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Educational Turning Points

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Preface

The nature and purpose of elementary education featured prominently in English periodicals throughout the nineteenth century. This book's central argument is that the periodical press provided a unique cultural space for literary and intellectual contributions to sustained debates about education. Political, economic, social, religious, literary and cultural developments converged with pivotal educational turning points that engaged the enduring interest of an English reading audience. However, relatively little scholarly attention has been given to periodicals as a medium for exploring the tension between competing and controversial educational ideas and practices in Victorian England. The aim of the book, then, is to reassess elementary education through the new literary perspectives of periodical culture.

By drawing on different kinds of periodicals, ranging from the major quarterly reviews to specialist journals aimed at teachers, I show how we can extend our understanding of the social and cultural history of elementary education for working-class and middle-class children. Periodicals, whose reach, and influence extended across the spectrum of English society, created a new window of opportunity for debates about different kinds of elementary education in the public and private spheres. My book demonstrates how and why debates about elementary education that arose in late eighteenth-century England were subsequently shaped and developed into a coherent and meaningful movement by the periodical press from 1833 to 1880.

The book is both literary and historical, but it is intended to be neither an in-depth narrative of elementary education in the Victorian period nor a wide-ranging exploration of the relationship between literature and pedagogy. My aim is to explore the contribution of periodicals to the ongoing educational debates in nineteenth-century England. Periodical culture focused on different pedagogical theories and practices, teacher education, religious influences and varieties of public and domestic provision serving different societal and class needs. Discourses that reflected opposing values and a multi-dimensional conceptualization of elementary education that represented a paradigm shift in how educational issues were seen and understood by the Victorians. As such they provide us with new understandings of the heterogeneous nature of that subject from the perspectives of the Victorians. This book explores a number of key educational concepts that featured prominently in periodicals throughout the nineteenth century*: autodidactism, formal and informal education pedagogy, teaching as trade and profession*, and *learning as interiority*. I identify and explore educational turning points that resulted in profound changes in elementary education. Transformations that ignited protracted, divisive and vibrant debates in periodicals in the Victorian period.

Novelists and poets were instrumental in bringing the public's attention to the transformative potential of education, the worst excesses of putative educational establishments, ineffective pedagogical practices, unqualified 'teachers' and the consequent need for a radical reforming agenda. Periodicals ensured that the critical stances of prominent literary figures on educational matters reached a wide and diverse English reading audience. Thereby, the circulation of such discourses informed and formed the trajectory of public opinion on diverse and contentious educational issues.

I argue that competing religious preferences progressed the extension of elementary education for working-class children but resisted 'progressive' or 'liberal' models of early education. Exceptionally, Methodism was socially progressive, promoting gender equality in education and an aspirational culture where knowledge acquisition was concerned. Religious periodicals provide us with a wealth of evidence about the importance different denominations attached to determining the nature and purpose of education.

This book argues that periodicals were eminently influential in promoting and facilitating household education, autodidactism and domestic pedagogies as an alternative to formal, institutionalized versions. Although

elementary education was becoming an integral part of the rise of institutions in the Victorian period, the periodical press informed the public of a pluralistic approach to pedagogical theories and practices. The book aims to reflect and examine that diversity in terms of what was of most importance to contemporaries as revealed in periodical culture.

Earls Colne, UK Edwin Patrick Powell

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About the Author

Edwin Powell Dr Edwin Patrick Powell's teaching and leadership roles have been in Secondary, Further and Higher Education. His particular expertise has been in the area of professional development at graduate and postgraduate levels for teachers, trainers, tutors and learning support assistants across all phases of education. His scholarly research has appeared in journals and books, and he has presented academic papers at local, national and international conferences. Edwin was awarded his doctorate in Literature from the University of Essex. Formerly, a Senior Lecturer in Education at Anglia Ruskin University, he is now an independent scholar.

CHAPTER 1

The Potency of the Periodical Press

Earth's deepest night from this blest hour,
The night of minds is gone!
"The Press!" all lands shall sing;
The Press, the Press we bring
All lands to bless.—Ebenezer Eliot[1]

This chapter provides an overview of some of the most important and influential periodicals that contributed significantly and persistently to raising the profile of the education debate in nineteenth-century England. What follows provides the framework for subsequent chapters that focus in greater detail on the periodical press and the women and men who expressed their opinions about education in secular, religious, educational and children's publications that informed and formed public opinion across a diverse English reading audience. Among those whose writings appeared in print were not only the most celebrated novelists, poets and social critics of the age but also lesser-known individuals who were passionate about education. They too are given voice and importance in the subsequent unfolding story of the relationship between print media and elementary education.

