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An assessment of the contribution of Sir Hugh Owen to education in Wales

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CHAPTER SIX

THE UNIVERSITY MOVEMENT PRIOR TO 1872

Great though the work of Hugh Owen had been in founding training colleges in Wales, his ultimate ambition was to establish a Welsh university. University College London had been founded in 1826 - a year after his arrival in the city, and the following decade, 1826-1836, became notable for the sudden expansion in higher education. After centuries of inactivity the enthusiasm for establishing university colleges in so many parts of the country became infectious. Following upon University College London, St. David's College, Lampeter, was founded in 1827, and to counteract the "godless college" in Gower Street, the King's College in the Strand was established in 1829. The university of Durham was founded in 1832, and soon afterwards the Queen's Colleges in Ireland (1849) and the Owens College in Manchester (1851).

Such activity excited educationally minded people throughout the land, and it must have been instrumental in firing the imagination and ambition of Welshmen both in Wales and in London. It has been claimed that the desire to establish a University in Wales had been a cherished ideal in the far-off days of Owen Glyndŵr, and that similar ambitions had ^{been} again expressed during the Cromwellian period. Yet the first really serious University Movement in Wales developed during

this mid nineteenth century period of enthusiasm for higher education.⁽¹⁾ It has already been noted that the 1840's were exciting years in the history of Welsh education, and it was during that particular decade that new hopes and ambitions for a University in Wales were expressed both in the Principality and in London. Characteristically, it was the denominational periodicals, which had already done so much to influence public opinion in Wales, that were first to manifest enthusiasm for promoting a national institution of this kind.

The "Traethodydd", in 1848, deploring the general absence of the Welsh language as a medium of instruction in the schools and educational institutions of Wales - lamented in passing - the lack of a University or a "National Institution of Education", within our borders.⁽²⁾ Although merely an aside in this context, it was a significant straw in the wind, and an indication that the ideal was already presenting itself to Nonconformity in Wales.

Of more direct interest was the "Second Letter on the Present Defective State of Education in Wales," written in 1848 by William Williams, M.P.⁽³⁾ He lamented the deplorable

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- (1) This account will deal in the main with the activities of Sir Hugh Owen in connection with the University Movement. For a general history of the University of Wales see:-
 W. L. Jones & C.W. Davies, The University of Wales, London; 1905; Iwan Morgan, The College by the Sea, Aberystwyth, 1928; T.I. Ellis, The Development of Higher Education in Wales, Wrexham, 1935; Sir Emrys Evans, The University of Wales, Historical Sketch, Cardiff, 1953; E.L. Ellis, Trans. Hon. Cymm. Soc., 1968, 203-220.
- (2) Y Traethodydd, 1848, 62.
- (3) A Second Letter on the Present Defective State of Education in Wales. By William Williams, London, 1848. Pamphlet.

state of education in his native land and drew an invidious comparison between the Government's treatment of Wales and Ireland in higher education. He was greatly attracted by the new Irish colleges, and regarded similar provision in Wales as a most desirable prospect. Optimistically, he speculated how inestimable would be the blessing conferred upon Wales if a College were there established on the principles of the new Irish Colleges; for the education of the middle class and a training school attached to it for educating schoolmasters.⁽¹⁾ In the light of subsequent events, this suggestion is of particular interest, for it must have excited the attention of many others connected with educational affairs of Wales, and not least among these was Hugh Owen.

A close associate of William Williams in London at this time was E. G. Salisbury, of Chester, and he too in November, 1848, wrote two letters on "Education for the Welsh." One was addressed to the Marquis of Landsdowne, the Lord President of Her Majesty's Council, and the other to William Williams.⁽²⁾ In his letter to the Marquis, Salisbury fully agreed with, and warmly supported the suggestions for a University College put forward in the letter published by William Williams. It is worth noting that at a much later date, in 1885, the "Traethodydd" in reviewing some of the activities of Williams and Salisbury during the late forties, referred to the immense interest that they had taken in higher education, and also mentioned their burning desire to establish Queen's Colleges in Wales at that time. Whilst Williams had been keen to

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- (1) A Second Letter on the Present Defective State of Education in Wales. By William Williams, London, 1848. Pamphlet.
- (2) E. G. Salisbury, "Education for the Welsh," To William Williams and the Most Honourable The Marquis of Landsdowne, London, 1849.

establish such a college in South Wales, Salisbury was equally enthusiastic to have one placed in North Wales, and both were convinced that they would require state aid.⁽¹⁾

The article also referred to a meeting that they had had with the Marquis of Landsdowne himself - but had failed to persuade him to support them. This was a particularly ambitious step to take, and it is a matter of considerable regret that they did not then succeed. Of even greater interest to us in this context is the statement that after their unsuccessful attempt the idea was left in abeyance until 1851 - when Hugh Owen joined them, and after another three years, George Osborne Morgan. On this evidence it seems that it was William Williams and E. G. Salisbury who were initially responsible for drawing the attention of Hugh Owen to the idea of establishing Queen's Colleges in Wales. Be that as it may, it was a most fruitful alliance, for Hugh Owen was subsequently to become even more imbued with the idea than either of his two colleagues, and in due course, it was he who was to become the main driving force to implement the idea.

The concept of a national institution of Higher education slowly gained ground in this way, and even as early as 1848, the Minutes of the Board of the Presbyterian College at Carmarthen, recorded that "there is a growing desire amongst intelligent men of various denominations to coalesce for the establishment of an Academical Institution on a large scale. It would be a vast step in the cause of unsectarian education in Wales."

The reaction of the Welsh press to the suggestions of

(1) Y Traethodydd, 1885; 6.

William Williams was encouraging, and in 1849, for instance, the Rev. Hugh Jones, in the "Drysorfa Gynnulleidfaol" warmly approved the idea of establishing a General College in Wales which would include a University and Training School. In

his view it should be a government-supported non-sectarian institution. He advocated a college on the same principle as the London University with the authority to grant degrees.⁽¹⁾ The invidious position of Wales - when colleges in England, Scotland and Ireland were privileged to grant degrees was again lamented. The writer, however, was pleased to inform his readers that William Williams and the Rev. J. R. Jones (Kilsby), were prepared to travel from place to place in Wales when invited, so as to explain the principles upon which Wales could establish its own system of higher education. He exhorted people to contact them as soon as possible. Definite attempts to publicize the university idea among the Welsh people were thus being made during the late forties. Dr. W. Davies, of the Ffrwd-y-fal Academy, writing in "Yr Haul" during those turbulent post "Blue Books Report" days, claimed that had Wales been blessed with an institution of higher education of its own, similar to the London University, it would have been in a much happier state both morally and educationally.⁽²⁾ In very expansive terms he proposed the endowment by the Government of two university colleges in Wales - the one in North and the other in South Wales, with a grant of £3,000 a year each, and £20,000 each for building purposes. He expressed a pious hope that sectarian differences would not deter the Welsh

(1) Y Drysorfa Gynnulleidfaol, 1849. 61.

(2) Yr Haul, 1849. 127-129.

people from uniting to promote this idea, and he assured his readers that young Welshmen who anticipated taking holy orders could proceed to complete their professional training at their respective denominational academies, after graduating at this university. Unwittingly perhaps, Davies had touched upon the two fundamental difficulties - the financial and the sectarian - which were to emerge as almost unsurmountable obstacles to the movement for the next forty years.

Another eminent Nonconformist leader, the Rev. Principal Henry Griffiths of the Congregational College at Brecon, also supported the movement for university education during the late forties. In his opinion, we were in need of a 'National University' in Wales.⁽¹⁾ He too, wanted parity of treatment with other countries not only of the United Kingdom, but also of Europe. He was convinced that such a university would be a great inspiration to the nation, and as Griffiths was much esteemed in educational circles he would carry considerable weight in a very wide sector of public opinion.

This interest was not solely confined to the Nonconformists, for in 1849, Sir Thomas Phillips, in his valuable book on Wales, referred to the urgent need for a university in Wales. He lamented that St. David's College, Lampeter, had not been given the power to grant degrees. In his view, "the granting of university privileges to Durham, which are withheld from St. David's College produces a sense of injustice - especially in men who have been educated there,

(1) Y Traethodydd, 1849. 434.

and who are deprived in after life of advantages dependent on the possession of a university degree, which they would have enjoyed had they graduated at Durham or a Scotch or Irish University."⁽¹⁾ He believed that St. David's, Lampeter, formed a natural focus and centre for the development of a university in Wales. He maintained that if "the appointments, means of study and regulation of St. David's College are of similar character to those of other Universities, and the attainments of the students reach the same standard, it is a hardship to with-hold from that College the like privileges which have so recently been conferred on the University of Durham."⁽²⁾ His wishes were only partially fulfilled when St. David's was given the right to confer the degree of Bachelor of Divinity in 1832. It had to wait until 1865 before it could grant the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

It seems that the desire to establish institutions of higher education continued to gain momentum, and in 1852 another compelling demand came from a most unexpected quarter. In that year "The Association of Welsh Clergy in the West Riding" sent a petition to Parliament in which, whilst it approved of the concession granted to Lampeter of conferring theological degrees, it expressed the opinion that, having regard to "the peculiar state of the Principality, where four-fifths of its inhabitants are estranged from the Established Church, nothing short of a University founded on broad and liberal principles can meet the present necessities of the country, or raise the moral and intellectual character of its people be they Churchmen or Dissenters." It assured the members of the House of Commons, "That your petitioners

(1) Sir Thomas Phillips, Wales. 326-327.

(2) ibid.

consider it both unjust and impolitic to with-hold from the Welsh people those university privileges and literary distinctions which have been granted to Ireland, Scotland and other portions of the United Kingdom." They desired nothing less than "a university for Wales with a power of conferring degrees, where the youth of the country may receive an education, high as to its standard of excellency, and inexpensive in the mode of its acquirement."⁽¹⁾

This was unexpected support not only geographically, but also denominationally, for it will be seen that the Established Church was far from enthusiastic about founding a national non-sectarian university in the Principality. The late Professor W. J. Gruffydd in consequence was particularly impressed by the magnanimity of these clergymen in exile.⁽²⁾

Of all these early manifestations in support of a University in Wales, the most pungent was a pamphlet written in 1853 by B. T. Williams - then a student in Glasgow University - under the title, "The Desirableness of A University for Wales Together with A Plan Proposed for its Establishment and Sustenance." This was a particularly perceptive evaluation of the state of higher education at the time - although many years later, in giving evidence before Lord Aberdare's Committee - he tended to dismiss the essay as "a boyish pamphlet", and stressed that he had subsequently come to reconsider many of his early views, even to the extent of a private doubt whether the existence of a degree-giving university in Wales was intrinsically desirable at that stage,

(1) Report of the Proceedings of the Association of Welsh Clergy in the West Riding of Yorkshire. March, 1852.

(2) W. J. Gruffydd, op cit, 172.

in view of the facilities offered by the external examinations of the University of London.⁽¹⁾

Yet in 1853, after a careful examination of all the existing colleges or denominational academies in Wales, he enumerated the reasons which would justify the immediate founding of a university in the Principality, particularly since Scotland was already blessed with four Universities. In his view, all the existing colleges should be "amalgamated into one liberal University College," and whilst such an institution must of necessity be unsectarian, he feared that a truly secular university would be quite unacceptable.⁽²⁾

It is worth observing that in 1853 he did not believe that an Institution precisely similar to that of University College, London could "possibly succeed in our part of the country." As he pointed out "in London the University is at Somerset House, while its Colleges are all over the Kingdom. Lectures are delivered at the Colleges and not at the University. The University has strictly to do only with the taking of degrees."⁽³⁾ He did not approve of such an arrangement at all, and favoured the Scottish arrangement whereby "the University and the Colleges are generally one, governed by the same Senate and scarcely recognized as separate Institutions at all."⁽⁴⁾

He wished that the University of Wales should consist of one good and extensive College authorized to grant degrees in every department of learning. Ironically in view of later

(1) Report of the Departmental Committee, 1881, Evidence Q. 7305-7. Q 7319-20.

(2) B. T. Williams: "The Desirableness of A University for Wales Together with a Plan Proposed for its Establishment," 1853.

(3) ibid.

(4) ibid

developments, he added "we do not want a Somerset House University in Wales and remain divided as we are now." He was in favour of what may be termed "a unitary university", embracing the study of "Divinity, Arts, Law, Medicine and any other science which may be deemed desirable."⁽¹⁾

Such arrangements, he thought, could be financed by pooling various resources such as a government grant, voluntary subscriptions, student fees, the funds of various academi^s and those of the Presbyterian Board in London. He did not seem to favour halls of residence or "protected virtue," and was much more in favour of private lodgings. For any theological teaching he advocated the formation of Divinity Halls which students of all denominations could attend if they so wished, so there should be, "as many Halls as there are sects in the Principality." Lastly, he thought that the University could be centrally and conveniently located at say - Carmarthen, Swansea, Cardigan or Lampeter.⁽²⁾

The pamphlet embodied many interesting ideas and the controversy about the merits of a "unitary university" as opposed to a "federal university" has continued even into this century. Surprisingly, though, Williams's pamphlet did not then seem to have had the impact or the attention that it deserved, and Hugh Owen later confessed that he was unaware of its existence for another sixteen years. Be that as it may, it is evident that interest in higher education was gaining ground in many quarters during that decade.

Unaware of the proposals put forward by B. T. Williams, it will be recalled that Hugh Owen a year later, in 1854,

(1)(2) op cit.

convened a private meeting in London, at the house of Thomas Charles - a descendant of the famous founder of Welsh Sunday Schools. At this meeting, Owen read a paper proposing the establishment of colleges in Wales on the same pattern as the Queen's Colleges in Ireland.⁽¹⁾ With characteristic modesty he afterwards told the Departmental Committee in 1881, that he had prepared a preliminary statement "in general terms" with the object of inviting "discussion rather than to prescribe details," the main object "being to afford to the Middle Classes of Wales the advantages of a Collegiate Education based on unsectarian principles."⁽²⁾ Greatly imbued with the ideal of having a national institution at university level, he wished to "enlist the "sympathies of all parties and classes" and took good care to "wound the susceptibilities or interfere with the scruples of no sect or denomination."⁽³⁾

Owen maintained that young Welshmen were being denied university education in England on account of "the great expense," or due to the inconvenience attendant upon "long absence from their homes" and "above all, by religious scruples." He now wished to provide the youth of Wales with a "liberal and at the same time a practical education."⁽⁴⁾

It has been seen that in the five years or so prior to 1854, the idea of founding a University of Wales had been much to the forefront in the Welsh papers, and in London, where Hugh Owen had lived within a stone's throw of the University Colleges for over a quarter of a century, much

(1) Report of the Departmental Committee, 1881, Vol. 2. Evidence, Q. 307, and Appendix I. (See Appendix 15).

(2) Evidence Q. 307.

(3) *ibid.* Appendix I. Departmental Report.

(4) *ibid.*

expansion had taken place in University education. Letters and pamphlets had been published stressing the need for higher education, and most sectors of the community in Wales had become very much aware of this lamentable gap in the educational system. Once again, Owen could not claim any originality or boast of developing any new concept of higher education, nevertheless, unlike other advocates - the journalists, the denominational writers and ministers of religion - he was again prepared to put his ideas into practice. Like William Williams (or probably because of him), Owen in preparing his paper had largely drawn his inspiration from Ireland - he was greatly impressed by the success of the Irish Queen's Colleges.

Commenting on this first informal meeting, Owen was pleased to declare that "the proposal was received with favour and it was left with Mr. E. G. Salisbury, Mr. Osborne Morgan and myself to take such steps in furtherance of the objects as we might think best."⁽¹⁾ The three in addition were asked to prepare a constitution for the proposed colleges together with a prospectus, under the heading of an "Outline of Constitution of Proposed Welsh Queen's Colleges."⁽²⁾

The paper by Hugh Owen was mainly a declaration of policy to engender interest in higher education in Wales. Its importance in the history of this movement cannot be exaggerated, since it for the first time crystalized Welsh aspirations. The further brief statement by the committee of three provided an outline of the aims, constitution and

(1) Report of the Departmental Committee, 1881, Vol. 2, Evidence, Q. 307.

(2) ~~Based on~~ Appendix 1. Departmental Report.
(See Appendix 15.)

organisation of a projected college or colleges. Both statements were decisive in launching the movement, and at long last were a manifestation of serious intent. They were the modest forerunners of other much more detailed addresses and memoranda publicising the committee's plan for higher education.

This meeting in 1854, however, was not followed up by any sudden or dramatic development. The country, unfortunately, had become involved in the Crimean War and this was followed by the Indian Mutiny. It became inopportune to seek financial support from the Government. Of course, it was neither necessary nor politically urgent for the Government to appease Wales to the same extent as Ireland - Wales was far more peaceful and law-abiding. A far more likely reason for the delay and lack of action though, was the continued doubt about the real need and purpose of a university - an absence of conviction on the part of the nation to take the necessary initiative.

Referring years later to the lukewarmness which followed the 1854 meeting, Osborne Morgan declared, "we did not immediately obtain the response we expected, and under the circumstances we did what, perhaps, was the only thing we could have done, but what is very often, a very difficult thing to do. We waited. And at last the answer came."⁽¹⁾

Consequently the same persons, both in Wales and in London, who had interested themselves in the University Movement decided to turn their attention to establishing a training college for teachers. With surprising agility, Hugh Owen

(1) "Welshman," Oct. 18, 1872.

became completely immersed in this new task, and as we have already seen, his efforts led to the successful founding of the Normal College at Bangor.

The period between 1854 and 1862 became a disquieting interlude in the University movement. Most of the ~~an~~ergies of Welsh Nonconformity was diverted to projects such as the founding of the Bangor Normal College, the Methodist College at Bala and the Congregational Colleges at Carmarthen, Brecon and Bala.

The prolonged silence was broken in 1862 by a Dr. David Thomas, a Congregational Minister of Stockwell in London, when he wrote a letter on the need for a University in Wales in the "Cambria Daily Leader" - a Welsh daily newspaper established and owned by his son, David Morgan Thomas. It was the boast of this Dr. Thomas that "a week after the appearance of my letter I met with Dr. Thomas Nicholas, then a Tutor of Carmarthen College. I was then red-hot with the idea and sought to put him ablaze with my fire. I succeeded."¹

In consequence, Dr. Thomas Nicholas wrote a series of six letters in the "Cambria Daily Leader" and in the "Caernarvon Herald" on "Middle and High Schools and a University for Wales." These letters were later produced in pamphlet form in January, 1863. They presented a very comprehensive survey. Nicholas envisaged much wider horizons than those contained in the statement of Hugh Owen at the 1854 meeting. In surveying the whole scene, Nicholas was particularly conscious of the absence of Middle Schools in Wales, and

(1) David Thomas, D.D., The University College of Aberystwyth. 4. Pamphlet, London, 1886. In this pamphlet Thomas claims all the credit for stimulating the enthusiasm of Dr. Nicholas, and also for initiating the entire University Movement. All his references to Hugh Owen are most derogatory.

these he considered to be necessary to give its youth adequate preparation for collegiate work. This was a serious gap in the education system which Hugh Owen was tardy in appreciating, and this will be considered further in chapter eight.

In his first letter, Nicholas, with atypical Victorian attitude, wished to promote "an education suited to the exigencies of the middle and higher classes of our population." The needs of a class-ridden society and the demands of Victorian respectability had to be served, and since "the humbler class of children are now better educated than the higher," something must be "done to correct this serious anomaly." The Middle and High School education was definitely for the middle and upper classes."⁽¹⁾

In higher education, in complete contrast to the suggestion of B. T. Williams, he was a firm advocate of forming an examining university "empowered by the Crown to examine and confer degrees" on the same lines as the University of London. Unlike B. T. Williams, he did not envisage the formation of a large centrally placed teaching university in Wales, and instead favoured the establishment of two High Schools - one in North Wales and another in South Wales. He hoped that "in tone and standing they should be equal to the Irish Queen's Colleges, or even to University College, London."⁽²⁾ He favoured the idea of a federal university.

He attached much more importance to the establishment of Middle and High Schools than to the formation of a University, and he even put forward the idea - although he did

(1) & (2) Dr. Thomas Nicholas, Middle and High Schools and a University for Wales, 27-28.

not really favour it - that as a temporary measure, the Welsh Colleges could work in conjunction with the University of London - "as a branch by commission of the University of London."⁽¹⁾ It was sad but in keeping with the age that Nicholas did not expect this new university to have any particularly Welsh characteristic, and he even hoped it would be a means of bringing about the eclipse of the Welsh language.

The ideas in these letters proved most attractive to many people - including Hugh Owen and Gohebydd.⁽²⁾ The latter believed that the eisteddfod offered a perfect opportunity for discussion on important topics. Gohebydd suggested that a paper be read on "The University of Wales" by some person of distinction and influence, and that a discussion should follow.⁽³⁾

Acting upon Gohebydd's advice, Owen persuaded Nicholas to read a paper on this theme in the Social Science Section of the Swansea Eisteddfod in the Summer of 1863. Owen seldom missed an opportunity of this kind to publicize a cause so near his heart on the non-political and non-denominational platform of the eisteddfod, and since the Bangor Normal College was now well established, he could return to his first love and devote his undivided attention to the university project.

