his apprentice years in the Latin and Greek languages were largely over, it became possible to embark on a programme of a far broader intellectual nature than he had followed at school though there was still included, of course, a good measure of classical literature. Admittedly he was also inclined to devote rather less of his time to study and more to the sensual pleasures but this should cause little surprise when one considers the six or more years of drudgery from which he had been released. These are matters that will be taken up in the next chapter.

Among the books in Thomas James' outline of approved leisure time reading in the Eton upper school were included works by Milton and Pope. These, however, did not represent the only official deviation from a classical curriculum. At various stages of their school career pupils also received some formal instruction in writing, arithmetic, algebra and, in the highest forms, Euclid.[I] At Westminster, though no relaxation of the classical monopoly was permitted apart from the Teaching of religion, parents who

[I] Ibid., pp. 323-4.

could afford private lessons were able to arrange them easily. Thus Chesterfield wrote to his godson's parents, "I prefer Westminster to Eton, because I can have other good masters for him..." Among these he mentioned French, history, geography and dancing.[1] Accounts paid by the Duke of Bedford, whose heir was at Westminster in the fifties, include bills for writing, dancing, French and fencing masters.[2] That learning could be more eclectic than the normal routine of 'business' would suggest is shown, too, by the reading list of Lord Herbert's son, pointed out by Dr. Mingay, which consisted of "the works of Davenant and Ben Jonson, Buccanieres of America, a History of Naples, a volume of plays, Reynard the Fox, Fortunate Lovers, Knight of the Running Sword, Prince Arthur, Revolutions in Sweden, Don Quixote, The Proceedings in Parliament, Cocker's Decimal Arithmetic and the Art of Brewing.[3]

Despite Chesterfield's preference for the extra-curricular opportunities of London, it is clear that at Eton also these matters were taken very seriously. There were operating actually upon school premises in the middle years of the century schools for dancing and fencing and classes in drawing and French, the latter requiring two teachers, both of whom were of French extraction.[4] It is certainly significant that in each of these three lists of out of school lessons dancing is included. As an aid to graceful deportment, which was an aspect of good breeding, dancing was regarded highly by the eighteenth century nobility and though it would be a considerable exaggeration to claim for it any great part in political or liberal education, nevertheless

[1] Carnarvon, 1889, p. 359.

[2] Thomson, 1940, p. 199.

[3] Mingay, 1963, p. 133.

[4] Maxwell Lyte, 1899, pp. 327-8.

it had some small value in both of these respects. The general importance for present purposes of the extra lessons at Westminster and Eton is not indeed large but clearly they did something to broaden the intellectual horizon of the young aristocrat and, in the cases of French and history, added to the store of knowledge potentially useful in a political vocation.

Because the Georgian gentleman has acquired in some eyes, after Squire Western, something of an aura of uncouth philistinism, and in others, one of elegant dilettanteism, both of which were indeed characteristic of some representatives of the class, it is important to stress that among the nobility there was very commonly to be found a regard for scholarship and a welcome for signs of its appearance in children of high rank. We have heard that Chesterfield wished his son to become "really learned". When the Marquis of Titchfield left Westminster his headmaster commented, no doubt with some exaggeration, on the future first minister's "extraordinary learning"[1], praise which he no doubt had reason to believe would please the youth's parents; a number of letters in Professor Turberville's history of Welbeck Abbey certainly support his supposition. William Jones in a letter to Lady Spencer wrote that he did not doubt that her eldest son would become "one of the first scholars of his age."[2] We have seen also, earlier in this chapter, how Charles Fox's father took great delight in pointing out to his brother, Lord Ilchester, the superior scholastic abilities of Charles compared with those of his cousin, Lord Stavordale. Such examples can easily be mutiplied and indeed the illustrations that have been given of parental encouragement of diligence also suggest that high attainments in learning would not have been regarded with distaste.

[1]Turberville II, 1939, p. 34. Titchfield was heir to the Dukedom of Portland.

[2]Cannon I, 1970, p. 16.

Yet despite the considerable evidence that is available of a genuine upper class interest in academic education, modern critics are often reluctant to perceive it. In his survey of books on gentlemanly education, Brauer points out that there existed in Britain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries an anti-intellectual tradition within the aristocracy from which only a few men managed to break free.[1] Though he does not commit himself strongly, he is inclined to believe that the same illiberal spirit was still dominant in the eighteenth century.[2] Christopher Hollis, in his history of Eton, is less circumspect;

> To them (the parents) childhood was primarily a period of nuisance. The concern of the parent was that the boy should get through his years of youth with as little trouble to the parent as possible. Education among the aristocracy was not thought of as very important. It did not very greatly matter what he learnt at school nor how he was brought up. It was not expected that success and affluence in after-life would depend on ability and application.[3]

Both writers present a judgement on the Georgian aristocracy that is distorted, in the latter case hopelessly so. Possibly such criticism is swayed too much by the commentary of late eighteenth century radicals; it is of course always dangerous to rely heavily for an understanding of social institutions on those who in any age have felt moved to write about them. From the present study it will, I hope, emerge clearly that many Georgian noble parents gave to their children encouragement and help in the various stages of education that would today be considered thoroughly commendable.

[1] Brauer, 1959, p. 58.

[2] Ibid., pp. 54, 57, 59. There was, almost certainly, during the century a swing towards scholarly interests among the aristocracy. Many of the sources used by Brauer are from the Restoration and early eighteenth century.

[3] Hollis, 1960, p. 172.

Of course we are here concerned largely with those children who were to be successful in political life and this must limit the general application of any conclusions that are drawn. Nevertheless a sense of class respect for education does distill strongly both from the great popularity of the public schools and the universities that is demonstrated in the control survey of high ranking peers[I] and also from the customary approval with which the subject is mentioned in the letters of the period (which is not to claim that parents did not grumble on occasion about the riotous side of university life).

[I] See appendix

CHAPTER VIII

UNIVERSITY

The importance, for the moment in a purely statistical sense, of the universities in the upbringing of the late eighteenth century political class was certainly no less than that of the public schools. Among the forty-seven ministers who are the principal subjects of this investigation, sixteen had attended Oxford,[1] eighteen Cambridge, two Edinburgh,[2] one Trinity, Dublin, one Leyden and one Leipzig. Thus thirty-nine, or eighty-three per cent., were university men, seventy-two per cent. being alumni of the two English foundations. Again it is necessary to stress that these are minimum estimates since for four it has proved impossible to establish whether or not a higher education was received.

As in the case of the public schools, though not to the same extent, the figures that are given may be higher than a reader of the social and general educational histories would have expected. For though much has been made of the increasing proportion of upper class students at the universities during the course of the century, this has been presented against a background of decreasing total undergraduate population. Adamson writes that for a large number of aristocratic youths, "foreign travel, or a sojourn in one of the Inns of Court took the place...of an English university"[3] and Curtis,

[1]William Windham, who is included here, was also a student at Glasgow.

[2]Both of whom were Scotsmen.

[3]Adamson, 1922, p. 221.

that "many members of the well-to-do classes preferred their sons to be in the charge of a private tutor rather than to send them to public school and the universities. The admissions to Oxford and Cambridge fell rapidly..."[1] Mingay also, in his general study of landed society, emphasizes that "The prevalance at school and university of 'transgressions', unruly behaviour and waste of time gradually led an increasing number of parents to prefer private tuition at home."[2] He points out, too, that Defoe had claimed early in the century that "it was becoming common for younger sons only to be sent to college, while the first-born was kept at home under a tutor."[3] Though they are exaggerated, there is, as Professor Hans has shown, some truth in these assertions since the number of gentlemen who entered the ancient universities fell by about twenty-two per cent. between the beginning and middle of the eighteenth century.[4] However in the education of the political elite, which might be expected to have reflected the practice of the aristocratic class,[5] the universities certainly continued to play a large part.

Whether the incidence of a university training among politicians was indeed typical of that within the nobility as a whole is indicated by the control survey of aristocratic education given in appendix C. Using the published lists of Oxford and Cambridge alumni, the Dictionary of National Biography, G. E. C. Peerage and any information that was encountered incidentally in the course of the main investigation, it appears that about fifty per cent. of the sample of undeniably high born Englishmen had

[1] Curtis, 1948, p. 133.

[2] Mingay, 1963, p. 133.

[3] Ibid..

[4] Hans, 1951, p. 43.

[5] T.S.Eliot, in his Notes Towards a Definition of Culture, makes the helpful distinction between elites and the upper class, "the dominant section of society which the elites served, from which they took their colour, and into which some of their individual members were recruited." (Eliot,1962,p.3

attended one of the English universities. Once more this must be considered a lowest estimate since by no means all college registers from the period have survived and it is not in any case always possible to pick out the noblemen from those that have.[1] Nevertheless, it seems that among the aristocracy at large the university was patronised less than the public school.[2] As fifty per cent. of those in the control group who did not attend a university joined the army or navy, it may be that a service training was often considered an alternative to university. It is probably significant that the two sailors within the political sample, Lords Howe and Keppel, were effectively excluded from Oxford and Cambridge by the very early age at which they were apparently expected to go to sea.[3]

The third, and last, statistical problem to which I would like to direct attention in this preliminary discussion is the place of the universities within the family traditions of the future ministers. At least twenty-seven had fathers who had been under-graduates at Oxford or Cambridge[4] and eight more had grandfathers who fell into this category.[5] In all, therefore, at the

[1] Hans' survey, based on the D.N.B., is less help than might be expected since he has excluded all entries where schooling is not mentioned thus eliminating some two thousand potential sample members. Unfortunately he gives no indication of how many of these were peers.

[2] Eighty-two per cent. had attended a public school.

[3] Fourteen years of age for Howe and ten for Keppel. Though it is not a matter that presently concerns us, one might suspect that British naval ascendancy, as well as industrial ascendancy, owed something to an apprenticeship form of training.

[4] Seventeen at Oxford and nine at Cambridge. Thurlow's father had been to one or the other. It is perhaps a consequence on Oxford's alleged jacobitism that in the next generation Cambridge was attended more often than Oxford.

[5] In addition Barrington's father had been a student at Utrecht.

lowest estimate,[1] thirty-five, or seventy-four per cent., of late eighteenth century ministers had connections with the English universities through one of the two previous generations. Indeed, if attendance at any one of Oxford, Cambridge, Eton or Westminster by either a father or grandfather is taken to be the criterion of family association with 'establishment' forms of education, then only eight of the forty-seven ministers did not have this advantage.[2]

It seems, then, from a numerical analysis, that the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, like the schools at Eton and Westminster, played a considerable role in the upbringings of the politicians with whom we are concerned. However the nature of this influence is very much more difficult to conjecture than for the public schools. The latter, small and demanding from pupils a more or less common approach to both learning and behaviour, can be illuminated convincingly by many converging first hand accounts. Descriptions of the universities, on the other hand, dealing with a far greater variety of activities on the part of students of greatly differing ages and schooling and within a far more permissive environment, give not infrequently quite contradictory views of social and of academic life. Thus, as we shall see, the fairly sober impressions that are conveyed of Hertford and Pembroke Colleges by the biographers of Fox and Pitt respectively contrast markedly with the atmosphere of idle frivolity at Magdalene and Merton evoked in the reminiscences of Gibbon and Lord Malmesbury. It is

[1] Again the figure is based only on a short search of the most obvious sources and must be conservative.

[2] And of those eight, four certainly might be expected to have experienced some literary-classical influence from their fathers since Dundas's was a Scottish judge, Loughborough's a distinguished Scottish advocate, Barrington's was a graduate of Utrecht and Young's father was a poet and writer of songs as well as being, according to Dr. Johnson, the best speaker in the House of Commons of his time (D.N.B. under Dundas, Henry; D.N.B. under Wedderburn, Alexander; D.N.B. under Barrington, Shute; D.N.B. under Yonge, William; Boswell, 1894, p. 230).

possible, I think, to trace out in this tangle, for the prospective politicians at least, certain underlying political and liberal influences but before striking into the overgrowth it may help to make one or two general and preliminary observations about the youths who entered an English university from the classical boarding schools, a group which includes thirty-one of the forty-seven subjects of the main political survey.

First, at the age of sixteen or seventeen, these adolescents had been released from a period of tedious, obligatory study and severe discipline which had lasted for a large part of their childhood. Thus they were at the same time technically competent as classicists to undertake advanced reading and in the euphoric state of mind of prisoners set free - and set free, moreover, at an age when emotional disturbance is customarily expected. The situation is expressed delightfully by the younger Colman who in progressing from Westminster School to Christ Church, Oxford, received the quintessential of elite educations.

> Much courtesy is shown, in the ceremony of matriculation, to the boys who come from Eton and Westminster; insomuch, that they are never examined in respect to their knowledge of the School Classicks; - their competency is consider'd as a matter of course.

Later he continues:

> No character is more jealous of the 'Dignity of Man' than a lad who has just escaped from School-birch to College discipline.
>
> This early Lord of the Creation is so inflated with the importance of virility, that his pretension to it is carefully kept up, in almost every sentence he utters. - He never mentions any one of his associates but as a gentlemanly or a pleasant man; - a studious man, a dashing man, a drinking man, etc., etc.,...I recollect two of them upon the point of settling a ridiculous dispute by gentlemanly satisfaction, who had, scarcely six weeks before, given each other a black eye in a fair set-to with fists, at Westminster...[1]

[1] Quiller Couch, 1892, pp. 169-70.

In the case of those undergraduates who came from upper class families this tendency to ape the man was no doubt accentuated by a familiarity with the urbanity and frivolity of well-to-do town and country life. James Harris, for example, later Earl of Malmesbury, spent six months in London with his father between Winchester and Oxford and claimed that

> mixing at that age (seventeen) and raw from school, in all the gaiety and dissipation of London, filled my mind at the same time with false objects of admiration, false notions of excellence, and gave me, in my own conceit, a knowledge of the world so much greater than I supposed my fellow-collegians could possibly possess, that I apprehend I carried to the University a considerable share of self-sufficiency, and no great propensity to attend lectures, and conform to college rules.[1]

The gentlemanly undergraduate, then, combined a technical capacity for higher studies with an understandable inclination to purge himself of the tension generated by the preceding years of emotional repression. There was, as will become clear, little or no compulsion to learn applied to him, and control of both academic and social activity rested largely in his own hands "...whatever mode (of study) is most agreeable to a young man," the future Earl Grey wrote approvingly from Cambridge, "he is at perfect liberty to pursue."[2] Certainly examinations, as the descriptions of Vicesimus Knox have shown, provided no incentive whatever for application.[3] The principal inspirations for study were thus the promptings of parent and tutor, and the interests and ambitions of the student himself. Now it might be argued that in a university such a situation is not without merits. Educationists of

[1] Ibid., p. 157.

[2] Trevelyan, 1920, p. 10. Grey did, however, point out that mathematics and philosophy held the intellectual cachet.

[3] Quiller Couch, 1892, pp. 159-167.

of the last century, and indeed of our own, have been inclined to favour the paternal and bureaucratic arrangement of undergraduate life; the neat, administratively efficient solution has an obvious appeal for most professionals. But it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that the most satisfactory approach to learning, the one that is most likely to bear lasting fruit, will probably be voluntary and that by the time a youth has reached university he ought to be both open to suggestion and internally motivated. It may seem, in fact, that moderate study willingly undertaken is worth substantially more than any that may be demanded within some rigid academic plan. Part of what concerns us in the discussion that follows is, then, to establish, as far as is possible, the extent to which the political aspirants of this study, whose schooling had provided so sound a literary foundation, did indeed exercise a voluntary diligence in the pursuit of political and liberal knowledge.[I]

POLITICAL EDUCATION

It is a major purpose of the present research to consider education not only as the systematic imparting of knowledge but also to suggest ways in which the life styles of leading politicians and entrepreneurs were affected by the more informal aspects of their upbringing. In the case of the politicians I have tried to demonstrate how in the home and the school both direct and oblique influences contributed greatly to the development of political attitudes and political abilities. In the paragraphs that follow I hope to show that similar pressures were at work within the universities,

[I] The universities have received a very bad press. Some of the criticisms, and their intellectual springs, I shall discuss later in the present chapter. It is notable that the most scholarly specialist studies, those of Winstanley and Mallet, contain the most reserved judgements.

that in their impact on the well-born undergraduate these establishments were in fact quite as much political seminaries as institutions for classical instruction.

At both Oxford and Cambridge during the eighteenth century the young man from an upper class family was admitted as a matter of course to one of two officially recognised and privileged undergraduate ranks, those of 'nobleman' and 'gentleman-commoner'.[1] These grades were distinguished principally by special academic dress,[2] superior boarding conditions, a great deal of freedom from college discipline and the right, often exercised of joining the fellows in the common room or at table. As a means of intensifying an existing inclination towards politics such an arrangement was extremely effective, for not only were the young lions thrown by their common status into one another's company rather more than might be expected in a community of scholars and permitted by their common liberty to indulge the political predilections of their class, they were also cast into association with men, the college fellows, for whom politics were not infrequently a passion.

The most famous of Oxford's lost causes was, of course, that of the Stuarts, and though by the middle of the eighteenth century this was well on the way to being converted to the comparative moderation of high toryism,

[1] At Cambridge, 'fellow-commoner'.

[2] Earl Fitzwilliam, at Cambridge, wore a "pink gown laden with gold lace" (Godley, 1908, p. 165).

the old loyalty, which during the 'fifteen' had dominated the university,[1] still seems to have retained some subliminal affection in the minds of many fellows. Such a spirit, Mallet claims, was about in the riotous Oxfordshire election of 1754.

> The Blue Mob, representing the Old Interest, had, it was said, made their arrangements to guard the polling-booths twenty men deep, and it may not be uncharitable to conjecture that their object was to prevent the New Interest from reaching the polls. But by some tactical error the booths had been transferred from their old site in St. Giles' to a new position inside the City walls against the North front of Exeter College. Exeter was exuberantly Whig. And the perfidious voters, creeping through the College from the gate in Turl Street to the gate upon the Northern lane, were able to mock at the Tory guard which defended all the other approaches. For six days an 'unlettered hungry mob,' as the angry Tory Vice-Chancellor called them, poured into the College at one gate and passed out to vote at the other. Supporters cheered them with refreshments on the way.[2]

The appeal of tory, if not jacobite, politics is shown, too, in Gibbon's famous and influential portrayal of the dons of Magdalene;

> Their conversation stagnated in a round of college business, Tory politics, personal anecdotes, and private scandal: their dull and deep potations excused the brisk intemperance of youth; and their constitutional toasts were not expressive of the most lively loyalty for the house of Hanover.[3]

At Cambridge, though the Pretender evoked little enthusiasm and the tories were in a clear minority, the senior members were bound inevitably in the web of eighteenth century political interest. They were, in the fashion of the times, both the venal wooers and the venally wooed. Politicians, with the customary inducements and appeals to former obligations, solicited their votes in parliamentary and university elections, while the fellows, often

[1] A fellow writing in that year claimed that the heads of only three houses were not "violent Tories and Jacobites." (Mallet III, 1927, p. 43).

[2] Ibid., pp. 142-3.

[3] Gibbon, 1796, p. 53.

anxious to secure a living or sinecure for themselves or associates, were not in the least loathe to court the politicians. Thus the longstanding concern of members of the university with politics was fanned regularly by the draught of personal interest. It is not, I think, necessary to illustrate this state of affairs since Winstanley's first study of eighteenth century Cambridge is devoted almost wholly to the theme.[1]

Of direct political influence upon undergraduates, Lord Shelburne in his autobiographical fragment provides a notable example. He writes that while he was at Christ Church during the fifties,

> My tutor added to...(my) prejudices by connecting me with the anti-Westminsters, who were far from the most fashionable part of the college, and in a small minority...I...fell into habits with Dr. King, President of St. Mary Hall, a Tory and a Jacobite, but a gentleman and an orator. He had a great deal of historical knowledge, and of anecdote, having been intimately connected with the heads of the Tory party from the reign of Queen Anne.[2]

Though referring to a minister of a slightly later period than that covered in the main survey, George Colman also gives a glimpse of the preoccupations of an aspiring statesman. Colman was, it appears, lodged at Oxford next door to Lord Wellesley whose rooms were separated from his own by only a thin partition.

> In consequence of so slender a barrier, I could not avoid hearing his Lordship, at times, reciting, or reading aloud, what I conjectured to be the Orations of Demosthenes, and Tully; - these were, I presume, self-imposed exercises of a political Tiro...[3]

[1] Winstanley, 1922. One of the advantages for a politician of winning a university election was that it provided a wide pasture on which to feed flocks of hungry friends.

[2] Fitzmaurice I, 1875, p. 19.

[3] Quiller Couch, 1892, pp. 180-1.

There was, indeed, at the English universities a political ambience which reflected the interests of the upper class in general and which was further intensified both by the particular prejudices of senior staff and by the natural fervour of adolescence. Within this ethos the political child of a political family had every opportunity and encouragement to follow his well established inclinations. In the next two sections I shall try to show how his style as a politician and his mastery of political skills were affected both by design and fortuitously by the curriculum and circumstances of undergraduate life.

Political Character

Of the categories under which it has been convenient to discuss aristocratic political style, three, diligence, rationality and a form of egalitarianism, can be illustrated from Oxford and Cambridge undergraduate life. Of the fourth, breeding, it is, I think, fair to say that the young man who had been brought up to regard it as an essential mark of poised maturity did not fail to exhibit the quality whenever occasion presented. The universities, however, acted as a catalyst rather than a source of the behaviour.