[1] Eliot, Ebenezer. (The Corn Law Rhymer) (1781–1849). *The Autobiography of William Jerdan*, London: Arthur Hall, Virtue, & Co., Paternoster Row, 1852, 81.

E. P. Powell, *Elementary Education in English Periodicals, 1833–1880*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-70014-9_1

'Acres of Print'[2]

The ink-stained hands of contributors to print media in nineteenth-century England were occasionally on the receiving end, not of a cautionary slap on the wrist for the limitations of their literary efforts, but of scathing criticism from, in the following case, an eminent literary figure. Far from bestowing a benediction on 'on a set of infamous scribblers,'[3] Thomas Carlyle's savage denunciation of the British Press as Satanic, succeeded unintentionally in accurately attributing significant influence and status to print media:

> The Journalists are now the true Kings and Clergy: henceforth Historians, Unless they are fools, must write not of Bourbon Dynasties, and Tudors and Hapsburgs, but of Stamped Broad-sheet Dynasties, and quite new successive names, according as to this or the other Able Editor, or Combination of Able Editors, gains the world's ear. Of the British Newspaper Press, perhaps the most important of all, and wonderful enough in its secret constitution and procedure, a valuable descriptive history already exists in that language, under the title of *Satan's Invisible World Displayed*.[4]

Ironically, given the satirical thrust of the above quotation from Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*, the book was serialised in *Fraser's* Magazine (1830–1882) from 1833 to 1834, and his career depended significantly upon the growth of the periodical press in nineteenth-century England.

A contrary view was expressed by William Hazlitt (1778–1830), whose critical stance on the important place of periodicals in the literary marketplace provides us with a much more favourable assessment of the cultural importance of print culture and its connectedness in creating a shared experience gathered around the printed word:

> I now come to speak of that sort of writing which has been so successfully cultivated in this country by our periodical Essayists, and which consists in applying the talents and resources of the mind to all that mixed mass of human affairs, which though not included under the head of any regular art,

[2] Wills, W.H. *The Appetite for News*, *Household Words,* June 1850.
[3] Washington, George. Letter to Alexander Hamilton, June 26, 1796, 1.
[4] Carlyle, Thomas.1833-1834, Sartor Resartus, Book 1, 38.

> science or profession, falls under the cognizance of the writer, and comes home to business and bosoms of men.[5]

Seven years after his satire on the place of journalism in the cultural life of the country, Carlyle (1795–1881) had reached a different conclusion on the potency of what he referred to in 1841 as the 'fourth estate':

> Burke said there were Three Estates in parliament; but, in the Reporters' Gallery yonder, there sat a *Fourth Estate* more important far than they all. It is not a figure of speech, or a witty saying; it is a literal fact, - very momentous to us in these times. Literature is our Parliament too. Printing, which comes necessarily out of Writing, I say often, is equivalent to Democracy: invent writing, Democracy is inevitable. Writing brings Printing; brings universal every-day extempore Printing, as we see now. Whoever can speak, speaking now to the whole nation becomes a power, a branch of government, with inalienable weight in law-making, in all acts of authority. It matters not what rank he has, what revenues or garnitures: the requisite thing is that he have (sic) a tongue which others will listen to; this & nothing more is requisite. The nation is governed by all that has tongue in the nation: Democracy is virtually *there*.[6]

Important and popular nineteenth-century literary figures, among whom were Charles Dickens (1812–1870) , George Eliot (1819–1880), Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832), William Wordsworth and the political economist Harriet Martineau (1802–1876), were quick to take full advantage of the benefits of being published in periodicals. In doing so, they elevated the quality of the literary content of periodicals. Furthermore, their writings would bear witness to Carlyle's aforementioned powerful and prescient comments that print culture was a democratising force in nineteenth-century England. Dickens focused on a specific role in print culture when on April 6, 1864, he delivered a speech to the Printers' Pension Society in which he praised the critical and indispensable role of the printer in the life of the nation:

> The printer is the friend of intelligence, of thought; he is the friend of liberty, of freedom, of law; indeed, the printer is the friend of every man

[5] Hazlitt, William. "On the periodical essayists," 1819, *Quotidian,* Ed. Patrick Madden. February 3, 2007, 1.

[6] Carlyle, Thomas. *On Heroes and Hero Worship,* Lecture V, 1841, 418.