The press reports of the paper read by Nicholas at the Swansea indicated that they were much impressed by his proposals and referred to the great enthusiasm engendered in

(1) Dr. Thomas Nicholas, Middle and High Schools and a University for Wales, 27-28.

(2) Gohebydd (John Griffith, 1821-77), London Correspondent Baner ac Amserau Cymru, 1857-77.

(3) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Tach. 19, 1862.

favour of founding a university and for going ahead with such a scheme without delay. It was at this meeting that Hugh Owen met Nicholas for the first time, and so impressed was Owen by his knowledge and expertise in higher education that he invited him to a meeting in London in the following October. From the very beginning Owen was convinced that the most effective centre for the successful promotion of the venture would be in London and not in the Principality. It is clear, too, that from then onwards, Owen became the prime mover in the project, the convenor of meetings and the essential link in the chain of events which eventually led to the successful conclusion of the whole project.

Upon his arrival in London, Nicholas met William Williams, M.P., and he too must have been much impressed by the prospects of launching a successful University Movement, for on October 23rd, Williams announced his willingness to contribute £1,000 towards the movement.⁽¹⁾ It appeared to be a very promising beginning, and the meeting of Owen and Nicholas with G. Osborne Morgan and Morgan Lloyd (M.P. for the Anglesey Borough), took place at 1 Mitre Court, Temple, October 26th, in the happy knowledge that the fund for the University Movement had been launched with a resounding start of a £1,000. In consequence, the four gave serious consideration to the desirability of establishing Queen's Colleges and a Welsh University similar to that in Ireland. The arguments put forward by Nicholas had proved most convincing, and during those early years of the movement, the concepts promoted by Owen were very largely those formulated

(1) University for Wales, Minutes and Memoranda. 1.

by Nicholas. It was Nicholas, too, who was asked to take the first really decisive and practical step in preparing a draft address to explain to the Welsh nation the object of the proposed movement. This was submitted to Morgan Lloyd, George Osborne Morgan and Hugh Owen before being printed and distributed to a number of leading men in public affairs in Wales and London. These, were in turn, invited to become members of a Provisional Committee.⁽¹⁾

A sense of urgency developed in the movement, and the first meeting of the newly elected Provisional Committee was held at the Freemason's Tavern, Great Queen Street, as early as December 1st, 1863. The address prepared by Nicholas, although primarily a public statement declaring the aims of the movement, also drew attention to the dire needs of Wales for higher education and impressed upon the Welsh people how much more fortunate Scotland and Ireland were in this respect. William Williams, M.P., presided over this meeting, and four resolutions were adopted. In brief, these stated that it was desirable to establish a University in Wales; that a University for Wales should be a truly national institution located somewhere within the country, that in order to secure government aid a National Fund should be arranged and that an executive committee should be formed immediately.⁽²⁾

The Provisional Committee met again on December 9th, 1863, to form an Executive Committee, and at this meeting, Nicholas was appointed Secretary, Morgan Lloyd, Sub Treasurer with G. Osborne Morgan and Hugh Owen as Honorary Secretaries. These appointments guaranteed the effective functioning of the

(1). (2), U. W. Minutes and Memoranda. (Appendix 16).

Provisional Committee which would be London-based, and then the whole movement could be directed from there.

Now feeling much more assured of its functions, the Committee early in 1864 issued a further statement which amplified its aims and codified the general concepts expressed in the first "Address."⁽¹⁾ This manifesto was again couched in the most diplomatic and conciliatory language, for evidently its appeal to the greatest possible number of supporters from all sectors of the community was considered to be of the utmost importance. Statements on the anticipated aims of the university with regard to such matters as the Welsh nation or the Welsh language or the various denominational interests in Wales were most adroitly handled and delicately expressed.

For instance, it did not believe in establishing a University which would have the effect of "fostering a merely Welsh nationality and promoting in any degree the separation of the inhabitants of the Principality from the great English community," but considered that "here people should in reality, as well as practically, become an integral part of the United Kingdom." Whilst these lukewarm statements might not be declared offensive, they could hardly have rung true for ardent Welshmen. They rather represented the emasculated sentiments then held by so many exiles in London towards things Welsh.

Similar statements were made with reference to the Welsh language, for in its opinion "without depreciating or wishing to extinguish the vernacular language, or the time-honoured customs of Wales, it believed that the hope of the

(1) U. W. Minutes and Memoranda. 8. (See Appendix 17).

country" lay "in nearer approximation to England, in language and general culture, in commercial enterprize etc." In its view, what was required was "not the extinction of the Welsh, but the diffusion of the English." To safeguard the future of Wales, it exhorted the nation to "let the light enter, and let all the barriers which divert the influence of modern civilization from Wales be removed." Such resounding phrases would hold great appeal to Hugh Owen, and to many other members of the Committee, and possibly even to men such as David Davies of Llandinam.⁽¹⁾

From a characteristic mid-Victorian standpoint, it gave as its greatly coveted aim "a system of Middle and Higher Class Education which shall raise the tone of the national intellect in its more influential classes." The labouring classes had already been catered for by the elementary schols, and it was now confidently expected that those who had "laboured for the education of the poor" would "not stand aloof when the education of the middle and higher classes is sought to be advanced in proportionate ratio." Such exclusive provision hardly reflected the prevailing outlook of the Welsh people, and as the late Sir. D. Emrys Evans aptly observed, "It was not until the movement had obtained its College, and the College had discovered that its appeal reached the hearts and the pockets of ordinary working Welshmen in large numbers that this exclusiveness disappeared."⁽²⁾

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- (1) David Davies at the National Eisteddfod, Aberystwyth, 1865 said "the best medium to make money by was the English ... if (Welshmen) were content with brown bread, then let them, of course, remain where they were. But if they wished to enjoy the luxuries of life, with white bread to boot, the way to do so was by the acquisition of English. He knew what it was to eat both." - "Aberystwyth Observer," 30th Sept., 1865.
- (2) D. Emrys Evans: The University of Wales: A Historical Sketch, " 14.

Fully aware of past denominational conflicts - or the "religious difficulty" - in the educational life of Wales, the manifesto took great care to avoid all such problems and contemplated an entirely unsectarian college which would "avoid fettering itself with ecclesiastical or denominational peculiarities." Being very diplomatic, the manifesto blandly remarked that the "Welsh as a people belong neither to the Church of England, nor to the Nonconformity bodies," and neither, therefore, should "a University to suit the country belong exclusively, or even chiefly, to either of these parties." Justified though the promoters were to express such sentiments, the University movement, nevertheless, from its very inception almost inevitably became closely linked with Nonconformity in Wales, and men such as Hugh Owen who led in the campaign were drawn almost exclusively from the Nonconformist denominations.

The manifesto also deemed it vital to have the support of all sections of the community so that "a National Fund could be raised of such proportions as will gain for the movement the favour of the Legislature." It was a well conceived appeal to a nation of divided religious sympathies "for a degree of unity and much needed support to provide the country with a long overdue provision for higher education. Fortunately for the working party and its aspirations, the statement on the whole was given the support of the Welsh press, and the "Traethodydd" hoped that the leaders of the movement would be able to rise above the narrow interests of sect, clique and class and would be able to gain the co-operation of the whole community.⁽¹⁾ It will be seen that

(1) "Y Traethodydd," 1864, 259.

the two obstacles constantly referred to in the statements issued by the Committee throughout the early years of the movement, were the lack of unity of effort, and the lack of financial support. Early in 1864, the Committee took steps to get to grips with both these problems.

At first, there were great hopes of co-operation between the Established Church and the Nonconformists, and the Committee approached the authorities of St. David's College, Lampeter, to sound them on their willingness to include the College in the proposed Federal University. It was hoped that a practical working solution could be evolved. Negotiations looked fairly promising at first, and it seemed that at long last there might at least be an opportunity for some degree of co-operation between the two factions in the provision of Higher Education for Wales. These hopes, however, were to be short-lived, for on June 16th, 1864, the Committee of St. David's decided otherwise, and in the opinion of the Provisional Committee, "the proposal for amalgamating the two Committees should be deferred for the present in the hope that at a future time the consideration of the subject may be resumed with better prospects of realizing the object in view."⁽¹⁾

Unfortunately, not only did the Committees of the two sides fail to find agreement, but also from that time onwards, the Established Church adopted more or less the same attitude towards higher education in Wales as it had already assumed for many decades towards primary education. It was to remain aloof from the struggle to provide Wales with a national university. The immediate effects were twofold. In the first

(1) U. W. Minutes and Memoranda, 17-18.

place, Lampeter became more determined than ever to strengthen its independent position by extending the scope of its teaching and by seeking the right to award a degree in Arts as well as in Divinity. This power was ultimately granted in 1865. Secondly, Hugh Owen and his associates thought it advisable to let the federal university scheme recede temporarily into the background and to concentrate their efforts on the establishment of a university college.⁽¹⁾

It was left to the Nonconformists to assume responsibility for the University Movement, and in the words of Nicholas "there was nothing for it, but to proceed independently and assume an air of confidence as if we were rolling in wealth, and had widespread and popular support. But we did not enjoy either."⁽²⁾

The other immediate task of the Committee was to launch the "College Fund", and all reports indicate that members of the Committee were soon hard at work in many parts of the country addressing meetings, canvassing and collecting. An entry for September 6, 1864, gives an indication of the arduous nature of the work. The Secretary, Dr. Thomas Nicholas, reported that he "along with Mr. H. Owen, Mr. Osborne Morgan and Mr. Morgan Lloyd attended a Public Meeting at Caernarvon on the 30th Aug.; at Bangor accompanied by Mr. Owen, Sept. 1, and at Wrexham alone on the 2nd."⁽³⁾ Such an entry is highly reminiscent of the gruelling journeys formerly undertaken by the Rev. John Phillips on behalf of the Normal College. Similarly they journeyed in South Wales,

(1) D. Emrys Evans, University of Wales, 16.

(2) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Ion, 20, 1869.

(3) U. W. Minutes and Memoranda, 20.

for a month later, on October 18th, the secretary reported that "he had partly arranged to hold meetings at Llanelly, Carmarthen and Haverfordwest, and it was agreed that it was desirable that all meetings held should be possibly followed by a canvass for subscriptions."⁽¹⁾

In spite of this enthusiasm on the part of the promoters, the financial response of the nation at large was tardy in the extreme - the expected donations and subscriptions were not readily forthcoming. At best the response was both modest and sporadic. The sympathy, the hope and the excitement expressed in the journals and periodicals was not similarly manifested in practical form by the nation.

The lack of financial support and the absence of funds were to hamper the movement from its inception, and the problem lasted throughout the lifetime of Hugh Owen. It was a greater handicap even than the sectarian issue. To meet the financial needs of the movement, Dr. Thomas Nicholas intended to organise an appeal for a National Fund of £50,000 from voluntary subscriptions and old endowments before an application would "be made to Parliament for the residue of what may be required for the successful carrying out of the scheme."⁽²⁾ The subscriptions, however, were not forthcoming on anything like the expected scale, and this soon dampened the enthusiasm of the promoters for approaching the Government for support.

Reviewing this unhappy start, Nicholas afterwards indicated how difficult it had been to initiate this great national venture on a non-denominational basis with but few

(1) U. W. Minutes and Memoranda, 20.

(2) ibid 17-18.

people really interested in the project - and even those were very widely scattered throughout the land - with ~~wish~~ hardly a penny in hand to organise the work.⁽¹⁾ It was a cathartic experience and according to Nicholas, even William Williams, M.P., who had promised £1,000, was ~~wise~~ enough to hold on to his money until he could assess the reaction to the project.⁽²⁾ It is quite pathetic to read in the "Fanner" how the London Welshmen involved, even paid out of their own pockets, all the incidental expenses incurred in promoting the Movement during 1864 - with William Williams paying £24, Mr. Eliezer Pugh, Liverpool, paying £20, and Hugh Owen, Osborne Morgan and John Walsham subscribing £10 each. It was a disenchanting prospect.⁽³⁾

In view of the euphoria in the press on behalf of the movement during the previous five years, it would be well to consider some of the reasons for such an inadequate response from the people in the years following 1864. In the first place, it was true that in comparison with the rest of the United Kingdom, the Principality was rather poor in resources, geographically isolated and relatively sparsely populated.⁽⁴⁾ A disillusioned Nicholas in the late sixties also attributed the lack of response to several other factors. "The landowners with one or two exceptions did not help. The whole of the clergy were against us. Many of our friends from the Denominational Colleges feared us. The religious attitude of the nation was not mature enough to

(1) Banner ac Amserau Cymru, Ion. 20, 1869.

(2) & (3) ibid

(4) E. L. Ellis, Some Aspects of the Early History of the University College of Wales, Trans. Hon. Cymm. Soc., 1968, 209.

contribution, but on the whole, the movement was to rely upon the shillings of tradesmen and farmers and upon the pence of the collier and miner, quarryman and labourer.⁽¹⁾ Davies of Llandinam at the opening of the college at Aberystwyth had every reason for asking in an outburst of disgust "Where are our rich men of Wales?"⁽²⁾

In spite of every attempt to interest them, the gentry with a few exceptions kept aloof. Visiting Bangor in 1873, Owen described how he in an "attempt to further the University business, went on Saturday to Penrhyn Castle, and had a long discussion with Lord Penrhyn. He was brim-full of prejudice, but I am hopeful that we shall obtain his assistance. I left him with the distinct understanding that if he is satisfied that the institution promises to be a benefit to Wales he will help it."⁽³⁾

Gohebydd was not reluctant to criticise the Welsh gentry for failing to support this national movement when they benefited so handsomely from the physical and mental efforts of the Welsh people. He nevertheless, mentions two exceptions - Mr. Bulkeley Hughes, Plas Coch and Sir Richard Bulkeley of Anglesey.⁽⁴⁾ Indeed, Sir Richard's letter accompanying his donation to Mr. Morgan Lloyd appeared to be most enthusiastic:-

"

Arthur St., James St., S.W.
May 30th, 1871.

Dear Lloyd,

(1) J. Vyrnwy Morgan. *op. cit.*, 213.

(2) Welshman, Oct. 18th, 1872.

(3) Thos. Chas. Edw.: Letters; 15/1/73, 5441.

(4) Baner ac Amserau Cymru.

By a circular lately received I learn that there is to be a meeting of the Council of the Welsh University on the first of June, and that you are now Treasurer. Enclosed is a cheque for one hundred pounds, my subscription to the Institution which has my best and sincerest wishes for its prosperity, and which (D.V.) will bring out much of the talent in which, beyond doubt, our country abounds."(1)

It was unfortunate that Sir Richard was the exception rather than the rule in this matter. This was a tragedy. The support and financial help of the gentry could have made such a significant difference to the fortunes of the college before and after the bestowal of a government grant, but particularly during the struggle of those early years.

Professor W. J. Gruffydd referred to this as a feature of Welsh life and complained that to retain the support of our wealthy people was one of the greatest difficulties in our national life. Although many of them have acquired great wealth, few have helped with national movements. Indeed, when any development which is essentially Welsh in character is mooted, the resources of our wealthy people are seldom available.⁽²⁾ This was singularly true of the University movement.

Another serious handicap arose on account of the indifferent attitude of the Established Church. As stated, the failure of the promoters to reach an agreement with the authorities of St. David's College, Lampeter, in 1864, led to considerable estrangement between that College and the University promoters. It was a great disappointment to several leading Churchmen that St. David's College had not been adopted as the focal point for the national university.

(1) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Meh. 7, 1871.

(2) W. J. Gruffydd, op cit, 175.

The "Faner" at the time had scant respect for such a prospect and was very resentful that so many Church people still maintained that the University should be an Anglican establishment and that it should be based at Lampeter.⁽¹⁾

Indeed, when St. David's College was given its charter to grant the degree of Bachelor Arts in 1865, the significant comment of Professor Perowne as a member of staff was, "I

think it is of the utmost importance as against the threat of what would have been a godless University for Wales."⁽²⁾

This echoed the familiar comment made at the opening of University College, London, and probably represented the attitude of a considerable sector of the community - and particularly of the Anglican community at the time.

Many of the leading clergy in Wales of that period had been trained at Oxford and Cambridge, and the "Faner" maintained that their enthusiasm for their alma mater prevented them from supporting the University movement in Wales.⁽³⁾

Gohebydd resented their indifference, and in 1868 deplored that of all the clergy in the Principality and London, only two had supported this venture - the Rev. John Griffiths, the Rector of Neath, and the Rev. Robert Jones, Rotherhithe.

Later, Henry Richard in a speech at the opening ceremony of the college made the comment "I observe, I confess with great regret that at the Church Congress that has been recently sitting at Leeds, a gentleman named the Rev. Daniel Jenkins, went out of his way to endeavour to put a spoke in our wheel and to cast disparagement upon this institution

(1) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, 8/3/65.

(2) Y Beirniad, 1865, 172-173.

(3) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, 8/3/65.

by insinuating, nay saying, that it is intended for sectarian purposes"(1) Fortunately, however, there were exceptions even in this, and he added, "We have in the chair to-night, a gentleman who is a member of the Church of England. There are many other members of the Church of England who have co-operated with us cordially in this undertaking."(2) He approved of this co-operation wholeheartedly and assured his listeners, "if we can go and stand before Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Lowe representing the firm and united voice of Wales, I believe we shall speak with the accents of authority which they will have neither the desire nor the power to gainsay."³

By the mid-seventies, although Gohebydd appeared to be pleased with the extent of agreement that existed in Wales on behalf of the University movement and rather hopefully observed that there was hardly a discord from any direction, but he continued to deplore the antipathy of the clergy.⁽⁴⁾ This attitude was illustrated by a letter in the "Western Mail" from the Rev. David Williams, a Vicar at Llanelli, Carmarthenshire. After receiving a circular inviting him to join a local committee which intended to canvass the town for subscriptions for the "University movement", with which he had no sympathy, he wrote, "I have too many local and other pressing claims on my purse to be able to afford any pecuniary assistance to the cause," but more honestly he added, "I have never been able to see the necessity of a College at Aberystwyth."⁽⁵⁾ Unfortunately, this attitude was general amongst the Welsh clergy of the period.

(1) (2) (3) Welshman, Oct. 18, 1872.

(4) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Hyd. 27, 1875.

(5) Western Mail, Oct. 7, 1875.

Lord Aberdare, a devout churchman, observed that "the attempt to supply the middle class education by means of the University College of Wales had been received by the clergy with ill-disguised hostility. The movement, of which I look upon this College at Aberystwyth as only the first instalment, is one deeply affecting the interest of Wales."⁽¹⁾ He regretted that only "one clergyman in Glamorgan and another in London, have taken an active interest in it." He admitted ruefully "there may be others, but I have not heard of them, and they must be very few."⁽²⁾ He also referred to the "undisguised" rather than the "ill disguised hostility" of the Cardiganshire clergy to the activities at Aberystwyth!⁽³⁾

He urged the clergy to recognize "the errors of the past" and to join in "promoting objects of general Welsh interest, outside the immediate interest of the Church." In his opinion "Middle class education in Wales if conducted on a large scale, must be unsectarian." He thought that the clergy "would act wisely and patriotically in admitting the inevitable truth, and in uniting their efforts with those of their fellow countrymen of all denominations in promoting the general good."⁽⁴⁾ Lord Aberdare appealed in vain - Anglicans and Nonconformists failed to sink their differences in educational matters of this kind.

In a letter to the Principal at Aberystwyth, the Arch-deacon John Griffiths, of Neath, said, "I feel an interest in the College - believe it capable of doing much good, and am desirous of helping my friends to make it successful. My advocacy of the movement does not please many of my brethren."

(1)(2) (3) (4) Letters of the Right Honourable Lord Aberdare, Vol. II, 30.

Occasionally, I am privately spoken to - at another time publicly addressed."⁽¹⁾ This was a rather sad confession to make, and also a very deplorable reflection upon the clergy in general.

This resentment towards the movement pervaded the Church periodicals such as "Yr Haul," as well as some of the weeklies such as the "Cambrian News," and dailies such as the "Western Mail." Principal Harper at the Church Congress in Swansea in 1879 was of the opinion that "a university of Wales would only supply the wants of students who, leaving school at 16, had time to carry some portion of their studies further. No one could fail to sympathise with the feeling which prompted the demand, but until the whole system of secondary education was reorganised, it was premature to think of a National University."⁽²⁾ Dr. Olivant, Bishop of Llandaff, at the same congress supported this view, and he thought that "the existence of a University in Wales, as it is now, was altogether a phantom."⁽³⁾

A marked characteristic of Welsh Nonconformists during the middle of the last century was their great regard for their "Academies," and in spite of the enthusiasm of the Nonconformists for the University movement, there lingered considerable doubt about its success. Their priority was existing denominational academies and this was far greater than any esteem they would have for any proposed unsectarian university. It will be seen for instance, that the public and private utterances of Lewis Edwards about the need for founding a

(1) Thos. Chas. Eds. Letters: 6128; 1/1/73.

(2) Y Cymmrodor, III, (1879/80), 130-137.