Diligence, also, does not appear to have had its spring in the English universities. A substantial body of evidence indicates that for the gentleman- or fellow-commoner, the influence of peer group and the considerable freedom from college discipline which he enjoyed certainly did not encourage application to study. On the contrary, the well-to-do undergraduate had every opportunity to indulge in sociable frivolity. William Jones, at the time of Lord Althorp's entry to Cambridge, warned him,

> You will find the young men, as they are at all universities, too much addicted to the pursuit of pleasures; but frivolous pleasures you will despise; and those which are not wholly innocent, you will detest. The old men you will find, as they are in all places, too attentive to their interest, and consequently servile to men of rank...[1]

James Harris, later Earl of Malmesbury, among whose Oxford friends were Charles Fox and the future Earl of Northington, wrote that

> the two years of my life I look back to as most unprofitable were those I passed at Merton. The discipline of the University happened also at this particular moment to be so lax, that a Gentleman Commoner was under no restraint, and never called upon to attend either lectures, or chapel, or hall. My tutor, an excellent and worthy man, according to the practice of all tutors at that moment, gave himself no concern about his pupils... The set of men with whom I lived were very pleasant, but very idle fellows. Our life was an imitation of High Life in London...It has often been a matter of surprise to me, how so many of us made our way so well in the world and so creditably.[2]

Gibbon, too, bears testimony to the neglect by tutors of their charges and the countenance given to idleness.[3] It is quite clear, indeed, that the universities placed upon young men of fortune no obligation to study. At this stage, however, it must be pointed out that for the ministers who are our principal concern, there are, as it happens, only a few indications of sloth and dissoluteness and that there is, on the other hand, widespread, though diffuse, evidence of serious study. Malmesbury has of course implicated Fox and Northington, rather circumstantially, in the fashionable prodigality and it would be naive to suppose that other of the prospective politicians were not also involved. But what is of more consequence for the present research is that, in between bouts of dissipation, worthwhile learning undoubtedly took place. Fox, for example, during one working vacation at Hertford College, read as a form of relaxation all the early

[1] Cannon I, 1970, p. 210.

[2] Quiller Couch, 1892, p. 158.

[3] Gibbon, 1796, chap. II, passim.

English dramatic poets so that he was able to claim "that there was no play extant, written and published before the Restoration, that he had not read attentively."[1] In a letter of 1765 to a friend of Fox's, Lord Holland claimed that his son was "now at Oxford studying very hard, after two months at Paris, which he relished as much as ever."[2]

Three more members of the main sample group were also obviously far from being bad influences, for in 1752 the vice-chancellor was able to attribute the calm which existed at Cambridge to "the good conduct of Lord Euston,[3] Lord John Cavendish, Lord Weymouth...and some others...whose example cannot fail of having the best effects."[4] It is ironical perhaps that during the early part of their political careers the first and third of this group were notoriously profligate livers, or at least they appeared to have been so from the alien viewpoint of the Victorian historians. That Lord Carlisle did not wholly waste his time at Oxford is suggested by his having been editor for a period of a magazine, The Spendthrift,[5] (though the title of the publication does perhaps say something about the affected insouciance of the aristocratic approach to literature).

W. W. Grenville, we may assume, was no idler at Oxford since in 1779 he was awarded the chancellor's prize for Latin verse, and besides, his publication later in life of Oxford and Locke, Chatham's letters to his nephew and a number of other works shows clearly a scholarly disposition.[6]

[1] Russel I, 1853, p. 23.

[2] Ibid..

[3] Later Duke of Grafton.

[4] Winstanley, 1922, p. 23.

[5] Reid, 1969, p. 17.

[6] D.N.B.

Charles Jenkinson's career at Oxford has been described as "distinguished" and he too published later several books, including verse, political treatises and a work on numismatology.[1] Lord Camden, at the time simply Charles Pratt, though he took no interest in mathematics at Cambridge and did not attend many classical lectures, nevertheless

> not only diligently read the best Greek and Latin authors in his own way, but he began that course of juridicial and constitutional study which afterwards made his name so illustrious.[2]

Of Lords North and Lewisham,[3] the President of Trinity wrote to Lord Guilford of these "most aimiable young gentlemen whose residence was a very great advantage as well as ornament to the college."[4] In the same spirit North's tutor, in a letter to Guilford, commended his charge's "uniform attention to the minuter points of duty."[5] The future Duke of Portland appears to have maintained at Oxford the "same impeccability of conduct which had characterized...(him) at Westminster..."[6] Shelburne, who was at Christ Church at the same time, read "a good deal of natural law, and the law of nations, some history, part of Livy, and translated some of the orations of Demosthenes." He also read by himself "a great deal of religion" and "was afterwards much struck with Machiavel's Discourses on Livy..." He "attended Blacksone's lectures (on law) with great care, and profited considerably by them."[7]

[1] D.N.B..

[2] Campbell, 1846, p. 230.

[3] Lewisham, later Earl of Dartmouth, was Guilford's stepson.

[4] Valentine I, 1967, p. 14.

[5] Ibid.. Lord North's upbringing as a whole was somewhat out of phase with the practice of his times and was described by George Selwyn as scholastic and puritanical (Pemberton, 1938, p. 255).

[6] Turberville II, 1939, p. 37.

Without straining the evidence too much, we may surmise, I think, that Viscount Townshend was kept up to the mark at Cambridge since his brilliant younger brother, Charles, was strongly pressed by their father to account for his employment of time and was, in fact, forced to give up tennis because of the waste of both time and expense involved.[1] That the education of the future Duke of Rutland was not neglected at Cambridge, we have at least the testimony of his tutor, Richard Watson; for when Watson, through Rutland's influence, was given a living in 1781, he believed it was "for the extraordinary attention I had paid him during the course of his education at Cambridge."[2] William Windham, after a profitable year at Glasgow University, moved on to Oxford but

> did not think much of the diversions available there. It was a bad place for pleasure, he said afterwards, and therefore he determined to work all the harder...he became a really proficient classical scholar. His notebooks show with what thoroughness he liked to investigate subtle points of grammar and philology.

He was also deeply interested in mathematics.[3] Though the indications are not, admittedly, conclusive, few who have read the letters of William Jones to Lord Althorp[4] will seriously doubt that at Cambridge the youth would have applied himself to his books. Of the Earl of Westmoreland, the historian of Apethorpe writes,

> The young Lord Westmoreland was clever and became a good classical scholar; it was said that all through his life he kept up the habit of reading a piece of a Latin author every day...[5]

[1] Fitzmaurice I, 1875, pp. 18-19.

[2] Namier, 1964, pp. 4, 7, 8. One suspects that the Viscount's disapproval of tennis was really for the reasons given by Lord Stafford to his son; "Tennis does not only lead to gaming, Idleness, and bad Company, but connects you with the idle." (Granville I, 1916, p. 35).

[3] Watson I, 1818, p. 141. Watson's remarkable career is discussed later in this chapter.

[4] Ketton-Cremer, 1962, pp. 162-3.

[5] Cannon I, 1970, Althorp was heir to the Spencer earldom.

The diligence of the younger Pitt during his long sojourn at Cambridge is well documented and will be discussed in some detail later. Even Thurlow, who at Cambridge "distinguished himself by idleness and insubordination",[1] and was encouraged to leave without taking a degree after, characteristically, insulting the dean of his college, was suspected of secret study. "He had," Lord Campbell writes, "severe fits of application..."[2] At Edinburgh, where two of the future ministers, Dundas and Wedderburn,[3] were undergraduates, "a general ardour for study prevailed" at this time, though the "degrees of B.A. and M.A. had then fallen into desuetude...and there were no public examinations or honours to excite emulation, or to reward proficiency." Wedderburn, we are told, "devoted himself to the classics, political science and modern belles-lettres."[4]

By far the most popular of the Oxford and Cambridge foundations among the politicians in the present survey was Christ Church, Oxford. Nine out of the forty-seven were undergraduates there. It is probably no coincidence that during much of the century the college maintained within the two universities the highest consistent reputation for well ordered learning. Lord Shelburne, indeed, was unimpressed by his old college though this appears to have been for social, rather than academic, reasons.[5]

[1] Weigall, 1908, p. 24.

[2] D.N.B. (Thurlow, Edward).

[3] Campbell V, 1846, p. 482.

[4] Later Lord Loughborough.

[5] Campbell VI, 1847, p. 5.

[6] Fitzmaurice I, 1875, p. 19. Shelburne described the college as being in his day "very low".

There is, however, ample evidence from other sources showing it in a most favourable light. "About 1700," Godley writes in his account of eighteenth century Oxford, "Christ Church, under the rule of Aldrich, was a place of high ideals."[1] Aldrich was followed as Dean by the well known jacobite, Atterbury, who though of a "tyrannical disposition" was "zealous in the cause of study."[2] In 1733, Dr. Conybeare was translated to the college from Exeter, where he had the reputation of a reformer, "to cleanse out," it was said, "that Augean stable". It is possible, Godley records, that "the morals of the House needed purification: intellectually there is no doubt that it may pass for the show College of the century."[3] One might also guess that one aspect of cleansing that was required of Conybeare, a resolute whig, was the eradication of subversive jacobite influences.[4] Of the new dean's less political improvements, Hearne noted that

> He makes a great stir in the College, at present pretending to great matters, such as locking up the gates at 9 o'clock at night, having the keys brought up to him, turning out the young women from being bedmakers..."[5]

Like Conybeare, two of Christ Church's tutors can also be safely categorised as influences for sobriety. While Samuel Johnson was at Oxford, one of them, Bateman, had the highest reputation as a tutor in the university and was recommended by Johnson to a friend.[6] For the other, Charles Wesley, a testimonial is superfluous.[7] That the college's reputation for learning persisted in the sixties is demonstrated, rather ungraciously, by an

[1] Godley, 1908, p. 61.

[2] Ibid., p. 209.

[3] Ibid., p. 62.

[4] He was certainly successful for the college voted "solid" for the whigs in 1750 (Ibid., p. 253).

[5] Ibid., p. 159.

[6] Boswell, 1894, p. 20.

[7] Ibid., p. 94.

Oxford Magazine of the period which refers to "Christ Church pedants".[1] In short there is strong reason for believing that the politicians who attended the college would, during much of the eighteenth century, have been more thoroughly encouraged in their studies than the generality of Oxford and Cambridge undergraduates.

Later in this section I shall consider more fully the courses undertaken by sample members. It has probably, however, been sufficiently established that rather more serious study took place at the universities among students of high rank than historical tradition might lead us to suppose. At least this appears to have been the case for the political aspirants who are the main subjects of this survey and who might be expected to have been influential in the setting of a more general tone. It is not indeed possible to attribute to the universities any great part in initiating the attitudes that voluntary application of this sort must have demanded (though, as we have seen, encouragement was certainly not completely lacking). Rather the existence of a willingness to learn among such wealthy and precocious youths in a situation so libertarian says, I think, something about the earlier inculcation of habits of diligence to which previous chapters have drawn attention. The universities, in fact, provided the first substantial test of aristocratic character. Their approach was permissive, and, as is the case with most permissive educational methods, could encourage learning only where more positive routines had preceded. Since these had been provided for the upper class student by ambitious parents and authoritarian teachers, the system, whether by accident or design,

[1] Ibid., p. 63.

was well adapted to the clients. Thus, though riotous behaviour was commonplace, so also was a regard for knowledge and a willingness to seek for it unpressed.

If diligence was rather applied than inspired at the university, the third facet of aristocratic political style that has been distinguished, rationality, can certainly be attributed in part to the influences of residential collegiate life. I have suggested in an earlier chapter that the remarkable intellectual and social precocity of young noblemen can be accounted for by their having been treated from an early age by their family and the friends of the family as mature and reasonable beings. Thus they were brought while still children to adopt the urbane and rational tone of polite society. In the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge this custom was continued with a vengeance. There, from the time of their matriculation at the age of about sixteen or seventeen, the noblemen and the gentleman- or fellow-commoners, unlike the main body of undergraduates,[1] lived on terms of intimacy with the college fellows, having the freedom of their common rooms, sharing their conversation and dining at their tables.[2]

An impression of the social and intellectual self-confidence that might be developed by a youth in such an atmosphere of civilised maturity is provided in the memoirs of Lord Shelburne. I have quoted the passage earlier in another context.

[1]This comprised scholars, who were admitted on the foundations, commoners (at Oxford) and pensioners (at Cambridge) who paid for their rooms and tuition, and servitors (Oxford) and sizars (Cambridge) who worked their way through college by undertaking menial tasks.

[2]It was, however, not uncommon for the wealthier students to buy food prepared outside the college which they ate in their own rooms.

> Dr. Gregory succeeded Dr. Conybeare (as Dean of Christ Church), and was very kind to me, conversed familiarly and frequently with me, had kept good company, was a gentleman, though not a scholar, and gave me notions of people and things, which were afterwards useful to me. I likewise fell into habits with Dr. King, President of St. Mary Hall, a Tory and Jacobite, but a gentleman and orator. He had a great deal of historical knowledge, and of anecdote, having been intimately connected with the heads of the Tory party from the reign of Queen Anne.[1]

No doubt these distinguished companions were, initially at least, rather more concerned with the great influence that their young friend's immense prospective inheritance would confer than with the quality of his mind. "The old men." as William Jones pointed out, "...are...too attentive to their interest..."[2] Nevertheless, the difference in age between undergraduate and fellow was far less obvious than an observer of the modern university might expect and it was possible indeed for a young man to compensate for any gaps in experience that did remain by the livelinesss of his spirits, as Langton and Beauclerk demonstrated in their friendships with Samuel Johnson. In the lives of late eighteenth century ministers the outstanding example of this easy familiarity between youth and maturity occurs in the case of Alexander Wedderburn who as Baron Loughborough was to become lord chancellor. While a student at Edinburgh, Wedderburn began a lifelong friendship with Adam Smith who held the chair of moral philosophy and who left for England when Wedderburn was only eighteen. He was also on close terms also with Dr. Robertson, the Scottish historian. "But his greatest friend and admirer was David Hume, then Librarian of the Faculty of Advocates.

[1] Fitzmaurice I, 1875, p. 19.

[2] Cannon I, 1970, p. 20.

[3] Campbell VI, 1847, p. 7.

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[1] Fitzmaurice I, 1875, p. 19.

[2] Cannon I, 1970, p. 20.

[3] Campbell VI, 1847, p. 7.

The intellectual ripeness of the upper class student could then be sufficiently marked by the age of seventeen or so to provide a basis for familiar association with the adult academics of his university, and for the latter such connections were made particularly worth encouraging by the requirements of self-interest. It is not difficult to believe that these liaisons would have stimulated still further the very qualities of mind which had encouraged them. The fellows and teachers of the universities were on the whole mature men and, though a well publicised proportion may have been reproachably indolent, their principal trade was nevertheless reason. It is not perhaps too much to suppose that the undergraduates who daily rubbed shoulders with them would have picked up something of the scholar's capacity for, and predisposition towards, rationality. One can hardly doubt, for example, that William Windham's contact during four years with the fellows of University College, amongst whom were Robert Chambers, Blackstone's respected successor in the Vinerian chair, the brilliant Scott brothers, later to rise through their eminence in the law to the peerages of Stowell and Eldon, and William Jones, the oriental scholar who was to become a Bengal judge, would have had some effect in advancing Windham's inclination and ability to accept the role of the man of reason.[1]

The egalitarian influences in an upper class education, which have been traced in earlier chapters through the home and school, can be detected still, though in an attenuated form, at the university. They had consisted, it will be remembered, of three strands: an initiation, by way of Revolution doctrines, into a belief in individual liberty and equality before the law;

[1]Ketton-Cremer, 1962, p. 162; Mallet III, 1927, pp. 152-4.

exposure, particularly at school, to a variety of social contact; and a necessary acceptance of the rugged life and subordinate status of the public schoolboy. The first of these, the inculcation of libertarian principles, was continued at the university both socially, through the pressure of a strongly whiggish peer group, and intellecutally, as a consequence of the courses that were followed by the aspirant politicians. On the uniformity of whig allegiance among the nobility I have written in an earlier chapter and do not, I think, need to dwell further at this stage. Of the more academic influences there were two: the studies in law which we shall see were a common feature in the curriculum of upper class students and which conveyed something of the mood of 1688, and the undergraduate's more general contemporary reading, including Locke and the theoreticians of the Revolution, which was pervaded with the idea of freedom. Of the latter Gibbon wrote in his autobiography, "The favourite companions of my leisure (as a young man) were our English writers since the Revolution (who)...breathe the spirit of reason and liberty..."[I] These notions distilled too from the more ephemeral reading matter of the coffee houses and the coffee house libraries for, as I have tried to show, a belief in freedom and equality was at this time a more or less unquestioned constituent of the general political climate.[2]

Opposing, however, in practice, the softening of class distinctions that was promoted by the aristocrat's theoretical stance was the fairly hard social division that convention in the universities maintained between those undergraduates who were able to pay their way from private sources and the minority whose expenses were met in part or wholely by menial service.

[I] Gibbon, 1796, p. 98.

[2] The coffee houses are discussed later in this chapter.

The latter group, known at Oxford as servitors and at Cambridge as sizars, were not only required to help in the general tasks of college maintenance and as clerks, which would have been perhaps no great hardship, but, more invidiously, they were also expected to act as the servants of their fellow, but well-born, students. Their exclusion from college society is attested by the biographer of William Shenstone. The poet, he writes, "had one ingenious and much-valued friend in Oxford, Mr. Jago, his school-fellow, whom he could only visit in private, as he wore a servitor's gown; it being then deemed a great disparagement for a commoner to appear in public with one in that situation."[1] It is, nevertheless, an indication of the comparatively open nature of the English social hierarchy of the late eighteenth century, to which Leslie Stephen has drawn attention,[2] that many undergraduates of this lowly rank did rise to eminent positions later in life.[3]

If there existed at the universities this particularly sharp social cleavage, there was also in the nature of college life an unavoidable and compensating pressure towards equality. For where large numbers of young men drawn from different classes were expected to live in the same buildings, read the same books, listen to the same lectures and attend the same tutors, it was unlikely that the social distinctions which are normally reinforced by conspicuous differences of role would not have been palliated to a degree.

[1] Quiller Couch, 1892, p. 101.

[2] Stephen, 1900, pp. 111-2 (quoted by Perkin, 1969, p. 425).

[3] Winstanley, 1935, pp. 202-3; Mallet III, 1927, p. 67.

There is evidence, for instance, in Bentham's biography that the commoners, among whom Bentham was numbered, mixed familiarly at Oxford with the more illustrious gentleman-commoners.[1] Indications of the corporate sense that was encouraged by residential life, as well as confirmation of the unfastidious lustiness of the eighteenth century nobility and gentry, is provided also by the riotous behaviour at Oxford and Cambridge that paralleled that of Westminster and Eton. An account of a fracas given in Winstanley's history of eighteenth century Cambridge splendidly illustrates these points. On an evening in 1781, Lord Hardwicke's son, Charles Yorke, canoeing with a friend near Magdalene Bridge, was engaged in an affray with bargemen which ended with the two undergraduates being hurled into the river. Since honour had apparently to be satisfied, fourteen young men were hastily assembled from the university by Yorke and were led to do battle with his proletarian assailants. Again the gownsmen were unsuccessful and were quickly pressed back to Magdalene where they found themselves besieged. At this stage, happily for the students, two of the university's senior staff appeared and succeeded in negotiating a temporary armistice.

Now, however, the affair was becoming more serious. A large body of university men, armed with heavy bludgeons, despite warnings by Yorke's tutor that lives would be lost, assembled on the bridge and only strenuous persuasion by a number of fellows prevented what had seemed certain to develop into a bloodbath. The next day tempers remained high and violence again appeared likely but fortunately, after great efforts to arrange a peace by the same group of fellows, Yorke's tutor was able to report, "A general and cordial reconciliation has taken place...with all parties... mutually plighted...to observe the amnesty."[2]

[1] Bowring X, 1962, p. 40.

[2] Winstanley, 1935, pp. 215-7.

This story demonstrates, I think, as well as one short anecdote can, the seminally democratic nature of Georgian university life and, indeed, of gentlemanly attitudes in general. The protagonists, noblemen and commoners, were clearly connected by a social bond which transcended the dislocations induced by the considerable differences in their status and wealth. Secondly, the young men involved, many of whom must have been brought up in families well able to afford the luxuries of refined living, were nevertheless not reticent in the least about becoming physically embroiled with members of the lower classes. It is plain, indeed, from many descriptions that Oxford and Cambridge undergraduates were perfectly at home in the streets and inns of the town, as indeed any reader of Boswell will realise was true of most eighteenth century gentlemen in most towns. And finally, it is clear that during these incidents the thought never entered Charles Yorke's mind that he might in some way employ the power of his rank to wreck vengeance on the offending boatmen, nor apparently did the boatmen, for their part, hesitate to express forcibly their displeasure with the son of a peer. There was, in fact, a heartiness and lack of social rigidity about the business that might not have been expected in an ostensibly hierarchical society but which was in England at this period not at all unusual. As the barriers of physical delicacy and conspicuous gentility were lowered in the next century such behaviour was to become increasingly unlikely.

Political skills

Pride of place in a discussion of the political aspects of the university curriculum must certainly go to the study of law. Of the importance of the Vinerian professorship at Oxford, Gibbon wrote, "the laws of his country are the first science of an Englishman of rank and fortune, who is called to be a Magistrate, and may hope to be a Legislator."[1] The opinion echoes that of the first, very distinguished, holder of the chair established by Viner's benefaction. A sound understanding of the law, William Blackstone had claimed, is "the proper accomplishment of every gentleman and scholar."[2] In the political novitiate of the men who were to become senior ministers in the late eighteenth century, there is evidence that such attitudes were widely influential. In particular Blackstone's lectures and his Commentaries on the Laws of England, published in 1765, were held in the highest esteem. Thus William Jones in a letter to Lady Spencer, whose son had recently entered Cambridge, wrote that he would advise the youth

> to read at his leisure at least the first and last volumes of Blackstone's commentaries; the two intermediate ones he will, perhaps, find too abstruse at present, though they are also extremely useful, if not necessary, to complete the education of an English senator.[3]

The future Earl of Shelburne, while at Oxford, was similarly impressed by the abilities of the famous lawyer. "I attended Blackstone's lectures with great care," he recalled, "and profited considerably by them."[4] Blackstone's successor as Vinerian Professor, Robert Chambers, a learned man whose social qualities were sufficient to endear him to Dr. Johnson, was also not without

[1] Gibbon, 1796, p. 66.