> who is a friend of order; the friend of everyman who can read. Of all inventions, of all the discoveries in science or art, of all the great results in the progress of mechanical energy and skill, the printer is the only product of civilization necessary to the existence of free man.[7]

Other prominent novelists, essayists, poets, politicians, church leaders and influential educators and less well- known contributors would add significantly to a periodical culture that was at the apex of a blossoming nineteenth-century mass media. Periodicals were part of the *Spirit of the Age* that witnessed an explosion of print material inserting itself into the nation's consciousness. The national landscape was increasingly populated by periodicals that would contribute to the formation of individual and national identity among a diverse English reading audience. The prominence of periodical culture is well-documented in an extensive body of scholarship that extends from the Regency period to the late nineteenth-century in Britain.[8] These studies have tended to focus on a variety of topics that featured in the periodical press; specifically, though not exclusively, art, the practice of literary criticism, law, medicine, music, sport, agriculture, theatre, temperance, Victorian occupations and commerce. In Joanne Shattock's (2017) edited collection on *Journalism and the Periodical Press in Nineteenth-Century England*, some twenty leading scholars have written on a variety of subjects but not specifically on elementary education.[9] The importance of investigating the relationship between the periodical press and education has therefore been justifiably highlighted by Janice Schroeder (2017), who argues:

[7] Fielding, K.J. Ed. *The Speeches of Charles Dickens,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960, 325.

[8] Altick, Richard D. *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900,* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998. Gilmartin, Kevin. *Print Politics-The press and radical opposition in early nineteenth century England,* Cambridge: *Cambridge University Press*, 1996. Klancher, Jon P. *The Making of English Reading Audiences, 1790-1832,* Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1996. Schoenfield, Mark. *British Periodicals and Romantic Identity: The "Literary Lower Empire,"* Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. Shattock, Joanne and Wolff, Michael, eds. *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings*, Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982. Vann, J. Don and VanArsdel, Rosemary T. eds. *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.

[9] Shattock, Joanne, ed. *Journalism and the Periodical Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain,* Cambridge*:* Cambridge University Press, 2017.

> Within Victorian periodical studies, education in its various dimensions has received relatively little focused attention. *The Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, for example, contains no topic entries on education or schooling, and the entry on the professions and journalism contains scant mention of the teachers' press.[10]

Evidence from secondary sources on the Victorian periodical press tends to confirm Schroeder's position on the "relatively little focused attention" given to the relationship between periodicals and education.[11] Periodicals provide access points through which educational issues can be investigated in order to address the need for the detailed scrutiny and analysis of a subject that has received insufficient scholarly consideration. The status of periodicals is underscored by Jon Klancher (1987) who draws our attention to the diverse reading audiences and reach of some of the leading and most influential publications during the first three decades of the nineteenth century:

> The most significant journals gathered audiences of five to fifteen thousand readers each: the *Edinburgh Review* (1802), the *Examiner* (1808), the *Quarterly Review* (1809), the *Monthly Magazine* (1814), *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (1817), the *London Magazine* (1821), the *Westminster Review* (1824), the Athenaeum (1828), *Fraser's Magazine* (1830), the *Metropolitan* (1831). [The reading audiences represented] upper civil servants and clergy, the richer merchants and manufacturers, the gentry and the professionals, all earning more than eight hundred pounds a year. Much more selectively, the journals also reached into the "middling classes" of some two hundred thousand teachers, lesser clergy and civil servants, and shopkeepers, each earning three hundred pounds or less a year.[12]

Shattock supports Klancher's view of the potency of the periodical press which "was a material presence on the streets of villages, towns and cities, its readers numbering in hundreds of thousands." She goes on to emphasise "the representative power of the press; it reflected the views of a far broader cross section of society than Parliament, given the limits of the

[10] Schroeder, Janice. *Victorian Education and the Periodical Press*, Victorian Periodicals Review, Johns Hopkins University Press, v. 50, no. 4, Winter 2017, 679–685.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Klancher, Jon P. *The Making of English Reading Audiences, 1790-1832,* Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1987, 50.

franchise."[13] However, debates about elementary education in the periodical press were invariably initiated and taken forward by members of the literate middle class. Periodicals were intended for a very specific reading audience which, with some exceptions, did not include the working classes. Furthermore, advocates of progressive or unconventional educational ideas and practices were also part of a discourse occurring exclusively among the middle class in the periodical press.