(3) ibid.

college of higher education were most contradictory during these years. The London Committee soon became aware that it would be necessary to work very hard to win the support of certain sections of the Welsh community and even that of many of the Nonconformist leaders. In an attempt to solicit the support of Lewis Edwards, for instance, Morgan Lloyd as early as December, 1863, wrote to assure him that "the university will not interfere with any existing institution, but it appears to me that some scheme may hereafter be devised to affiliate the Bala College with the new University Corporation."⁽¹⁾ This was undoubtedly a palliative, and it is not known whether such an arrangement was ever really contemplated by the university promoters - although Lewis Edwards throughout his life entertained such hopes for the college at Bala.

Writing in September, 1865, to Richard Davies, Treborth, Bangor, Lewis Edwards revealed that he was far from being convinced about the need for a university. His great regard for the college at Bala prevented him from giving the University movement his undivided loyalty, and he stated, "I cannot but feel that the Calvinistic Methodists ought to have a college where their young men could prepare for the very highest examinations. That is, they should graduate from our own College. This it seems to me should be kept in view by the Association, and if Bala is not at present equal to University College, it ought to be made so."⁽²⁾ There was no doubt at all about his own aspirations on this issue during those years.

(1) Trebor Lloyd Evans, Dr. Lewis Edwards, 445.

(2) ibid 368.

The collection of £30,000 for the Methodist College at Bala by the Rev. Edward Morgan of Dyffryn also ~~spurred~~ spurred on the ambitions of Edwards for the college, and he afterwards envisaged the Bala Academy as the **University for Wales**. However, one Association after **another seemed bent on** up-setting his plans, and in a letter to the Rev. Edward Morgan on September 16th, 1864, he wrote, "I certainly did expect that when we got this fund, we should be able to extend the usefulness of the Athrofa, and make it something like a University for Wales."⁽¹⁾

At that time too, Lewis Edwards even questioned whether the Government would be likely to give any support to a Welsh University since it already supported the University of London for the benefit of Nonconformists both in England and Wales. Neither did he think that the Government would readily support a university for Welshmen only.⁽¹⁾

Indeed, even after the opening of the College at Aberystwyth, and when his own son had been appointed Principal, he wrote to Mrs. Davies, Treborth, lamenting the fact that Bala had been neglected "and talking of this university business, I cannot help saying that I feel it very difficult to forgive the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists for their stupidity in preventing the College at Bala to be made a National Institution, the very thing they are aiming at in founding this University for Wales. Of course, it would have been under the direction of the Association, but if they had allowed students to be admitted without restriction except that of moral character that would have infused new life into this College. Instead of that they have crippled it in every possible way and the

(1) Trebor Lloyd Evans, op cit. 116.

(NLW MSS. E. Morgan Humphreys Collection.)

(2) & Traethodydd, 1865, 176.

consequence is that it has been getting weaker ever since."⁽¹⁾
 To him, Bala was the Mecca and the whole problem of higher education would have been solved, in his opinion, if the academy there had been made a university college.

On the other hand, the "Fanner" in its support of Aberystwyth as the national centre of higher education in Wales - undenominational in outlook and secular in its teaching - anticipated that the various sectarian academies would close down. It envisaged Aberystwyth as the Oxford of Wales, and that denominational teaching would take place in Theological Halls nearby.⁽²⁾ It is very doubtful whether the majority of Nonconformists would ^{have} approved of these views, particularly when they had already contributed so generously towards the erection and maintenance of their own academies. Indeed, it is doubtful whether Aberystwyth ever had the appeal of the academy to the Nonconformists even by the end of the century. In part, the late Professor W. J. Gruffydd attributed the esteem of the Academy to the fact that they were so inherently Welsh in origin, outlook and mentality, whereas the university college like the British Schools tended to be alien, anti-Welsh and overpowered by the influence of the successful London Welshmen.⁽³⁾ This lack of appeal was a severe handicap during the early years of the movement.

Yet another hurdle which Owen and the promoters had to surmount was the lack of cohesion among the Nonconformists themselves. Hitherto the denominational leaders in Wales had seldom thought along national lines. Almost invariably,

(1) Thos. Chas. Edwards, Bywyd a Llythyrau Dr. Lewis Edwards, Nov. 16, 1872), 550.

(2) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Meh. 19, 1872.

(3) W. J. Gruffydd, op. cit. 170.

all movements had been related to, and had been motivated by, denominational interests, and both the leaders and the Welsh people had been more pre-occupied with the affairs and aspirations of their own denominations - which were often in opposition to or in competition with each other rather than being concerned with national issues and ideals. The Welsh people during the nineteenth century were much more of a collection of denominations than a nation. The Nonconformist denominations were not only jealous of each other, but also dreaded lest the College should become an appanage of "Yr Hen Gorph" - the Calvinistic Methodists.⁽¹⁾ Professor W. J. Gruffydd conceded that Hugh Owen and his London Welsh colleagues had contemplated a national movement on a much broader front than was ever envisaged by the Denominations, but maintained that ^{the} aims of the promoters were nevertheless much more materialistic and vocational in outlook.⁽²⁾

As already suggested, had the leaders and the rank and file in Welsh Nonconformity been convinced of the need for a secular university providing a vocational education and had been wholehearted in their support of the promoters, the Welsh movement would not have limped along so badly for so many years. In a lengthy article in the "Traethodydd" in 1865 on "Yr Hen Brifysgolion a'r Brifysgol," Lewis Edwards seriously doubted whether the university would be a success and whether students would be forthcoming in adequate numbers. He was convinced that in order to acquire a good university, the standards would have to be high, but he feared that high standards might well limit the number of students.

(1) J. Vyrnwy Morgan: op cit., 211.

(2) W. J. Gruffydd, *Cofreithio*, Owen Morgan Edwards, 170

Lewis Edwards, like many knowledgeable observers at the time, agreed with Nicholas that the real need of Wales was a teaching college or colleges - "dwy ysgol dda, un yn y Gogledd, a'r llall yn y Deheubarth,"⁽¹⁾ **It is probable that he** envisaged ^{not} one or two of the existing denominational colleges would be adapted for the purpose, and that students in the first instance could be prepared for London degrees. He advocated the founding of two really good schools, which could well be colleges, and if a University was not established, the students from these colleges could take a London degree.⁽²⁾ Since Edwards was a man of considerable influence within and beyond the confines of the Methodist denomination, his conditional support for the University movement could hardly have endeared him to the promoters in London, or encouraged the Welsh people within the Principality, to work on behalf of the college.

Gohebydd did not fail to detect this widespread cynicism and doubt about the need for a university - "ambell un yn rhyw hanner ofyn yn sychlyd, 'Be mae hi dda? Beth sydd eisiau peth felly? Mae y wlad yn mynd yn ddigon balch ei chalon heb un Prifysgol."⁽³⁾ Such doubts plagued many during these early years and ended in a lack of support or in endless vacillation.

It would be too much to expect unquestioned co-operation from all quarters of Welsh life, and honest men at all levels of Society often expressed doubt not only about the need for, but also about the likely success of this venture; Lord Aberdare writing to a Mr. T. Stephens, also of Aberdare, as

(1) Y Traethodydd, 1865, 176.

(2) *ibid.*

(3) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Meh. 3, 1868.

early as December, 1863, poses certain pertinent questions. He asked, "What say you to the University for Wales?" Lord Aberdare did "not think it would do for Wales what the Scotch and Irish Colleges have done for their countries, unless it were attached to some considerable town such as Swansea or Cardiff. It might then become a common intellectual centre and do much for us."⁽¹⁾ Yet he had his doubts about this, and asked "but would the north and south ever unite in a common scheme and agree upon the site?" These were critical issues, and were to become the very hazards upon which the whole movement in due course all but foundered.

Although Lewis Edwards could not make his mind up during the early years of the movement, he later became convinced that a university was necessary in Wales, and when the religious tests at the older universities were abolished in 1862, he had little patience with those who maintained that a college at Aberystwyth had become unnecessary.⁽²⁾

In 1871, the "Cronicle" for quite another reason was not convinced that Aberystwyth was necessary and declared that it had never expected much from the venture. It was certain that it could do nothing for the Welsh language or extend its life. It claimed that the Welsh language had been neglected to such an extent that it would be far better for it to merge with the English language since it had become a stumbling block in any professional advancement - "yn faen tramgwydd ar ffordd dyrchafiad bydol."³ Consequently, Aberystwyth was not necessary.

(1) The Letters of Lord Aberdare, Vol I, 203-4.

(2) Y Traethodydd, 1875, 483.

(3) Y Cronicle, 1871, 247.

The "Aberystwyth Observer," on the other hand, deplored the fact that "The Times" regarded the Welsh university as being prejudicial to Wales by limiting the aspirations of its young men.' The "Observer" thought that "The Times" "must be singularly blind to what takes place across the border, for in Scotland four universities flourish and supply thousands to fill public and private offices in every part of the world, who would hardly have become eligible without their cheap universities." (1)

The "Pall Mall Gazette" commenting upon the "Times" article, reminded its contemporary "that the English Universities do not confine themselves to teaching English, nor the German Universities to teaching German, so that the advocates for a Welsh University need not confine themselves to teaching Welsh." (2)

The Welsh press tended to blame the absence of Government financial support to the lack of popular interest in the movement. This in turn they attributed to their inadequate representation at Westminster - where there was no one to fight for the interests and aspiration of the Welsh people. "Nid yw Cymru erioed wedi achwyn, nac wedi ceisio dim gwell. Nid yw llais Cymru wedi ei glywed erioed yn y Senedd. Nid yw Cymru erioed wedi danfon dynion i'r Senedd a fedrant ei chynrychioli neu a ofalent fymryn am ei dyrchafiad." (3) In this battle for financial support for the university, the "Fanner" also deplored the ineptitude of the Members of Parliament who had hitherto represented Wales. (4)

(1) Aberystwyth Observer, Nov. 25, 1871.

(2) *ibid.*

(3) Y Beirniad, 1865, 175.

(4) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Mawrth 8, 1865.

After the 1868 election though, Gohebydd saw that the work done by Hugh Owen over the years without Parliamentary support would henceforth be given every consideration in the House of Commons.⁽¹⁾ Thomas Gee, at the Liberal Celebration Dinner in February, 1869, also complained, "nid oedd ein hen Seneddwyr gynt yn gallu cyd-ymdeimlo â mudiad o natur Cymreig fel hyn, ond bellach, yr oedd ganddynt rai awyddus am lwyddiant y symudiad, ac y gellid dibynnu arnynt am gymorth i gario'r penderfyniad allan."⁽²⁾ Wales was not to be disappointed in the ensuing years for the new Welsh Members of Parliament really brought Welsh educational issues before the House. L. Edwards was now confident that the University of Wales would ultimately be given financial support.⁽³⁾

Voluntaryism also became an issue even in the university movement, for in the early years, amongst other prominent people Samuel Morley and Henry Richard would not support the college on that account. According to the "Fanner", "dyma'r graig rwystr ag oedd yn benaf ar y ffordd i gael Mr. Morley i helpu'r achos, o leiaf dyna oedd un rhwystr mawr ar y ffordd i gael 'recommendation' Henry Richard i'r case, ac heb hynny nid oedd dim gobaith llwyddo gyda Mr. Morley."⁽⁴⁾

Henry Richard had previously refused, when Nicholas was secretary of the movement, to become a member of the Committee, and later gave the following reasons for his refusal:-
 "First because I had always maintained and had formerly taken a rather prominent part in proclaiming the principle that Education is the work of the people and not of the Government ...

(1) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Tach. 4, 1868.

(2) ibid Chwef. 16, 1869.

(3) Y Traethodydd, 1875, 486.

(4) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Meh. 3, 1868.

Then, secondly, if the question of the principle did not stand in the way I could not join the body formed because the project so far as I understand it did not commend itself as desirable or practical."⁽¹⁾

All the literature relating to the movement during the early years stressed its exclusiveness to the children of the middle classes. It was not surprising, therefore, that a very large sector of the Welsh people concluded that the proposed institution was no direct concern of theirs. This attitude proved a significant handicap in the initial stages of the movement, for class antipathy and indifference soon made itself known, and the "Cronicl" for instance, published the following verses which expressed the resentment of the ordinary folk at being expected to contribute to what was implied to be an exclusive middle class institution:-

"Gan mai amcan prifysgolion
Ydyw cynraedd swyddi breision
Talu ddyled i'mt o'u meddiannau
Am gael braster uchel swyddau.

Nid teg trethi y tlodion
I brentisio boneddigion
Dylent dalu am ddysgeidiaeth
Fel rhai ereill am brentisiaeth."⁽²⁾

Yet this initially unfavourable reaction of many ordinary folk soon evaporated, and when an analysis of the class of student who had attended the college during the first eight years of its existence was submitted by Hugh Owen to the Departmental Committee, he claimed that "most of the students belong to the humbler and less opulent classes."⁽³⁾

(1) Quoted in "College by the Sea," Iwan Morgan (Edt.), footnote, 262.

(2) Y Cronicl, XXXVII, (1879), 349-351.

(3) Report of the Departmental Committee, 1881, Vol. I,

Lastly, as if they did not have enough difficulties in their efforts to cope with their financial difficulties, the promoters in 1865 and 1866 also had to contend with a country-wide economic depression. Many of the leading banks and commercial firms failed during these years, but in spite of these difficulties Nicholas claimed to have collected around £3,000 during 1866.⁽¹⁾

Furthermore, between 1864 and 1867, there was hardly a college existing in Wales which was not entreating the people to contribute towards it. Consequently, another proposal for an unsectarian institution could hardly be expected to excite enthusiasm or contributions. Public opinion began to change though with the actual buying of the college building at Aberystwyth. This convinced the people of the seriousness of the movement, and according to Nicholas "effeithiodd pryniad yr adeilad yn hynod ffafriol. Yr oedd y cyhoedd, ar y cyntaf, yn amharod i gredu yn ein ffawd; ond pan welwyd ein bod wedi cymmeryd meddiant o'r lle, teimlai yr holl wlad yn llawen, ac agorwyd llawer o ddrysau newyddion o'r blaen. Crewyd hyder a gobaith newydd."⁽²⁾ This was borne out by the statement of accounts, for whereas only £1,728 of the subscriptions promised had been paid at the end of December, 1866, there was a perceptible spurt in the course of the year 1867, when no less than £5,185 was received by the Treasurer. The nation now felt that it had something tangible to strive for. The University was still an idea, but the building was a fact.⁽³⁾

(1) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Chwef. 3, 1869.

(2) ibid Chwef. 10, 1869.

(3) Royal Commission on University Education in Wales, Final Report, 1918, 4.

The outlook was now much better. However, the difficulties experienced by the leaders of the movement in its earlier years resulted in many tensions. Indeed, the relationship between some of the leaders deteriorated rapidly in the first few years. This was particularly true of the relations between Nicholas and Hugh Owen. We have already seen how impressed Hugh Owen had been with the ideas and proposals published by Thomas Nicholas in 1863, and, it will be seen that Owen was to adhere to most of these views long after his close association with Nicholas had come to an end. Tension between the two men had its origins in the financial difficulties which faced the movement.

In May, 1865, when the association between Nicholas and Owen was most cordial, Nicholas had handed into the custody of Owen, the codicil of the will of William Williams "devising £1,000 to the University, to be placed for safe keeping in an iron box at the Poor Law Board."⁽¹⁾ But in November of that year, the Committee, becoming somewhat apprehensive about the financial affairs of the movement and the tardiness of the subscriptions, instructed Hugh Owen "to obtain from Mr. Nicholas the following particulars for their information; i. The total amount promised, ii. The total amount received, iii The amount on hand and where lodged."⁽²⁾ Nicholas resented the attitude of the Committee, and this enquiry soon led to a serious rift between Nicholas and Owen. It will be seen that Hugh Owen from time to time had to undertake many such unpleasant tasks on behalf of the Committee, and in consequence suffered much unpopularity through no fault of his own.

(1) U. W. Minutes & Memoranda, 32. (2) *ibid*, 35.

Dr. David Thomas, in his pamphlet claimed "that Dr. Nicholas and Mr. Owen did not get on well together" although they "both were good men in their way but they seemed to have a mutual repugnance, and it was not only painful for me to be umpire when others disagreed, but I felt myself placed in a very anomalous position."⁽¹⁾ It was a most unfortunate occurrence which resulted in a serious loss to the whole cause.

Since the response to their persistent appeals was not very satisfactory, the Committee, in 1866 wanted Nicholas to be excused from all administrative duties so that he could devote himself entirely for the next twelve months to the holding of Public Meetings and canvassing for subscriptions.⁽²⁾ So acute was the need for funds during 1865 and 1866 that, although sites for colleges had been offered near Bangor and Cardiff, it was impossible for the promoters to consider going ahead with any plans for development.⁽³⁾ The tension created by the general lack of financial support almost drove the promoters during 1866 even to consider "the establishment of a temporary college at Chester."⁽⁴⁾ Whilst this would have provided the Welsh nation with tangible evidence of their interest, the idea fortunately came to nothing.

It was early in 1867, and again on account of the economic depression, that the Castle Hotel at Aberystwyth came on the market. Negotiations for the hotel, which had cost £80,000 to build were entered into with some alacrity, and eventually an offer of £10,000 was accepted in March, 1867.

(1) op cit., 2.

(2) U. W. Minutes & Memoranda, 46.

(3) E. L. Ellis, Trans. Hon. Cymm. Soc., 1968.

(4) U.W. Minutes & Memoranda, 49.

This was a momentous step in the venture since it gave a focus and meaning to the whole movement. Whether Aberystwyth was a suitable centre has been a debatable point ever since. Very few would agree that it was a wise choice of centre - it satisfied neither the South nor the North Walian. Neither did it attract the young men of the industrial and populous areas of south east Wales for many years to come.⁽¹⁾

Although Nicholas had taken a leading part throughout the negotiations in acquiring the Castle Hotel, the relationship between him and the Committee thereafter seems to have deteriorated quite rapidly. On the one hand it appears that the Committee was still insistent that Nicholas should devote his entire time to the collecting of funds rather than "to problems of administration in connection with the new building."⁽²⁾ On the other, it is evident from the Committee minutes that Hugh Owen was then applying himself to almost all other aspects of the work - at one moment negotiating with the North and South Wales Bank at Liverpool, in the next arranging with builders at Aberystwyth to complete the building,⁽³⁾ or was organising the canvassers,⁽⁴⁾ or was seeing to the furnishing of Castle House.⁽⁵⁾ Rightly or wrongly, he was assuming responsibility for almost everything - as convener, as administrator, as organiser, as public relations officer and even as clerk of works. Owen's autocratic attitude and interference must have irritated Nicholas beyond endurance.

The relationship between the Committee and Nicholas soon

(1) Chas. Gittins (Edt.), Pioneers in Welsh Education; G. A. Williams, Hugh Owen, 71.

(2) U.W. Minutes & Memoranda, 71.

(3) ibid, 63; (4) ibid, 66; (5) ibid, 65.

reached breakingpoint, and it did not surprise anyone when Hugh Owen read Nicholas's letter of resignation in Committee in November, 1867. In ~~the~~ letter to Hugh Owen, Nicholas promised to do his "best to get in money between now and Christmas, but after that time, although I shall always be glad to co-operate in every practicable way for the progress of our movement, I must beg to be relieved from the work I am now engaged in. I cannot go on further."⁽¹⁾ During the ensuing year much publicity was given to the querulous disputation. There was much sympathy for Nicholas who had served the movement with considerable skill as secretary from 1863 to 1867; he was a man of ability if not of patience and wisdom.

At a public meeting at Aberystwyth during the Summer of the following year, it was asked why half the money which had been collected for the movement had been expended "in commission, salaries and hotel expenses?"⁽²⁾ Morgan Lloyd replied most indiscreetly that "nearly all the expenditure was incurred by the late secretary, Dr. Nicholas. The Committee were very much grieved about it, but the expenditure was a necessity at the time. There had been a change in the officers and they had now a secretary in whom he had no doubt all would have confidence."⁽³⁾ This statement was altogether unwarranted. It greatly delighted those who opposed the movement and who revelled in the dissension that had arisen amongst the promoters. Not unexpectedly, Nicholas objected violently to this personal slight made in public and thereafter reported in the press. Furthermore, Morgan Lloyd's subsequent statement to the press, in an effort to

(1) U.W. Minutes & Memoranda,

(2) Aberystwyth Observer, Aug. 22, 1868.

(3) ibid Aug. 29, 1868.

rectify matters, could hardly have been calculated to make amends. He then declared that "it took ~~by~~ Nicholas four years to obtain subscriptions for about £12,000. In the movement time and money mattered - the salary they had to pay Dr. Nicholas during those four years had been a heavy burden upon their resources."⁽¹⁾

A head-on clash of personalities had taken place - a clash between strong-willed men who wished to play the leading role in promoting the university movement. Morgan Lloyd must have fully appreciated this danger when he observed, "I have had the honour of being associated with Mr. Hugh Owen and other promoters of the University of Wales from the first, and I have had the experience of the difficulties which must always be met by persons who are the first to suggest and to advocate every improvement."⁽²⁾ This was the crux of the conflict.