[2] Mallet III, 1927, p. 135.

[3] Cannon I, 1970, p. 234.

[4] Fitzmaurice I, 1875, p. 19.

influence on at least one member of the rising generation of politicians, having been chosen as tutor to William Windham while the latter was a member of University College.[1]

Though nothing is known of George, later Viscount, Townshend's career at Cambridge, some light may be shed on it by the course which was followed by his younger brother, Charles, who was, of course, to become a far more illustrious politician. During his second year at the university, Charles wrote to his father that he was employed in the study of civil law, having read Grotius and Puffendorf, and was at that time similarly engaged with Justinian. He intended next to turn to common law and to be "a punctual attendant on our courts and Westminster Hall."[2] The younger Pitt, whose life at the university was strongly directed towards preparation for an inevitable career in politics, also paid "great attention to public lectures in Civil Law" and at the age of about twenty took chambers in Lincoln's Inn. In fact this was more or less a formality requiring only occasional visits of a few days at a time, while the greater part of his reading continued to take place at Cambridge.[3] The general popularity of law studies at Cambridge is attested by the demand that existed throughout the century for the lecture courses given by the professors of civil law. While the rule on the whole was for professors in most subjects to relinquish their teaching duties in favour of the college tutors, the occupants of the chair of civil law "seem to have generally conscientiously performed their statutory duty of presiding in the law Schools...and most, if not all of them, regularly lectured during three terms of the academical year."[4]

[1]Ketton-Cremer, 1962, p. 162.

[2]Namier, 1964, p. 7.

[3]Stanhope I, 1867, pp. 17, 26.

[4]Winstanley, 1935, pp. 123, 126.

Apart from Pitt, seven of the politicians in whom we are principally interested were entered, after a period at university, in one of the specialised institutions for legal training. Earl Bathurst[1] and W. W. Grenville[2] kept terms at Lincoln's Inn and Lords Loughborough,[3] Thurlow[4] and Camden[5] attended the Inner Temple. Lord George Germain we may also assume had undertaken a comparable form of training since in 1734 he became an Irish barrister.[6] Loughborough, at the time Alexander Wedderburn, had previously been a student of the Edinburgh law faculty, as also had the other Scot in the main sample group, Henry Dundas.[7] There, instruction had been an altogether more professional enterprise than was the case in the English inns of court, involving both attendance at lectures and examinations.[8]

The study of the Roman orators, which for most of the ministers in the main survey had begun at Westminster or Eton, was continued at university as a central part of the dominant classical curriculum.[9] In one sense this represented merely a perpetuation of the rhetorical studies of the trivium, the course that had led to the mediaeval bachelor's degree. But it is clear also that since the great majority of undergraduates were destined for Church,

[1] D.N.B. (Bathurst, Henry).

[2] D.N.B.

[3] Campbell VI, 1847, p. 13.

[4] D.N.B. (Thurlow, Edward).

[5] D.N.B. (Pratt, Charles).

[6] G.E.C.Peerage. Germain's father, the Duke of Dorset, was at this time lord-lieutenant of Ireland which explains both the Irish qualification and Germain's choice of Trinity, Dublin, for his undergraduate training.

[7] D.N.B.

[8] Campbell VI, 1847, p. 8. The popularity of legal studies with the upper classes accounts very largely for the obsessional interest within both houses of parliament in legal technicalities. This was manifested most obviously in the enthusiasm with which precedents were sought to explain or excuse the exigencies of contemporary legislation.

[9] Though at Cambridge, mathematics held, as we shall see, a position almost as important.

law courts or Parliament, a knowledge of the techniques of public speaking would have had both in their own eyes and in those of their teachers obvious professional advantages. For the hopeful young politicians particularly there would have been little need to plead the utility of such a course; the overriding importance of oratory to their prospects of worldly success had been made quite plain to them from an early age.

This class concern with the orators can be detected, one suspects, in Lord Shelburne's declaration that as a student he was "much struck" with Demosthenes.[1] William Windham also had "a great admiration for Demosthenes..."[2] and we have heard earlier how Lord Wellesley recited the works of that orator in the privacy of his room. While Viscount Althorp was at Oxford, William Jones, in one of his transparently didactic letters, quoted a passage from Demosthenes which he recommended to his former pupil's attention "as a model of calm and temperate eloquence".[3] However the most thorough attention paid seems to have been to rhetoric by Pitt. Macaulay wrote that

> Of all the remains of antiquity, the orations were those on which he bestowed the most minute examination. His favourite employment was to compare harangues on opposite sides of the same question, to analyse them, and to observe which of the arguments of the first speaker were refuted by the second, which was evaded, and which were left untouched.[4]

I have already described how this remarkable child had been encouraged to translate

[1] Fitzmaurice I, 1875, p. 18.

[2] Ketton-Cremer, 1930, p. 63.

[3] Cannon I, 1970, p. 250.

[4] Macaulay VII, 1866, p. 362.

extempore into English, Greek and Latin authors in order to improve his facility for fluent expression. This same exercise was continued under his tutor at Cambridge, presumably on the instructions of Lord Chatham. Macaulay though that it was hardly strange that after ten years of such practice Pitt "should have acquired an almost unrivalled power of putting his thoughts, without premeditation, into words well selected and well arranged."[1]

It might be expected that a facility for public speaking would have been encouraged also by the statutory obligation of the Oxford undergraduate to satisfy the examiners for the bachelor's degree of his competence at declamation. By the period in which we are interested, however, the requirement had fallen into desuetude[2] and so too, it appears from the paucity of positive evidence, had regular declamatory practice in public, the second state being presumably a consequence of the first. It would be wrong, though, to believe that public oratory was completely neglected. William Jones, describing the Oxford Encaenia of 1773 to Lord Althorp, wrote that Lord Lewisham, the Earl of Dartmouth's heir, "spoke first of all in the theatre."[3] The youth was at the time about eighteen. At Cambridge, Lord Hardwicke's son informed his father that "The fellow-commoners escape all exercises[4] except that of declaiming their own compositions in the chapels in their turn."[5] On the whole, however, oratory at the universities seems to have been more of a theoretical than a practical engagement.

[1]Ibid..

[2]Mallet III, 1927, p. 163.

[3]Cannon I, 1970, p. 133.

[4]That is disputation and declamation.

[5]Winstanley, 1935, p. 198.

Within the classical curriculum, comparable in importance with rhetoric was the study of the Greek and Roman historians. A rough idea of the place of these two subjects is provided by a time table sent by Philip Yorke to his father, the second Lord Hardwicke, during the former's first undergraduate year at Cambridge. I say 'rough' since there is no reason to believe that all freshmen in all colleges would have followed a similar plan. Yorke's scheme also, incidentally, throws light on the status at Cambridge of mathematics, a matter to which I shall return later. The youth rose, he claimed, at 7.000, attended chapel from 7.30 to 8.00, after which he had breakfast and read Demosthenes by himself. Between 8.00 and 9.00, with his tutor he continued with Demosthenes. From 10.00 to 11.00 he listened to a classical lecture and from 11.00 to 12.00 studied Euclid. After a walk at 12.00 he dressed for dinner which took place at 1.00. The diners afterwards repaired to the combination room. 2.00 until 3.00 Yorke spent in friends' rooms and 3.00 to 5.00 writing letters and reading privately. Chapel took place again at 5.30 and was followed between 6.00 and 7.00 by visits and tea drinking. From 7.00 until 9.00 he studied (strange combination) Xenophon and mathematics and the last two waking hours were spent in friends' rooms and with company in his own.[I] It may be assumed that Yorke would have given the best possible account of himself and that all days did not measure up to this commendable system. Nevertheless, it is clear that rhetoric, history and mathematics were at that stage the key subjects to his course.

History, I have pointed out in an earlier chapter, was linked in the aristocrat's mind with the cultivation of a statesman's perspective of men and policy. Moreover, within a nobility that identified with the Roman

[I] Winstanley, 1935, p. 226.

patrician class and saw in Georgian Britain a renewal of the values of the great Mediterranean civilisations, it was natural that the history studied should be primarily classical. That the father and mentors of Charles Townshend,[1] for example, viewed history in an extremely favourable light is indicated by the fact that during his first year at Cambridge, Charles "applied himself entirely to the study of the Greek and Roman historians..."[2] The future Earl of Shelburne, also, picked out history, and particularly Livy, as being, with Demosthenes and the law, the main topics of his Oxford undergraduate course. He was especially impressed, characteristically many of his contemporaries would have claimed, by Machiavelli's Discourse on Livy.[3] The younger Pitt, while at Oxford, studied the historians "minutely", paying special attention to Livy, Thucydides and Sallust.[4] Since his education was so plainly intended, both by his father and himself, to be political, there is provided in this choice of reading matter a particularly strong indication of its significance at that time as a form of political training.

It is probably not necessary to consider further the question of political insight developed as a by product of more general classical reading; the subject has been discussed in an earlier chapter and there is in any case reason to believe that the proportion of time employed in this way dropped markedly after a boy had left public school. There are, however, a number of miscellaneous topics, in areas other than those of law, oratory and classical history, to which the attention of some of the budding politicians was

[1] Again I have used biographical matter on Charles as a likely indication of the upbringing of his brother, George, later Viscount, Townshend.

[2] Namier, 1964, p. 7.

[3] Fitzmaurice I, 1875, pp. 18, 19.

[4] Stanhope I, 1867, p. 18.

directed and in which interest seems to have been primarily political. Thus Wedderburn, at Edinburgh, "devoted himself to the classics, political science and modern belles-lettres."[1] At Cambridge Pitt is known to have been fond of Bolingbroke's political works, which his father, Lord Chatham, had admired for the beauty of their style, and to have read the modern histories of Robertson and Hume which achieved, in fact, wide popularity among the upper classes of the period. Moreover, since Pitt became attached very early to the political economy of Adam Smith, his biographer has suggested that he must have read The Wealth of Nations while still resident at Pembroke College.[2] Charles Pratt, at Oxford, as well as reading thoroughly the best classical authors, studied also, as a complement to his interests in law, the constitutional history of Great Britain.[3] The future Earl Spencer, we learn from one of William Jones' letters, had read at Cambridge Dr. Richard Watson's The Principles of the Revolution Vindicated.

> I...rejoiced, my dear lord, to hear you say that you approved the principles contained in it; persist in them, I exhort you, and you will find that they alone are founded in reason and nature, they alone do honour to those who sincerely profess them.[4]

These few examples of the study of more general political matter cannot however have been the end of the matter. Within a society so political as the eighteenth century English and Scottish university, the attention of students must have been turned continually towards the ephemera that poured from the contemporary political presses as well as to the more permanent and

[1] Campbell VI, 1847, p. 5. Wedderburn is listed in the appendix as Baron Loughborough.

[2] Stanhope I, 1867, pp. 17, 18. Pratt is better known as Earl Camden.

[3] Campbell VI, 1847, p. 230; D.N.B..

[4] Cannon I, 1970, p. 218.

substantial works of political writers, ancient and modern. To the popularity and influence of the coffee houses in particular, with their daily quota of London newspapers and, later in the century, their poular libraries, I shall return in the present chapter.

LIBERAL EDUCATION

The second aspect of aristocratic upbringing with which the present research is concerned, the transmission of liberal knowledge, was carried forward in the eighteenth century universities with an enthusiasm that has not always been acknowledged. As I have suggested earlier, nineteenth and twentieth century commentators on education have held, on the whole, strong opinions in favour of obligatory and closely examined curricula. While latterly a few educationists have been prepared to recommend the benefits of voluntary study, their influence has been limited by a widespread and prudent recognition that such an approach can only be generally successful when based upon an internal discipline generated by previous training and strong ambition. For a proportion of Georgian upper class students, however, these foundations did exist, and in consequence, in a climate indulgent to any weaknesses in their character, they nevertheless undertook a course of study which though often erratic and diffuse was certainly worthwhile. Indeed, its more or less self-imposed nature suggested that what was learned would be remembered and would lead on to further study. Moreover, in a period when the stale exercises of the mediaeval schools were losing their pre-eminence, and when the doctrine of undergraduate specialisation had yet to evolve, students' reading could be refreshingly catholic.

Part of the evidence that will support these contentions has been considered already in the present chapter. In the paragraphs that follow I shall discuss only those subjects that could not be included under the heading 'political education' though the first of them, mathematics, did have in the eyes of some parents political advantages. In his excellent history of unreformed Cambridge, Winstanley has claimed that "Mathematics was the predominant study in eighteenth century Cambridge" though he acknowledges also that, because of the varied attainments of matriculands from different schools, the mathematics taught was by no means always of an advanced kind.[1] Certainly for the possibly atypical undergraduate group of aspirant politicians with whom we are concerned there is sound reason to believe that classical studies held the central position in the curriculum. Nevertheless, the fact that mathematics was so well regarded, and that mathematical tuition in the colleges was considered to be so good,[2] suggests that few of the eighteen sample members who attended Cambridge would have escaped its influence. "If a man is not a mathematician," the future Earl Grey wrote from Trinity, "he is nobody."[3]

Pitt, we know, read alternately classics and mathematics with his tutor, Pretyman, and developed a liking for the latter which Macaulay has described as a "passion". Indeed, Pretyman held that the youth was "master of everything usually known by the academic 'wranglers'".[4] Charles Townshend,

[1]Winstanley, 1935, pp. 53-5, 132.

[2]Ibid., p. 132.

[3]Trevelyan, 1920, p. 10.

[4]Macaulay VII, 1866, p. 360; Stanhope I, 1867, p. 15.

during his second year at Cambridge, wrote that he had "learnt algebra, with some books of Euclid".[1] In his first year at Trinity College, the future Lord Spencer, we learn from one of William Jones' letters, was reading Newton's 'Principia', an undertaking that can hardly have been based on a minimal preliminary knowledge of mathematics.[2]

At Oxford, also, mathematics was awarded no mean status. Charles Fox wrote to a friend in 1767, "I employed almost all my time at Oxford in the mathematic and classical knowledge..."[3] While still at the university he had claimed to like mathematics "vastly"; "I believe they are useful, and I am sure they are entertaining, which alone is enough to recommend them to me".[4] That trigonometry was included in his scheme of work is shown in a letter sent to Fox by his tutor while the pupil was in Paris. This document also, incidentally, casts interesting light on the voluntary nature of the gentleman-commoner's studies. "As to trigonometry," Dr. Newcome writes, "it is a matter of entire indifference to the other geometricians (who will probably continue some time here), whether they proceed to the other branches of mathematics immediately, or wait a term or two longer. You need not, therefore, interrupt your amusements by severe studies".[5]

[1] Namier, 1964, p. 7.

[2] Cannon I, 1970, p. 225,

[3] Russell I, 1853, p. 41.

[4] Ibid., p. 18.

[5] Ibid., p. 22.

A less circumstantially established interest in science can be attributed to the younger Pitt, who, while he was at Cambridge, attended lectures in experimental philosophy, incited apparently by his friend, Lord Mahon. Since Pitt also read Newton's mechanics it would not be appropriate to dismiss these studies as merely superficial.[I] Lord Althorp, whose self education William Jones encouraged always with the loftiest of principles, was also at about this time paying some attention to the natural sciences at Cambridge for his ex-tutor writes to him,

> How flourish the Sciences at Cambridge? Are they still in favour with you? I am sure you are making such advances in them, that you must find your mind opening more and more every day; nothing expands and dilates the ideas more than natural philosophy studied on mathematical principles, without which, it is "like the baseless fabrick of a vision".

There is some reason to believe that Jones' views on mathematical rigour are not to be regarded only as counsels of perfection since Althorp, like Pitt, appears to have studied Newton.[2] William Windham, too, during the year he spent at Glasgow University before moving to Oxford, took an interest in experimental science and was lodged in fact with the Professor of Natural Philosophy, John Anderson, "who was famous for his great learning and for being so eccentric as to allow artisans to attend his lectures in their working dress."[3] Of the demand for science teaching at Oxford, Professor Armytage has provided solid evidence.

> Lectures on experimental philosophy,...had, by 1729, become such a 'potential goldmine' that when the Savilian professor, James Bradley, decided to lecture in 1729, he bought the apparatus and goodwill from his predecessor. Up to 1760 the average attendance at his lectures was 57.[4]

[I] Stanhope I, 1867, pp. 15, 17.

[2] Cannon I, 1970, pp. 225, 232. Althorp was later to succeed to the Spencer earldom.

[3] Ketton-Cremer, 1930, p. 60.

[4] Armytage, 1964, p. 63.

A more light hearted insight into university mathematics and science is given in a lament by Edward Littleton who went up to Cambridge from Eton in 1716. After claiming that the classics were neglected, he continues:

> Now algebra, geometry,
> Arithmetic, astronomy,
> Optics, chronology, and statics,
> All tiresome points of mathematics;
> With twenty harder names than these,
> Disturb my brains, and break my peace.
> All seeming inconsistencies
> Are solved by a's and b's;
> Our senses are disprov'd by prisms,
> Our arguments by syllogisms.
> If I should confidently write-
> This ink is black, this paper white,
> Or, to express myself yet fuller,
> Should say that black or white's a colour,
> They'd contradict it and perplex one
> With motion, light, and its reflexion,
> And solve th' apparent falsehood by
> The curious texture of the eye.
> Should I the poker want, and take it,
> When't looks as hot as fire can make it
> And burn my finger and my coat,
> They'd flatly tell me 'tis not hot;
> The fire, say they, has in't 'tis true
> The power of causing heat in you;
> But no more heat's in fire that heats you
> Than there is pain in stick that beats you.
> We're told how planets roll on high
> How large their orbits, and how high;
> I hope in little time to know
> Whether the moon's a cheese or no. [I]

It is tempting to assume that the acquaintance with science that was gained by some of the eighteenth century's budding politicians would have made them more capable leaders of an emerging industrial nation and to include it, therefore, as an aspect of a political education. This would, however, I think, be unjustified for, as I have tried to make clear in the first part of this thesis, the industrial thrust of the later part of the eighteenth century, in the cotton and iron sectors at least, was based to

[I] Maxwell Lyte, 1899, p. 291-2.

only a very limited degree on theoretical scientific foundations. To a far greater extent it stemmed from technological and managerial innovation by essentially practical men. To these it was almost certainly of more value that they be left to follow their judgement than that they should be directed by scientifically minded ministers. As an aid to industrial success, that is, the politician's liberalism was of far greater moment than his liberal knowledge. These, however, are matters which will be taken up again in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

Of general reading at the university, in addition to that in law, classics, history, politics, mathematics and science which has been discussed, there is some evidence in the biographies of the two most famous and consequently most thoroughly investigated of late eighteenth century ministers. Pitt, Stanhope records, read Locke's Essay on Human Understanding and drew up a thorough analysis of it. He was familiar with the writing of Johnson and Gibbon but admired neither of their styles preferring those of Robertson and Hume. Since the last four writers, together with Adam Smith, whom he had also apparently studied, represented the best of contemporary British prose, it is plain that Pitt had a most wide and lively interest in literature.[1] Charles Fox, we have already heard, devoted one long vacation while at Oxford to reading all of the early English dramatic poets.[2] Apart from these two outstanding figures, Wedderburn, while a student at Edinburgh, studied, as well as classics and political science, modern belles-lettres, and since Hume, Adam Smith and Robertson were his friends at the time it seems reasonable to suppose that his tastes were fairly catholic.[3]

[1]Stanhope I, 1867, p. 17.

[2]Russell I, 1853, p. 23.

[3]Campbell VI, 1847, pp. 5, 7. Wedderburn, by the time he became lord chancellor, had been raised to the barony of Loughborough.

This was, however, the century of the 'Enlightenment' and the letters and diaries of high ranking men of the period with which we are concerned show so commonly an interest in, and a familiarity with, the radical thought and writing of the age[1] that it must seem at least extremely likely that a number of the alert and ambitious young men who were to become ministers would have taken the chance that student life offered for general non-classical reading. How Fox, while still at Oxford, viewed the opportunity is shown in a letter to his friend, Macartney. "I really believe," he writes, "that to a man who reads a great deal, there cannot be a more agreeable place."[2] Of a light sort of intellectual curiosity there is certainly ample evidence. Roger North, as early as 1725, referred to

> the coffee-houses (for there are divers) where hours are spent in talking and less profitable reading of newspapers, of which swarms are continually supplied from London. And the scholars are so gready after news (which is none of their business) that they neglect all for it; and it is become rare for any of them to go directly to his chambers after prayers without doing his suit at the coffee house.

In the time of the writer's elder brother neither the coffee nor newspapers were so plentiful.[3] By the mid century several coffee-houses had attached to them popular libraries offering poetry, novels, reviews and political pamphlets, where, commented the younger Warton sarcastically, "Instruction and Pleasure go hand in hand; and we may pronounce in a literal sense, that learning remains no longer a dry pursuit." Novels, a tutor of the period complained, were a "fashion which has increased so much of late years, as nearly to swallow up all other reading."[4] In all of these rather crusty

[1] I have, for instance, mentioned briefly the rather prurient fascination of the English upper classes with Voltaire.

[2] Russell I, 1853, p. 18.

[3] Johnson, 1928, p. 49; Winstanley, 1935, p. 207.