Given the scholarly consensus on the socio-cultural significance of the periodical press, investigation is needed of the prominence and on-going attention given specifically to elementary education in those publications. So, this book differs from recent studies by focusing on extending our understanding of debates about elementary education and educational turning points in secular, religious and teachers' periodicals in England from 1833 to 1880.

The Victorian period witnessed successive governments becoming increasingly involved in shaping and directing a national elementary education system, instituting an inspectorate of schools and introducing teachers' certification and registration. Measures that would inevitably create tensions between secular and religious versions of elementary education, while also signalling that denominational charities could not finance the need for more schools in urban and rural areas. Print-mediated sources would also play a prominent role in bringing an English reading audience's attention to the rising and persistent tensions between progressive and traditional educational ideas and practices from the mid-to-late nineteenth century.

The inclusion of specific periodicals in this book has been informed principally by their status as publications whose sales and circulation figures, political affiliations and reading audiences represented a diverse, though not wholly inclusive, cross-section of British society. Public opinion about a myriad of subjects, including debates about education, was formed to a large extent by these periodicals. For example, The *Edinburgh Review* contributed significantly to the development of modern periodicals and played a pivotal role in raising the standards of literary criticism. The *Edinburgh* was one of the best-selling periodicals in Britain, promoting political and educational reforms. As Jon Klancher (1987) has argued, the *Edinburgh* in common with

[13] Shattock, Joanne, ed. *Journalism and the Periodical Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain,* Cambridge*:* Cambridge University Press, 2017, 3.

> [s]uch representative journals as *Blackwood's*, the *Athenaeum*, the *New Monthly* … and *Fraser's*, [succeeded in producing] a powerful transauthorial discourse [that] echoes through its protean collection of styles, topics, and voices. The readers gathered by this discourse form not only an empirical audience, but also a collective interpreter mapping out the cultural physiognomy of Britain.[14]

Educational issues, considered from a Whig perspective, appeared with regularity in the *Edinburgh Review*. Progressive educational ideas and arguments in favour of greater State involvement in elementary education, especially for working-class children, were championed by this periodical. Henry Brougham (1778–1868), Whig politician, liberal leader in the House of Commons, Lord Chancellor from 1830 to 1834 and the driving force behind the Great Reform Act of 1832, was a prominent figure in the history of the *Edinburgh Review*. Brougham was at the forefront of educational reform in nineteenth-century England. He was progressive, pragmatic and prescient in identifying the need to 'fill up the gaps' in educational provision for working-class children by anticipating the 1870 Education Act. Brougham played a pivotal role in raising the profile and importance of universal, elementary education through his political activities and contributions to the *Edinburgh Review*. Other notable and influential contributors included Thomas Arnold (1795–1842), Thomas Carlyle, William Hazlitt, Felicia Hemans (1793–1835), Francis Jeffrey (1773–1850), Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–1859), Sir Walter Scott, Sydney Smith (1771–1845), Leigh Hunt (1784–1859) and John Stuart Mill (1806–1873). As elementary education became increasingly politicised during the nineteenth century, so the major political parties ensured they had a prominent role in promoting their views on the subject in the periodical press.

The *Quarterly Review* came into existence as a mouthpiece for the Tories in response to the *Edinburgh's* Whig values. Mark Schoenfield (2009) argues that founding the *Quarterly Review* "solidified John Murray's position as a publisher and consolidated the notion of publisher as public figure."[15] The *Quarterly Review* was closely associated with specific, dominant cultural values: a classical education, the primacy of the

[14] Klancher, Jon P. *The Making of English Reading Audiences, 1790-1832,* Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1987, 51–52.

[15] Schoenfield, Mark. *British Periodicals and Romantic Identity: The "Literary Lower Empire,"* Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan,2009, 7.

Established Church in controlling elementary education, especially in respect of working-class children, and the continuation of well-defined hierarchical and sharply calibrated conservative social distinctions. Editorial policies may have been influenced by the importance of educational institutions which were, according to Raymond Williams (1996),

> The main agencies of the transmission of an effective dominant culture, and this is now a major economic as well as a cultural activity; indeed it is both in the same moment. Moreover, at a philosophical level, at the true level of theory and at the level of history of various practices, there is a process which I call the *selective tradition*: that which, within the terms of an effective dominant culture, is always passed off as '*the* tradition', '*the* significant past.'[16]

Williams's argument helps to explain the cultural significance and politicisation of education as an agency of transmission of 'an effective dominant culture' and how the battle for 'control' of education becomes [and remains] a battle to uphold or challenge dominant culture in the nineteenth century. Significantly, the *Quarterly Review* provides an entry point for examining anti-radical, traditional educational values, meanings and practices that were among the core values of its editorial policy. Any attempt to understand the tensions between progressive and traditional educational theories and practices needs to explore such conflicts as expressed by opposing political ideologies in these influential publications. Importantly, the *Quarterly Review* was established and supported by a number of highly influential and powerful literary and political figures: Walter Scott, Robert Southey, John Wilson Croker (1780–1857) and George Canning (1770–1827). Opposed to political reform, its readership was predominantly middle class.