The Rev. David Charles, late Principal of Trevecca College and grandson of Thomas Charles of Bala, succeeded Nicholas as secretary in December, 1867, and took up his residence at the College House. According to Nicholas, he had been appointed by Hugh Owen, without consulting anyone, at a salary "of £500 with travelling expenses."⁽³⁾

The fortunes of the movement did not change greatly even after the departure of Nicholas, but when questioned about the fate of the subscriptions during 1868, his successor, David Charles, stated "having discovered that the confidence of the country had already been reduced to zero in regard to proposed University College of Wales (from what causes I say

(1) Aberystwyth Observer, Aug. 29, 1868.

(2) *ibid*

(3) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Chwef. 24, 1869.

nothing) I have had to bestow all my energies since my acceptance of office to the work of reviving it, and I am happy to inform the public that I am greatly encouraged by the assurances which I receive from all quarters of returning confidence in the prospects of this great institution."⁽¹⁾

Although beset by the clash of personalities and frustrated by the tardy contributions from all quarters, the promoters continued to press the government that Wales should be treated like Ireland or Scotland. In January, 1868, an encouraging letter from Earl Russell gave the promoters of the Welsh movement new hope, but this was shortlived: Disraeli refused even to consider their wishes.⁽²⁾ Such an attitude was most demoralising to promoters already overwrought in their anxiety.

Subscriptions continued to be very modest during 1868, and Nicholas, although now out of office, in reviewing the achievements of the year, did not fail to observe in the "Fanner" that hardly any progress had been achieved, and on the boast of the promoters that the college would be opened in a few months his caustic comment was "cystal fyddai chwareu â'r cyhoedd drwy ddweyd y rhoddid yr Wyddfa i sefyll ar glochdy Bangor."⁽³⁾

However, to celebrate the triumph of radicalism in Wales during the same year a Liberal Victory Celebration Dinner was arranged by the promoters of the University movement at the Westminster Hotel in February, 1869, when Lord Aberdare was to act as chairman, but not unnaturally, he did not

(1) Aberystwyth Observer, Sept. 19, 1868.

(2) U.W. Minutes & Memoranda, 93.

(3) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Chwef. 24, 1869.

attend, and wrote to the organiser, Hugh Owen, expressing his regret "all the more as I was desirous of showing that my recent rejection by a Welsh constituency had not in the slightest degree diminished my interest in the affairs of the Principality, nor my desire to promote the welfare of its inhabitants."⁽¹⁾ Lord Aberdare was as good as his word, and in spite of his initial doubts about the needs and prospects of the University movement, he, as will be seen later, was to give massive support to the movement and to many other Welsh educational schemes.

George Osborn² Morgan chaired the meeting in the absence of Lord Aberdare, and he associated "with the political battles which had recently been fought and won," a new dimension in the political scene in Wales which heralded new hopes and fresh opportunities for the national undertaking at Aberystwyth. He assured those present that it was to be a democratic institution with religious equality for all, and although he anticipated that the "religious tests" would soon be abolished at Oxford and Cambridge, he was nevertheless certain that "they could never become a poor men's universities."⁽²⁾

He stated that since "the people of Wales wanted a college and not a university, they intended a college in the first instance, in the hope of ultimately making it a university." This was an important declaration of policy, and he thought that "a college upon the model of Owens at Manchester, would meet all objections." Hugh Owen did not agree with such a policy, but probably, he too thought it

(1) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Mawrth 3, 1869.

(2) U.W. Minutes & Memoranda, 109.

wise to concentrate temporarily at least on opening a university college at Aberystwyth.

Osborne Morgan was quite "ready to admit that the shortcomings of the original promoters, of whom he was one, might be the cause of the tardiness shown by the public in subscribing to the funds." In the new era ahead, he looked forward to greater support, but he felt that it was necessary to convince the nation that the University movement was a people's question, as they had taught them "some months ago that the Parliamentary representation was a people's question."⁽¹⁾

With the change in the political climate, of even greater significance was the more confident attitude of the Committee and its readiness to approach the Government for a grant. It was then decided that one of the new Welsh members of Parliament should approach Gladstone in the first instance, and for such a task, no-one could have been more suitable than Henry Richard.

Richard gained an interview with the Prime Minister in May, 1870, and subsequently gave a full report of the discussions in a letter to the Rev. David Charles, the secretary of the University Movement.⁽²⁾ Richard seemed reasonably pleased by Gladstone's reaction, for the Prime Minister claimed "that he entirely sympathised with the object and was personally quite favourable to the application," and did not object in any way to letting the Welsh people know about it. He agreed that since colleges and universities had been

(1) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Chwef. 1869.

(2) U.W. Minutes and Memoranda, 125. See also Mins. of Interview (NLW.MSS.5509.C).

supported in Scotland and Ireland "he did not see how Wales could fairly be excluded." Gladstone even "confessed that he thought Wales had been badly used, and though they had refused to aid Owen's College at Manchester, he considered Wales might be excepted from the principle on which they had then acted." He hoped that the movement would be given support on a wide front, including the support of the Established Church so as to create a real national movement in every sense of the word. Gladstone accepted "that there was a distinction to be drawn between Wales and the other parts of England on the ground of its nationality."

This was a particularly encouraging prospect, yet no immediate action was taken to contact the Government, and it was another year before Hugh Owen, David Charles, Stephen Evans, Gohebydd and others met a number of Welsh M.P.'s at the House of Commons to discuss such details as the amount of grant to apply for, the timing of the application, the most suitable persons to form a deputation and whether the "application should be for a College with University privileges or for College without such privileges."⁽¹⁾

At a College Committee in March, 1871, Hugh Owen again emphasized that "the professed intention of the Promoters of this undertaking from the outset was to obtain a University and one or more Colleges, and that the Committee had never departed from that original intention as far as the question of a University is concerned. Hugh Owen clung tenaciously to this ideal, and rather surprisingly he came into open conflict with the Rev. David Charles by declaring "that the

(1) U. W. Minutes and Memoranda, 152.

statement of the Secretary to the contrary published in the 'Merthyr Telegraph' of the 10th December, 1870, and also in 'Caernarvon Herald' in the same month was without authority."⁽¹⁾ It was a querulous and autocratic remark which did not augur well for future relationships between the two men.

Before the end of the month(March, 1871), Hugh Owen, however, reported to the Committee that the Memorial for the application for a grant was ready and that in addition, a Memorandum which was to be signed by the Members of Parliament who represented the Welsh constituencies had also been prepared.⁽²⁾ The Memorial was a carefully drafted and tactfully worded document in which the familiar sentiments of the founder members were again emphasized.⁽³⁾ The fourteen clauses adroitly side-stepped with Delphic vagueness all serious issues associated with nationalism or denomination-ism. It was nevertheless, the most detailed manifesto to be issued by the Committee to date. Briefly, the arguments presented were: (1) That young men of the middle classes in Wales were denied the opportunities available to similar young men in England, Scotland and Ireland. (2) That economy and convenience required that young Welshmen should be educated in Wales rather than in England. (3) That whilst "fanciful ideas of nationality" would be discouraged, higher education would nevertheless contribute "to spread a knowledge of the language and literature of England among the people of Wales." (4) The demand for educated talent, for

(1) U.W. Minutes & Memoranda, 152.

(2) ibid 154

(3) ibid 154.

scientific acquirements, for engineering skill, and in a word, for all the results of a liberal training - was becoming more and more imperative. (5) To meet this national want, it was proposed to establish a College of the status of the Queen's Colleges in Ireland or of the University and King's College in London, and which eventually might assume a University character. (6) That the institution would be strictly undenominational. (7) That the Committee had already bought an uncompleted building at Aberystwyth. (8) That Aberystwyth was an eminently suitable and accessible centre. (9) To meet all their commitments, the Committee were in need of a grant of £50,000. (10) Voluntary contributions to date amounted to £10,924/6/3, and a further £4,640/14/10 had been promised. (11) That the contributions had come from all classes and denominations. (12) That the committee desired a grant to help buy the college building and a further annual grant for its maintenance. (13) A Parliamentary Grant would stimulate voluntary contributions and create confidence in the stability and permanence of the undertaking. (14) That Wales, unlike Scotland and Ireland, had not yet received any grants towards higher education.

Richard presented the Memorial to Gladstone in April, 1871, and within a week, the Prime Minister had sent his reply. In the light of Gladstone's earlier views, it was a most disenchanting letter, for on this occasion he could "not see how the Government could assist any particular College without raising great difficulties." It was a demoralizing blow to the anxious promoters. Gladstone had raised false hopes, and whilst it had not been unusual for Governments to discriminate

against Wales, a new era and a more just treatment had been confidently anticipated, not only by the promoters but also by the new Welsh M.P.'s.

In consequence, and in view of their dire financial anxieties, some Committee members even considered letting a portion of the college building so as to secure some income from it. Indeed, some of the London Committee Members seem to have plumbed the depths of despair at this juncture. The refusal of the Government to give financial aid, the modest proportions of the subscriptions, the irregularity and unpredictability of the donations, and the constant heavy drain upon their resources to maintain an empty building at Aberystwyth, all contributed to the spread of despondency. Even when the British Society offered £150 a year for the use of the building as a Training College for Women, the Committee came to the conclusion that it was "not expedient, in view of the possibility of the College Building being offered for sale to enter into any arrangement for letting a portion of it to the Society."⁽¹⁾ The building which had held such promise, and which in some respects had become so symbolic, had now become a serious liability, and its maintenance was a heavy drain upon the slender resources of the promoters.

Denominational animosity also suddenly reared its ugly head during 1871 and associated with it was an intense antipathy towards the Charles-Edwards family at Bala. Bitingly, the "Cronicl" complained "bu gormod o awydd yn Nghymru ers degau o flynyddau i roddi ar ddeall mae i un enwad, os nad i un teulu, yr ydym yn ddyledus am ein crefydd,

(1)U.W. Minutes and Memoranda, 179.

ein Beiblau, a'n Hysgolion Sabbathol a gwladol; ac am hynny, ceisir cael rhai o'r gwŷr hynny i fod yn oruchwylwyr y cymdeithasau ac yn dderbynwyr y cyflogau."⁽¹⁾ Neither did it approve of the appointment of the Rev. David Charles as secretary for the movement.⁽²⁾

A letter from Sir John Hamer, M.P., to the Rev. Roger Edwards, (Mold), in 1871, about Aberystwyth seemed to echo these sentiments. He informed Edwards that he had received "two letters from Dr. Charles of Aberystwyth, D.D. (sic) and a most domineering dictatorial D.D. he seems to be," and Hamer wanted to know "what eminent scholar did this Charles, D.D. ever turn out that he should insist so on the support of his establishment by the Government in these days too?"⁽³⁾

Apart from this umbrage towards Charles, he strongly objected to the formation of a Welsh University, and declared "my real opinion about a Welsh college at Aberystwyth is that it would be a little provincial South Wales concern of no advantage to Wales. While the University Tests Bill, when passed, as it must be, will open the old Universities to all religious bodies, and degrees taken there will give a man, whether Nonconformist or Church of England, a stamp that a new establishment with Dr. Charles at the head could never give." Whilst it is impossible to know how widespread these sentiments were, it is evident that much resentment both towards the Charles family and to the Movement existed in many sectors of the community.

Happily, the Rev. Roger Edwards must have been able to convince Hamer (to some degree at least) of the desirability

(1) & (2) Y Cronicl, 1871. 247.

(3) U.C.N.W. MSS. Yale Coll. 29/371.

of having a University of Wales, for within a week, Sir John in another letter remarked "after your letter, I thought I would go and talk to Mr. Hugh Owen, at the Poor Law Board, and I saw him. Also I saw Mr. Richard, M.P. for Merthyr Tydfil. I thought what you said indicated the propriety of not adhering to my own opinion in a matter not of any great moment and therefore signed the memorial"⁽¹⁾

Disheartened by years of frustration, some of the Committee, however, began to doubt the possibility of carrying out the project. "One or two even desired, on account of what they termed the pressure of private business to have their names expunged from its directory. The prophets of non-success grew vaunting, and the opponents of the movement were beginning to exult in what they deemed a triumph."⁽²⁾ Yet in spite of all the difficulties which beset the promoters during 1871, it was resolved at a General Meeting of the Subscribers, held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on June 1st, "That this meeting attaches the utmost importance to the early opening of the College at Aberystwyth for the admission of students and although sensible of the serious pecuniary responsibility which would attend such a step, this meeting would encourage the Committee to use their best endeavours to secure that object with the least possible delay."⁽³⁾ The Rev. David Charles also resolved that his salary as secretary should be given as a donation in aid of the college fund.

The subscribers and the provincial members of the executive

(1) U.C.N.W. MSS. Yale Coll., 3/4/71.

(2) Y Cymmrodor, 1876, 85.

(3) U.W. Minutes and Memoranda, 165.

committee were now exerting the utmost pressure upon the London members to take action, and with this mood or urgency prevailing on all sides, Henry Richard, Morgan Lloyd, Hugh Owen and David Charles once more had an interview (June 21st, 1871) with the Prime Minister, who was on that occasion accompanied by Robert Lowe, the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Sadly, it was again of no avail, for a promise of a grant was not forthcoming. In a mood approaching despair, the London Committee at a meeting on the following day, decided that it was impossible to open the college in the October of that year as a guarantee fund of at least £1,500 a year would be absolutely essential for the next three years to meet running expenses.

In September, however, the provincial members of the executive committee - from the Aberystwyth and Manchester Local Committees would not relent in their insistence that the London members should still regard the opening of the college as a matter of the greatest urgency.⁽¹⁾ And at a Special Committee Meeting in London, on 26th October, 1871, a Mr. William Rowlands, Manchester, put forward a plan evolved by the Manchester Committee to ensure a Guarantee Fund of £2,000 a year. This plan suggested that the "amount should be contributed equally by five centres which would include London, Liverpool, Manchester, North and South Wales. He was confident that such a 'pull together' would accomplish this target." It was a very practical suggestion which carefully apportioned the burden on a regional basis. Great pressure was now being exerted by the provincial members of the Committee - they were harassing the London members, and it now became

(1) U.W. Minutes and Memorandum 181.

a classic example of the tail wagging the dog. Under the circumstances, it was resolved at this meeting "That the College be opened for educational work not later than the 1st. October, 1872."⁽¹⁾

In a letter from J. F. Roberts, Manchester, to Hugh Owen, which was read at a Committee Meeting on November 15th, 1871, a more detailed plan was suggested for collecting money. Roberts wanted the Liverpool Committee to be responsible for collecting in the counties of Anglesey, Caernarvon and Denbigh; the Manchester Committee to take charge of Merioneth, Montgomery; and that London should take charge of South Wales. Roberts urged the London members to go ahead - "he must not flag now that we have started, but let us go on steadily until we accomplish the £2,000 per annum for three years. When that is done, it would be well to go on and extend the Guarantee fund for 5 years and not 3."⁽²⁾

At a meeting in Liverpool later that month both Hugh Owen and J. F. Roberts assured those present "that no part of the money belonging to the undertaking would be applied in payment of either salaries or travelling expenses as all services would be rendered free of expense, and also that the Executive Committee had resolved to adopt measures for commencing Educational work in the beginning of the month of October next, taking care to give full publicity to the appointments to be made, and to select the most competent persons for the several Professorships."⁽³⁾

Consequently, for the remainder of 1871 and the first half of 1872, Hugh Owen was very much involved with the

(1) U. W. Minutes & Memoranda, 186.

(2) ibid 187,

(3) ibid 193.

appointment of a Principal and staff in readiness for the opening of the new college. Applications for the post of Principal were being considered by the Committee during May and June, 1872, but they were not impressed with the quality of the applicants and proceeded to seek other and more suitable candidates. Owen got into touch with Lewis Edwards about his son, the Rev. Thomas Charles Edwards, Liverpool. The Rev. David Charles, D.D., had resigned from his post as Secretary on May 27th 1871, but his name was not found among the nine applicants for the post of Principal, and neither was the name of Thomas Charles Edwards.

Hugh Owen has been accused of manipulating the appointment of the Principal on account of the soundings which he conducted during this period. Yet, other members of the Committee were also considering the suitability of various persons for the post.⁽¹⁾ For instance, J. F. Roberts of Manchester, writing to Lewis Edwards in May, 1872,⁽²⁾ expressed his own views on the matter, and stated that the Principal of the Manchester Grammar School, who had looked over the testimonials of the applicants had observed "in my heart I do not believe that the right man has yet applied," and added that Thomas Charles Edwards would be most suitable as "Principal of the U.C. of Wales." He spoke "in the highest terms of his attainments as a Scholar and also of his moral qualities as a man." ... Roberts added, "I have also mentioned the matter to several members of the Executive here and they all heartily agree with us in the desirability of inviting your son as principal." Hugh Owen was not alone in his search

(1) Chas. Gittins, (Edt.) Pioneers in Welsh Education, G. A. Williams, Hugh Owen, 76.

(2) Thos. Chas. Edw.: Letters, 7475, 22/5/72.

for a suitable candidate - it did not savour of secretive manoeuvring.

It is worth noting too that this letter confirmed that the Rev. David Charles had secretly entertained the idea of being appointed Principal, but evidently J. F. Roberts hardly approved and commented, "I think most highly of my brother-in-law, Dr. Charles, but I am sure that he has now arrived at that time of life when less work would be very agreeable and desirable to him rather than that he should burden himself with so great an undertaking at his time of life."

While these soundings were being conducted by the Committee, Thomas Charles Edwards was also in close touch with his father and uncle about various details and problems connected with the University movement. In view of the reservations which Lewis Edwards harboured towards Aberystwyth, it is interesting to note the kind of advice he was giving to his son in May, 1872.⁽¹⁾ In the first place, he was evidently not entirely in favour of his son leaving the ministry at Liverpool; secondly, it was equally clear that that he was much concerned about the ambitions of Dr. David Charles for the post, and was consequently reluctant to encourage the son "for fear of hurting your uncle's feelings for it would not be pleasant to have any coolness between us." Thirdly, and most disturbingly from his son's point of view, Lewis Edwards added "as to the danger of the whole thing collapsing, I think it is not impossible." It was only "on the whole" that Lewis Edwards "would be inclined to decide for Aberystwyth." At best, his was only a reluctant

(1) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters, 5782, 24/5/72.

and grudging approval for his son to become the first Principal of the first University College in Wales!

Before the end of May, Hugh Owen wrote to Lewis Edwards in an effort to dispel some of his anxiety and with obvious relief informed him of a letter in which Dr. David Charles declared, "I think it right to acquaint you, without further delay, that I propose to relinquish my connection with the University College of Wales after the first day of October next."⁽¹⁾ This disposed of any fears about his candidature, and it appeared that both the College committee and the Charles-Edwards family were equally relieved to have such a statement from the former secretary.

It was decided at a meeting of the London members of the Committee on June 6th, 1872, after careful consideration had been given to all the applications that "Mr. Owen should suggest to Mr. Thomas Charles Edwards to apply for the Principalship." Accordingly, two days later, Hugh Owen wrote to Charles Edwards hoping that he would be "prepared to accept the appointment if it is offered to you." He added, "your special fitness for the position is fully recognised by those members of the Committee who have the pleasure of knowing you, and I feel that I am justified in saying that if your name is before the Committee there will not be an adverse vote." No-one could have been given greater encouragement, and Hugh Owen merely asked the candidate to state "the nature of your qualifications for the position. This is desirable in order to justify the Committee's selection."⁽²⁾

(1) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters, 5782 2257, 29/5/72.

(2) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters, 7091-92, 8/6/72.

The reply by Thomas Charles Edwards (almost by return of post) was cool and circumspect. He was by no means overwhelmed by the invitation, nor was he at all ready to accept the Principalship on such an informal basis. In reply he crisply observed, "I do not see my way clear to become a candidate for the appointment, because I do not know definitely the conditions attached to it."⁽¹⁾ Thomas Charles Edwards had a trump card in his hand and was evidently going to handle the situation on his own terms.

Throughout June, 1872, whilst Thomas Charles Edwards was trying to decide whether to accept the Principalship, his uncle David Charles wrote him a series of letters in which he kept up a barrage of criticism of the "London Committee," and deliberately singled out Hugh Owen for a barrage of insolent criticism. Whilst David Charles constantly assured Thomas Charles Edwards of how "glad I shall be to see you Principal of the University College of Wales,"⁽²⁾ he seldom missed an opportunity of warning him of all kinds of fearful contingencies and dire pitfalls should he decide to accept the post. David Charles was plagued with the anguish of disappointment and uncertainty. As late as June 8th, he asked his nephew whether he had "come to any decision with regard to the Principalship?" and proceeded to warn him, "if not, I wish you particularly to pause before you accept the offer - as the more I think of it, the less satisfied do I become - I do not want you to get into the same mess as myself."⁽³⁾

(1) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters, 8355; 11/6/72.

(2) ibid 5388; 28/5/72.

(3) ibid. 5343; 8/6/72.