[4] Johnson, 1928, pp. 53-6.

interpretations it is possible, perhaps, to see the normal dislike of change of a comfortably established older generation. What they show also, however, unintentionally, is the flowering, alongside the traditional bookish exclusiveness of the academic world, of a vital literary culture with its attendant intellectual eclecticism. Liberality of interest, which does not necessarily imply, of course, scholarly thoroughness, was becoming for the gentleman both a social requirement and a pleasure. A testimonial to this spirit, the more convincing because of the rather unlikely source from which it springs, is provided in the memoirs of Richard Lovell Edgeworth. He writes,

> Having entered Corpus Christi College, Oxford (in 1761), I applied assiduously not only to my studies under my excellent tutor Mr. Russell, but also to the perusal of the best English writers, both in prose and verse. Scarcely a day passed without my having added to my stock of knowledge some new fact or idea; and I remember with satisfaction, the pleasure I then felt, from the consciousness of intellectual improvement.[1]

It may be worthwhile at this stage, having reviewed the university backgrounds of the future ministers, to consider briefly some of the almost uniformly adverse nineteenth and twentieth century criticisms of the Georgian universities, at least to the extent that they reflect on the experience of upper class undergraduates. The principal roots of hostility appear to be two. First, and this point has already been raised in the present chapter, there are widespread accusations of idleness on the parts of both students and staff, the negligence of the latter being held, by implication, to have contributed to the slothfulness of the students. Both Winstanley and Mallet have cast some doubts on the justice of these strictures. The professorial teaching function, they have pointed out, was largely supplanted in the eighteenth century by the growth of the college tutorial system[2] in which two or three fellows in each college had responsibility

[1] Quoted in Quiller Couch, 1892, p. 153.

[2] Winstanley, 1935, pp. 267-76; Mallet III, 1927, pp. 134-5.

for the small undergraduate populations.[1] Where there was a real demand for formal and regular open lectures, there is some evidence that they were provided, as for example was the case with lectures given by the professors of civil law at Cambridge.[2]

As for the slackness of students, I hope I have shown that for the budding politicians, who were already, one must suppose, the cynosures of their class, such behaviour, if endemic, was far from uniform. Academic work was undertaken and it was none the less valuable for being carried out largely through personal inclination rather than the compulsion of teachers and the demands of examinations. The youths who have been investigated entered the university perhaps two years younger than a modern undergraduate and demonstrated in the circumstances a fairly commendable measure of scholarly intent and self control. If their world was boisterous, it should be borne in mind that learning to "bustle" was a part of their education. They were after all, in this most social of ages, to be called upon to mix familiarly with many classes of men and to inspire a confidence in their worldly competence among many more. It can thus be considered by no means a disadvantage to have encountered the world so early.

[1] Winstanley, 1935, pp. 185-6.

[2] See above, p.356. Of course it is disgraceful by the standards of later periods that men were prepared to take salaries for work that they did not intend to perform. It is necessary, however, to temper judgement with an awareness of the different cultural assumptions to which the eighteenth century professors subscribed. It was central to the Georgian social rationale that a gentleman was perfectly justified in accepting money for a minimal observance of one set of duties providing he could feel that he was making up for his easy circumstances by service in some other field. If, on occasion, conscience were satisfied that mere urbanity and civilised living were a sufficient contribution to the common good, this reflected not corruption - for corruption in such a situation would surely involve an evil intent - but rather a deficiency in the faculty for objective self-criticism.

Since the most damaging accounts of Oxford and Cambridge undergraduate life are those of Gibbon and Bentham it may be worth pointing out the particularly eccentric nature of their experience. It has been observed that both were ridiculously young at matriculation, Gibbon being fourteen and Bentham, astonishingly, twelve. Each was at the time precocious in intellect only. By the standards of social maturity of even their chronological equals they were maladroit and introverted, and by those of their student contemporaries they can be classified only as seriously retarded. The reminiscences of both men more or less admit their situation. It can be little wonder, then, that they did not profit from the laissez-faire approach to study adopted by the universities. Indeed one can imagine that their teachers would have been hard pressed to conjure any enthusiasm for the tuition of such obvious children. It seems unsafe in these circumstances, therefore, to assign more than a minor statistical weight to the long nurtured resentment of their later recollections.

The second major, and almost universal, criticism that has been made of the English universities is that their curricula were narrow and unrelated to the requirements of the age. In Professor Simon's words, the universities "ceased to be national educational institutions; they tended to become seminaries for the clergy...neither university contributed materially to the advancement of science or education..."[1] or as Lawson and Silver have expressed the point more recently, "There is no doubt that as the eighteenth century advanced, as society and the economy were changing, the English universities dragged their feet."[2]

[1] Simon, 1960, p. 27.

[2] Lawson and Silver, 1973, p. 209.

Now there is, I think, an important qualification that must be made to these reproaches. It is indeed hinted at in the sentences that follow the one I have quoted, "But in criticising their record then it has to be remembered that many of the functions which universities now perform were not expected of them in those days. Whole areas of professional training lay outside their purview." The education offered by a university was, for the well-to-do students in whom we are presently interested, intended to comprise a vocational and liberal preparation for men who were to become both legislators and magistrates and who were to have also the leisure and means to indulge the social, artistic and scholarly tastes of their milieu. It would therefore have been quite unsuitable for them to have undertaken a specialist course of the kind that is nowadays customary.[I] Instead they received, as I hope I have made clear, a wide, though variable, introduction to subjects which connect with the great range of human activities (literature, history, mathematics) and others which were of particular interest to the politician (law, oratory). In addition there was opportunity to gain a smattering of science, which was not a great deal less than science consisted of at the time. It is, then, by no means correct to describe the universities as merely "seminaries for the clergy". Moreover, it is necessary to bear in mind also what is, I hope, becoming more clearly a central theme of this survey, that the political and liberal education of the sort of men who were to be the acceptable leaders of Georgian society is not to be understood or judged only by the academic content of their formal instruction at school and university. A great deal went on in the upbringing of these men which was not to be found in plans of study but which was nevertheless heartily, though not always tacitly, approved by most of their elders.

[I] It may be, of course, that such narrow courses are equally unsuitable for social leaders of the present day.

It is possible, then, that some of the censure that has been heaped upon the eighteenth century universities, in so far as it is concerned with the education of the upper classes, is based on an inappropriate cultural perspective. If the historian is inclined to believe, as were Lord John Russell, Trevelyan and their numerous ideological successors, that closely controlled systems of academic and moral instruction assessed by rigorous examination will produce the right sort of leadership for a free society, then he can certainly claim to be reflecting the spirit of his own age. On the other hand he will be quite out of phase with the mood of the eighteenth century. Further, if the modern critic intends to imply, as I suspect he not infrequently does, that the gentlemanly undergraduate would have been more profitably employed acquiring some of the technological and commercial knowledge that business demands for its practice and understanding, then again it might be claimed that he does not do justice to the strengths of late eighteenth century society. For the entrepreneurs of the period were rarely academically trained in this way and they probably operated more effectively in any case before the unabashed ignorance of their political leaders.

CHAPTER IX

FOREIGN TRAVEL

Under the present heading it will be convenient to include not only the so called 'Grand Tour' of Western Europe, taking in, usually, France, Switzerland, Italy, the Germanic states of the vestigial Holy Roman Empire and the United Provinces of Holland, but also any period of residence of the Continent which lasted for more than a few weeks. There can probably be given, in fact, few more convincing demonstrations of the great prosperity of Georgian Britain than the frequency with which the nation's upper classes indulged in these long excursions abroad, and the evidence is made all the more plausible by the reputation which the travellers acquired for wealth when they did so. Sustained by the production of their landed estates and by the percentage which government channelled on their behalf from industry and commerce, the British aristocracy and gentry were to be found diffused in such great numbers throughout Europe that Guiseppe Baretti estimated that between 1751 and 1768 more than ten thousand masters and servants were travelling in Italy,[1] and in 1785, Gibbon was told, no less than forty thousand of the same were resident somewhere on the Continent.[2] Of their aura of affluence an observation made by Lord Herbert's tutor while he was travelling with his pupil in Switzerland provides an indication which could be compounded from many similar sources. "...it is sufficient," he wrote, to be known as an Englishman and they (the Swiss) will ask you triple the

[1] Quoted by Wyndham, 1950, p. 191.

[2] Quoted by Burnett, 1969, p. 147.

normal price for horses."[1]

Though it is clear, then, that during the eighteenth century English 'milords'[2] were frequent travellers abroad, it is far more difficult to assess in a statistical sense the position held by such experience in the upbringing of the ministers in whom we are interested than was the case for their schooling or university education. For where registers provide a fairly sound, if minimum, estimate of the popularity of Eton and Westminster and of Oxford and Cambridge, no such accessible, systematic records exist for foreign expeditions. Among the forty-seven sample members, twenty or forty-three per cent., certainly spent a long period abroad before the age twenty-one and to these three more could be added if military and naval service overseas were to be included.[3] Further, since the Earl of Rochford's father was a nobleman of Utrecht who came to live in England on the death of his brother, the second earl, it must be considered extremely likely that the future minister would have spent some of his youth in Holland.[4] Thus in total at least twenty-four, that is more than half, of the late eighteenth century's leading politicians spent substantial portions of their early lives out of Britain. But this, it must be emphasized again, is a lowest estimate.

[1]Herbert, 1939, p. 87. On their side the British visitors commented often on the poverty which they encountered as they journeyed. It would seem, therefore, that their wealth could hardly be attributed to a relatively greater exploitation of their working and middle classes. It is perhaps worth pointing out that allegations of poverty extended quite often to the European aristocracy. Thus the nobles of Rome were, despite their ostentation, notorious for their indigence (c.f., for example, Jesse, II, 1901, p. 304; Rowse, 1958, p. 118).

[2]As all Americans in England during the last war were wealthy, so all English gentlemen abroad tended to be ennobled.

[3]Lords Howe and Keppel in the navy and Shelburne in the army. Henry Dundas, who is not included above, made a belated Tour at the age of twenty-five (Matheson, 1933, p. 24).

[4]G.E.C.Peerage.

Fourteen more sample members, at an age when they might have travelled abroad, were either already peers or the sons of peers, and another, W. W. Grenville was the brother of an earl. Most of these, belonging to a class which both means and custom would incline to foreign tours, may well have been on the Continent for extensive periods without any record having survived to the present day.[1]

A more detailed analysis of the twenty established instances of foreign travel before the age of twenty-one, which excludes military and naval service, shows that fifteen were in fact full-blooded Grand Tours, lasting on average for rather more than two years, though Lord Westmorland's was briefer since on visiting Paris with the intention of moving on to Italy he "was so little pleased with foreign life that he turned back and came home!"[2] Two members of the sample group were students at foreign military academies, Fitzpatrick at Caen[3] and Cornwallis at Turin.[4] Though it is likely that in both cases the experience would have been combined with more general travel, it is clear from the Cornwallis correspondence that residence at Turin academy, at least, involved some contact with the world outside. The remaining three cases fall into individual categories. Lord Althorp,[5] throughout his childhood and youth, spent many long holidays in various parts of Europe including Nice, Paris, Brussels, Spa and an unnamed centre in Holland.[6] Lord Grantham was

[1] The younger Pitt did not travel abroad.

[2] Weigall, 1908, p. 244. It is not completely clear from the text that this did occur in Westmorland's youth.

[3] Russell I, 1853, p. 42.

[4] Ross, 1859, p. 3.

[5] Who was to become Earl Spencer.

[6] Cannon I, 1970, pp. 42, 43, 54, 58, 119, 131, 243. When he was twelve, Althorp spent a year abroad with his tutor.

It is hardly to be doubted that many who did make the Grand Tour would also have been taken on this sort of lesser excursion.

born in Vienna where his father was ambassador and presumably remained there for at least a part of the remaining ten year period during which his father remained in the same office.[1] The most unusual experience, however, was that of Lord Sandwich. Having spent twelve months on the Continent, in France it would appear, he chartered a ship, as befitted a man whose political ambition was to centre firmly on the admiralty, and with three or four friends embarked on a year's cruise in the Mediterranean.[2]

Though wherever possible I have tried to establish the upbringing received by late eighteenth century political leaders on the basis of material drawn from the childhoods of the men themselves, it has frequently been necessary to use illustrations from the early lives of other upper class figures whom one would expect to have undergone similar upbringings. This, if not an ideal approach, has been, I think, the best that was practicable and has added weight, in fact, to a subsidiary intention of this research which is to throw some light on aristocratic upbringing in general. In the discussion of foreign travel that follows, because of a relative paucity of information on the specific tours made by future ministers, there is a rather higher proportion of the second, indirect, kind of evidence than was the case in the chapters on the home and university (schooling was, of course, so uniform a process that data from all sources were of almost equal value).

[1] D.N.B. (Robinson, Thomas; both father and son had the same Christian name).

[2] D.N.B. (Montagu, John); Martelli, 1962, p. 22. Martelli assumes a three year Cambridge residence thus removing the possibility of travel in France. The version of the D.N.B. seems both positive and more likely.

It will not be necessary to progress through each of the divisions into which, in previous sections, it has been convenient to arrange upbringing since in some of these areas European travel provided an opportunity for practice rather than a stage in initiation.[1] Into this category falls the development of three out of the four aspects of what I have called the political character of the governing elite: diligence, rationality and breeding. It is perhaps worth pointing out, however, that both parents and educational theorists maintained considerable doubts about the capacity of young travellers to display, amidst the distractions offered by the more hedonist of European societies, the first of these qualities, diligence. Locke expressed the point thus:

> But to put them out of their Parents' view at a great distance, under a Governour, when they think themselves too much Men to be governed by others, and yet have not Prudence and Experience enough to govern themselves...is...to expose them to all the greatest Dangers of their whole Life when they have not the least Fence and Guard against them.[2]

Chesterfield, though not prepared as was Locke to proscribe totally foreign travel in youth, nevertheless favoured some place like Geneva which was both by law and custom excellent for repressing unwholesome desires. When maturity had sufficiently developed it would be acceptable perhaps to permit a short tour in Flanders and Holland but certainly not through Germany and Italy where any educational benefits were likely to be greatly outweighed by the example of a degenerate society. Italy especially, Chesterfield wrote,

[1] It is indeed a nice point to decide where initiation ends and practice begins. Presumably once behaviour is fairly well ingrained initiation can be considered over.

[2] Locke, 1968, p. 321.

> which is so much frequented by our own countrymen, and which ruins so many of them, is at present the sink of atheism, and of the most degrading and scandalous vices.[1]

However, though these warnings of moral peril may well have been justified by many subsequent events, it will, I hope, become clear by the end of this chapter that a good deal of useful knowledge was also acquired during residence abroad; immorality and application were by no means mutually exclusive.

The dissipation in which some of the young travellers engaged was indeed one consequence of a situation which is of more importance for the present political purpose than the dissipation itself. In the preceding chapters I have attempted to show that at various stages in the upbringing of most politicians influences were at work of which the general tendency was (in the absence of a short, more exact, epithet) egalitarian. The roots of this rather unlikely facet of the style of the British nobility were, I have suggested, threefold: a theoretical grounding in libertarian whig principles; experience, especially at school of a way of living which was unpampered and robust; and the encouragement and opportunity given to the young aristocrat to practise that most characteristic of Georgian upper class qualities, the ability to mix easily and with gusto in every variety of company. It is to the last two of these, which it is not difficult to see could easily lead on to extravagance and worse, that I should like to turn attention in the present discussion.

[1] Carnarvon, 1889, pp. 323-5. Lady Pembroke expresses similar anxieties to her son's tutor in a letter of 1776. "I would not for the world have his passions awaken'd there (in Italy)...in Italy they scout every idea of decency, & morality, & will give him too little trouble; and I suppose that he shou'd form great prejudices & partialitys for the place and people where he first falls in love..." (Herbert, 1939, p. 71).

The degree of comfort which attended the nobleman's journeys was mixed. In his Early History of Fox, Trevelyan, in elegant nineteenth century periods, describes memorably the luxury of the tours of Fox and Carlisle.

> Lads of eighteen and nineteen, who had been their own masters almost since they could remember; bearing names that were a passport to any circle; with unimpaired health, and a credit at their banker's which they were not yet old enough to have exhausted, - made their grand tour after much the same fashion at all periods of the eighteenth century: and it is unnecessary to repeat what Pope has told in a manner that surpasses himself. Travelling with eight servants apiece; noticed by queens; treated as equals by ambassadors; losing their hearts in one palace and their money in another, and yet on the whole getting into less mischief in high society than when left to their own devices; they
>
> "sauntered Europe round,
> And gathered every vice on Christian ground;
> Saw every court; heard every king declare
> His royal sense of operas, or the fair;
> Tried all hors-d'oeuvres, all liqueurs defined,
> Judicious drank, and greatly daring dines."[1]

Such allegations of extravagance find ample support both in the admissions of the young bloods themselves and in the totals of the bills which they incurred, the latter invoking not infrequently recriminations from their providers at home. Lord Carlisle, in Rome, clearly felt obliged to keep eight servants though he considered this a temporary measure.[2] The two younger sons of Lord Sunderland were spending in Lorraine at a rate of £2,000 per annum which elicited characteristic complaints from their immensely wealthy grandmother and guardian, the Duchess of Marlborough.[3] The account of Lord Herbert and his two supervisors in 1778 drew from Herbert's father, the Earl of Pembroke, the plaintive objection;

> Messieurs 3, soit dit en passant, ye will break my back, which is already weak, if ye don't take care. Another draught within the year

[1] Trevelyan, 1880, p. 63.

[2] Jesse II, 1901, p. 304.

[3] Rowse, 1958, p. 18.

is arrived, & makes £1,750 per annum, which is really beyond my depth of purse. Je me recommande donc.[1]

The supreme example of sustained conspicuous expenditure, however, must surely be that of the Duke of Kingston who, during a tour of ten years, made his way through well over £40,000.[2] It is necessary, though, to point out that an earl would have been hard pressed to maintain appearances in England on less than £10,000 a year and that seen in this light, £2,000 or so spent on his sons abroad, though a large sum, is not an astonishing one.[3]

There was, however, a side to foreign travel which contrasted strongly with the impression of opulence which Pope and Trevelyan have helped to sustain. For during the journeys between the great cities which were the principal objects of the Tour the young aristocrats were forced to contend with conditions which even the hardened survivors of Eton and Westminster found squalid. Henry Penruddock, a mere gentleman, travelling in 1765, wrote,

> It is a matter of astonishment to me that most of our British travellers should return home fops and epicures, for the Inns of France are generally excessively dirty and sometimes loathesome...[4]

Penruddock's account is confirmed in a letter from the Earl of Carlisle to George Selwyn, written in 1768 when Carlisle was in Italy.

[1] Herbert, 1939, p. 119. The aplogetic note in Lord Pembroke's remonstrance may be connected with the fact that in the fifties, in similar circumstances, he spent £5,750 in two years (ibid., p. 29).

[2] Mingay, 1963, p. 138.

[3] An estimate of the sums involved in terms of present day money would involve a multiplier of perhaps ten.

[4] Wyndham, 1950, pp. 195-6. That it is a misconception to believe the English gentleman to have been dirty in both his personal and domestic habits, the following gleanings provide some evidence. In a letter to her son Lady Stafford writes that "The Duke of Bridgewater arrived here as great a Treat as ever, and a good Deal more indolent, for I do not believe that his Grace's Face has undergone the Operation of washing these last two Months." Clearly he was considered eccentric. William Windham, during his Norwegian journey in the seventies, showed

> We slept at a place which cannot be called bad, - a little worse than the suburbs of Calais. The inn, which we[1] both had the pleasure of lying at there, no longer appears to me in the terrible light that it did, from my having been lately at so many worse, coming down the Rhone, and in this country.[2]

Italian inns were no better as Lord Herbert confided to his journal.

> I mentioned how I was attacked on all sides at Capua[3] by a numerous Army of Buggs. It is the only time I ever trusted so dirty a Bed for which I was well recompensed. I therefore here locked at the Bed-Stead and found it to be equally as filthy and I dare-say as full of Buggs as the Capua Bed. I for this reason gott two Tables, very greasy and dirty, putt a clean sheet over them and upon this hard Bed, I had a very comfortable sleep...[4]

Indeed, it was not only in the country that these problems were encountered. In the cities of Northern Italy, in summertime, Lord Robert Spencer and his tutor were attacked remorselessly by fleas of a virulence altogether superior to that of the English variety.[5] If aristocratic hauteur feeds to some extent on the privileges of gracious living then the British nobleman's common touch must have received at least a degree of encouragement from the rigours to which travel exposed him.

himself extremely fastidious about the need for clean sheets (Ketton-Cremer, 1930, p. 116). Lord Herbert at Paris in 1780 wrote, "After three Days in the same Linnen a tolerable quantity of washing is required..." (Herbert, 1939, p. 439). The tutor of the same young man was instructed to see that his charge cleaned his teeth with the proper powder (ibid., p. 52). Similar orders were given by the Duchess of Marlborough to her grandsons' tutor; the best treatment is "to wash them always after eating and to take off something that naturally comes upon everybody's teeth after sleeping..." (Rowse, 1958, pp. 12-13).

[1] That is Carlisle and Charles Fox.

[2] Jesse II, 1901, p. 241.

[3] Two days previously.

[4] Herbert, 1939, p. 259.

[5] Rowse, 1958, p. 118.

The greatest contribution of continental expeditions to the character of the country's political elite, however, lay almost certainly in the opportunity that was presented for an enormous diversity of social contact. Constrained as he was both by the customs of his class and by the nature of his accommodation and transport to meet people of all sorts of condition and culture, it was impossible that the young traveller should not learn to mitigate any natural insularity of rank with a facility to adapt to men, as well as to places. To illustrate this is, I suspect, to approach near the heart of the Grand Tour experience. Lords North and Dartmouth, surely the most piously raised of noble eighteenth century travellers, after visiting Holland and Hanover, reached Berlin where they taught Prussian society English country dances. Leipzig was so dull, even for them, that they fled to Dresden carnival. Vienna, like Berlin, was such a social whirl that there was little time for study.[I] In Milan North found the local nobility "as civil, kind, hospitable and agreeable as is possible"[2] though not long afterwards he was to claim that "In point of view of society I think the tour of Italy inferior to that of Germany...scarce anyone of them have that easy manner of inviting Foreigners to their houses and tables which they have in Germany."[3]

[I] In the centres which were most popular among the British upper classes, the young travellers were, not surprisingly, inclined to seek one another's company, a situation which frequently gave concern to parents and tutors. It would be wrong, however, as we shall see, to suppose that this tendency precluded substantial contact with people of other nationalities.