George Eliot expressed her support for *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* later in the nineteenth–century by publishing all but one of her novels in that periodical. By the 1850s, novels were typically published and serialised in the first instance in periodicals rather than as stand-alone versions. The print volumes came afterwards. Surprisingly, given the criticism of his poetry in the early numbers of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*,

[16] Williams, Raymond. *From Base and Superstructure in* Marxist Cultural Theory, in New Historicism and Cultural Materialism: A Reader, ed. Kiernan Ryan, London: Arnold, 1996, 22–28.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge regarded it as "an unprecedented Phenomenon [sic] in the world of letters,"[17] while Ann Matheson (1989) suggests:

> The magazines in this genre were of a different intellectual stature from their early nineteenth century counterparts, and they dominated Scottish periodical publishing in the early Victorian period, attracting a readership that spanned not only Scotland but also England. They appealed to the professional reading market that was building up in Scotland and provided the educational sections of Scottish society with the kind of intellectual stimulus they sought.[18]

Blackwood's, the popularity of which is reflected in its acquisition of the familiar name, *Maga*, published major nineteenth-century fiction and non-fiction by, among others, Anthony Trollope (1815–1882), Thomas Hardy (1840–1928) and Oscar Wilde (1854–1900). Well known for its personal attacks on contemporary personalities, the periodical's Tory political loyalties significantly influenced its position on elementary education. Recourse to a highly selective interpretation of the past permeated the *Maga's* opinions on education for the working class and confirms a contemporary view of an important reciprocal relationship between historical conditions and text creation: "we cannot be ignorant that hitherto, whenever the lower orders of any great state have obtained a smattering of knowledge, they have generally used it to produce national ruin."[19] The periodical's opposition to government interference in education, which according to one review ought to be "exclusively in the hands of men who stand aloof from party," reflected a traditional cultural feature that privileged the voluntary principle over a State financed and controlled system of universal, elementary education.[20]

According to Kevin Gilmartin (1996), the increasing politicisation of elementary education by periodicals affiliated to the two dominant political parties

> [w]as challenged by a radical reform movement that belittled the difference between the two parties, and cultivated an ominous new class of political

[17] Matheson, Ann. *Scottish Periodicals*, in *Victorian Periodicals: A Guide to* Research vol. 2, eds. Vann , J. Don and VanArsdel, Rosemary T. New York: MLA, 1989, 100.
[18] Ibid.
[19] *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, May 1825, 534.
[20] Ibid.

> readers [and] effective distribution networks extended this periodical saturation through space as well as time. […] In the manufacturing districts they had been circulated by every contrivance; every town was overflowed by them; in every village they were almost innumerable.[21]

Leigh and John Hunt's newspaper the *Examiner* (1808 -1886) was committed to radical reformist principles and attracted contributions from some of the outstanding literary figures of the nineteenth century: Lord Byron (1778–1830), John Keats (1795–1821), William Hazlitt, Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822), John Stuart Mill, John Forster (1812–1876), William Makepeace Thackeray (1811–1863) and Charles Dickens. The *Examiner* took a progressive, politically challenging position on education, arguing that "knowledge is power" but a minority in society have a "legal monopoly" on both.[22] Striking out against features of the middle-class and upper-class establishment, the periodical lambasted the clergy who dominated teaching: the "grave, reverend, erudite person" possessing "unapproachable superiority" and persons who pronounced on the ultimate dangers of educating the working class.[23] Perpetuating ignorance as a means of control and in order to maintain strict paternalism was viewed by the *Examiner* as a deliberate strategy to ensure the persistence of respect for traditional hierarchical distinctions and subservience among the working class. These issues would remain an important feature of the elementary education debate covered in periodicals from the mid-to-late nineteenth century. As far as the *Examiner* was concerned, the "universal acquirement of education to a limited extent has now become a link in the great chain of consequence."[24] Radical educational ideas represent some of the most important theoretical and practical educational turning points in nineteenth-century England. Therefore, the *Examiner* is an important source as a counterweight to traditionalism and the cultural status quo that featured in mainstream publications.