Charles informed his nephew that in his relationship with the College Committee, "H. Owen has been my only difficulty, and I pity any man that will have to work under his rule. He is the most unpleasant man I ever tried to work with. But I have all along held out that a new and enlarged Committee must be formed, and that the principal country subscribers must have a standing on that Committee in which I should hope H.O.'s influence would be greatly counteracted. The Aberystwyth members are all honourable and respectable men - I hope that they will be allowed to have a real voice in the management of the College. Hitherto the Committee has been almost entirely H.O. himself - but now that the College is about to be opened and Professors appointed there must be a change in this respect - I have no fear of the interference of any members of the Committee with you, except H. Owen." (1)

In June, the College Committee had drawn up a "Draft of a Proposed Tentative Scheme for the U.C. of Wales," which had greatly disturbed the Rev. David Charles. He immediately warned his nephew against it "as it will be throwing the whole Institution and its officers into the hands of H. Owen - who is de facto the Executive Committee, however he may get others to act with him, so as to make an appearance." (2) A fortnight later, the Rev. David Charles was still most anxious about the "Tentative Scheme" drawn-up by the Executive Committee and to him Hugh Owen was the villain of the plot. Charles was "taken aback by" the Scheme, and was "sadly afraid of" his nephew "being taken in by Mr. H. Owen. He is so

(1) Thos Chas. Edws. Letters, 5339, 1/6/72.

(2) ibid 5340, 4/6/72.

plausible - and so long-headed - that he is a most dangerous man to deal with. This "Tentative Scheme" reduces the U.C. of Wales - an Institution which I had always proposed should be the equal if not above Lampeter at any rate - to really a paltry affair - only 2 Professors which (sic) shall form the Senate - and this Senate under the control of the London Committee which = H.O. in fact."⁽¹⁾

His loathing for Hugh Owen was now pathological, and he even suggested that his nephew should not accept the Principalship on that account. In mid-June he added, "I rejoiced at first at the idea of your being Principal here - but that joy is now greatly modified by apprehensions & I am afraid, you will again regret the step - that is all - Mr. H. O. has never yet hinted to me a word about yourself and supposes (I fancy) that I am in total ignorance of his manoeuvres. - Just like him."⁽²⁾ This was an incredibly silly remark to make, particularly when Hugh Owen and other members of the Committee were openly in correspondence not only with T. C. Edwards but also with his father, Lewis Edwards. The Rev. David Charles must have felt deeply ~~on~~ this issue, not only had he not been considered for the Principalship himself, but he was not even being consulted about the appointment of T. C. Edwards. He lamented to his nephew - "it was my great mistake to go up to London and to be wheedled by the plausibility of H. O. & Co., - when they got me into their clutches."⁽³⁾ This was the pathetic wailing of a disappointed man. Even Lewis Edwards warned his son, "if you go up to London, you must be very careful not to be entrapped with any

(1) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters, 7055, 15/6/72.

(2) ibid

(3) ibid

kind of promise, and you must have all the conditions on paper in H.O.'s handwriting, to take home with you for further consideration."⁽¹⁾ No applicant was ever so fully warned of the forbidding and dishonest qualities of his would-be employers!

Admittedly, the consultations between the Rev. David Charles and his nephew probably helped the latter considerably in his bargaining with the "London Committee" and the ensuing correspondence between T. C. Edwards and the Committee in all likelihood not only secured for him better terms as Principal, but also cleared the air to some extent on issues such as the internal control of the college, the appointment of members of staff, and the financial arrangements for the maintenance of the college.⁽²⁾

Yet, the comments of the Rev. David Charles about the Executive Committee are unsavoury to say the least, even if it was merely being over-zealous in safeguarding the interests of his nephew. He even accused the Committee of deceit and dishonesty, and claimed that they agreed to pay him "£300 etc as secretary, but I should have been minus my salary, had it not been that I got it from the public. I say that the whole thing in its present phase is unhealthy. I am therefore anxious you should use your present opportunity to get matters straight." ⁽³⁾

The Rev. David Charles reached the nadir of his comments, which reflected so much on the serious shortcomings in his character, when he wrote to his nephew, "I will just tell you what H.O. wrote to me, to induce me to take office as

(1) Thos. Chas. Eds. Letters, 5788, 15/6/72

(2) ibid 5342, 20/6/72

(3) ibid 5788, 15/6/72

Secretary. These are his written words, "We are about to set on foot a scheme for a simultaneous canvass of the Principality. This scheme we mean to work from London, but as it is intended to bear on the middle and working classes only, we should look to the Secretaryship to deal with the upper classes."⁽¹⁾ Of course, I believed this, and consented to take ~~the~~ the Secretaryship, but subsequently I found to my chagrin, that there was no such scheme in fact and that I am expected to canvass all classes!⁽¹⁾ So H.O.'s written word is not sufficient."⁽²⁾ This is quite an astounding comment, and whatever services the Rev. David Charles rendered to the College or to his nephew, neither his attitude nor his utterances could be regarded as particularly commendable.

However, even Lewis Edwards was soon able to appreciate that the Rev. David Charles had become an embittered man, and in commenting on some of the letters of the former secretary he stated "they show how difficult he finds it to reconcile himself to present circumstances. Like, 'the dog in the manger', since he cannot himself be Principal, he tries to hinder every one else. I understand that he is now giving out that he resigned because he would not ^{be} allowed to preach."⁽³⁾ Thus, neither the father, nor the uncle, were particularly encouraging or helpful to Thomas Charles Edwards whilst he was giving serious consideration to the proposal made by the Committee.

On account of the delaying tactics of T. C. Edwards, the London Committee members, on June 13th, resolved that

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- (1) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters, 5342, 20/6/72.
 (2) ibid 5342, 20/6/72.
 (3) ibid 5792 15/7/72.

"having received the qualifications of the several candidates for the Principalship, and carefully considered their respective claims, they were unanimously of the opinion that there was no candidate before them in all respects so eligible as - Mr. Thomas Charles Edwards, and it was, therefore, resolved on the motion of Mr. J. F. Roberts, and seconded by Mr. Morgan Lloyd, that Mr. Edwards be offered the Principalship of the University College of Wales."⁽¹⁾

Hugh Owen wrote that day to T. C. Edwards, informing him of this decision and hoping that he would accept the appointment, which would carry a salary of £500. Hugh Owen assured him that "Any explanation or stipulations" he desired could "be readily given or entered into at an interview."⁽²⁾ It may not have been altogether a very professional or businesslike procedure although very careful consideration had been given to the qualifications and suitability of the person in question.

T. C. Edwards, however, continued to bide his time; he was in no mood for making any precipitate decision. This was not surprising in view of the slanderous attacks which had been made during the previous weeks upon H. Owen and the Committee by his father and uncle. Both father and uncle were disappointed men. In the first place, disagreement between the Rev. David Charles and Hugh Owen had arisen over administrative matters in connection with the college, but later David Charles in his bitterness and disappointment made Hugh Owen - the spokesman for the Committee - the scape-goat

(1) U. C. Minutes and Memoranda, 212.

(2) Thos. Chas. Eds. Letters; 7093, 13/6/72.

this kind I would not trust him or any other man."⁽¹⁾ This comment to say the least lacked Christian charity.

Again in a few days he feared "that Hugh Owen is a slippery subject," but quickly added - as if doubting his own judgement - "however, it is possible that I may be doing him an injustice, and at any rate it is incredible that of all the members of the Committee there should not be a few honest men among them."⁽²⁾ There was something self-righteous with a "holier than thou" attitude in a man who could utter sweeping statements of that kind about a body of responsible and public-minded men on the college committee.

In view of this barrage of invective upon "Hugh Owen & Co", one cannot blame T. C. Edwards for his wariness either in meeting the Committee or in accepting the post precipitately. The repeated warnings of his father that the college would not attract students and that it would certainly collapse at an early date did not provide an inviting prospect for an ambitious young man. On one occasion, his father gloomily warned, "you cannot calculate on having many students, perhaps 30 in all, and this will cause an outcry about your efficiency."⁽³⁾ The next day he was even more pessimistic and felt that he "must not expect to have more than 20 students; and indeed I doubt whether you will have so many as regular students, though you may have a few more to attend evening classes." In doleful consolation he added, "suppose it collapses at the end of three years, you can then go and spend one year in Germany, which would be a great boon."⁽⁴⁾ Comments of this kind must have at least disturbed

(1) Thos. Chas. Edwards. Letters, 5786, 31/5/72.

(2) ibid 5787, 4/6/72.

(3) ibid 5784, 28/5/72.

(4) ibid 5785, 15/6/72.

a young man trying to decide about his own future as well as that of the college.

As ever doubtful of the status of the University of Wales, Lewis Edwards also warned his son a fortnight later that the "name University College sounds very well at a distance, but it is very doubtful whether anything will come of it besides failure and disgrace."⁽¹⁾ The continued vacillation of Lewis Edwards was as unsettling as the invective of David Charles upon the would-be Principal.

Although attracted by the idea of being Principal of this national college, T. C. Edwards himself was plagued by yet another doubt. He was not sure whether he would be allowed to preach if he took up his post - and preaching was very near to his heart. J. F. Roberts had already taken steps to assure Lewis Edwards that he did not think that "any one could object to Mr. T. C. Edwards preaching occasionally at Aberystwyth and once in two months at Liverpool.... This would be most satisfactory to my mind, and Mr. Hugh Owen expressed the same view to me some time ago, so I do not anticipate any difficulty ~~on~~ that point."⁽²⁾

However, the Rev. David Charles informed his nephew to the contrary. According to him, Hugh Owen had told the Committee in London that no Principal or Professors would be permitted to preach at all. Charles claimed that in reply he had informed Hugh Owen "that no power on earth would lead me to give up my Ministry and that if those were the conditions, I would wash my hands of the movement in toto."⁽³⁾

(1) Thomas Charles Edwards Letters, 5788, 15/6/72.

(2) *ibid* 7476, 27/5/72.

(3) *ibid* 5341, 15/6/72.

In view of this apprehension too, it is not surprising that it took T. C. Edwards nearly a month before he finally wrote the following conditional letter of acceptance to Hugh Owen. He was still hoping that an agreement could be reached on the several matters which he referred to before he could accept the post.

"

40 Beaumont Street, Liverpool.

July 10, 1872.

My Dear Sir, - I am sorry I could not send my answer sooner respecting the Principalship of the University College of Wales. But I am sure the Committee would not wish me to come to a decision hastily on this important matter. Having considered the subject and consulted those who were best able to advise me upon it, I have decided to accept the position which the Committee have done me the honour of offering me, if the ~~the~~ agreement entered into between the Committee and myself will include the following conditions. I may be permitted to mention the fact^{that} on nearly all these points I have consulted gentlemen in whose judgement I have the greatest confidence. I have, therefore, put down only those conditions that seem to me, after much thought, essential to the success of the Institution, and which some of the most experienced teachers in England and Wales consider necessary.

1. The Academical year should consist of two terms, the first to begin 10th October and to end 23rd December, the second to begin 14th January and to end 1st June.
2. The educational work of the College shall be conducted by the Principal and three Professors.
3. The Principal shall, with the concurrence of the Committee, occasionally invite distinguished men to deliver single lectures on subjects of interest.
4. The appointment of Professors shall be in the hands of the Committee; but no Professor shall be appointed without the concurrence of the Principal.
5. The Principal shall have authority to remove any Professor, in case of incompetence or indiscreet conduct; but the Professor so removed may appeal against the decision of the Principal to the Committee.

6. The Principal shall appoint, with the concurrence of the Committee, (1) a Librarian, who shall act also as a Registrar of the College and Clerk of the Principal in College matters; (2) a Porter, who shall be required also to clean the class-rooms, etc.

7. The internal management of the College (comprising the admission of students, course of study, order and discipline), shall be vested in the Senate, consisting of the Principal and the Professors.

8. The salary of the Principal shall be ~~£~~500 a year with residence, the salaries of the Classical and Mathematical Professors shall be £300 a year each; the salary of the third Professor shall be £200 a year.

9. The engagement between the Committee and the Principal may be terminated at any time after October, 1873 by either party giving the other twelve months' notice.

10. The Principal shall be at liberty to exercise his ministerial office to such extent as he may deem compatible with his position of Principal of the College, his own sense of duty being his rule in the matter. He will, however, not enter into any pastoral relation with a church.

11. The Committee shall set apart £200 a year to be given away in Exhibitions of £20 each to the Candidates who shall distinguish themselves most at an examination to be held yearly in October for the purpose; the Exhibitions shall be paid in half-yearly instalments; but no candidates shall receive the Exhibition or any part of it unless he declares his intention to pursue his studies at the College for one academical year at least.

12. The Committee shall set apart £100 a year for the purpose of forming a Library, the books to be selected by the Principal with the assistance of the Professors.

I shall be glad to hear from you as soon as possible after the Committee meeting.

With kind regards,

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

H. Owen, Esq.

T. C. Edwards."(1)

(1) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters, 8557, 10/7/72.

Before taking any irrevocable step, T. C. Edwards was carefully laying down the terms of appointment, and rightly so, since the Committee seemed to be reluctant to undertake the task. It was a document which safeguarded his position as Principal. It had been composed and drafted in the light of the correspondence between the three academics - Dr. Lewis Edwards, Dr. Charles Edwards and T. C. Edwards.

An immediate reply from Hugh Owen stated that the "Committee were cheered by your decision, and they saw no objection of moment to the conditions on which you are prepared to accept the principalship."⁽¹⁾ It is interesting to note, though, that the Committee were quite sensitive about the Principal's proposed preaching activities, and Hugh Owen stated that "with regard to No. 10, the Committee think it probable that the exercise of his ministerial office by the Principal will be a little closely watched by the several religious Bodies in Wales, and although they have entire confidence that his 'sense of duty' will at all times keep him within the most discreet bounds, they wish to reserve to themselves the right of submitting any question bearing on that subject to the decision of Dr. Lewis Edwards and Dr. Angus."⁽²⁾ In due course an arrangement was reached which seemed to have been acceptable to all concerned and the protracted correspondence was brought to a close.

(1) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters. 7097. 12/7/72.

(2) ibid

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE OPENING OF THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, ABERYSTWYTH, 1872

By the Summer of 1872, the Committee felt that it was justified in taking the risk of opening the college. A risk it clearly was - the Committee was under no illu^sions - for there was a debt of over £7,000 on the purchase account of the building, an application to the Treasury for assistance had failed, and the college still had no assured income.

Nevertheless, the formal opening of the college on October 15, 1872, was a very joyful occasion. The festivities began with a public breakfast which was followed by a number of speech-making ceremonies. The breakfast took place in spite of Hugh Owen, who had written to the Principal on October 1st, saying, "I instinctively shrink from the idea of a 'public breakfast' at Aberystwyth on the occasion of the opening of the College."⁽¹⁾ With feeling he explained, "The last eight years have made my heart sick with talk, and I long to see a bit of work done without it." He added in some dread, "we must remember too that a public breakfast would as a matter of course be attended by the Press and would therefore subject the College arrangements in the immature state to the criticism of the whole country. I regard this as a risk not to be courted."⁽²⁾

Others did not share his apprehension, and the breakfast

(1) Thos. Chas. Eds. Letters; 7105, 1/10/72.

(2) ibid.

was held - ignoring all his protestations. During the opening ceremonies many speeches of considerable importance and interest were made by leading men in the public life of Wales and London. Several speakers reviewed the work already done on behalf of the college, some looked to the future with a mixture of confidence and apprehension, others still yearned for unity and support from all sectors of the community to create a really "national" institution. In highly powered speeches, George Osborne Morgan and Henry Richard were unstinting in their praise and generous in their tributes to the incomparable work undertaken from the very beginning by Hugh Owen. The majority of those present, many of whom had also worked for and contributed most generously towards the venture, seemed to be in entire agreement with these sentiments.

In his address, George Osborne Morgan recalled, "It is I think, as nearly as possible twenty years from the day that my friend Mr. Hugh Owen, to whom, perhaps more than to any other man, this movement is owing, Mr. Salisbury, the late Member for Chester, and myself, first met to start the idea - for it was nothing more - of a University College for Wales."¹ Similarly, Henry Richard in his speech, after referring to the part played in the enterprise by Mr. William Williams, the late M.P. for Lambeth, and by Dr. Nicholas, said, "there is another name which deserves mention. It was said of an ancient Roman that he deserved respect and honour because in a time of great depression he had never despaired of the Republic. The same might be said of Mr. Hugh Owen, because he has always refused to despair in regard to the University

(1) The Welshman, Oct. 18, 1872; Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Hyd. 30ain, 1872.

of Wales, through good and evil report he has stuck it out."¹ This was a most apt comment, and truly reflected the contribution made during these difficult years by the instigator of the whole movement.

Sir Thomas Lloyd Davies, M.P., in agreement proclaimed "I do from my heart congratulate Mr. Morgan, Mr. Hugh Owen, and other gentlemen upon the great success of the movement which we have met to celebrate today. They have borne the heat and labour of the day, and their efforts have been crowned with, I may say, magnificent success."⁽²⁾

Characteristically, Hugh Owen made a short speech of a very practical nature, in which he referred to the fact that "it had been resolved at a committee meeting, just held, that £50,000 should be raised in three years. Some suggested five years, but he voted for three years because he felt that, please God, he might live for that term, but the longer one was uncertain, and he wished to see this matter settled before he died."⁽³⁾ This was an indication of the anxiety already felt by Owen - that it was a matter of urgency to place the college on a sound footing whilst he was still fit and able to attend to these matters. With the passing of time, this fear was to make him less tolerant and much less co-operative in dealing with college affairs.

The reports of the speeches, however, did not by any means meet the approval of Dr. Thomas Nicholas, and he immediately wrote a letter to Henry Richard to register his objection and chagrin.⁽⁴⁾ In his opinion, people like himself, who, he claimed, were the real founders of the University

(1) (2) (3) The Welshman, Oct. 18, 1872.

(4) NLW. MSS, Hugh Owen, 5505 B, Oct. 21st 1872.

movement, had not been suitably recognised or acknowledged at the opening ceremony and "two or three persons who had no manner of connection with the origin of the movement and did next to nothing during its progress, bedeck each other with no end of insignia of honour as having established a - 'University for Wales." Resentfully, he stated that "Mr. Osborne Morgan with Mr. Hugh Owen put forth themselves as beginners and doers of the work, and the ignorant people applaud. Not a single mention do these high-minded people make of a person who planned the scheme, fought for it a whole year before they touched it, and got the money on which they have since been living and growing great." It irked him that Henry Richard had joined to complete the chorus."in praise of the incomparable Osborne Morgan and the saintly Hugh Owen." To his annoyance, Hugh Owen according to "The Times" - "with the tone of a prophet or the designer and builder of some mighty work, concluded the Seances by pressing for three years rather than five for the raising of a fund that he might live to see the matter completed."

According to Nicholas, "No man has done so much to obstruct and kill the work as Mr. Hugh Owen. I have foreseen for years that in this matter, cunning would come in at the innings. I suppose that the only explanation is that 'as the world has always gone and so will always go'.^(u) Let it be so! There is no help for it. But I shall see to it at all events that a record of this hypocrisy shall go down to the time to come."^(w) It was a letter that might have been expected from a man who had been deeply hurt in the hour of success and triumph. In the jubilation of the celebrations of the

opening day, it is true that many hitherto unco-operative people proudly claimed to be founder members, but to deny Hugh Owen and Osborne Morgan their rightful place in the movement was rank foolishness.

Henry Richard sent Nicholas a copy of the "Welshman" for October 18th, 1872, which had reported the speeches at the opening ceremonies in full, and had included the speech made by Henry Richard, in which he had referred to the work and contribution of Nicholas to the movement. Nicholas, however, was not to be placated, and in a second letter to Richard⁽¹⁾ again complained, "You were tenderly generous, however, towards Hugh Owen, going as far as ancient Rome for a worthy parallel of undespairing constancy, under evil and good report. Hugh Owen's one idea has been to keep the matter under his own thumb, and had it not been for him I should never have left the enterprise until the last penny was paid for the Building. He has managed to prevent this being done, to waste five years of time and wear out the faith of the public." Apparently, it had been Nicholas's wish to open the college immediately after purchasing the Castle Hotel in 1867, and his disappointment when the Committee disagreed may explain much of the bad feeling between him and Hugh Owen. It is difficult to know what he really meant by the sweeping claim that he "could have opened in 1867 a School at Aberystwyth with 200 pupils without difficulty." From the extent of the financial embarrassment and the difficulty which the promoters had to contend with when the college eventually opened five years later in 1872, it

(1) NLW. MSS. Henry Richard. 5505 B(N). Oct. 24, 1872.

is extremely doubtful whether the college could have been a success in 1867. Nicholas advised Richard that "If it had not been for Mr. Davies, Llandinam, coming forward the other day, nothing except a Government grant (against which you have always been conscientiously opposed), could save it from ruin in a year or two."

Nicholas also accused George Osborne Morgan and Hugh Owen of claiming "the glory of origination of the 'idea' and of the 'movement' associated with the university in Wales." None of the speeches at the opening ceremony implied this, and Nicholas does not make that claim himself, but he did make a claim that it was he who "first sought the co-operation of Mr. Hugh Owen in 1864, and after working at the thing for twelve months myself, I found that gentleman very shy and reluctant. But once Mr. Williams gave his £1,000 the reluctant disappeared." This was a travesty of the facts, but then Hugh Owen, according to Nicholas, "on the formation of a little committee nominated himself Hon. Sec."