[2] Pemberton, 1938, pp. 15-16; Valentine I, 1967, pp. 19-22.

[3] Ibid..

Some notion of the northern hospitality to which North referred is given in a letter from Lord Granville Leveson Gower, in Francfort, to his sister.

> We are at this place deeply immersed in Gaiety; the dinners are more to look at than to feed upon, for I have not yet prevailed upon myself to eat much at two o'clock. We were at a bal Masque on Thursday night... Tonight the King of Prussia's Embassador gives a ball, tomorrow night again public Bal Masque, and on Monday a most splendid bal and Souper is given by Prince Esterhazy...[1]

Italy, too, despite the greater demands made by sight-seeing, involved its round of conviviality and Lord North's comparatively low opinion of sociability is that country may in fact have been rather premature since it was expressed at a time when his Italian tour had scarcely begun. At Rome, certainly, he discovered "an almost inexhaustible fund of entertainment."[2] The Earl of Carlisle, while in the same city, wrote to George Selwyn, "I have met with a Frenchman who gives me a dinner four times a week, and has introduced me to a great many conversaziones..."[3] From Genoa Lord Harcourt's tutor wrote in 1733,

> His Lordship's time at Milan was divided 'twixt study, and assemblys, and operas...His Lordship confined himself to a few friends; but might have made more acquaintances among the Italians if he had spoke the language, or in any manner liked play. But as his Lordship now can answer to Italian civilities, he proposes every where seeing company, as well as pictures, palaces, and churches. For my own part, I know no better method for preserving a youth from the low vices of our countrymen in Italy, than by throwing him directly among people of quality.[4]

[1] Granville I, 1916, pp. 44-5.

[2] Valentine I, 1967, p. 23.

[3] Jesse II, 1901, p. 296.

[4] Harcourt, 1880, pp. 12-13.

Visiting was, indeed, de rigeur in most cities and, from our more retiring age, its intensity can seem sometimes quite alarming. Lord Herbert's mother wrote to him of some people he must be sure to call on in Paris,

> as they come into my head...Mens. de Guines I know will carry you to Mad. la Comtesse de Boufflers, Mad. de Luxembourg, and Mad. de Lauzun, whom I am sure you wou'd not have forgot did he not carry you; besides these I wish you to go to Mad. de Rocheroûles, Mad. Du Deffand, (the old blind Woman), Mad. de Castellane, at the Duke de Penthièvre's, & her daughter the Princess de Berghe, & to Mad. de Caraman, & old Mad. de Mirpoix, aussi il faut passer chez Mad. la Princess de Beauveaux, & il faut deterrer Mad. de Beringhen...You had better write all these names down on a bit of paper immediately.[1]

It will not prove too tedious, I hope, to demonstrate that the event was no less damanding than the prospect. Herbert's journal for 19th September, 1780, reads,

> I cannot find time to do any thing & since my arrival from Versailles, I have not put pen to paper, but to write Notes, so that I must now account for five days all in a lump; on Monday I hunted at Vencennes & dined at the Club. In the Evening Madame de Boufflers carried me to the Marchale de Mirpoix, Princess de Beauvaux, & to supper at the Swede's. On Tuesday I dined with Madame de Boufflers, & after Dinner she carried me to Auteuil, her Villa truly in the English Gusto & very pretty & well understood. I supped at Necker's. On Wednesday, I was with Cobham the whole Morning, dined at Madame de Castellane's, went to the Italian Theatre with Cobham & Mr. Ellis, supped with the former and his friends, and at Midnight saw them leave Paris for England, when I left the Hotel de la Chaise for that of Bretagne. On Thursday, I went with Edward Dillon, Conflans, & Coigny to hunt. Prince Nassau lent me a Horse. After the Hunt the Duke of Chartres carried me to his petite Maison at Moussow, where we dined a pretty numerous, noisy Company, there being some Females of the Party. After Dinner we amused ourselves in flinging one another into the Water, at last by stripping naked & hunting the Hare through Wood, Water, etc, etc,. On Friday, I dined at home, went to the Opera & there finished my Day.[2]

[1] Herbert, 1939, pp. 463-4.

[2] Ibid., p. 479.

That the social round was by no means all pleasure is shown for instance by a visit to the Duchesse de Luxembourg "who would not be told who I was & having twisted my face about for ¼ of an hour, she discovered me for the petit George."[1]

It was not merely the society of the salons which the travellers encountered. The primitive nature of the countryside through which they were often moving, combined with the slow rate of progress, ensured frequent contact with far more rustic inhabitants, and though in town the young 'milords' may have sometimes surrounded themselves with a barrage of locally hired servants, this was rarely the case at points intermediate. Francis Burdett, who was to lead the agitation for the Reform Bill, touring in Sicily with a Captain Fitzgerald, described in a letter a Capuchin convent in which they were forced to shelter.

> We were seated on either side of the Principal who asked us many questions about England & whether the King of Naples was our King...Having eat a small plate of fish, the youngest Capuchin took away our plates & brought us by way of desert a cloth full of raw beans which they eat with great avidity. After this repast we retired to our chamber where we laid ourselves on the floor preferring that to the filth of our bed.[2]

At an 'Ospice' of the monastery of Monte Cassino, Lord Herbert reported in his diary,

> Two or three Monks relieved one another like Centrys in keeping me company, they none of them talked anything but Italian, however I made out the Conversation pretty well considering all things.[3]

[1] Ibid., p. 470.

[2] Patterson, 1931, pp. 12-13.

[3] Herbert, 1939, pp. 255-6.

Charles Fox, in Nice, made connections of an altogether less respectable nature. Having depicted to his friend, Uvedale Price, a Mrs. Holmes, "an Irish woman, more beautiful than words can express, and very agreeable into the bargain", but who "is as chaste as she is fair", goes on to describe "a silversmith's wife, who is almost as fair as Mrs. Holmes, but not near so chaste, and she attracts me thither as regularly in the evening, as does the other in the morning." To Richard Fitzpatrick the precocious eighteen year old remarked, or boasted, that he was well, though a little weakened from the pox.[1]

It would be wrong to make too much of this element of lower class contact. Youths with almost bottomless purses like Fox and Carlisle could avoid it in some measure. But it was impossible to remain always aloof and for most of the tourists these encounters must have added at least a little to the capacity for hearty and flexible sociability which was so marked a feature of the demeanour of their class, and which their journeys seem generally to have promoted. In his biography of Lord Grey, G. M. Trevelyan wrote,

> The Grand Tour helped to develop in him that excellent habit of mind whereby he always regarded foreign countries, not as pawns in the diplomatic game, but as places inhabited by human beings with rights and aspirations of their own.[2]

[1] Reid, 1969, p. 19. It throws an interesting light on the impact of Victorian notions of propriety on historical objectivity that Lord John Russell in his adulatory Fox Correspondence omits this latter information, closing the relevant passage in Fox's letter with "...Nice, which is the dullest town in the world." (Russell, I, 1853, p. 46.) In fact the sentence continues "...and what is a terrible thing, there are no whores." (Reid, 1969, p. 19).

[2] Trevelyan, 1920, p. 11.

It would not be sentimental, I think, to suggest that, quite apart from diplomatic considerations, this comment is capable of far wider application. On his extended Tour the nobleman was forced to learn to adjust himself to the customs and priorities of people with very different backgrounds to his own and in a future parliamentarian and politician this was no negligible achievement.[1]

Formal teaching

It is necessary to distinguish to some extent between the programmes followed by those travellers for whom the Tour was an alternative to university and the others who, having completed a period at Oxford or Cambridge, were inclined to treat it as recreation with certain casual social and cultural advantages. Lords Harcourt and Herbert and members of the Marlborough family, among the youths who have already been discussed, fall into the first category and the majority of future ministers who travelled, into the second. The rationale of the latter group can be seen in Lord North's remark in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle: "As our business here is to take our pleasure, what we do cannot be of any great importance" though he does continue,

> I pass indeed one hour every morning with the Italian Master. O, My Lord, how dull a business it is...to a young man who has been seven years at a public school and almost three years at universities to be obliged to thumb over again the right parts of speech![2]

[1] On the change that was brought about in North his latest biographer writes, "North in particular seemed to have gained in charm, urbanity, and wit. He spoke French fluently, and 'this acquirement, together with the observations he had made upon men and manners of the countries he had visited gave him what Madame de Stael called L'esprit Europeen, and ennabled him to be as agreeable a man in Paris, Naples or Vienna as he was in London.'" (Valentine I, 1967, pp. 24-5; the comment within the quotation is Lord North's daughter's.)

[2] Valentine I, 1967, p. 22.

In fact, as North's rider shows, the distinction between education and holiday was not clear cut but there was a tendency for the younger tourist to take a more thorough course of systematic instruction during what was usually a substantially longer excursion.

As an example of a full-blooded formal curriculum, there survives the "time-table" to be followed by Lord Herbert at Strasbourg.

Riding.....4 (Hours)
Fencing, chiefly with the
left hand.....2 — always immediately after riding.
Dancing.....2
Italian.....3
Drawing.....2
Musick.....3 — What Instument Lord H. chuses, except a wind instrument, and of an Italian or German Master, not a French one.

Tennis with Markers.....2
Billiards with Mr. Coxe,[1] or
Floyd[2] always.....I
Shoot with Bulled Gun &
Pistols with Floyd.....I
Swimming, always before
Dinner, never after.
Use of the Globes, & Geography with Maps, & History; Voltaire over and over again & notes with Floyd.
Mathematicks.- Natural Philosophy.- Fortification. Astronomy.
Law of Nature, & Blackstone. Eden's Penal Law, & translation of Beccaria by Eden, with Mr. Coxe.
Latin & Greek.- English Poets, with Mr. Coxe.
Experimental Philosophy.[3]

That the scheme represented by no means a mere counsel of perfection is clear from many passages in the Pembroke Papers; indeed, as we shall see, a great deal more was taught than is mentioned above. That it was biased towards Lord Pembroke's particular interests and eccentricities is also clear,

[1] Herbert's tutor.

[2] An officer who also accompanied Herbert.

[3] Herbert, 1939, p. 54.

which explains the considerable emphasis on the physical - Pembroke was a soldier and expert in equitation - and Voltaire - he was a free thinker. It was intended that many of the lessons should be taken by specialist masters, and in Vienna, for example Herbert was visited regularly by masters in Italian, drawing, fencing and fortification.[1] Of the two future political leaders whose Tours definitely took the place of university, there are grounds for believing that, like Herbert, both were kept to a full and systematic programme. The first Marquis of Rockingham wrote to his son in 1746, "very glad to hear you got safe to Geneva, hope you'll like the Place and have begun Your Study & Exercises in a Regular manner, want to know what they are..."[2] Lord Harcourt, in a letter to his sister from Angers, is helpfully specific about his time-table.

> My fencing master calls me a half an hour after five, and stays with me till six; and at six I put my boots on, make ready for the Academy, when I always ride till about half an hour after eight. I then come home, breakfast, and read mathematicks till about ten; then I take a lesson upon the German flute; after which I read history or something else till dinner time, which is commonly at one o'clock; we seldom sett above an hour, which is long enough for any one but a French man. I read a little after dinner, dress, and go into company, play my parts of quadrille, walk, come home to supper, sit a little after supper, and in short go to bed about eleven o'clock.[3]

Though few of the future leading politicians, who on the whole visited the Continent when they were older and further advanced in learning than Lords Herbert, Malton[4] and Harcourt, would have been expected to conform to

[1] Ibid., p. 117.

[2] Hoffman, 1973, p. 5.

[3] Harcourt III, 1880, p. 24. The pattern was "much the same as it was at Bourges, barring the academical exercises."

[4] The courtesy title of the Marquis of Rockingham's eldest son.

so rigorous a regimen, the programmes of the younger travellers nevertheless indicate a class attitude towards the Tour, and certainly most young men, as we shall see, undertook some serious reading and employed masters in at least one or two subjects while they were abroad. However, whereas the more juvenile tourists spent many months during the early stages of their travels in cities like Colmar, Strasbourg and Geneva with the main purpose of following a formal course of instruction, the young men were far more likely to hire teachers on a casual basis in the more fashionable cities of Europe.

For both groups the direction of study on a day to day basis was placed usually, though not invariably, in the hands of a tutor-companion. Since it was recognised that the character of this man, who would be the traveller's only stable adviser for two years or more, was likely to be extremely influential in forming the youth's own habits and attitudes, serious attention seems normally to have been given to the question of his selection. Thomas Dampier, who has been encountered as one of William Windham's guardians, and appears to have been considered a man of sound judgement, was consulted about a choice of tutor for both Lord Herbert and Frederick North.[1] His advice in the latter instance has survived. A Mr. Golding, he wrote, was "perfectly loyal and anti-Jacobitical...learned, sensible, honest...as awkward a broad-faced fellow of a College as any I know."[2] The Rev. Coxe who accompanied Herbert, if one may judge from his

[1]North acquired his courtesy title only during the course of his Tour when his father was raised from the barony to the earldom of Guilford.

[2]Valentine I, 1967, p. 19.

letters, was also learned, sensible and honest.[1] John Moore, Lord Robert Spencer's tutor, seems to have been a particularly fine choice for he was to rise ultimately to become archbishop of Canterbury.[2]

Political skills

In the chapter on domestic education I have shown that a knowledge of modern languages was normal among late eighteenth century ministers. Instruction, which was often begun at home and continued at school as an extra-curricular subject, reached its greatest intensity, not surprisingly, during the long continental excursions. Few, if any, of the youths and young men whose Tours are recorded in any detail in published sources failed to take lessons at some stage. Charles Fox in a letter of 1768 from Nice writes that Carlisle "is learning Italian, and his master says he makes no doubt but he will soon have lingua Toscana in bocca Romana."[3] In fact during his Italian travels later that year Carlisle was finding some trouble with the spoken language[4] though he could read the historian Davila sufficiently easily to be able to commend the excellence of his Italian.[5] In the following autumn, in Paris, he was still studying seriously for he writes to George Selwyn, "I am not idle here. I have three masters; two every day; the Abbe Francois every morning, and Italian and Spanish every other day."[6] It is plain from many references in this series of letters that Carlisle's French was strong enough for him to be able to mix easily in French society.

[1]Herbert, 1939, passim.

[2]Rowse, 1958, pp. 92-3, 117-119.

[3]Jesse II, 1901, p. 236.

[4]Ibid., p. 296.

[5]Ibid., p. 288.

[6]Ibid., p. 335.

Lord North's boredom at being faced, while touring, with the elements of Italian has already been mentioned.[1] French he knew well and at some time, almost certainly while travelling, he acquired at least a smattering of German and Dutch.[2] It is not clear whether Fox had any Italian before his visit to that country in 1767 but his comments on Italian drama in a letter to Fitzpatrick, and his rapture at Italian poetry, leave no doubt that he was at the time reading widely in the language. That Earl Harcourt was learning French during the early stages of his travels is shown by a series of letters to his sister which were clearly written to give him practice in the language. They are fairly sound but the constructions are elementary.[3] At the military academy of Turin, the time-table of the future Earl Cornwallis included, "à 8 heures Millord à son maitre de Langue Allemande."[4] When Lord Malton, later to become Marquis of Rockingham, was sixteen and beginning his Tour, he was congratulated by his sister for his linguistic study; "I hear from other hands that you apply yourself to French and everything else a Man of Quality ought to know." Not long afterwards the praise was qualified by his mother when she discovered that Malton was learning Italian.

> I shall be very sorry to see you finish with only smatterings of different Languages which can only serve to make a coxcomb of you and tempt you to expose yourself when a totall ignorance might have secured you.

[1] Above, p. 389.

[2] Valentine I, 1967, pp. 24-5.

[3] Harcourt III, 1880, p. 22 ff.

[4] Ross, 1859, p. 5.

It appears, however, that the criticism was only of her son's beginning Italian so soon.[2]

Attention comparable to that given to modern languages was directed on Tour to a subject with equally obvious advantages for an aspirant statesman, modern history. Often, indeed, the two were studied concurrently since the most popular texts in history were commonly written in French. Rather more than a year after leaving England Lord Harcourt's tutor was able to report,

> His Lordship has finished eight volumes of Rapin's History of England, in French, and I hope will be able to finish also the full history of France this winter. For his reading here has chiefly consisted of history.[2]

Some three years previously the Duke of Marlborough's grandson, John Spencer, was engaged in the same exercise, spending most of his mornings translating and reading Rapin.[3] Almost half a century later the popular French historian appears to have been Millot for in 1776 Lord Herbert was reading that author's Elements de l'histoire de France,[4] and, though this did not take place abroad, Lord Althorp in 1773 was studying Millot's history of England.[5]

Lord Herbert's reading in history was very thorough since his father, mother and tutor were all agreed on the importance of the subject.[6] Apart from Millot, there are records of his having read Voltaire's Histoire de Charles XII, Robertson's Charles V and History of America and modern histories

[1] Hoffman, 1973, p. 5.

[2] Harcourt III, 1880, p. 7.

[3] Rowse, 1958, p. 22.

[4] Herbert, 1939, p. 92.

[5] Cannon I, 1970, p. 125.

[6] For the views of mother and tutor, see above, p. 262; for his father's see below.

by Burnet and Smollet. The list is however clearly not exhaustive since Lord Pembroke writes to his son during the fourth year of the Tour, "I am glad you look into the history of every country before you go into it, which I hope you will always continue to do".[1] In addition to these modern studies Herbert paid considerable attention to ancient history.[2]

An indication of the importance that was given to modern history is provided in Boswell's journal of his Italian tour. At Rome in 1765 he struck up a friendship with Lord Mountstuart, the eldest son of the Earl of Bute, who was at the time George III's first minister and favourite. For a time the two young men travelled together and Boswell took the opportunity of joining Mounstuart in his regular academic lessons. These consisted largely it seems, of "lectures" given by Mountstuart's tutor, Mallet, in modern history and included material on "the last wars", Charles V and the history of Spain.[3]

Lord Euston, who as Duke of Grafton was to be first lord of the treasury, was, he claimed, led by "a natural inclination" to read history during his Tour though he gives no indication of the books that he used.[4] In Italy, Lord Carlisle had read the History of the Civil Wars in France, a work of 1630 in Italian by Davila whom Carlisle found "a little bordish, but very entertaining".[5] He reflected also a vogue of the period by reading

[1] Herbert, 1939, p. 185.

[2] Ibid., pp. 68, 72, 74, 76, 81.

[3] Brady and Pottle, 1955, pp. 87, 89, 92, 109.

[4] Grafton, 1898, p. 4.

[5] Jesse II, 1901, p. 288.

Hume's History and referring elsewhere to a passage in Robertson's history of Scotland. The former he found "a great comfort".[1] The high regard that was shown generally at this time for these last two writers is clear from Gibbon's admission that they represented the standards to which he had to aspire if he were to have any chance of achieving lasting fame and it is therefore unlikely that Carlisle was the only young nobleman who turned his attention to their histories while travelling.

Of studies more directly political than those of languages and modern history there are frequent glimpses in the accounts of Tours. Thus the Earl of Euston was interested in "those principles of government which were ever present to my mind from the first time I read the sound system of Mr. Locke..."[2] The future Lord North and his companion, the Earl of Dartmouth, made a long stop at Leipzig in order to attend a course of lectures on the German constitution, which suggests incidentally that they had at least a reasonable facility with the German language.[3] Lord Mountstuart and Boswell also read the German constitution together in Rome in 1765.[4] During a long stay in Siena, the Earl of Malton wrote a sketch of the city's civil government.[5] While Lord Herbert was in St. Petersburg his tutor reported, "I am now reading with Ld. H: Campbell's State of Europe, and I am happy to find his Lordship takes to that kind of reading."[6] In the later stages of his journeys the youth "endeavoured to acquire some knowledge of the present State of the Countries thro which he passes, respecting the

[1] Ibid..

[2] Grafton, 1898, p. 4.

[3] Pemberton, 1938, pp. 15-16; Valentine I, 1967, p. 19.

[4] Brady and Pottle, 1955, p. 89.

[5] Hoffman, 1973, p. 7. Malton was heir to the marquisete of Rockingham.

[6] Herbert, 1939, p. 126.

population, revenues, army, navy, commerce, etc."[1] Presumably because he would have no opportunity to study the subject at university, Herbert's tutor also read with him some law, including Blackstone's Commentaries.[2] Quite apart, however, from any deliberate and systematic inculcation of political knowledge, the very nature of the Tour, a slow, sociable progression through many countries in which study and recreation were both considered important, did much to ensure that the young aristocrat developed not only the social adaptability, which I have suggested was a political virtue, but also some understanding of the régimes with which as an adult he would need to compound.

LIBERAL KNOWLEDGE

In his general theory of culture T. S. Eliot writes that

> we should not consider the upper levels (of society) as possessing more culture than the lower, but as representing a more conscious culture and a greater specialisation of culture.[3]

In the eighteenth century Grand Tour there is, I think, an opportunity for a particularly clear insight into this more conscious part of the Georgian upper class culture, that is into its intellectual and artistic aspects. Isolated temporarily from the normal encroachment of other layers of the national culture and comparatively free from the details of business, the gentlemanly travellers were able to indulge fairly freely in those non-vocational activities which were by their class considered worthwhile.