In responding to changing historical conditions by offering a quickly and widely circulating medium, periodicals and the literary works they reviewed drew attention to, fuelled and sustained the momentum of the education debates from the mid-to-late nineteenth century. As Paul Fry

[21] Gilmartin, Kevin. *Print Politics: The press and radical opposition in early nineteenth century England*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996, 81–83.
[22] The *Examiner,* General Education; 681, Jan. 1821, 33–5.
[23] Ibid., 34.
[24] Ibid.

(2009) points out: the relationship between literature and the historical contexts to which it responds is a fundamental bond because "the return to the real world is language bound, because it is by means of discourse that power circulates knowledge, and that it is by language that the real world shapes itself."[25] One of the central arguments in this book is shaped by Fry's contention that "literature has a discursive agency that affects history every bit as much as history affects literature."[26] Writing by Victorian novelists and contributors to periodicals was not produced in isolation from their awareness of, and thinking about past and current historical events. Such reciprocal relationships between authors, the world they lived in, and the media of the printed word represent a recurring theme in this literary-historical study.

Education featured prominently and regularly in general interest, educational and religious periodicals that informed and formed public opinion and, thereby, created an English reading audience with a consequent effect on individual and national identity. Since the eighteenth century, circulating libraries, such as Mudie's Lending Library and Mudie's Subscription Library established in London from 1852, ensured that printed publications reached a much wider and more diverse readership. Among those texts were fictionalised representations of elementary education which were serialised and multiply reviewed in periodicals. Thus a relationship was formed between journalism and literary works which ensured that educational issues received media attention throughout the Victorian period. Moreover, the geographical and demographic reach of print culture meant that education entered into a national debate.

Discourses on formal and informal education in the periodical press covered legislation, policy, pedagogical initiatives, the professionalisation of teaching and opinions concerning the extension of provision for working-class children. Also, fundamental questions were raised about the need for and dangers of a 'national' education system and which organisations should provide and pay for it. Furthermore, what should be taught and why? Ultimately, was elementary education about the democratisation of knowledge, the imparting of skills and discipline? These contentious issues were at the heart of debates about elementary education which

[25] Fry, Paul. Transcript: Lecture 19 - The New Historicism, Yale University, March 31, 2009, 3.
[26] Ibid.

featured prominently and continuously in the periodical press throughout the nineteenth century.

Initially, coverage of elementary education in periodicals was dominated by opposing views on a fundamental question: do "coarse hands," Dickens's satiric metonymy for working people, also need heads?[27] Dickens of course argues that they do, because the alternative is inexorably to become either the kind of victim that Stephen Blackpool becomes in *Hard Times* (1854) or to perpetuate the cruelty of his persecutors. Important periodicals such as the *Edinburgh Review* (1802–1900), the *Examiner* (1808–1886), the *London Magazine* (1732–present), *Household Words* (1850–1859) and the *Educational Times* (1847–1923) were prominent in the evolution of a coherent and meaningful movement committed to introducing what we might now identify as progressive education. By contrast, among their antagonists were the Tory *Quarterly Review* (1809–1967), *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (1817–1980) and the *Analyst* (1834–1840) whose highly politicised reviews were dismissive of education reforms proposed by the Whigs.

A much earlier and instructive example of the burgeoning importance of print culture is revealed by a relatively obscure historical figure, Nehemiah Wallington (1598–1658). This artisan and Puritan chronicler was a compulsive and obsessive purchaser and reader of print material. He has recently been described by Joad Raymond as a "Calvinist, autodidact and Woodturner,"[28] who wrote:

> I find so many of these little pamflets of weekly news about my house I thought they were so many theeves that had stole away my money before I was aware of them[.] At first they cast me into some sad thought: to thinke that I should be so unwise to cast so much money away in so dead time of traiding and a hard time of getting [.] I must one day give account before the grat God as how I have got my mony: so I must give an account how I have improved and laid out every penny I have: my contience tells me I have been very remisse and unwise in some kind both in gitting and in spending.[29]

[27] Dickens, Charles. *Great Expectations*: serialised in *All The Year Round*, December 1, 1860–August 1861.

[28] Raymond, Joad. ed., *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, Volume 1: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, 1.

[29] Booy, David ed., *The Notebooks of Nehemiah Wallington, 1618 -1654: A Selection*, in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, Volume 1: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, Ed. Raymond, Joad. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, 156.