Nicholas recalled another argument between him and Owen. on account of the legacy of William Williams. When this was paid, Osborne Morgan, Morgan Lloyd and Hugh Owen were made trustees, but unfortunately, the name of Nicholas was not included. They had "omitted the one name Mr. Williams had nominated." This really rankled, and in his ire, Nicholas declared, "I have not met such depth of scheming and duplicity in my short course of life as I have seen in the noble H.O."

It was a regrettable clash of personalities for both enjoyed playing the leading role, and neither was prepared

University, worked for it for years, helped to purchase the building, and attended in a deputation its inaugural services, judge my surprise on finding in "The Times" and "The Daily News" Oct. 18th, 1872, a statement by Osborne Morgan, made at a public breakfast held in the College building, Aberystwyth" about the beginnings of the movement. (1)

So incensed was he with the report that he wrote a letter to "The Standard" and to "The Daily News" asserting, "I am far enough from wishing to deprive Mr. O. Morgan, Mr. H. Owen, or any other great 'Columbus' of that meeting, of the credit of originating any great idea, or projecting any enterprise to bless the world; but facts must not be sacrificed even to the vanity of Mr. Hugh Owen or any other mighty discoverer who has been 'tossing about in the Atlantic' of great ideas..."⁽²⁾ Indeed, so convinced was Dr. David Thomas of his original and effective contribution to the movement that as he declared, "I shall content myself with having for the future, inserted on the title-page of all my works - 'Originating Founder of University College, Aberystwyth.'"⁽³⁾

Lewis Edwards poured scorn upon those who foolishly tried to claim to have originated the idea of founding a university in Wales. Of far greater significance and importance in his opinion was the effort and contribution of those brave souls who dared put the idea into operation.⁽⁴⁾ He maintained that many brilliant ideas and grandiose plans for the benefit of the Welsh nation had failed simply because

(1) David Thomas, D.D. *op. cit.*, 5

(1)	David Thomas, D.D. 1st. 1800, 2
(2)	ibid 6

$\{2\}$	ibid	5
$\{3\}$	ibid	7

(4) Y Traethodydd, 1875, 481.

they had been allowed to lapse for lack of support and courage - "wedi eu gadael i ddihoeni i farwolaeth gan wŷr a olygent ei fod lawer islaw eu hurddas i fyned i ymdrechu â'r anhawsterau oedd ar y ffordd i wneyd y drychfeddwl yn ffaith." Lewis Edwards could not have paid a greater tribute than this to Hugh Owen, for it was he, more than anyone else, who actually put these grand ideas into operation during this critical period.

On the whole, however, the immediate success after the opening of the college went far to justify the calculated daring of the Committee. Commencing in 1872 with 25 students, the number rose by the end of the first session to over 60, and in the years before the great industrial depression which swept over Wales during 1876, it had risen to 75, but by the time of the Departmental Inquiry in 1880 it had again decreased to 53.

Of the staff appointments only one instance merits special treatment, and that on account of its repercussions at a later date. As early as September, 1872, Gohebydd was advocating the appointment of a professor^{of} music at the College, and Hugh Owen, commenting on Gohebydd's idea to the Principal, stated "his suggestion is I think as practical as it is excellent. Joseph Parry is a most estimable man, and is moreover a man of talent. He obtained his degree of Bachelor of Music at Cambridge."⁽¹⁾ The Principal was in full agreement, and in reply to Hugh Owen he also thought that "Gohebydd's idea is excellent" and added "if you think it can be realised, I shall be delighted to see Pencerdd America filling the Chair of Music at the College. It will help

(1) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters. 7102, 4/9/72.

immensely to make the Institution popular in Wales. Let us by all means make a strenuous effort to secure such a man."⁽¹⁾

At a Committee meeting held on June 20th, 1873, it was resolved "That having regard to the taste for music existing to so large an extent in Wales, and to the advantage that might result from placing the means of obtaining the requisite culture within the reach of young men possessed of talent for music, and having regard also to the probable tendency of the proposed appointment to elevate and purify the musical taste of the people, that Gohebydd be requested to offer the appointment of professor of music at the College to Mr. Joseph Parry, the terms to be agreed upon hereafter."⁽²⁾ This was not a particularly impressive way of conducting college business, and this rather off-handed arrangement may well account for some of the subsequent troubles in this department.

However, at the beginning of the third session in 1874, the college staff was augmented by the addition of Dr. Joseph Parry as Professor of Music. A number of students from North and South Wales and one or two even from America immediately attached themselves to the new professor, and the college was not lacking in a supply of students who attended courses of lectures in harmony and vocalisation and other branches of the art. It was a means of increasing the revenue of the college since as many as 26 students out of 86 were at one time students in the music department. Few, if any of them followed the ordinary college classes.

However, it soon became apparent that the professor tended to be rather wayward and impulsive, and consequently was often

(1) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters, 8360, 5/9/72.

(2) J. Gibson: Higher Education in Wales, 1878, 20.

difficult to fit into the academic routine of the college. The level of education among the students of his department was also appallingly low and caused much uneasiness to the Senate. Professor Parry was also prone to hold concerts, conduct choirs and adjudicate in eisteddfodau all over the country, and soon with no little malice "The Cambrian News" indulged in a vendetta with the slogan of "too much preaching" and "too much music" at the college - the Principal and Professor Joseph Parry being the culprits.

An equally disturbing element was the presence of women students in the music classes, choirs and concerts, for as yet women had not been admitted to the ordinary classes. Though amusing in retrospect, at the time this caused much alarm to the authorities and particularly to Hugh Owen. He was very much a man of his age in this respect, and thought of Aberystwyth as a College for young men only - the presence of women students caused him very much concern. The suggestion that the women students from the music department should be accommodated at the College caused him even greater unease, and in 1875, in considerable alarm he informed the Principal, "I should look with horror at the bringing of a lot of girls (I beg their pardon for thus referring to them) to lodge and board in the same building with a lot of youths - young men. You would of course have partitions, locks and bolts, and all that sort of thing; and practically no mischief might rise from the arrangement."⁽¹⁾ Yet he was absolutely convinced that "the arrangement would be certain to occasion surprize (sic) in the country, and subject the College to damaging criticism."⁽²⁾ Apart from these few women in the

(1) Thos. Chas, Edws. Letters, 7151. 24/11/75.

(2) *ibid.*

mid-seventies who attended the music classes, it was not until the session of 1884-85, three years after Owen's death, that women were admitted to the ordinary college courses in arts and science. At first the women students were only allowed the option of residing in registered lodging-houses in the town or in a house which the Council had taken over as a temporary hall of residence, and it was about three years later that the Council decided to make residence in hall compulsory for women.

From his very first appearance at Aberystwyth, "Pencerdd America" was the cause of considerable upheaval inside and outside the college. He had scant respect for the conventions, rules and regulations of the college authorities, or for current public opinion, and this led to very considerable clamour within months of his coming to the college. It will be seen that the situation deteriorated rapidly, and this eventually led to the dismissal of Joseph Parry in the Summer of 1878.

The early years in the history of the college continued to be most tempestuous. The lack of united effort continued, and the Tory Anglican press in particular was delighted to have an opportunity of ventilating the shortcomings in any of the arrangements at the new institution. In turn, "Y Cronicle" kept up its vendetta against the college and stoutly maintained that it would have a decided Anglicising influence upon Wales - like every other educational institution in the Principality.⁽¹⁾ It argued that London was the best place to acquire an English education, where, in its opinion

(1) Y Cronicle, 1873. 25.

the opportunities were tenfold greater than at Aberystwyth.¹ It claimed that it would be far better for young Welshmen to go to London rather than that anyone should waste time and energy establishing a university for them in Wales. The "Faner" admitted that for many years to come, the facilities in London would be far in advance of those in Wales,⁽²⁾ but agreed with Matthew Arnold in his report on "Schools, and Universities on the Continent" that "if there is one thing which my foreign experience has left me convinced of - as convinced of as I am of our actual want of superior institutions, it is this - that we must take this instruction to the students and not hope to bring the students to the instruction."⁽³⁾ The "Faner" contended that this was reason enough for the founding of Aberystwyth - "dyna ydyw yr amcan mawr ag sydd wrth wraidd y symudiad i sefydlu Prifysgol i Gymru, a hynny yn Nghymru, sef, dwyn cyfryngau addysg uwchraddol at, ac o fewn cyrhaedd corph mawr poblogaeth Cymru."⁽⁴⁾

The "**Cronicle**" also joined in the chorus against the remote location of Aberystwyth. It maintained that it took as much time and money to get to Aberystwyth from many parts of Wales as it did to get to London.⁽⁵⁾ The "Faner" scornfully dismissed this statement and left it to each reader to decide the matter for himself.⁽⁶⁾

In addition, the "**Cronicle**" suggested that the cost of living was cheaper in London, where a student could get a

(1) Y Cronicle, 1873, 25.

(2) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Ion. 22, 1873.

(3) Matthew Arnold: Schools and Universities on the Continent," p. 168

(4) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Ion. 22, 1873.

(5) Y Cronicle, 1873, 25.

(6) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Ion. 22, 1873.

lunch for 9d. as opposed to 1/6 in Wales.⁽¹⁾ Gohebydd of the "Faner" who had lived in London for a long time would not have this at all, and promptly carried out an investigation of his own into the matter.⁽²⁾ As a result of his researches, he was of the opinion that the promoters of the university college had three things in mind -

"(i) Dwyn yr addysg oreu i fechgyn Cymru ag y byddo bossibl o ran lle, ei osod hyd ag y gellid - 'At their own doors.'

"(ii) Sicrhau yr addysg hono hyd y gellid ar delerau cyrhaeddadwy i gorph y genedl.

"(iii) Cymmhwysu yr addysg mor bell ag y gellid hyny yn fuddiol, at anghenion neillduol y rhan hono o'r Deyrnas Cyfunol."⁽³⁾

With regard to the second aim, which dealt with the cost of education, Gohebydd drew attention to the two main items of expense - the cost of tuition and the cost of living in proximity to the college. On this basis, he found that the yearly cost of board, accommodation and tuition at the University College, London, came to about £90, while similar costs at Aberystwyth came to £27/10/- a year. Thus unceremoniously, he managed to dispose quite effectively with the objections of the "Cronicl" on the basis of comparative costs.⁽⁴⁾

More justifiably, the "Cronicl" also treated the standard of education at Aberystwyth with scant respect. In agreement with "Meudwy" in the "Tyst" it held that the College at

(1) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Ion. 22, 1873.

(2) ibid Ion. 29, 1873.

(3) (4) ibid

Aberystwyth could be no more than a second or third rate Grammar School. The writer in the "Cronicl" stated, "y mae gennyf gynghor caredig i'w roddi i H. Owen, Ysw., ac O. Morgan, Ysw., y ddau wr gafodd y drychfeddwl cyntaf, ac i Ol. y "Faner" a'r Gohebydd. Os yw eich anrhydedd o bwys yn eich golwg, peidiwch galw Ysgol Aberystwyth yn Brif. Nid yw ddim yn wir, ac ni bydd fyth. Ni all fod ond Ysgol baratoawl i'r prifysgolion, o'r ail neu'r drydedd radd."⁽¹⁾ This criticism during that first session was probably true, but the patent hostility of the attack was anything but charitable to a new institution!

In this hostile vein, the "Cronicl" also questioned whether Aberystwyth was wholly unsectarian in spite of all the claims made on its behalf. It argued that all perceptive Wesleyans, Baptists and Congregationalists in Wales would privately admit that there existed considerable ^tsecarianism in connection with such institutions as the Bible Society and the Normal School, Bangor, as well as with all the British Schools in Wales. It was quite resentful of the fact that the principals of all these institutions were Methodists, and it claimed that the Principal and others associated with the college at Aberystwyth were also closely associated with the same sect.⁽²⁾

In the "Western Mail", on the other hand, one John Jones complained that the college at Aberystwyth was a "godless institution" and that fortunately the Welsh aristocracy had not come forward to support an unsectarian Welsh university. He claimed that the "aristocracy of blood, and wealth and

(1) Y Cronicl, 1873; 86.

(2) ibid.

intellect, and the educated classes, almost to a man, belong to the Church of England, and are staunch supporters of religious education and therefore, it is no wonder that a so-called unsectarian and secular movement does not prosper. Let these bugbears be removed, let the idea of a godless education be thoroughly cleared away and I will answer we shall not hear any longer the cry - 'We cannot prosper for want of money.' Prove to the country that it is for the good of the country, and we shall have a noble response not a whit behind Scotland."⁽¹⁾

In the same letter, the writer in addition accused the new foundation of being the haunt of radicalism with which he did not want to have anything to do. To him it savoured far too much of Osborne Morgan and Henry Richard, and as far as he was concerned, the only real hope of salvation for Wales was to develop the St. David's College, Lampeter, into a University of Wales.

Lastly, the "Cronicl" could not accept the dominant role played by the London members of the Committee. It accused these members of being self-appointed, being almost entirely London-based and for being very selfish and self-centred into the bargain - "Y mae y ddinas fawr am fod yn galon, ac am i'r holl aelodau yn fawrion a bychain daflu eu gwaed, sef eu harian a'u hawdurdod, iddi hi, ac iddi hithau ddychwelyd yn ol iddynt y faint a welai yn dda."⁽²⁾ These criticisms in the press - particularly in the Tory Anglican press, expressed the views held by an influential sector of the community, but whilst many of these were based on fact, many were merely bigoted sectarian or warped political objections.

(1) Western Mail, Dec. 30, 1872.

(2) Y Cronicl, 1873, 330.

Within a matter of weeks of opening the college too, storms of protest developed quite suddenly against the holding of a religious service for the students. There was also a hue and cry against the use of the "Book of Common Prayer" and the "Hymns Ancient and Modern" in that service. In addition, there was much opposition to the use of such names as "Michaelmas" and "Lent" for the college terms, since these were regarded as being extremely offensive to Nonconformists.

The first to raise the issue was a Dr. John Pughe, of Aberdovey, who must have written to Hugh Owen on the matter very shortly after the opening of the college, for Hugh Owen in a letter to the Principal on November 22nd, 1872, stated that "he is sadly disturbed at your praying from the Prayer Book. The circumstances must bring the Institution to the ground."⁽¹⁾ At this point, Hugh Owen did not seem to have taken the issue very seriously, but a little later, at the beginning of December, Pughe wrote in a more biting vein directly to the Principal.⁽²⁾ Pughe's son at the college had written home to say, "We have prayers every morning at the College at half past eight. We are obliged to bring Common Prayer Books." It appears that Pughe had discussed the matter with Dr. Charles, who must have fully agreed with him "as to the unwisdom, if not want of good faith involved in this strange step." Pughe was very disturbed, and complained that "after all the tall talk about its 'unsectarianism' the students of the University College of Wales are trained in the use of a sectarian Prayer Book, and this bright

(1) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters, 7107, 22/11/72

(2) ibid. 7390, 3/12/72.

ideal of our imagination resolves itself into a denominational college with a 'conscience clause.' Instead of the promised gold, we are put off with aluminium. Good faith, consistency and common sense require that all this fooling should go on no longer." Pughe's advice to the Principal was "helm about without a moment of childish delay or her destruction is certain."⁽¹⁾

On January 1st, 1873. Archdeacon John Griffiths of Neath wrote to the Principal in an entirely different vein and wished the Principal to assure him that the college was not a secular institution. He asked the Principal if he could find time to favour him with a comment on the "charges and insinuations especially those which refer to the religious character of the movement? - I shall be glad (to know) how religion is recognised in the college. Are there prayers read? Is the Bible used, and is it studied?"⁽²⁾ It seemed that the Principal could not win.

In the following month, the "Faner" joined in the debate strongly advocating yet another course and insisting that the institution should be entirely secular, and that the religious service should be dispensed with altogether."⁽³⁾ The Principal was in a difficult situation. The "Faner" asked "os ydyw Prifysgol Llundain yn gallu gwneyd heb wasanaeth na seremoniau crefyddol o gwbl, paham nad all Prifysgol Aberystwyth wneuthur yr un modd?" In February, 1873, both Thomas Gee and Henry Richard wrote to the college authorities complaining bitterly about the college service."⁽⁴⁾

(1) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters, 7390, 1/1/72.

(2) ibid. 6128, 1/1/73.

(3) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Chwef. 10, 1873.

(4) U.W. Minutes and Memoranda, 241.

In May of that year, Thomas Gee also wrote a personal letter to the Principal.⁽¹⁾ He complained that there was "an important principle involved in the manner in which some person or persons who have the control of Aberystwyth College are carrying things on there." As one of the great champions of Nonconformity, he continued with a forthright attack upon the authorities. "Whatever the Educational advantages which may arise from the University may be, as it stands, I have no hesitation in saying that it is an insult to the Nonconformists of Wales. I contributed £25 towards its Funds, and did all I could to assist Dr. Nicholas when he called in Denbigh, and we succeeded in obtaining promises of between £400 and £500, but owing to the treatment which we Dissenters are receiving at the hands of the Authorities, I am heartily sorry that I ever contributed a single penny towards it."⁽²⁾

Although in a private letter, this was a pretty powerful and personal attack, but probably these sentiments were those of the vast majority of Nonconformists at the time. Gee wrote a similar letter to the Principal a month later, and stated categorically, "Whoever is or are responsible for the introduction of the Prayer Book and these hymns into the Institution deserve to be severely censured, and will have to blame themselves for having destroyed this valuable institution."⁽³⁾

Two days later, Archdeacon John Griffiths of Neath also wrote to the Principal informing him that he had advised Hugh Owen to arrange a meeting at Bala or some central place where a "few of the leading men of Wales - representatives

(1) (2) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters; 6075, 8/5/73.

(3) ibid 6076 16/6/73.

of the several religious Bodies" could "come together calmly and dispassionately to consider the scheme that is to rule the College at Aberystwyth, and to decide on details such as those that are now agitating the public mind. It appears that there is an impression abroad that the affair is becoming too 'Churchy.'" He advised the Principal to let "the Religious or 'Devotion' question, if not amicably decided, to be submitted to a Committee of representatives" for he "would not have my friend Mr. Owen blamed....."(1)

On the following day, the Archdeacon wrote yet another long letter expressing a hope that a solution would be speedily reached.(2) Although he conceded that in "strictly Religious or rather denominational matters we may not succeed in securing formal union there is a virtual union, which as Protestant Christians we may attain to, and unquestionably ought to foster and encourage"

He did not feel that there should be any conflict between the Nonconformist Academies and the college at Aberystwyth, for the aims of the latter "are directed to an end that they do not aim at - the education given in them is Denominational and if I may use the term in a restricted sense, Ministerial; at Aberystwyth, it is general and practical."

During the same month, however, Thomas Gee made a public plea that the college should become an entirely secular institution without any trace of denominationalism. He argued "gan nad oes angenrheidrwydd am ddwyn crefydd iddi yn ei haddysg, nid oes angen chwaith am ddwyn unrhyw Lyfr Gweddi na gwasanaeth crefyddol i mewn iddi Ond gadael crefydd

(1) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters; 6130, 18/6/73.

(2) ibid 6131 19/6/73.

allan yn llwyr, buasai y wlad yn teimlo yn foddlon ar benodiad athrawon os ceid sicrwydd eu bod yn ysgolheigion da, ac yn meddu'r dalent i gyfranu addysg i ba enwadau bynnag y perthynent."⁽¹⁾

The "Faner" quoted the 1864 manifesto which stated that a "University is an institution for the whole people It must therefore avoid fettering itself with ecclesiastical or denominational peculiarities. For Wales, especially, no other kind of University would be of any avail."⁽²⁾ The "Faner's " attack went on for several months during 1873, thus giving the matter far more attention than it ever merited.

Principal T. C. Edwards himself replied to some of the accusations in the "Faner," in an endeavour to justify his action. This again led to a lengthy correspondence in that paper between the Principal and a John Pughe of Aberdovey. Pughe held that "the pertinacity with which Churchmen in season and out of season seek to identify the public recognition of religion with their own Brahminism is sufficiently notorious, but I deny that the University College of Wales should pander to their special development of self-esteem."⁽³⁾

The Principal was in an invidious position, for Archdeacon John Griffiths in his correspondence argued that a secular institution would not be acceptable to the Welsh people. He maintained that the "great difficulty at present which I feel sure, if not removed, will alienate the sympathy and support of many is the religious one. If the present effort to eliminate all recognition of religion within the walls of the college be persevered in, and prove successful,

(1) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, June 18, 1873.