[1] Ibid., p. 159.

[2] Eliot, 1962, p. 48. The last phrase, if I understand it correctly, refers to Eliot's insistence that no one man can be 'cultured' but can only represent to some degree a quality which can only strictly be ascribed to a group.

Further, their situation was such that the European quality, which had already diffused strongly into their way of thinking, was greatly intensified and the letters and journals which record the process reflect increasingly therefore the mode of thought of the mature gentleman. In this discussion of liberal education it is the European perspective that I would like especially to emphasize.

Before considering the separate constituents of liberal education abroad it may be as well to stress that the subject divisions were of far less importance than had been the case at school and university. Often also the educational influences at work were complex and evoked responses the more refined for being based on considerable previous learning. The flavour of the educative experience can be sensed, I think, from the quotations that follow from three consecutive letters from the Earl of Carlisle in Rome to George Selwyn. The length of the extracts may be justified, I hope, on the grounds that at least one such illustration is needed to correct any notion that learning was fragmentary which the discussions of music, architecture, and so on, which follow, might easily convey.

> I bought yesterday a very fine miniature, by Petitot, of Louis the Fourteenth when very young, which I intend to give you. One thing puzzles me. Could Petitot paint Louis the Fourteenth when he was young? You will know that better than me; whoever painted it, it as fine a piece of enamel as I have ever seen. If you have not broke the seal to pieces in opening this, pray look at it; it is extremely indecent, and some parts of it very fine. I am going to a great dinner today, where the grand duke and duchess are to be, and after that to a bal masque at court. March would amuse himself very much here; we have the finest music in the world, and all the best singers in Italy.

I have been in the country these two days, where I saw two of the most beautiful lakes in the world, also the spot where Cicero's villa stood, in which the Tusculan questions were wrote. You may easily fancy with what reverence I behold this scene. The natural beauties of the place, though wonderful, were scarce powerful enough to drive away a train of ideas, which prevented me for some time from doing justice to one of the finest prospects I have yet seen. I have ordered a picture to be made of it, and shall make the man keep a drawing, lest you should like to have a copy of it. Cardinal Albani lent me his villa, which made this excursion very agreeable. I have not yet seen anything I should like to buy for you; I believe it is that I am grown exceedingly nice and very difficult to please. I have bought two or three things, but of no value, and two landscapes of Gaspar Poussin, which are extremely pretty...

My ciceroni here, Mr. Harrison, who is a very good man, and a very instructing one in a particular branch of knowledge, was to have set out for England when I had finished Rome. As I should otherwise have been alone till I had met Charles (Fox) at Strasbourg, I shall make him go with me. We shall see...Perugia, Venice, Verona, Padua, etc., which will make this journey much more agreeable to me. You do not know the comfort of boring anybody upon pictures, especially one who is capable of giving you any information...My longing to see my own collection of virtu at Castle Howard is wonderful. If I was with child, my child's back would infallibly be marked with my Medusa.[1]

These paragraphs lie interspersed with the usual politics and social gossip. In the combined effect of content and style, apart from occasional sexual gaucheries, the letters demonstrate, I think, a composed urbanity which would hardly be expected in a nineteen year old. Yet their qualities, though above average, are not different in order from those shown by many young noblemen writing home.

Among the more obvious aspects of the 'cultured' or 'cultivated' character of much eighteenth century correspondence is the evidence it provides of the authors' enthusiasm for the visual arts. In the encouragement of this taste the Grand Tour took a major part, a fact which indeed was well recognised at the time. "The principal pleasure of a traveller in Italy," the young Lord North wrote to the Duke of Newcastle,

[1] Jesse II, 1901, pp. 303, 305, 308.

"is in seeing the great perfection to which the Italians have push'd the arts of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture"[1] and Lord Harcourt's tutor reported that his plan for Italy would involve his charge not only in meeting the best company but in seeing everywhere "pictures, palaces and churches".[2] The profound impact of such an extended feast of sight-seeing on sensibilities already attuned to the visual richness of upper class life is apparent not only in the written records of many travellers but also, perhaps more convincingly, in the collections which they made on route and afterwards, and in the houses and parks which they constructed.

To review in any detail the written evidence would be unnecessarily tedious, involving long lists of sites and galleries visited. It will be sufficient, perhaps, to suggest that the sort of programme for seeing Florence and Naples which the Earl of Pembroke recommended to his son would not have been considered to require more than customary industry and that the father's obvious pleasure in the prospect of the experience reflected, a more or less, common enthusiasm.

> At Florence, Ten Thousand things. Examine attentively the superb Chapel where repose the Medicis. 'Tis at San Lorenso. Go every morning to the Gallery. Remark the Busts of Vespasian, Agrippa, Portinax, Clodius Albinius, Heliogabulus, and Maximin the Thracian. You'll see none finer in Rome, perhaps none half as fine. Among the Empresses, remark Julia Mammaea, Didia Clara, & Manlia Scantilla. In the Tribune, look at the head of Raphael by Leonardo de Vinci.
>
> Naples & its Environs are inexhaustible. See all of them you can. Go several times to the Museum of Portici. You cannot see it all at once or twice. I give you my word. Mind to have an order to see the Satyr f - g the Goat. We did not see it.
>
> Go twice to Pompoea, if you've time.
>
> (Rest of MS. torn.)[3]

[1] Valentine I, 1967, p. 22.

[2] Harcourt III, 1880, p. 12.

[3] Herbert, 1939, p. 196.

Lord Pembroke, a passionate cavalryman and a noted libertine, hints incidentally in these instructions at that marriage of earthiness and refinement which I have suggested earlier was so notable a feature of the Georgian aristocratic temperament. That his zeal for Italy did not go unheeded is clear from the journal which his son kept while on tour.

Of the part played by the Grand Tour in the inspiration of collector and builder, corroboration can be found throughout Britain, in the great country houses and in the museums stocked from the aristocrats' collections. To demonstrate this by tracing the influence of the classical remains and of Palladio on the nobleman's house or by cataloguing the works of art that have filled Welbeck and Goodwood, Belvoir and Stowe, Althorp and Wentworth Woodhouse, would be both considerable labour and quite superfluous. The ground is well trodden and the evidence is widely available. On the day that this passage was being written there was sold at Christie's a capriccio of Roman ruins painted by Pannini in 1740 and bought two years later by Lord Harcourt when visiting Rome, presumably to take its place among the splendours of Nuneham. At the same sale two more Panninis were auctioned which were probably acquired by travellers at the same period. But these are just drops in an ocean. Connoisseurship was commonplace, money was plentiful and the art of Europe poured into Britain. Lord Carlisle's "wonderful longing" to see his own collection of virtu was amply fulfilled as the visitor to Castle Howard can confirm and many of his noble contemporaries were hardly less ardent. It is perhaps worth marking particularly the great interest of tourists in the Italian landscapes of Gaspard Poussin, Salvatore Rosa and Claude, works which were to have a major, and well-documented, influence on the development of that most 'English' of art forms, landscape gardening.

The traveller's interest in graphic art was not necessarily passive. Throughout the early part of Lord Herbert's Tour, drawing masters were employed who taught him "in the Grand Style, and not in the trifling tastes of small finished landscapes."[1] The purpose of these lessons was not merely aesthetic; "Drawing," Herbert's father wrote, "especially from nature will not only be an entertainment, but of great use to you, particularly in your military profession..."[2] There is, however, little reason to believe that drawing and painting were regarded generally as an important aspect of the tourist's studies.

Like the visual arts, music, too, was a constant focus for attention during the nobleman's travels. This was especially true south of the Alps where interest in music, particularly opera, was traditional and passionate. The general enthusiasm is described by Lord Harcourt in a letter to his sister from Milan which also confirms indirectly the export trade in Italian music and musicians towards England.

> ...musick is the predominant passion in Italy at present, so the Italians pay their musicians very well, which causes an emulation among them; by which reason so many of them arrive to a vast perfection. Although 'tis generally thought we pay them in England more than in any other country, nevertheless, considering the length of journey, the risques they run of not being liked when they arrive here, &c., I say all these things well considered, I don't think the pay of the English in proportion is so good as that of Italy.[3]

That both Harcourt's guardians and tutor considered music a sound motive for travel is shown by the latter's observation in a letter home, that

[1]Herbert, 1939, pp. 74, 117, 118, 167.

[2]Ibid., p. 187.

[3]Harcourt III, 1880, p. 26.

> It is my humble advice to his L'ship to remove next to Milan, where there is to be a good opera for the Carneval, & where scarcely any English will stop except for a little on their way to Venice.[1]

At Milan, "His L'ship's time...was divided 'twixt study, & assemblys, & operas..."[2] Long before this, at Angers, Harcourt had been studying the German flute.[3]

An interest in music like Harcourt's, both as patron and player, was not at all exceptional among aristocratic travellers. Lord Herbert, for instance, in Strasbourg, had, his tutor reported

> begun the fiddle, and seems to take to it mightily, as he has of his own accord contrived to give four hours in the week to it; as he wishes (properly enough) to get over the drudgery of the elements, and to be amused.[4]

On many occasions the 'Pembroke Papers' show Herbert attending the opera or ballet. Thus at Mannheim his party heard

> a concert given by the Elector (Palatine), where all the world appeared in Masque. The celebrated Dantzy sung and Le Brun played upon the Hautboy ...The next day to Court again, and in the evening to the Opera at the expence of the Elector...The scenes and decorations are very superb, and the grand Ballet magnificent.[5]

The future heir to the Sunderland estates, John Spencer, was also a practising musician for we find that at Dijon, in 1728, he used to return to his rented house after dinner and relax until four by playing music.[6] His instrument was probably the flute, since some eighteen months previously his grandmother,

[1] Ibid., p. II.

[2] Ibid., p. 12.

[3] Ibid., p. 25.

[4] Herbert, 1939, p. 74.

[5] Ibid., pp. 96-7.

[6] Rowse, 1950, p. 22.

the Duchess of Marlborough, who was not it seems a musician, had expressed her grave dissatisfaction at having to meet a bill for lessons on the instrument. "I did not," she wrote somewhat irrelevantly, "send him abroad to be a fiddler".[1] The old lady, though echoing the views of Locke and Chesterfield, was in fact in many respects a notable philistine but seems to have had little effect on the tastes of her grandchildren. John Spencer's own grandson, the second Earl Spencer,[2] appears also to have taken a more than passing interest in music for at the age of fourteen, in a letter from Brussels, he was prepared to defend the French opera against the criticisms of his former tutor, William Jones.[3]

The importance of modern languages and modern history in the formal curriculum of the Tour has already been described under the political heading. Though clearly these subjects can take their place as elements in a liberal education, it is not, I think, necessary to extend the discussion except to emphasize that the practice of languages frequently involved contact with literature. When Charles Fox wrote from Nice, "Je travaille toujours le matin, and in the evening, read, lounge, play at chess, and talk", we know from an earlier letter that much of his reading was probably devoted to the Italian poets and dramatists.[4] While Boswell and Lord Montstuart were travelling together in Italy they read together the Persian Letters of Montesquieu.[5] The Duke of Marlborough's grandchildren on Tour actually employed a master in belles-lettres and later the younger boy succeeded in mildly pleasing his hypercritical grandmother with his translations of the letters of Madame de Sévigné and Voiture.[6]

[1] Ibid., p. II.

[2] At that time, Viscount Althorp.

[3] Cannon I, 1970, p. 114.

[4] Russell I, 1853, pp. 46, 44.

[5] Brady and Pottle, 1955, p. 93.

[6] Rowse, 1958, pp. 9, 22-3.

Ranked not far behind modern languages and modern history as a matter for systematic instruction on tour, for the younger travellers at least, was mathematics. I have pointed out elsewhere that for some parents the subject was viewed as a political accomplishment but since it will also almost certainly be accepted as belonging to a liberal education it will be convenient to discuss it here. For Lord Harcourt, during his long residence at Angers, mathematics lessons took place every day between breakfast, which probably finished at about nine, and flute lessons which began at ten o'clock.[1] Morning lessons were also taken regularly by Lord Herbert. Thus in 1776, in Strasbourg, and four years later in Turin he was employing the services of local mathematics masters.[2] Often, for the prospective soldier, the subject was allied to the study of fortifications which seems to have been the case at times with Lord Herbert. At Turin military academy Lord Brome's time-table included "à 3 heures apres midy, Maitre de Mathematiques et Fortifications particullier."[3] For the Spencer boys mathematics appears to have been kept particularly well to the forefront of the syllabus,[4] presumably because of their grandmother's high regard for the worldly advantages of the subject. "The mathematics," she wrote in one of her detailed letters of instruction, "I have always thought the most desirable of knowledge".[5] However, just as in the universities the average level of mathematics taught was hardly what would nowadays be regarded as advanced, so on tour it seems reasonable to

[1] Harcourt III, 1880, p. 24.

[2] Herbert, 1939, pp. 73, 360.

[3] Ross, 1859, p. 5; Brome later succeeded to the Cornwallis earldom.

[4] Rowse, 1958, pp. 9, 17, 22.

[5] Ibid., p. 18.

assume that tuition would scarcely have aimed at more than a sound foundation of arithmetic and a more moderate competence in geometry and algebra. Nevertheless, even this modest background would have preserved its beneficiaries from what would nowadays be termed mathematical illiteracy.

Because their place in what most modern observers would understand by a liberal education is clearly disputable, I shall pass over fencing, equitation and dancing though all of these played a large part in the curriculum of the Tour.[I] There remains as a subject of formal instruction only the classical studies which for nearly all of the tourists had been the major preoccupation of their schooldays. Abroad the classics seem rarely to have been the principal focus of attention, though they still claimed a significant part of the energies of the younger travellers. One senses, however, that for these veterans of a classical obsession, foreign travel formed a continuation and completion of schooling in a way which was out of proportion to the time which they ostensibly devoted to Latin and Greek. For in Italy particularly, as the traveller stood among the ruins of imperial Rome and the landscapes of antiquity, the dull accumulation of years of labour could vibrate with a new and exciting vitality. The effect of this imaginative experience can be felt in the letters of Lord Carlisle (as indeed it can more profoundly in the poetry of the nobleman whose guardian Carlisle was to become, Lord Byron). From Turin he writes,

[I] Dancing, as I have suggested in an earlier chapter, probably did contribute something to that admired aristocratic quality, good breeding. Certainly this was believed at the time. "Dancing," wrote the Duchess of Marlborough, "gives men a good air." (Rowse, 1958, p. 18). It might therefore have been included under the political heading. The ground is, however, shaky.

> I feel very happy every time I see the Po, to think this is the river that Phaeton fell into when Jupiter hurled him out of the chariot of the sun. If I had Ovid with me, I would quote half a dozen verses to appear learned.[1]

On the way to Naples he

> came through...all the famous ruins in Rome; the great amphitheatre; Septimius's Arch; the Temple of Jupiter Tonans, etc., etc. Though I had passed by them and seen them every day before, I was never so much struck as seeing them by moonlight. No idea that you can form of it, will be adequate to the grandeur that those remains of antiquity appeared in at that moment.[2]

Even so established an idler as Lord Mountstuart, it seems, could be sufficiently sensitive to the spirit of place to be moved by a recitation by Boswell of one of Horace's odes at the site of the poet's farm at Tivoli.[3]

It is unthinkable, of course, that every traveller should have been subject to all of the educational influences that have been described in this chapter or even that he would have benefited substantially from those that he did encounter. As Eliot was at pains to point out, the notion of a 'cultured' man reflects the attributes of a class and not of an individual, and one man is only so termed to the extent that he takes part to an acceptable, but necessarily limited, degree in the whole. Thus what I have tried to define in this discussion of liberal education is that scheme which most aristocrats would, by and large, have approved, and which therefore suggests the ideal man, the 'cultured man', whom the age would have admired. From the present chapter it emerges, I hope, that this ideal was, by the standards of our specialist age, impressively broad, that the young men who travelled often made notable efforts towards its attainment, and that, to a degree that is possibly unique, it was in its spirit European.

[1] Jesse II, 1901, p. 282.

[2] Ibid., pp. 202-3.

[3] Brady and Pottle, 1955, p. 87.

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

> 'Judgement', then, is not to be recognized as merely information of another sort: its deliverances cannot be itemized, they cannot be specified in propositions, and they are neither remembered nor forgotten.
>
> Michael Oakeshott[1]

Education is an eclectic study. Both in analysis and prescription the student of education is drawn unavoidably into specialist terrain: psychology, sociology, philosophy, theology, politics, economics and so on, as well as into those areas which provide usually the 'subjects' of institutional teaching. If his interpretations slip easily into the main stream of contemporary assumption these necessary trespasses will pass unreprimanded. If, on the other hand, he is tempted to offer unfashionable opinions, then he places himself in a position where the scorn and ridicule of the territorial authorities may, and probably will, rain down upon his ill-protected head. This, however, is his weakness and he must live with it.

I prepare the way thus gingerly knowing that I have already ventured, and would like now to press further, into domains that are for the educational critic fairly unfamiliar, with views that are in a number of respects unorthodox. I shall deal first with the economic implications of the survey that has now been completed. There have been drawn at various stages five principal conclusions. First, the great majority of the characteristic[2] and successful entrepreneurs of the industrial revolution in Britain had, in

[1] In Peters, 1967, p. 168.

[2] What I have understood by the characteristic entrepreneurs of the period is defined above, p. 46-7

childhood or youth, been engaged at a work floor level in fields of business clearly related to those in which they were to make their reputations. Such a background provided, it has been assumed, three invaluable kinds of experience: a detailed knowledge of basic industrial and commercial processes, a deep understanding of the working men they were subsequently to employ in large numbers, and, quite vital, an imaginative involvement in the mystique of business life. Later in the present chapter I shall compare this initiation with that of nineteenth and twentieth century industrial leaders. Secondly, this early engagement in business implies, of course, that the formal academic educations of entrepreneurs had not been protracted, though there is good reason to believe that most had achieved in relation to their careers a functional level of literacy and numeracy. Thirdly, at least half of these manufacturers seem to have made their way in the first instance by their abilities alone and not through financial or social privilege. By this I mean that the initial provision of capital and arrangement of supplies and markets were serious problems to be overcome and not minor impediments to be brushed aside by the advantages of inherited wealth or class connections. Fourthly, and conversely, men who in terms of riches and power had apparently a headstart in the race to profit from the industrial growth of the times - outstandingly, that is, the nobility and upper gentry - did not, because of either indifference or incompetence, seize the opportunity. Their upbringing, it seems, ensured that they lacked the required inspiration, and in those few cases where this was not so, the same upbringing appears to have been more or less a guarantee of ultimate ineptitude.

Fifth, the aristocratic political leaders of the late eighteenth century, largely as a result of their educations, were strongly attached to the principle of universal liberty and though their practice was far from a perfect reflection of the theory, it was close enough nevertheless for Britain to have become to an extent previously unknown in a civilised nation a country of free men. In an economic context it is hardly possible to make this point too strongly. The reigns of the Tudors and early Stuarts had been marked by extensive royal and aristocratic interference with the natural interaction of demand and supply, and, in addition, the mediaeval tradition of close legal regulation of commerce and the crafts was still much in favour with both governments and people and was a considerable hindrance to labour mobility and manufacturing enterprise.[1] On the continent this same combination of aristocratic monopoly and a conservative, dirigiste consensus continued into the nineteenth century.[2] Only in Britain in the eighteenth century was there permitted to develop in major industrial sectors a strongly market oriented approach to production and distribution.

The summary of the two preceding paragraphs represents of course an extremely short and generalised account of complex and interlinking processes. I have no wish certainly to trivialise the issues involved. It has seemed, however, that if the drift of the analysis of earlier chapters is not to be lost in a mass of detail, it is necessary now to focus attention on these few, brief, hard and, I hope, well justified inferences. Indeed, it is possible, I think, to condense the economic results of this research into a form that is still terser. While accepting that there were many (and very comprehensively reviewed) 'impersonal' conditions that favoured the discontinuity in industrial growth of the late eighteenth century, it seems that

[1] Hill, 1961, pp. 28-37; Ashton, 1924, pp. 7-9, 105; G. Unwin in Daniels, 1920, pp. (xxiv) - (xxviii).

[2] Henderson, 1965, pp. 3-4.

the 'human' (and not nearly so fully discussed) determinants were principally these: there existed uniquely in Georgian Britain a political leadership, with little in the way of industrial ambition among its members, which was prepared to allow men whose upbringing had provided them with a thorough grounding for an entrepreneurial role to indulge what were both their talents and their inclinations. Here, then, lies the first and principal reason for dealing in one work with two such distinct groups; for the clear separation of their functions, a state of affairs essentially negative, fulfilled, paradoxically, a most positive and vital condition for the industrial vigour of their age.

The above, then, are the economic conclusions of this survey of eighteenth century elite upbringing. I would like now to make some tentative comparisons with the centuries that followed. Professor Hoffman has suggested that the rate of increase of British industrial output rose from an average of less than two per cent. during the years 1701 to 1781 to more than three per cent. in the period 1782 to 1855, though from 1831 onwards the rate was actually falling. From 1856 to 1876 growth took place at between two and three per cent. annually and after 1876 the rate declined to below two per cent., a figure which, except for odd years, has not been exceeded since.[1] The fall away in performance, Hoffman has attributed primarily to "(i) changes in commercial policy, (ii) industrial development abroad, (iii) the increased cost of certain British raw materials."[2] It is notable, however, that other industrial nations have maintained for long periods far higher growth rates than Britain without any obviously great advantages under the headings (i) and (ii).

[1] Hoffman, 1955, pp. 32, 210. The figures given do not include iron and steel and may therefore underestimate the growth rate of the late eighteenth century.

[2] Ibid., p. 214.

It is, I suspect, possible to add to the explanations above an outstanding cultural reason for Britain's industrial decline and one which is for the educationist of particular interest. The remarkable achievements of the early period of industrialisation was a direct consequence of the abilities of men whom we have seen had been immersed from youth in the ethos of commercial and manufacturing enterprise. They were not at all the products of the extended humanist education which was normal among the upper classes and many of the merchant families, nor had they made their entry into business in the sort of management role which could so easily have excluded them from the basic and prolonged experience of working methods and working men which is so clearly valuable for an industrialist.

As the nineteenth century progressed, however, the advantages of industrial management became to the middle and upper classes increasingly apparent. Established medium-sized and large businesses, the creations often of self-made men, became magnets for the academically educated sons of the well-to-do, and the existing directors, succumbing presumably to the traditional British awe of education and higher class status, welcomed the newcomers - indeed, sought them out. Not infrequently, of course, the new breed of confident, articulate managers were the soundly educated members of the third and later generations of industrial dynasties.

The scenario that has been sketched is not, I hope, a figment of this writer's imagination. Professor Perkin in The Social Origins of Modern English Society[I] has traced the rising influence during the nineteenth century of the professional (that is, more or less, the academically educated middle class) stratum on British Society as a whole, and Dr. Erickson in British

[I] Perkin, 1969.

Industrialists, Steel and Hosiery, 1850 - 1950[1] has provided striking evidence of the completely different social composition of industrial management in the century she is reviewing compared with the period described in the present study.[2] Thus in the iron and steel industry between 1875 and 1895 no less than 77 per cent. of senior managers had been born into social class I[3] and from 1925 to 1935 the proportion was still as high as 72 per cent.[4] Other figures quoted by Dr. Erikson are equally revealing when compared with those given in the present work. In 1865 only 21 per cent. of leading managers had undergone apprenticeship training and by 1953 the fraction was down to three per cent.[5] In the period 1935 to 1947, out of forty-seven men for whom the relevant information was available, as many as thirty-three had been pupils at public schools.[6]

In short it would seem that the British steel industry of the years of high growth was largely in the hands of men who had learned their business from the bottom, while by 1865, and in fact ever since, it has been controlled by the academically educated professional classes. In our own times we may guess that the state of affairs that came to exist in the mid nineteenth century has only changed to the extent that the proportion of upper class entrants to management has somewhat diminished and that of university men has considerably increased. That is, the general rule now is for a graduate with no long-engendered 'feeling' for an industry to be moved rapidly into a

[1] Erickson, 1959.

[2] I have criticised Dr. Erikson's book on the grounds that it has not isolated the principal directors of the businesses considered. It does, however, show very clearly the social ethos from which the managements were drawn.

[3] Business, landed and professional.

[4] Erickson, 1959, p. 20.

[5] Ibid., p. 43.

[6] Ibid., p. 33.

position of authority among men whom he can hardly be expected to understand and whose knowledge of shop floor processes is almost certainly far greater than his own. Indeed, the modern manager is the product of an education not dissimilar to that of the gentlemen discussed in this thesis who showed themselves quite inadequate to manufacture in competition with the self-made giants of the industrial revolution.[1]

There is here, I think, a considerable problem to which little attention has been given and to which the appropriate solutions are not at all obvious. The economic planner who has understood the situation might be inclined to suggest that more opportunity should be provided for promotion from the lowest rungs of the industrial ladder but this cannot be satisfactory when the present educational system works so powerfully to persuade the most lively and intelligent children, from among whom the future managers and entrepreneurs might be expected to emerge, to continue for as long as possible with their theoretical studies. Nor, I hasten to add, is a diversion of talent into technical education likely to alleviate the difficulty. In its essence technical education is academic and can touch only those limited aspects of the industrial world which can be set down on paper and taught in craft rooms. Moreover it is administered by men who by their presence in a college have hinted that they have no great enthusiasm, and in some cases no great aptitude, for industry.[2] It follows that those innumerable,

[1]Of course, industry in our own times can demand from management qualities that are in a number of respects different (in degree at least) from those required of a Georgian entrepreneur. Nevertheless the criticism of modern British industry implied in this passage cannot, as I shall try to show in the pages that follow, be avoided by a defense based on non-comparability.

[2]One must exclude here those who teach in a part time capacity while still following their industrial careers.

often undefinable but perfectly indispensable abilities to which one alludes when one says of a man, "he knows all the wrinkles" or when one describes him as having "judgement", are scarcely likely to be transmitted by any course; for these are qualities which must be 'picked up' by and large by experience and by rubbing shoulders daily with those who already have them.

We are here in that area of inadequacy in modern educational theory which has been splendidly illuminated by Michael Oakeshott and T. S. Eliot.[I] Indeed the insufficiency of an education which in Oakeshott's terminology is merely 'rationalist', which pays little attention to the dark places of knowledge that are not to be lighted by manuals and professional instructors, is emphasized quite as much by contrast with an eighteenth century political upbringingas with that of the Georgian manufacturer. For, just as the latter was raised in circumstances which gave him 'touch' as well as technique, so the politician was brought up to know not merely the theory of politics but also the art of their practice. It is this similarity in style of the two forms of upbringing which provides, I think, a further justification for including both within a single investigation.

It has often been pointed out, of course, that the more advanced scientific knowledge is essential to Britain's industrial survival. Modern technologically based industries, the argument continues, must therefore be provided with trained scientists by the universities and technical colleges. While undoubtedly true, the contention has a limited validity and these limitations are not always recognised. First a very large part of industry

[I] Notably in Oakeshott's Rationalism in Politics (in Oakeshott, 1962) and Learning and Teaching (in Peters, 1967), and Eliot's Notes Towards a Definition of Culture, 1962.

is neither advanced technologically nor is it likely to become so. Management in this sector needs not so much a high level of theoretical knowledge as a practical experience of methods and men. Secondly, the content of the usual undergraduate curriculum in the sciences is so 'pure' that it is hardly more relevant to a career in manufacturing than one in, say, English or history.[1] There is, indeed, a perfectly good reason for the university's approach - learning has after all an intrinsic and non-utilitarian value - but it certainly adds little to the nation's growth rate. Thirdly, as I have already suggested, any gain in scientific knowledge is at the expense of other forms of knowledge that would have been acquired during an apprenticeship type of training. The graduate is to this extent a less satisfactory candidate for management and he is certainly at a great disadvantage as a prospective entrepreneur.

And finally, just as many eighteenth century gentlemen were not merely left by their educations in ignorance about industry but also acquired from their mentors and their employment a positive distatste for such activity, so in a modern course of higher education, students are inclined to imbibe and develop within their narrow milieu a similar fastidious disaffection for commerce and manufacture.[2] Unfortunately, however, the consequences now are far more unsatisfactory than in the past. For where the eighteenth century

[1]The present writer is a graduate in physics of an English university.

[2]Only 242 out of the 2,081 who graduated from Oxford university in 1974 (that is one in nine) took jobs in industry (Daily Telegraph, 24th June, 1975).

upper class youths represented only a small proportion of the country's reservoir of talent, the modern undergraduates are probably the major part of it. We are thus provided with a surfeit of what in moderate measure is beneficial to a culture, young men who seek employment only in the arts, the professions, public administration and university research.[I]

There is a second way in which a study of eighteenth century elite upbringing sheds light on the causes of industrial decline in our own times. Not only into industry itself, but also into the whole field of politics and public administration, the academically trained professional classes have during more than a century and a half steadily infiltrated. The history of this movement has been admirably written by Professor Perkin. Now the academic is taught on the whole to place great faith in the application of linear reasoning to the problems he encounters. This is true especially of the scientist, technologist and lawyer, but is close also to the experience of the arts graduate. A school or a college is a place where most of the questions are contrived to have neat answers, and a cultivated skill in following the fairly narrow sequences involved can give to its possessor a notion that most of the world's difficulties may be solved in a similar fashion. He is inclined, therefore, to become a keen interventionist with a high regard for his own perspicuity. This causes no problems as long

[I] It could well be illuminating to carry out a survey similar to that on eighteenth century industrialists in the present work on entrepreneurs of other nations in periods of high industrial growth. I have in mind the United States of America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, post war Germany and Japan and present day Brazil. In all of these countries it would not perhaps be surprising to find in the majority the self-made man who had risen from the shop floor rather than the academically educated management recruit. In the United States, certainly, there is a popular belief in the frequency of this route to the top, and in Germany and Japan the poverty of the years after the war would have prevented many clever young men from seeking an extended institutional education. There was in any case not such a powerful tradition drawing the heirs to mercantile wealth towards the universities in Germany as in Britain. It appears to have been taken for granted, for instance, that Tom Buddenbrook at the age of sixteen would join the great family business (Mann, 1971, pp. 58-9) and a similar initiation appears to have been implied for most of his wealthy contemporaries.

as the questions to which he addresses himself are of essentially the same kind as those with which he has been trained to cope. Indeed, much of the magnificent progress in public administration of the last two centuries is attributable to just such an approach. Unhappily, however, in those considerable areas where, since the decline of Victorian commercial liberalism, the politician and administrator has been able to influence the manufacturing industries, though his confidence is great, his understanding in truth is poor. For in the successful control of an industrial concern experience and 'touch' are essential and in the functioning of the markets through which the concern operates there are so many dark areas that acceptable direction by outsiders is almost always impossible.[I]

In the late eighteenth century the situation was quite different. The aristocratic leaders of the period were, we have seen, by upbringing disinclined to impose in a detailed fashion political control on their countrymen. Some of the most influential among them, indeed, were converts to the laissez-faire doctrines of Morellet and Adam Smith (who were themselves only the avant-garde of an intellectual movement that had existed throughout the eighteenth century). Thus, though a measure of mercantilism survived into the reign of George III, there was allowed to develop in a number of leading industrial sectors of the period a fairly close approximation to an open market. It is not, I think, unreasonable to suggest that this played a far from insignificant part in the vigorous industrial growth of the times.

[I]Another factor is also at work compounding the chances of disastrous professional intervention: the very human proclivity to seek power and build empires.

Of course the darker side of extreme laissez-faire economics had not by then become apparent. In the countryside, where the majority of people continued to find employment, the large landowners still retained a rather schoolmasterly concern for their many dependents, and sympathy as well as more material help was often provided for those who had fallen on hard times. There had not at this stage developed that dedicated indifference to misfortune which was to brutalise Victorian Britain and which led ultimately to the unproductive polarisation of political institutions with which we are still living.

The first, and primary, aim of this research, to examine the relationship between elite education and industrial growth, must now, for better or for worse, be considered completed. It has involved a discussion not only of those who in the eighteenth century were successful industrialists but also of some, the upper classes, who were not, and yet who by their political liberalism played a major part in the industrial development of their times. It has lead too to the realisation that in our own century we have tended to recruit as managers in industry men whose education is far nearer to that of the Georgian gentlemen than to that of the Georgian entrepreneurs and that other of these same academics (and no sneer is intended), provided by their upbringing with a distaste for business and far less hesitant than their eighteenth century counterparts about imposing their will upon others, have as politicians and administrators intervened massively and repeatedly in the organisation of manufacturing industry.

The second object of this survey has not at an obvious level involved a comparative study (though it has helped, I hope, to bring into an allusive proximity two sorts of upbringingboth of which gave to the receipents in their particular fields of activity, insight in addition to information). It has

been to illustrate the considerable social pressures that had directed the attentions of late eighteenth century ministers of state towards a career in politics and to explore also the part that was played by their upbringing in maintaining the fairly comfortable political ascendancy of their class, the aristocracy, while permitting at the same time that evolution towards democratic ways of thought which was to lead eventually to the Reform Act of 1832. To appreciate the achievement of the British aristocracy in both of these matters it is necessary to bear in mind the experience of other European countries where, in the late eighteenth and succeeding centuries, haughty and repressive rulers inspired in the people a hatred and frequently an open rebelliousness which made progress towards democracy a consequence often of crisis and violence rather than of parliamentary polemics. This is not of course to claim that sedition was unknown in Britain but only that it was comparatively rare. The features of upper class child rearing methods that contributed to the singular development of British political life have been discussed in considerable detail in the four preceding chapters and it will be necessary here, I think, merely to bring together briefly the main strands of explanation.

The political education of the British ruling class can be conveniently considered in three parts: the generation of political ambitions, the cultivation of a political 'character' and the inculcation of political skills and political knowledge (though clearly there must be some overlapping of these categories). We have seen that the first, the inspiring of an ambition for eminence in public life, was the consequence both of the explicit exhortations of the adults among whom a young nobleman grew up, and also more subtly, of the intense and personalised political ambience of life in upper class society. Of the character of politician, it has been possible

to pick out four principal components, each of which was powerfully determined by upbringing. First, he had been strongly indoctrinated to believe in the importance of universal social and political freedom and in the right to equality before the law of every citizen. Thus, though his actions may at times have been arbitrary, the political conscience of his class ensured that he would usually have been ashamed to admit it. Closely allied, at school, at university and during long continental expeditions, the nobleman was compelled to learn to mix easily with a great variety of people, in circumstances, often, which were very far from privileged, and this gave to him in maturity a facility for social contact and a common touch which were invaluable in promoting the acceptance of his superior status by the members of lower classes. These components have been grouped roughly under the heading 'egalitarian', though it may be as well to emphasise that the word is to be understood in relation to the norms of the past and not to those of the twentieth century. That such a trait among the Georgian aristocracy has not always been recognised is due, I suspect, to a tendency of present day commentators to measure notions of equality against those that prevail in their own times, and also to the fact that in the educational history texts there has been consistently a misunderstanding of the importance and the nature of the parts played by the public schools and universities in the lives of the eighteenth century nobility.

Adding to the moderating effect in political life of the aristocrat's libertarian principles and his adaptability to people and to places were two more aspects of what I have called his political character. First, he had been brought up to display as perhaps the principal mark of his high social standing the quality which was known at the time as breeding. Elsewhere I have shown that this was largely concerned with the art of pleasing, with a blandness in society that was designed to minimise tensions. Secondly, he

had been treated throughout childhood as a rational creature, both in the informal relationships of family life and in the intellectual demands of an extended formal education. It is not difficult to see how this stress on reason in early life could encourage in later years those soothing dialectical qualities which are indispensable for a politician who is to operate successfully within a parliamentary system.

And lastly in the determination of the nobleman's political style, he was incited at every stage of his long academic education, by his family as well as his tutors, to excel in industry his similarly driven companions. Indeed, the young aristocrat's position was very similar to that of many present day middle class children who have been placed in a grammar school. And just as the modern middle class child who is successful at school is expected as an adult to become more often than not a model of diligence, so the prospective Georgian minister emerged from his schooling with a substantial capacity for hard work. The fact has not always been apparent because the eighteenth century aristocrat had other sides to his character that are not nowadays on the whole associated with industry. He was, for example earthy and fond of boisterous company, and, furthermore, he strove mightily to display that air of insouciant effortlessness which was in the eyes of his contemporaries a most essential characteristic of the gentleman. Nevertheless, to the performance of his duties in government the nobleman commonly brought an inclination to labour which we would not at all connect with a dilettante and to this extent he was a more acceptable administrator than if he had been content to rely solely on the charisma of his class.

Of attributes that have a less subtle relevance to a career in politics than the facets of character that have been discussed above, an aristocratic upbringing provided a number of important examples. As part of the deliberate training of a governor he was well grounded in law, modern and ancient

history and in formal oratory. There is ample evidence, too, that the understanding of human behaviour that was to be gained from a study of the classical writers was viewed by parents and tutors as a most desirable quality in one whose vocation was to administer the affairs of others. Often, though not always, intended as part of his political education, the young nobleman was invariably thoroughly trained as a modern linguist, and, rather less frequently with a political motive, he was taught sufficient mathematics to understand the fairly simple arithmetic of commerce and war. From a formal education that was primarily literary he gained a feeling for the flow and sense of language that added substantially to the high quality of much eighteenth century debating and he was helped further in this by the enthusiasm of his class for amateur dramatics, an interest with other fairly clear advantages for a would-be Member of Parliament. During his long journeys on the Continent he was encouraged to gather information that might be useful in future diplomatic or military engagements. Finally, as the child of a literate class, the young aristocrat was inspired to read widely both in English and other modern European languages, and since a high proportion of the material that was available was concerned with politics, and since the appetite of his class was in any case inclined in this direction, this also made its contribution to a preparation for political life.

At the time of its conception the present research had two principal, and interrelated, objectives: to attempt to account in terms of upbringing for the character and behaviour of the political elite which presided over the period of 'run-in' to the establishment of the world's first major democracy, and to look for an educational explanation of the extraordinary entrepreneurial vigour of these years. It became apparent, however, that a

detailed survey of the upbringing of politicians could provide also an excellent opportunity for an educational investigation of a third aspect of late eighteenth century culture that showed marks of outstanding vigour, the involvement of the upper class in the pursuit of liberal knowledge. This was made therefore, as something of an afterthought (though I hope nonetheless acceptable), a third main strand of research.

Again the area is one in which understanding has been made less accessible by certain widely established misconceptions. First, contrary to the opinions of the authors of the general educational histories, it is not true that the cachet of the public schools among the highest ranking families declined during the eighteenth century. Eton and Westminster, in particular, maintained in the educational thinking of the Georgian upper class, roles of the first importance. Further, despite the uniformity of present day theories of public school decadence in the eighteenth century, the two great schools continued to provide a literary training of impressive thoroughness. An undisciplined rumbustuousness in out of school hours need not necessarily be inimical to academic excellence. Though the universities were not held in quite such high regard as the public schools, they also were extensively patronised by the eighteenth century nobility and their permissive ambience offered to the more intellectually inclined young aristocrats, of whom there were many, an excellent chance for reading of a more general nature than had been possible at school. Indeed, it can be argued that at a university level voluntary study by students whose upbringing has provided suitable background knowledge and motivation is more likely to breed cultivated adults than is the dreary cramming of pressed men. Once more it is important to stress that riotous behaviour and serious application were not in the eighteenth century mutually exclusive.

This leads to a second large stumbling block to an appreciation of the contentions about Georgian aristocratic culture that are presented in this thesis, for it cannot be assumed that an informed reader will happily accept that members of the late Georgian nobility were, on the whole, people of intellectual and aesthetic refinement; Squire Western and Sir Robert Walpole have cast long shadows. The truth is, however, that the ministers of state of this period, who as a body were certainly regarded as the mirrors for their age, were, by and large, men of sound learning and cultivated tastes. Admittedly, they were also, in the manner of their class, often coarse, hearty and blatently physical but these were qualities which, in a way not readily comprehensible to a modern observer, were not at all antithetical to their more obviously civilised characteristics. There is required, then, for an understanding of these men a measure of historical imagination against which their many similarities to the twentieth century westerner constantly militate.

I do not wish here to restate the ways in which an upper class upbringing contributed to the scholarly and artistic tone of late eighteenth century aristocratic society; the structure of this research has ensured that the ground has been trodden repeatedly. What is perhaps worth including as an addendum is a brief reference to the considerable effect that a high level of cultivation in the upper layers of British life had in encouraging a similar, if less developed, ethos in the lower strata of society. There is, of course, nothing original in the claim that a wealthy and educated class can fulfill a valuable social function by determining standards of excellence in learning and the arts[I] but it is, I think, worth emphasising

[I] Gibbon, for instance, wrote in his autobiography: "But on the whole I had reason (while in France) to praise the national urbanity (of England) which from the court had diffused its gentle influence to the shop, the cottage and the schools." (Gibbon, 1796, p. 126).

in a study concerned in part with rising industrialists, the great influence among them of aristocratic models. If this influence often operated in the first instance by prompting a desire among the new men for acceptance in the fashionable world, its result eventually was to establish independent centres of liberal interest in families whose wealth enable them to indulge to the full their acquired tastes. There was at this time little of that inverted snobbery which leads men to maintain ostentatiously the cultural patterns of the classes from which they have risen.

Examples of the downward diffusion of high culture to which I am referring are fairly easy to find. Jedediah Strutt, who as a youth had had literary inclinations, confessed to his son, William, how inadequate he felt in fine company and recommended to the young man, as a help in overcoming such difficulties, a thorough study of Lord Chesterfield's letters to his son. William's own upbringing was presumably as least partly responsible for the liberal interests which led him in 1784 to found, with his friend, Erasmus Darwin, the Derby Philosophical Society. Among other acquaintances of the Strutt family were Richard Lovell Edgeworth, the Benthams and Samuel Taylor Coleridge. In the next generation the process of cultural assimilation became complete when William's own son, Edward, became the first Lord Belper.[I] A comparable transition took place in the Peel family where the eldest son of the third generation, the second Sir Robert, became the great Victorian minister. It is important to realise in this case how close in time Sir Robert's upbringing was to the period when his father was helping his own father, 'Parsley' Peel, to set up the family cotton printing and spinning businesses - the prime minister was separated by only a few years from his family's yeoman roots. Richard Arkwright and Richard Crawshay demonstrated

[I] Fitton, 1958, pp. 144-8, 171-5.

their reliance on the tastes of their social superiors by building, respectively Willersley and Cyfartha Castles, houses which, if not outstanding for their period, were not lacking in elegance. In later life Arkwright confirmed the literary influence of the circle to which he aspired by devoting time each evening to the study of English grammar.[I] In Birmingham, Samuel Galton Junior was an active member of the Lunar Society and in Manchester, John Kennedy was keenly involved with the Literary and Philosophical Society. In general it is fair, I think, to say that the outlook of many of those who rose in the late eighteenth century by their talents as manufacturers were liberalised by the gentlemanly culture of the classes to which their success gave them access and it was a consequence of this influence that an even higher proportion of members of the second and third generations of industrial dynasties were men and women of intellectual and aesthetic discernment. If this was a road that was ultimately to lead great industrial dynasties back to the indigence from which they had risen, it is, I suspect, in the history of the nation, no cause for lament. For en route their contribution to civilised life was admirable and in business their places were filled by families who were, by and large, certainly no less efficient.