(2) & (3) ibid.

the duty I owe my own convictions becomes to be quite plain."¹
 He was entirely opposed to Thomas Gee's advocacy for a secular college, but he admitted that the "power of the 'Baner' is very great and must not be despised Mr. Gee is himself a great power and steps must be taken to get him into conference on this ticklish subject."⁽¹⁾

However, whilst many Nonconformists were as keen on promoting a non-sectarian, if not a secular institution, the Bishop of St. Asaph at the same instant was doing his best to include Theology in the college curriculum. He informed Hugh Owen that "it is essential to our scheme that it should be placed on the same footing in the Welsh University as at Oxford, Cambridge and the Scotch Universities. We want no 'gagging' clause in the Charter."⁽²⁾

Hugh Owen in his reply reminded the Bishop that "the proposal that the University for Wales should take cognizance of Theology was very fully considered, and the feeling was strongly against it. Indeed I am satisfied that the Authorities of the College could not be induced to consent to the recognition of Theology by the University."⁽³⁾ A week later, in a letter to the Principal, Hugh Owen also added that "Apart from the difficulty on our side connected with Theology, I believe that the Government would not sanction a Charter which proposed to confer Degrees in Theology."⁽⁴⁾

The Rev. David Charles - the former secretary - was not above joining in the controversy, and he emphasized that very many people in Wales, and in England, would not wish to

(1) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters; 6129, 22/5/73.
 (2) ibid 8988, 14/3/73.
 (3) ibid 9066, 15/3/73.
 (4) ibid 7111, 22/3/73.

establish or support a truly secular institution at Aberystwyth. He held that such people had only subscribed towards the college on the understanding that religious services would be held even if no religious teaching would be undertaken. According to him, Mr. Samuel Morley, when he contributed his £1,000, had made such a stipulation, and had anticipated that a religious atmosphere would prevail in the new foundation.⁽¹⁾

In reply, the "Fanner" complained that what was really meant by an unsectarian institution had not been fully explained; "ni chlywsom ni na llawer eraill yr awgrym lleiaf fod gwirioneddau crefydd i gael eu dysgu, na gwasanaeth crefyddol i fod ynddi, onide, y buasai yr awdurdodau yn cael eu galw i roddi eglur~~had~~ eglur a diamwys ar eu bwriadau."⁽²⁾

A number of people, however, were beginning to feel that Thomas Gee, and the "Fanner", were becoming obsessive on this issue, and Lewis Edwards writing to his son in August, 1873, made the comment that "Mr. W. Evans of Holywell is very bitter against Gee; and in fact so are all sensible people."⁽³⁾ Surprisingly, however, Gohebydd in writing to the "Fanner" was given every freedom to support the college authorities, and he deplored the opposition that had grown against the college service. With more flippancy than usual, he even labelled these people as "heresy mongers and crochet mongers."⁴

However, in view of the weight of the opposition to the use of the "Book of Common Prayer," the Principal decided to make suitable selections in a Manual for the use of the

(1) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Gorff. 2, 1873.

(2) ibid Gorff. 9 1873.

(3) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters, 5797; 6/8/73.

(4) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Medi 8; 1873.

students. In September, 1873, Hugh Owen in a letter to the Principal struck an optimistic note when he observed, "I have no doubt whatever that the Manual will be such as we shall be able to defend against all the world, Denbigh included."⁽¹⁾

In the light of subsequent events, it seemed that he was far too optimistic, for late in September, 1873, towards the end of the first long vacation of the college, Owen spoke on this issue at a public meeting at Penygroes, Caernarvonshire, and the "Faner" reported his comments on the complaints made against the college authorities on this matter -

'dywedai eu bod hwy yn awyddus i gadw pob peth tramgwyddus allan o honi, a'u bod yn teimlo y dylent wrandaw ar lais y wlad yn y peth hwn."⁽²⁾ As always, Owen wishing to pour oil on troubled waters, perhaps unwisely, had assured his audience, that in the coming session "na byddai yno ddim a achosai drallod ac anfodlonrwydd. Darllenir rhan o'r Ysgruthur, ac eir i weddio yno, dyna'r cwbl, yn debyg, gallem dybio, i'r dyll y cedwir dyledswydd yn y teulu."⁽³⁾

This report must have greatly disturbed Owen, for in a letter to the "Faner," in the following week, he flatly denied that he expected the "college service" to take a new form in the coming session. He particularly wished to state that the college committee was not responsible for the form of the college service, although he admitted that when the college was first opened, it was in accordance with the resolutions of the executive committee that the students would meet for Prayers at 8.30 every morning. It was, however,

(1) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters, 7121, 11/9/73.

(2) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Medi 24, 1873.

(3) *ibid.*

understood that attendance was not in any way compulsory. The form of the service had been left to the college authorities, and they in due course, had decided that selections for the service be made from the "Book of Common Prayer" by the Principal and his staff. In addition to the reading of some of the Collects of the "Book of Common Prayer" and the Psalms of the Day, a Lesson from the New Testament was read, a Hymn was sung and an extempore prayer was occasionally offered. In addition, Hugh Owen wished to remind his readers that the confidence of the Committee in the College Authorities was still such "fel nad oes un tebygrwydd y bydd i'r pwyllgor ymyraeth â'r mater yn y dyfodol."⁽¹⁾

This explanation did not satisfy the "Faner", and it was generally felt that Owen was being most ambivalent. Since the service had been instituted at the request of the executive committee, it now deemed that it was the duty of that committee to take steps to abolish it too. When Owen wrote to the Principal about his Penygroes speech, he added, "The "Baner" is likely to find occupation, whatever you may do, in the advocacy of Mr. Gee's secularism; but I do not believe that he will carry even the Quarrymen of Caernarvonshire with him."⁽²⁾

In his own defence, the Principal wished to stress that the selections made from the "Book of Common Prayer" were such that they could not offend the susceptibilities of any denomination. However, so serious was the opposition to the service, that it was eventually decided to submit the Manual for the approval of the following cross-section of ministers:-

(1) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Hyd. 1, 1873.

(2) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters, 7122, 24/9/73.

the Rev. John Griffiths, M.A., Rector of Neath; the Rev. Thomas Thomas, D.D., Principal of the Baptist College, Pontypool; the Rev. Lewis Edwards, D.D., Principal of the Calvinistic Methodist College, Bala; the Rev. Wm. Griffiths, Holyhead, Chairman of the Congregational Union of Wales.

It would have been impossible to have had a better representation of the denominations for this purpose, and their comments were on the whole very much in harmony. In the opinion of the Rector of Neath, "the prayers are the best that can be selected. So are the hymns, but I venture to suggest to you the addition of a few hymns which are now very popular."⁽¹⁾

Dr. Thomas Thomas, who was slightly more critical, commented, "I certainly regret that any form of worship should be introduced by authority in your Institution. However, if there must be an Order, etc., I do not think we can get a better one than that of which you have furnished the students." Dr. Lewis Edwards was wholly in favour and declared, "I do not see what objection there can be to the prayers and hymns as you have arranged them." Similarly, the Rev. Wm. Griffiths approved of all the selections and said, "I have read the Manual through, and with much pleasure. I verily think nothing could be more appropriate and satisfactory."⁽²⁾

These representatives from the major denominations vindicated the action of the Principal and college authorities, though this did not please the advocates of a secular institution. But some tacit arrangement must have been

(1) U.W. Minutes & Memoranda, 254.

(2) *ibid.*

reached soon afterwards, for on October 29th, 1873, even Gee was rather optimistic about a settlement and wrote, "yr ydym yn gobeithio oddiwrth amryw arwyddion a ganfyddasom yno, y bydd pob rhwystr ar y pen hwn hefyd wedi ei symud o hyn i flwyddyn i heddyw."⁽¹⁾

However, even in December, 1873, the hubbub about the Manual had not died down completely, for Hugh Owen again wrote to the Principal, drawing his attention to page five, which contained the phrase, "more especially, we pray for the good estate of the Catholic Church."⁽²⁾ Owen had discussed this with such friends as Stephen Evans and Gohebydd in London, and in their opinion too, it was considered advisable to omit the phrase. As Owen rightly observed, "The belief is that the Dissenting Press will affect to be horrified at your praying for the good estate of the Church of England - a Church that with might and main the Dissenters are seeking to overthrow."

The other denominational headache arose from the names given to the college terms. The "Faner" considered that such names as "Michaelmas" and "lent" had Roman Catholic associations," and observed, "Nid oes ond un dosbarth o grefyddwyr, a hwnw yn lleiafrif dirfawr y genedl, drwy yr holl dywysogaeth, yn cydnabod y gyfundrefn a gynnrychiolir gan y geiriau uchod."⁽³⁾ Although Thomas Gee had considerable support in his objection, his paper nevertheless published a letter from M. J. Meredyth Evans, London, who expressed surprise that people objected to the names given to the college terms any more than they would object to the names

(1) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Oct. 29th, 1873.

(2) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters, 7126; 15/12/73.

(3) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Chwef. 5, 1873.

given to the days of the week. Arguments about this continued in the press throughout 1873, and the poet Meiriadog was moved to comment -

"Pobi addysg Pabyddiaeth - oedd awydd
Eon y ddysgeidiaeth."⁽¹⁾

In addition to the controversy on these religious issues, there was also much comment in the press about the administration of the college. In October, 1872, shortly after its opening, the following anonymous letter appeared in the "Western Mail," and this was read by Hugh Owen to the Committee on November 27th.⁽²⁾

"University College for Wales.

"To the Editor of the Western Mail.

Sir - The deep interest which has always been taken in the education of Welshmen by Mr. Hugh Owen, late of the Poor-Law Board, London, will, I feel persuaded, be deemed an ample apology for putting him to the trouble of answering the following simple questions:

- "1. Is it true that a resolution was passed at more than one general meeting of the subscribers to the effect that the College premises should be transferred into the hands of responsible trustees for the benefit of the public?
- "2. Is it true that the College premises at Aberystwyth, towards which large sums have been subscribed, have never been transferred, although the secretary had succeeded in securing the names of several gentlemen, being large subscribers, who were willing to undertake the responsibility; and that consequently, the premises remain still in the hands of one man (Mr. H. Pugh of Carnarvon), and that he has the power to sell them any day he pleases, and has threatened to do so?
- "3. Is it not evident that there is something rotten in the state of Denmark?
- "4. Is it not true that the real cause why the Rev. Dr. Charles has not been appointed Principal has been his persevering efforts to get the College property put in trust, contrary to the wishes of some interested parties? The public have a right

(1) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Chwef. 5, 1873.

(2) Western Mail, Oct. 29th, 1872.

to know who has authority over the College premises at the present time.

- "5. Is it true that the nominal executive Committee never meet; that the whole business of the movement is carried on by a few irresponsible persons in London, who have assumed the prerogative of the executive, and that these few unauthorised persons are a mere clique under the control and at the beck of one man, who is in fact, the real executive?
- "6. Is it true that the appointment of the Professors has been made by these irresponsible persons?
- "7. Is it true that several of these have themselves never subscribed a penny to the movement, and that the subscriptions of the rest have hitherto formed but a minimum of the amount subscribed by others, who have had no voice whatsoever either as regards the transference of the property or the appointment of the Principal and Professors?
- "8. Is it true that some of the resolutions passed at the general meetings held in the metropolis have been tampered with by the hon. secretary, and falsely entered in the minute book?
- "9. Is it true that no general meeting of the subscribers has been called this year? If so, what is the reason?
- "10. Is it true that a resolution was passed some two years ago to the effect that a general meeting of the executive, whose names are published in the college circular, should be held every three months, alternately at Aberystwyth and in London, and that such meetings were never called? If so, why?
11. Is it true that applications from some gentlemen of high standing and scholarship were never entertained at all by this irresponsible London sub-committee?

I am, etc.

A NONCONFORMIST MINISTER."

Glan Mawnwy. Oct. 24, 1872. (1)

Clearly the writer felt most hostile towards the London members of the college committee in general and towards Hugh Owen in particular. He favoured far greater provincial participation in the conduct of college affairs and regarded the

(1) Western Mail, Oct. 29th, 1872.

existing committee as inept, irresponsible and even dishonest in most of its work. Apart from the damning criticism of Hugh Owen's conduct, his most serious accusations were on account of the non-transference of the college property to responsible trustees. The tardy transference of the title deeds of the college building to a body of trustees was very closely linked with the precarious state of the college finances, and the validity of these complaints merits some consideration.

It has been seen how harassed the college promoters had been by the lack of financial support. Hugh Owen and his colleagues ~~had~~ three problems to solve; they had to clear the debt on the college building as soon as possible, they needed a Guarantee Fund of about £2,000 a year to meet current expenses and lastly they had to build up an Endowment Fund of £50,000 to provide for the future needs of the college.

The Guarantee Fund for the years 1872-74 was launched immediately. The responsibility for collecting £2,000 was divided between five districts, and each district was to provide £400 a year for three years. This plan proved to be very successful, and each of the five districts - London, Manchester, Liverpool, North Wales and South Wales - provided its share. It was a most satisfactory arrangement - for the money was raised free of expenses - except for a trifling amount for printing and postage. David Charles had retired in October, 1871, and no successor had been appointed. In the words of the College Report, the "Committee have not appointed a successor to Dr. Charles, as the secretarial work

has been voluntarily undertaken by some of their colleagues who are striving to perform it themselves in order to relieve the funds of the institution from the charge of paid services and the cost of travelling."⁽¹⁾ This really meant that Hugh Owen became the honorary secretary - and continued to be so for the next six years.

In the autumn of 1872 in order to devote all his time to the work of the college, Hugh Owen retired from his post at the Poor Law Office. This resulted in a turning point in the financial prospects of the college; had he not done so, it would have been impossible to deal with the correspondence involved without paid secretarial assistance. Of the many sacrifices Hugh Owen was to make on behalf of the college, this was by far the greatest. He began his task in his sixty-eighth year, and continued until he was seventy four. During this period he was instrumental in collecting £14,878. This, it must be remembered, was in addition to the money collected for purchasing and furnishing the college. In the words of his biographer, "without Sir Hugh Owen, the college might never have been established, without him it must certainly would never have been maintained."⁽¹⁾ This great achievement must, therefore, be considered in relation to the ill-founded accusations made in the above letter in the "Western Mail."

During the first session, the Executive Committee in addition to its efforts to meet its financial responsibilities was greatly harassed both in private and in public for not transferring the college premises into the hands of trustees. It will be recalled that Dr. Charles had complained about

(1) W. E. Davies: Life and Life Work of Sir Hugh Owen. 105.

this matter to T. C. Edwards, before the latter had even decided to accept the Principalship. Charles claimed that he had all along "used every effort to get these premises transferred into the hands of responsible trustees without success. I succeeded in procuring the names of some 14 gentlemen, who would be willing to act in that capacity - still there is a hitch somewhere - I cannot prevail upon H. Owen to get this done; and until this is done, I do not believe the public will have that confidence in the Committee as to contribute their money. This you must insist upon, I think, as a sine qua non -"(1)

David Charles had returned to this theme some three weeks later, and lamented that "H.O. had dogged me out of it entirely - never refused to transfer it, but always threw the matter under the table. The case stands thus.-- This building is in the hands of Hugh Pugh, H.O.'s son-in-law, and the public are anxious to get it into the hands of the trustees for the public. Simner gave a hint some time ago that H.O. would not transfer it, but keep it for his grandchildren (and Simner is a confident of H.O.'s)." (2) It is quite astonishing that a man of the standing of David Charles could even consider, still less repeat such nonsense. Nevertheless, he added, "There are some £7,000 still due to the N. & S. Wales Bk. for this building - until a transfer is made the public will not subscribe to clear it off. This has been my great difficulty. Had the transfer been made some two years ago, the whole of the amount would have been paid before this. But now the Committee is soured - I would

(1) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters, 5339, 1/6/72.

(2) *ibid* 5342, 20/6/72.

insist therefore upon the promise that a transfer of the premises shall immediately be made -"(1) Some of the insinuations were hardly credible and confirm the belief that in his bitterness he had lost all sense of judgement and perspective.

In reading this letter in the "Western Mail," one cannot help feeling that it was written by a close friend and confidant of the Rev. David Charles. The sentiments expressed are identical with those in the letter written by David Charles to his nephew, T. C. Edwards, earlier in 1872.

On account of the continued criticism in the press, the Committee decided to make a statement to the subscribers in June, 1873.⁽²⁾ It was explained that in 1867, the college building had been in the possession of the North and South Wales Bank and that the Committee had requested "Mr. Hugh Pugh, one of their number, to negotiate with the Bank for its purchase, it being understood that the Committee would not be prepared to give more for the property than £10,000." The property was bought for that sum, and it was agreed on March 5, 1867 "between the Bank and Mr. Pugh on behalf of the Committee - that the money should be paid as follows, viz. £3,000 to be paid on the 6th May, 1867, and the sum of £1,000 every succeeding three months, till the whole was paid, when the property would be duly conveyed to trustees."

Unfortunately, however, the Committee had been unable to fulfil its obligations and in the years between 1867 and 1873, had only been able to pay to the Bank, the sum of

(1) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters, 5342, 20/6/72.

(2) U.C.W. Report; 1863-73, 14.

£4,508/10/9 to include principal and interest. The sum of £2,037/12/6 was for interest only." Even on January 1st 1873, the Committee was still in debt to the extent of £7,529/1/9 to the Bank!

In answer to all the criticism and the "Western Mail" letter, the Committee assured the subscribers that this was the reason for their inability to arrange a conveyance of the property to trustees. The property at that date (June 20th 1873) was still held under the original agreement, the College property being held by the Bank till the balance of the purchase money had been paid. Furthermore, attempts at raising a mortgage on the property so as to transfer ownership from the Bank had been of no avail. These explanations whilst they partly pacified the subscribers did not, unfortunately, convince the press.

Even the "Faner" did not withhold its criticisms. It complained, "Y mae yr adeilad yn bresenol - o leiaf, felly y dywedir gan lawer sydd yn proffesu gwybod - yn nwyllaw Mr. Hugh Owen o Lundain a Mr. Pugh o Bwllheli. Gwnaeth y ddau foneddig hyn garedigrwydd â ni fel cenedl ynglŷn a'r adeilad flynyddoedd yn ol, na raid i ni yma adrodd y manylion, ond y mae'r amser wedi dyfod bellach pan y dylid ei thafllu ar ysgwyddau ymddiriedolwyr."⁽¹⁾

In view of this criticism, however, it was resolved at the June (1873) meeting to make every effort "to discharge the balance of purchase-money by the summer of 1874," and if they failed, "to borrow the deficiency in order that the vesting of the property in trustees may not be delayed beyond the autumn of 1874."⁽²⁾ This was a very optimistic resolution,

⁽¹⁾ Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Hyd. 15, 1873.

⁽²⁾ U.C.W. Report, 1873, 16.

but by a tremendous effort the promoters succeeded in their task during the ensuing twelve months. At the meeting of the general subscribers in June 1874, great enthusiasm prevailed when Hugh Owen announced that during the previous year, the contributions had been sufficient to pay the outstanding debt on the college building. The college was entirely free from debt for the first time, and since it was freehold and unencumbered, Hugh Owen valued it at £50,000.⁽¹⁾ These were tidings of great joy.

The Committee kept to its promise, and at a General meeting of Subscribers held in October, 1874, "the Trust upon which the College Property was to be held, and the Constitution under which the College was to be governed" were formally adopted. Consequently, the Trust Deed and Constitution of the College, dated January 1st, 1875, clothed the Institution with regard to its Property, Constitution and Government with defined legal rights which it did not previously possess. The College Building was transferred to a body of trustees, and the trust was registered at the Court of the Charity Commissioners according to the demands of the Charitable Trustees Incorporated Act.⁽²⁾

Following the meeting, the "Faner," which had long campaigned for an unsectarian if not a secular college, was particularly pleased with two clauses which stated:-

- "1. The object for which the college has been established and is intended to be carried on is, and shall be, to afford at a mediocre expense the means of instruction in such branches of learning and science excepting theology, as are, or may be for the time being usually studied at the British Universities.

(1) U.C.W. Report, 1874-75, 16.

(2) Outline of Proposed Constitution. (See Appendix 18).

- "2. No student, professor, teacher, or other officer connected with the college, shall be required to make any declaration as to, or to submit to any test whatever of his religious opinions."(1)

It was also agreed that, Lord Aberdare be asked to be the first president of the college, and Hugh Owen and the Rector of Neath (Rev. John Griffiths) were asked to approach him. According to the Minutes of the College, Hugh Owen reported to the Committee on October 21st. 1874, that he and the Rector of Neath had called upon Lord Aberdare, and after a lengthy interview he had consented to be nominated. Hugh Owen in writing to the Principal felt sure that he would rejoice "at the adhesion of Lord Aberdare." (2)

In January, 1875, at a meeting of the subscribers held at Aberystwyth, new arrangements were made for the administration of the college in accordance with the new Constitution. On that day were formed the Court of Governors, the Council and the Senate. It was also unanimously resolved that Lord Aberdare be elected first President of the College. (3)

The conveyance of the college buildings together with the foundation of a Trust Deed, the election of a Court of Governors and a College Council, suddenly made the Committee feel most grateful to Hugh Owen (in spite of the "Western Mail" letter), for all his work on behalf of the college. They decided early in 1875 to present him with an illuminated address in recognition of his services.

The presentation was made by Lord Aberdare at a meeting of the College Council on April 13, 1875. A Welsh rendering of the address was published in the "Fanner," April 21st 1875.

(1) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Hyd. 30, 1874.

(2) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters, 6132, 16/10/74.

(3) U.W. Minutes, 1874-89, 14./ Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Ion. 27, 1875.