[I] Above, p. 55.

APPENDIX A

FORMAL EDUCATIONS OF SENIOR MINISTERS OF STATE[I]

HOLDING OFFICE IN THE PERIOD, 1775-1800

[I]See p. 212

Minister	School[1]	Age of Entry	University[2]	Age of Entry	Period abroad	From age	Law
Barrington, Viscount, 1717-1793.	Could be Eton. A Barrington is in 1732-list.		Doubtful.		c.1735-1738. (D.N.B.)	18	
Bathurst, Earl, 1714-1794.	Eton, 1725-8. (List.)	c. 11	Balliol, Oxford, 1730-3. (List;D.N.B.)	16	Doubtful.		Lincoln's Inn. Bar, 1736. (D.N.B.)
Buckinghamshire, Earl of, 1723-1793.	Westminster, 1732-9. (List.)	c. 9	Christ's, Cambridge, 1740-3. (List;Westminster list.)	17			
Camdon, Earl, 1714-94.	Eton, 1725-31. (List.)	c. 11	King's Cambridge, 1731. Fellow from 1734. (List;D.N.B.)	c. 17	Very doubtful.		Middle Temple concurrently with university. Bar, 1738. (D.N.B.)
Carlisle, Earl of, 1748-1825.	Eton, 1756-64.[3] (List.)	c. 12	King's Cambridge, 1764-7. (List;D.N.B.)	c. 16	1767-9. (D.N.B.)	19	
Carmarthen, Marquis of, 1751-99.	Westminster, ?-1767. (List.)		Christ Church, Oxford, 1767-1769. (List;D.N.B.)	16			
Cavendish, Lord John, 1732-96.	Hackney. (D.N.B.)		Peterhouse, Cambridge, 1750-3. (List;D.N.B.)	17			

[1]Superscripts refer to notes at the end of this appendix.

Minister	School	Age of entry	University	Age of Entry	Period abroad	From age	Law
Chatham, Earl of, 1756-1835.							
Cornwallis, Marquis, 1738-1805.	Eton "at an early age". (Ross,1859, p.3)		Clare, Cambridge, 1756-1757. (Ibid.; List;D.N.B.)	18	1757-8 including a period at Turin Military Academy. (Ross,1859,p.3)	19	
Dartmouth, Earl of, 1731-1801	Westminster, 1742-9. (List.)	c. 11	Trinity, Oxford, 1749-51. (List;D.N.B.)	17	1751-4. (Valentine I,1967, pp.19,24.)		
Dundas, Henry, 1742-1811.	Dalkeith; Edinburgh High. (Matheson,1933,pp. 11,12.)		Edinburgh. (Ibid. p. 17)		Not until 1767. (Ibid. p. 24)		Scottish bar, 1763.
Ellis, Welbore, 1713-1802.	Westminster, 1727-32. (List.)	13	Christ Church, Oxford, 1732-6. (List;D.N.B.)	18			
Fitzpatrick, Richard, 1747-1813.	Westminster, ?-1764. (List;Russell I, 1853, p.9)		May have been at Oxford. (Reid, 1969,p.17; Russell I,1853,p43)		At Caen Military Academy in 1767.		
Fitzwilliam, Earl, 1748-1833.	Eton, 1756-64. (List.)	c. 8	Trinity Hall, Cambridge, 1764-? (List;Godley,1908, p.165)	c.16	1767-9. (Russell I, 1853, p.27;Jesse II,1901, p.362.)	c. 19	

Minister	School	Age of Entry	University	Age of Entry	Period abroad	From age	Law
Fox, Charles James, 1749-1806.	Eton, 1758-64. (List.)	9	Hertford, Oxford, 1764- (List; Trevelyan, 1880, p. 58)		1766-8. (A number of earlier visits.) (Ibid. pp. 59, 68)		Lincoln's Inn, 1764, concurrently with university. (Eton list.)
Germain, Lord George, 1716-85	Westminster, 1723-31. (List.)	7	Trinity, Dublin, 1731-4. (D.N.B.)	15			Irish bar, 1734. (D.N.B.)
Gower, Earl, 1721-1803.	Westminster, 1731-40. (List.)	10	Christ Church, Oxford, 1740. (List;D.N.B.)	18			
Grafton, Duke of, 1735-1811.	Hackney. (Grafton,1898,p.3; D.N.B. wrong)		Peterhouse, Cambridge, 1751-3. (Ibid;list)	16	Father ambassador at Vienna, 1730-48. (D.N.B.)		
Grenville, W.W., 1759-1834.	Eton, 1770-6. (List.)	c. 11	Christ Church, Oxford, 1776-80. (List;D.N.B.)	17			Lincoln's Inn, 1780.
Harcourt, Earl, 1714-77.	Westminster, 1721-9 or 30. (List.)	7	No.		1730-4. (Harcourt III, 1880, p.1.)	16	
Hillsborough, Viscount, 1718-93.	Some "study of the sciences". (Hibernian,1781, p.449)						

Minister	School	Age of Entry	University	Age of Entry	Period abroad	From age	Law
Howe, Earl, 1726-99.	Westminster, 1732-(?)33; Eton,(?)1733-(?)40. (Lists;Barrow,1838, pp.4,5).	6	No.		On active service in Royal Navy from 1740. (D.N.B.)	c. 14	
Jenkinson, Charles, 1727-1808.	Charterhouse.		University College, Oxford,1746-52. (List,D.N.B.)	c. 18			
Keppel, Viscount, 1725-86.	Westminster, 1733-5.	8	No.		On active service in Royal Navy from 1735. (D.N.B.)	c. 10	
North, Baron, 1732-92.	Eton, 1742-8. (List.)	10	Trinity, Oxford, 1749-51. (List;Pemberton, 1938, pp.12,16)	17	1751-4. (Valentine I,1967, pp. 19,24)	c. 19	
Northington, Earl, 1747-86.	Westminster, c.6 years.[6]	c.10	Christ Church, Oxford, 1763-6. (List;D.N.B.)	16			
Pitt, William, 1759-1806.	No.		Pembroke,Cambridge, 1773-80. (Stanhope I, 1867, pp.10,15.)	14	Lincoln's Inn from 1779 concurrently with university. (Ibid.,p.26.)		No.
Portland, Duke of, 1738-1806.	Westminster, 1747-54. (List;D.N.B.wrong)	8	Christ Church, Oxford,1755-7. (List;D.N.B.)	16	1757-60. (Turberville II, 1939, p.36)	c. 19	

Minister	School	Age of Entry	University	Age of Entry	Period abroad	From age	Law
Richmond, Duke of 1735-1806,	Westminster, 1746-50 or later. (List;March II,1911, pp.706,707.)	11	Leyden, ?-1753. (D.N.B.)		1753-? (D.N.B.)	c. 18	
Rochford, Earl, 1717-81.	Eton, 1725-32. (List;D.N.B.wrong)	c. 8					
Rockingham, Marquis of, 1730-82.	Westminster, 1738- (List,Hoffmann, 1973,pp.2,3.)		No.		1746-50. (Ibid.,pp.4,5,8.)	c. 16	
Rutland, Duke of, 1754-87.	Eton, 1762-71. (List.)	c. 8	Trinity,Cambridge, 1771-4. (List.)	17			
Sandwich, Earl of, 1718-92.	Possibly Westminster,1726-8;Eton 1728-32. (List.)	c. 8	Trinity,Cambridge, 1735-7 or 8. (Martelli,1962,pp. 21,22;D.N.B.)	17	Possibly a year in France from 1737 followed by a year's cruise.[6] (Martelli,1962,p. 22;D.N.B.)	c. 19	
Shelburne, Earl of, 1737-	"ordinary public school"(in Ireland) (Fitzmaurice I, 1875, p. 14)	c. 4	Christ Church, Oxford,1755-(?)7. (Ibid,p.92;list)	17	1757-60,inEurope with army. (Ibid., p. 96.)	c. 20	
Spencer, Earl, 1758-1834.	Harrow, 1769-75. (Cannon I,1970,pp. 28,208,210.)	c. 11	Trinity,Cambridge, 1776-8. (Ibid.,pp.265,274; List.)	17	Many long holidays. (Cannon,I,1970,pp. 43,54,58,62,119,II, 243.)		

Minister	School	Age of Entry	University	Age of Entry	Period abroad	From age	Law
Stormont, Viscount, 1727-96	Westminster, 1739-44.	11	Christ Church, Oxford, 1744-8.	17			
	(List.)		(List; D.N.B.)				
Suffolk, Earl of, 1739-79.	Eton, 1747-56.	c. 8	Magdalene, Oxford. 1757-9.	17			
	(List.)		(List.)				
Temple, Earl, 1753-1815.	Eton, 1764-8.	c.11	Christ Church, Oxford, 1770-?	16	Mid 70s.		
	(List.)		(List.)		(Trevelyan, 1880, p.64)		
Thurlow, Baron, 1731-1806.	Seckars, Scarning, 1742-6; King's, Canterbury, 1746-8. (Campbell V, 1846, pp. 477-80.)		Gonville and Caius, Cambridge, 1748-51.	17			Inner Temple, 1752.
			(List; D.N.B.)				(D.N.B.)
Townshend, Thomas, 1733-1800.	Eton.		Clare, Cambridge, 1750-3,	17			
	(List.)		(List.)				
Townshend, Viscount, 1723-1807.	Eton.		St. John's, Cambridge, 1741-? (M.A., 1749!)	17	Mid 40s.		
	(List.)		(List.)		(D.N.B.)		
Wedderburn, Alexander, 1733-1805.	Dalkeith. (Campbell VI, 1847, p. 5.)	c. 6	Edinburgh, 1746. (Ibid., p. 5)	c. 13			Edinburgh Law Faculty, 1750; Inner Temple, 1753. (Ibid., pp. 7, 8; D.N.B.)

Minister	School	Age of Entry	University	Age of Entry	Period abroad	From age	Law
Westmorland, Earl of, 1759-1841.	Westminster, 1770-1; Charterhouse, 1771-4. (List; G.E.C. Peerage)	11	Emmanuel, Cambridge, 1776-8. (List.)	16	Started but quickly returned. (Weigall, 1908, p.244)		
Weymouth, Viscount, 1734-96.			St. John's, Cambridge, 1752-3. (List.)	17	Mid 50s. (D.N.B.)		
Windham, William, 1750-1810.	Eton, 1757-66. (List.)	7	Glasgow, 1766-7; University College, Oxford. (Ketton-Cremer, 1930 p.60, 61, 63.)	16	Ireland, 1772; Norwegian voyage, 1773. (D.N.B.)	c. 22	
Yonge, Sir George, 1731-1812.	Eton, 1742-5 certainly. (List.)		Leipzig. (D.N.B.)				

Notes

[1]'List' refers to school registers: for Eton, Austen-Leigh, 1921 and 1927; for Westminster, Russell Barker and Stenning, 1928. These are far from complete. For example, only one Eton list, for 1732, is extant for the years, 1728-42.

[2]'List' refers to Foster, Alumni Oxonienses, 1888, and Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, 1922-7, 1940-54. Again the lists are far from complete.

[3]1756-8 as Lord Morpeth. It is often necessary to know courtesy titles in order to make full use of lists of alumni.

[4]That he was an ensign in the Guards is no indication that he had left Cambridge. Enlistment in the army often, in the case of noblemen, took place a year or two before service commenced.

[5]There is confusion in distinguishing Earl Fitzwilliam from the heir to the Fitzwilliam viscountcy. On balance it is likely that the future minister was at Trinity Hall.

[6]From the evidence in Hickey, 1913, pp. 14-35, it appears that Henley (later Northington) was Hickey's companion for most of the six years that the latter spent at Westminster.

APPENDIX B

EDUCATION AND POLITICAL STATUS[1] OF MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY[2] OF LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY MINISTERS OF STATE

[1] Sources are D.N.B., G.E.C.Peerage, Foster, 1888, Venn, 1922-4, Austen-Leigh, 1921-7, and Russell Barker and Stenning, 1928.

[2] Where the father's education and political status appear to have links with the education and career of the minister, the father has been included. Where these links cannot be established, the relevant aspects of the grandfather's career have been considered (and in two cases those of an uncle).

Minister	Education of Member of family	Political Status
Barrington, Viscount	Father: University of Utrecht; Inner Temple.	Father: M.P.; an active politician.
Bathurst, Earl	Father: Eton, Oxford.	Father: M.P.; a very active politician.
Buckinghamshire, Earl of	Father: Westminster, Cambridge.	Father: a commissioner for trade and plantations
Camden, Earl	Father: Oxford, Inner Temple.	Father: M.P., a commissioner of the great seal, lord chief justice of the King's bench.
Carlisle, Earl of	Father: Eton, Cambridge.	Grandfather: first lord of the treasury.
Carmarthen, Marquis of	Father: Westminster, Oxford.	Maternal grandfather: lord privy seal.
Cavendish, Lord John	Father: Oxford.	Father: lord-lieutenant of Ireland, lord privy seal.
Chatham, Earl of	Father: Eton, Oxford, Utrecht.	Father: secretary of state.
Cornwallis, Marquis	Father: Cambridge. Grandfather: Eton.	Grandfather: paymaster of the forces.
Dartmouth, Earl of	Grandfather: Westminster, Cambridge.	Grandfather: secretary of state.
Dundas, Henry	Father: lawyer (became a judge).	Father: solicitor general; active politician.
Ellis, Welbore	Father: Westminster, Oxford.	Father: Irish privy council.

Minister	Education of Member of family	Political Status
Fitzpatrick, Richard	Father: Oxford.	Father: M.P..
Fitzwilliam, Earl	Father: Eton.	Father: M.P.. Uncle: first lord of the treasury.
Fox, Charles James	Father: Eton, Oxford.	Father: secretary of state.
Germain, Lord George	Father: Westminster.	Father: lord-lieutenant of Ireland, lord president of the council.
Gower, Earl	Father: Westminster, Oxford.	Father: lord privy seal.
Grafton, Duke of	Father: Eton.	Grandfather: lord-lieutenant of Ireland.
Grantham, Baron	Father: Westminster, Cambridge.	Father: secretary of state.
Grenville, W.W.	Father: Eton, Oxford.	Father: first lord of the treasury.
Harcourt, Earl	Father: Eton, Oxford.	Grandfather: lord chancellor.
Hillsborough, Viscount		Father: M.P..
Howe, Earl	Grandfather: Oxford.	Grandfather: very active politician.
Jenkinson, Charles		Grandfather: M.P..

Minister	Education of Member of family	Political Status
Keppel, Viscount		Father: a lord justice, ambassador at Paris.
North, Baron	Father: Eton, Oxford.	Father: M.P.; supporter of Prince of Wales (Frederick).
Northington, Earl of	Father: Westminster, Oxford.	Father: lord chancellor.
Pitt, William	As for	Chatham
Portland, Duke of	Father: Eton.	Maternal grandfather: lord high treasurer.
Richmond, Duke of		Father: a very minor figure politically.
Rochford, Earl of		Grandfather: political intimate of William of Orange.
Rockingham, Marquis of	Father: Cambridge.	Maternal grandfather: secretary of state.
Rutland, Duke of	Father: Eton, Cambridge.	Father: master-general of the ordnance.
Sandwich, Earl of	Father: Cambridge.	Father: M.P..
Shelburne, Earl of	Father: Westminster, Inner Temple.	Father: M.P..
Spencer, Earl	Grandfather: Eton; employed as a private tutor.	Father: M.P..

Minister	Education of Member of family	Political Status
Stormont, Viscount	Uncle: Westminster, Oxford.	Uncle: lord chief justice and a leading politician.
Suffolk, Earl of	Father: Eton. Grandfather: Oxford.	Father: M.P.; a minor politician.
Temple, Earl	As for	Grenville
Thurlow, Baron	Father: B.A. Degree.	
Townshend, Thomas	Father: Eton, Cambridge.	Grandfather: first lord of the treasury.
Townshend, Viscount	Father: Eton, Cambridge.	Grandfather: as for Thomas Townshend.
Wedderburn, Alexander	Father: trained as a lawyer.	
Westmorland, Earl of	Father: Westminster.	Father: M.P..
Weymouth, Viscount		Maternal grandfather: secretary of state.
Windham, William	Grandfather: Eton, Cambridge.	Grandfather: M.P..
Yonge, Sir George		Father: secretary of state for war.

APPENDIX C

CONTROL SURVEY OF THE FORMAL EDUCATIONS[1] OF THIRTY-EIGHT NOBLEMEN OF THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY WHO HELD SENIOR ENGLISH PEERAGES AND WERE ALSO BORN INTO HIGH RANKING FAMILIES.

The peers in this sample have been selected to satisfy the following criteria:

(1) they were taken in alphabetical order of titles[2] from G.E.C.Peerage,

(2) they were at least the second holders of English peerages in the male line by the age of thirty-five (though a later age limit has been allowed for the sons of dukes),

(3) at their birth, either their fathers or grandfathers held English peerages of the rank of viscount or higher,

(4) their titles passed directly from their fathers or grandfathers,

(5) they reached the age of forty-five between 1775 and 1800,

(6) where a number of men holding a given title qualify only the one has been included, who, when over the age of twenty-one, held the title for the greatest number of years during the period 1775-1800.

[1]The sources are as for appendix B.

[2]Counting only the most senior of a nobleman's English titles and excluding courtesy titles.

Peer	School	University	Services before 19th year
Ailesbury, Earl of	Winchester	St. Mary Hill, Oxford.	
Aylesford, Earl of	Westminster	Christ Church, Oxford.	
Beaufort, Duke of	Westminster	Oriel, Oxford.	
Berkeley, Earl of	Eton		Army
Bolton, Duke of	Winchester		Navy
Bridgwater, Duke of			
Bristol, Earl of	Westminster		Army
Brooke, Earl	Eton	Christ Church, Oxford;Edinburgh.	
Buccleuch, Duke of	Eton	(Grand Tour with Adam Smith)	
Cardigan, Earl of		Queen's, Oxford.	
Chandos, Duke of	Westminster	Cambridge.	
Clarendon, Earl of		St. John's, Cambridge.	
Coventry, Earl of	Winchester	University College, Oxford.	
Cowper, Earl	Eton		Army
Derby, Earl of	Eton	Trinity,Cambridge.	Army
Devonshire, Duke of			
Effingham, Earl of	Eton		Army
Egremont, Earl of	Westminster;Eton	Christ Church, Oxford.	
Essex, Earl of	Westminster		
Exeter, Earl of	Winchester	St. John's, Cambridge.	
Fauconberg, Earl	Eton		
Graham, Earl of	Eton	Trinity,Cambridge.	
Gainsborough, Earl of	Eton	Cambridge.	
Harrington, Earl of	Eton		Army

Peer	School	University	Services before 19th year
Holdernesse, Earl of	Westminster	Trinity, Cambridge.	
Huntingdon, Earl of	Westminster	Christ Church, Oxford.	
Jersey, Earl of			
Manchester, Duke of			Army
Marlborough, Duke of	Eton		Army
Newcastle, Duke of	Eton	Clare, Cambridge.	
Pembroke, Earl of	Eton		Army
Peterborough, Earl of	Westminster	Balliol, Oxford.	
Plymouth, Earl of	Eton		
Pomfret, Earl of	Westminster		Army
Portsmouth, Earl of	Eton		
Powis, Earl of	Eton	St. John's, Cambridge.	
Radnor, Earl of	Harrow	University College, Oxford.	
Wakefield, Earl of	Eton		

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THE UPBRINGING OF THE ENTREPRENEURIAL AND POLITICAL ELITES OF THE EARLY INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN BRITAIN: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

In eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain there took place two developments of profound importance in the history of the Western nations: the world's first industrial revolution and the slow gestation of modern parliamentary democracy. The present research represents an attempt to seek for some of the educational determinants of these events by analysing the upbringing of men whose influence upon them was direct and powerful, the members of the British industrial and political elites (constrained by limitations of time and energy to those who were active during the last twenty-five years of the eighteenth century).

It emerges that the characteristic entrepreneurs of the period were drawn almost exclusively from the ranks of the artisans and small traders, that almost to a man they had spent part of their youth within the mystique of the trades in which they were to make their marks and that something like one half of them were self-made men. All of these conclusions, it should be emphasised, are at variance with the consensus of historical opinion which has been inclined to see the entrepreneur as the beneficiary of financial and social privilege, directing capital to wherever there was a prospect of an optimum return. It is pointed out, however, that the typical industrialist of the late eighteenth century had very largely disappeared by the middle of the next to be replaced by the academically educated sons of the middle and upper classes and that this may have some connection with the relative decline of British industry that was by then under way.

The aristocratic political elite, though having almost no direct influence on the growth of industry, did, in a negative fashion, act as an important catalyst of manufacturing enterprise. For the upbringing of politicians inspired them to an extent unprecedented within a ruling class to hold dear the idea of individual liberty and this provided, it is proposed, a necessary if not sufficient condition for the industrial advance of the time. Further this aristocratic upbringing developed a political persona that appears to have been remarkably acceptable to the people of Britain and which promoted therefore its own survival. Thus a form of leadership was continued which in its detachment (though declining detachment) from manufacture and in its regard for freedom encouraged both industrial

prosperity and the progress of democracy.

The initial purpose of the second part of this survey was, then, to try to illuminate the political significance of a nobleman's upbringing, It soon became clear, however, that an excellent opportunity was also presented to consider upper upper class education in another major aspect, as an induction into liberal knowledge. This was therefore made into a parallel topic for investigation.

Again it should be stressed that the descriptions of aristocratic childhood in the present work do not always correspond with those in the established texts. The public schools, for example, did not lose their popularity with the Georgian nobility and the universities, too, were extensively patronised by the upper classes throughout the eighteenth century. And within both of these institutions a good deal of solid learning took place which reinforced strongly the liberal influences of home and society.

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