"Ar gynnigiad y Rector Griffiths, Castellnedd, ac eiliad J. F. Roberts, Ysw., Manchester, penderfynwyd yn unfrydol - Yn gymaint a bod yr amcan o sefydlu Coleg Prifysgol Cymru yn bresennol wedi ei gyrhaedd, fodd y cyfarfod hwn yn dymuno gosod yr arwydd hwn o'i ddawfn deimlad o rwymedigaeth a diolchgarwch i Mr. Hugh Owen, Llundain, am ei ymdrechion difebl a hunanymwadol o blaid y symmudiad o'i gychwyniad hyd yn bresennol, ac yn gobeithio y bendithir ef â blynyddau lawer etto i barhau ei lafur pwysig, ac i gyfarfod ffrwyth ei ymdrechion yn llwyddiant sefydliad sydd mor anwahanol gyssylltiedig a'i enw."

Whilst these administrative and constitutional changes were taking place the period of the initial Guarantee Fund was drawing to a close. Hugh Owen was devoting much anxious thought to devising other means for obtaining funds, and decided that a Sustentation Fund of £2,000 would be necessary for the next three years at least. He seemed to have been in close consultation with Gohebydd, and between them they had devised three ways of securing the necessary funds. They planned a thorough house-to-house canvass of Wales, organised a collection in the chapels and district meetings of the various Nonconformist bodies in Wales, and arranged an annual "University Sunday" throughout Wales, when each place of worship would devote its collection to the college fund.⁽¹⁾

In August, 1874, Owen addressed the following circular to all ministers of religion throughout the Principality - as well as to those in charge of Welsh chapels in England to solicit congregational collections.

"8 Queen Victoria Street,
London, E.C.

31 August, 1874.

"University College of Wales

(1) (See Appendix 19.)

"Reverend and Dear Sir,

"May I beg the great favour of your bringing under the notice of your friends the advantages now offered at this College, the Prospectus of which is enclosed herewith.

"I venture to take this opportunity of placing before you some points connected with the financial position of the College and also of submitting for your consideration a suggestion what has for its object the procedures of means for meeting a difficulty which the Committee will have to encounter.

"The purchase money of the College Building, together with the interest and the cost of new works, amounted to about £15,00. You will be glad to learn that this sum has been wholly paid, and that the property will be conveyed without delay to Trustees to be appointed by the Subscribers at the General Meeting, to be held at the College on the 21st October next.

"Before the opening of the College on the 8th October, 1872, a 'Guarantee Fund' of £6,000, payable by three yearly instalments, was secured. This fund was intended to defray the cost of maintaining the Institution during the years ending 30th September, 1873, 1874 and 1875. Two of the yearly instalments have already been received, leaving one only outstanding.

"The Committee are now engaged in raising an Endowment Fund of Fifty Thousand Pounds towards the permanent support of the College, and they are not without hope that this part of their labour may be accomplished in from three to five years. It is a cheering fact that they have already invested capital and ~~have~~ reliable promises upwards of £10,000 available for this Fund.

"The formation of a Fund for the maintenance of the College during the interval between the exhaustion of the Guarantee Fund and the completion of the Endowment Fund is a matter of pressing importance; and the 'suggestion' which I take the liberty of submitting to you points to the formation of such a Fund - a TEMPORARY SUSTENTATION FUND. The suggestion is simply this - that a Congregational Collection be made annually during the interval mentioned, in all places of worship within the Principality, and also in those connected with the Welsh in England, on the last Sunday in the month of October, beginning with October, 1875.

"Earnestly recommending this suggestion to your Kind and generous consideration,

I am, dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

Hugh Owen, Hon. Sec."(1)

(1) U. W. Minutes & Memoranda; 278.

In September, 1874, Gohebydd presented a Welsh version of the above circular for the benefit of the readers of the "Faner" and exhorted the Welsh people to give Hugh Owen every support.⁽¹⁾ He also referred to a rather surprising altercation that arose when Hugh Owen first put forward these suggestions at the Methodist Association at Bangor. Apparently, Richard Davies, M.P., wanted to know to what extent Hugh Owen's own denomination - the Congregationalists - were contributing towards the college. The real reason for this attack upon Hugh Owen recalls the personal issues which had arisen between Owen and the Davies family - in connection with the Bangor Normal College. Gohebydd much regretted this sectarian approach and urged his readers to think of themselves primarily as Welshmen and patriots rather than as Congregationalists or Methodists. In an analysis of the subscriptions to date, he revealed that no single denomination could claim any self-righteous attitude in the matter since it could be shown, -

- "1. Fod tri o Annibynwyr wedi cyfranu tuag at y Brifysgol (a gadael tywysog y cyfranwyr o Landinam allan) mwy na holl Fethodistiaid Gogledd Cymru oll gyda'u gilydd.
- "2. Fod un aelod o'r cyfundeb Wesleyaidd wedi cyfranu tuag at drysorfa y Brifysgol fwy na holl gyfraniadau Methodistiaid Sir Fôn, Arfon a Meirionydd gyda'u gilydd.
- "3. Fod dau Eglwyswr ym Môn wedi cyfranu mwy na'r holl sir ynghyd, yn Fethodistiaid, Annibynwyr, a phawb gyda'u gilydd."

(1) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Sept. 9th, 1874.

This was wise counsel, and Hugh Owen thereafter, proceeded to obtain permission to attend the meetings of the Calvinistic Methodist Association, of the Wesleyan Methodist districts, of the Congregationalists and Baptist Unions, and was kindly and sympathetically received in each case. He requested that they "either exhort or permit all the churches belonging to the connexion to make an annual collection for the three years on a specified Sunday towards the funds of the national institution in Aberystwyth." (1)

It involved a great deal of organising, but Owen was quite pleased with the generally good response to the suggestion about the "University Sunday Collection," and in September, 1874, for instance, he wrote to the Principal, "You will be glad to know that my suggestion as to a simultation X (sic) collection on the last Sunday in October, 175, 76 and 77 was warmly accepted at the Committee Meeting of the Bangor Association yesterday. It is to be brought on again today for formal adoption by the larger cyfeisteddfod. This is not all. Our Llandinam friend was present and announced his intention to contribute £1,000 - £333/6/8 a year towards the Temporary Sustentation Fund proposed to be raised by the congregational collections." (2)

Again a little before the "University Sunday" in October, 1875, Gohebydd exhorted the readers of the "Faner" to do their duty, and wrote a long article reminding them of the substantial contributions already made by such men as David Davies, Llandinam and Samuel Morley of London. And whilst equally optimistic of much further financial support from

(1) North Wales Chronicle, Sept. 5th, 1874.

(2) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters, 7131, 2/9/74.

Liverpool and Manchester, he looked forward to a good response from the "University Sunday" collections - "un o'r moddion mwyaf effeithiol i'w cael fyddai i'r casgliad ddiwedd y mis hwn fod mor gyffredinol ag y byddo modd." (1)

Once Owen had been convinced of the necessity of a house-to-house canvass, he set to work with customary zeal and for the next three years he was personally involved in the task of canvassing and collecting donations throughout the country. He, in August 1875, prepared a circular for distribution in Wales and in certain towns in England, with suggestions on how to proceed with the collection for the Sustentation Fund. He proposed two lines of approach: (2)

- "1. By a house-to-house collection in the last week in October, 1875. (This collection is expected to embrace contributions of 2/6, 5/-, 10/- 20/-, and upwards - sums which cannot ordinarily be looked for in congregational collections - as well as smaller amounts.) And also
- "2. By congregational collections in all places of worship on the last Sunday in that month.

"With the view of facilitating the proposed collection from house to house the Council would offer the following suggestions, which may of course be modified according to the circumstances of particular districts:-

- "1. Committee - A Committee should be formed in each district whose duty it will be to make all the preparations necessary for effecting the house-to-house collection. It is of importance that all denominations should be represented on the Committee, as the College is a national institution in which all denominations are equally interested. The Committee will find it desirable at their first meeting to appoint a Treasurer and a Secretary, whose names and addresses, together with those of the members of the Committee, should be communicated with as little delay as possible to the Honorary Secretary at the office of the College in London.

(1) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Hyd. 27ain, 1875.

(2) ibid Medi, 29ain, 1875.

- "2. District - Every county should be divided into districts. The district may comprise a parish, or, as will frequently be found convenient, the district usually adopted for other annual collections.
- "3. Collecting Books. - The Collectors should be provided with memorandum books in which to enter the name and addresses of every subscriber, together with the amount of his subscription, however small. The names of all subscribers of 2/6 or upwards will be published.
- "4. Closing of the Accounts. - The Committee should meet as early as practicable in November, when the collectors will bring in their books and the money they may have collected. The treasurer will take charge of the money, and the books will be placed in the hands of the Secretary.
- "5. Disposal of the Money Collected - It will be convenient if the Treasurer will remit the money by a banker's cheque made payable to the 'University College of Wales,' and crossed 'North & South Wales Bank, Aberystwyth.' The cheque may be sent direct to the Bank at Aberystwyth, or it may be addressed to the Honorary Secretary as under.

The books, when examined, should be forwarded to the same address.

Hugh Owen, Hon. Sec."

7 Queen Victoria Street,
London.

August 1875.

It was not characteristic of Owen merely to organise work for others to undertake, and in this instance he again undertook as much as possible of the actual collecting himself, or as the "Fanner" put it, "i fyned allan ar fath o 'daith genhadol' trwy whanol rannau o Gymru ar ran y Brif-ysgol," apparently being helped in the work by Dan Isaac Davies, Penllyn Jones and J. B. Rogers.⁽¹⁾

According to this report, Hugh Owen visited "in a quiet way" such towns as Swansea, Cardiff, Neath, Merthyr, Aberdare, Dowlais, Pontypridd, Treherbert, Maesteg, Llantrisant,

(1) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Hyd. 6, 1875.

Bridgend, Aberavon, Newport, Abergavenny, Brynmawr and Pontypool. And at a later date this was followed by a similar marathon in North Wales when he was accompanied by J. B. Rogers, then acting as London Secretary of the College. They, however, did not travel together, for Rogers went ahead of Hugh Owen, visiting various places about a week beforehand so as to announce and arrange meetings. In this way, an immense amount of ground was covered in a very short time.⁽¹⁾

The "Fanner" gave an example of a typical day's work in Anglesey - for instances, Owen was at Llanerchymedd at 11 a.m. last Monday, at Amlwch at 3 p.m., and again at Menai Bridge by 7.45 p.m. - that is, three meetings in one day - and these in places at some distance from each other. He must have been a man of great physical fitness and immense energy to be able to undertake such arduous tours of duty at that age. "On remote railway platforms, in secluded corners of Wales, on the roadside, here, there, everywhere, the neat precise figure and black bag of Hugh Owen were familiar to the eyes of the Welsh people."⁽²⁾

Lewis Morris, similarly described how "time after time when travelling for pleasure in North Wales have I seen Sir Hugh Owen getting out at little wayside stations, and going about to all sorts of wayside places begging for Aberystwyth College. Now if you can imagine anything more laborious or disagreeable for a man who had already gone through a life of public service, I cannot, and I am quite sure that there are few persons who would have done it, and it is really due to him, and to him alone, that what I call the great educational revival in Wales has taken place."⁽³⁾ Fortunately,

(1) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Hydref 6, 1875.

(2) W. E. Davies: Life and Life Work of Hugh Owen; 114.

(3) Western Mail, 31 August, 1881.

Hugh Owen was assisted in Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire by Dan Isaac Davies, and by Penllyn Jones (the college bursar) in Cardiganshire. According to the "Faner," they were warmly welcomed wherever they went.⁽¹⁾

Gohebydd had expressed a hope that it would not be necessary for Hugh Owen or anyone else to tramp around the countryside - cap-in-hand to form committees and to collect for the college funds in pennies, threepenny bits, for^ypenny bits and sixpennies, shillings and half crowns.⁽²⁾ But evidently there was no other way of getting funds.

In addition to guaranteeing an adequate Sustentation Fund during the coming three years, Gohebydd also hoped that the number of guinea subscribers would substantially increase (for all subscribers of a £1 and over were entitled to vote on college matters), that the subscriptions large, and small towards the Endowment Fund would increase significantly very soon, and that an annual government grant be made in the very near future, whatever ^{party} might be in office.⁽³⁾

The thoroughness with which Owen approached the task was most vividly expressed when in Septemebr, 1875, he wrote to the Principal to know the whereabouts of the College Bursar. He said that he had written "to Mr. E. Penllyn Jones some days since to know if he could make arrangements for the canvass of Cardiganshire." He feared that Jones was away; otherwise he "could show him how the work might be done in a week. I presume that if he does it, it must be completed before the beginning of the session."⁽⁴⁾ He then

(1) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Hyd. 6, 1875.

(2) *ibid.*

(3) *ibid.*

(4) NLW. MSS. Hugh Owen, 587 B.

added, "My work in Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire is finished. Committees have been form^{ed} in all the populous centres of the two counties - twenty-one in all, including the town of Brecon." It was an amazing pace for any man to maintain.

The response of the congregations, several individuals and various organisations showed a marked improvement. Letters such as the following are an indication of the laborious process involved in getting the large sums of money required.

"7 Queen Victoria St.,
Mansion House,
London.

5 Nov. 1875.

University College of
Wales.

"My dear Sir,

I thank you very much for kindly forwarding me a cheque for £1/18/4, the amount collected at the English Calvinistic Methodist Chapel at Newtown in aid of this fund.

"This expression of the sympathy of the congregation with the college is cheering.

Yours sincerely,

Hugh Owen.

R. Williams, Esq." (1)

The work in hand went on irrespective of denomination and without respite for the three years as another of his letters indicated:-

" University College of
Wales.

"7 Queen Victoria Street,
Mansion House, London.

29. Nov. 1878.

"My dear Sir,

"I have to thank you for a cheque for £2/3/8, the amount collected at Bethesda Congregational Chapel in aid of the funds of this College.

"I shall be obliged to you to convey my warmest thanks to the Brethren for this further token of the friendly sympathy of the Church with the College.

"The reports of the Sustentation Fund for the two years 1875-6 and 1876-7 will be forwarded to you by the first. The report for 1877-8 is in the press, and a copy of that also will be sent when ready.

Very faithfully yours,

Hugh Owen."

John Jones, Esq.,
3 Ogwen Terrace, Bethesda. (1)

The College Report at the end of the first year of the Sustentation Fund claimed that around £2,600 (or £600 beyond the sum which it was hoped might be secured in each of the three years) had already come to hand, and it was expected that the amount would ultimately reach fully £3,000 as all the collections had not in many instances been sent in. (2)

The College Committee was greatly encouraged that these sums were "almost entirely the contributions of the middle and industrial classes of Wales, who have ^{thus} manifested their sympathy with this College, and the value they attach to the placing of higher education within their own reach - the number of contributions numbered, it is believed, over 40,000." (3)

Owen's many schemes could not, however, be expected to meet with general approval, and in a letter in the "Fanner" in October, 1875, a W. Rowlands, Glan Menai, strongly opposed the entire policy. (4) He put forward five objections. Firstly,

(1) NLW. MSS, Hugh Owen, 10845

(2) UC.W. 1873-75, 17.

(3) U.C.W., Report, 1873-75, 17.

(4) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Hyd. 27, 1875.

much in keeping with the prevailing outlook, he objected that Hugh Owen should expect any denomination to subscribe to a non-denominational college. Secondly, he felt that all Nonconformist^e denominations were already shouldering heavy burdens in the ^kup^{ee}p of their own chapels. Thirdly, since Hugh Owen was suggesting a house-to-house collection, how could he expect the various congregations to contribute as well? Fourthly, he was of the opinion that Aberystwyth would be no more than a grammar school so why should it be considered more favourably than the Proprietary Schools? Lastly, since the college was to cater for the needs of the middle classes, why did the promoters not seek support amongst the middle and upper classes rather than from the labouring classes only?

It was difficult to gainsay many of these arguments, and it was the kind of opposition that repeatedly confronted Owen during his wearying journeys. In spite of the generosity of many ordinary folk throughout the land, the College continued to be run on a shoe-string budget. So grim were their financial prospects in May, 1875, that Hugh Owen himself admitted in a letter to the Principal, "I fear that the difficulty of getting in money is making one somewhat hard, and leading one to grudge to part with a shilling more than I am obliged to. Pray forgive this infirmity."⁽¹⁾

It was most unfortunate, though, that he suffered so much unpopularity and even hatred on account of his extreme control of the college finances. Although obsessively parsimonious with college funds, no one could have been more generous from a personal point of view. He had no expense account.

(1) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters, 7143, 1/5/75.

As^{an} amusing example of how Owen was forced to look after the very shillings he had collected we read in one of his letters to the Principal the following plea, "May I suggest that it would be a convenience and a saving of time if a plain Luncheon could be provided for the Council at the College - say in the Dining Hall of the Students.[?] A piece of boiled beef, with potatoes, bread and cheese would be all that would be required. We cannot go to the Belle Vue for a Luncheon again, 12s. 9½d. per head is a charge which we dare not incur again. Please keep this to yourself. I should however say that Mr. Pell has set the bill (£8/19/-) against his promised subscription to the College."⁽¹⁾ Not many promoters would be prepared to put up with so spartan a fare - particularly when undertaking so much voluntary work for the university movement.

He was even more careful in his accounting of the administrative costs, and took particular exception to the money spent in the college office on such things as - gum, paper-fastners and quill pens! He advised E. Penllyn Jones, the Registrar, that the quill pens he had ordered (500 for £4/13/-) were far too expensive, and were the kind of pens "used in the House of Lords, and by persons to whom the cost was no object."⁽²⁾

In this unceasing battle to meet the financial difficulties, the diverse administrative problems and the staffing shortages at the college, it was not often that he had either private or public recognition for his services, but in a letter to the Principal in September, 1875, the son of

(1) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters, 7145, 20/7/75.

(2) ibid. 9072, 7/1/76.

the Bishop of St. Asaph commented - "What a man Hugh Owen is! He has never despaired (of) your republic. And in a quieter sphere is doing for us what Thiers did for France - after the German war - freeing our territory from the great oppressor 'ignorant prejudice.'"⁽¹⁾ It was salutary to find a word of appreciation when the going was so difficult.

Lewis Edwards, who for many years had held the London founder members of the college in disregard and even contempt, rather belatedly in 1875 acknowledged in public that it was these Welshmen in exile who had provided the driving force throughout the long struggle.⁽²⁾ His esteem for them was particularly enhanced by the fact that they did not flinch in the face of so much indifference among their countrymen. More than anything, he seemed at long last to appreciate their unyielding qualities and their refusal in the face of overwhelming odds to consider themselves in any way beaten. It will be seen though, that Lewis Edwards in his private letters was not always as generous in his praise or judgement of the London Welshmen.

Successful though the measures undertaken by Hugh Owen were, the Committee still felt that dependence upon voluntary contributions alone was far from satisfactory. The sources of income which the college council anticipated in January, 1875, included the fees of students of about £1,000 a year, the annual subscriptions of about a £1,000 a year, and the Dividends of about £2,000 which they hoped to derive from an Endowment Fund of £50,000. In the absence of a government

(1) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters, 6295, 22/9/75.

(2) Y Traethodydd, 1875, 480.

grant, these sources might give a total income of £4,000 a year, but even this was a very optimistic view to take at the time.⁽¹⁾

Consequently, it was decided once again to seek a government grant, and Hugh Owen in a letter to the Principal in April of that year said, "I have prepared a draft memorial for the Government, and I shall be obliged to you to consider it. I am not at all sure that what we propose to ask the Government to do for us is the right thing either in amount or form."⁽²⁾ However, when the deputation, headed by the college president, Lord Aberdare, met the Duke of Richmond in June, 1875, to seek modest financial support, Lewis Edwards stressed the validity of their claim since the Government had given £100,000 towards the Queen's Colleges in Ireland.⁽³⁾

In brief, the memorial again on this occasion stressed five points:-

1. Aberystwyth was the only undenominational college in Wales and £30,000 had already been contributed towards it.
2. The Welsh as a separate nation, much isolated from the rest of the Kingdom, needed a college of their own, which would be far less expensive than Oxford or Cambridge.
3. The great love for education in Wales, and the great voluntary effort already made.
4. The dire need for education with the increasing wealth and commercial importance of Wales.
5. The absence of grants for higher education in Wales when such generous grants had been bestowed upon Oxford and Cambridge.⁽⁴⁾

(1) (See Appendix 20.)

(2) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters, 7142, 8/4/75.

(3) Y Traethodydd, 1875, 485.

(4) U.C.W. Report, 1873-75, 21-22.

As previously, the deputation was assured that "the memorial will receive our best attention, and we shall be happy indeed to feel that we can agree to the proposal." But as on previous occasions, the Government again in due course regretted its inability to make any grant towards the upkeep of the university college.⁽¹⁾ It was another hard knock to the sorely tried canvassers and collectors of voluntary subscriptions.

In 1876, the college was almost financially ruined for quite another reason. Since the inception of the university movement there had existed considerable confusion, if not conflict, among the promoters about the purpose of a university college, and the issue came to a head in 1876, when David Davies, Llandinam, the greatest benefactor of the movement, expressed his views on the aims of the university college. Unfortunately, his concepts could hardly have been more philistine or more out of tune with the real aspirations of a university education.

Davies in his own inimitable style wrote to the Principal about this in March, 1876. He dealt with two particular points. Firstly, he stated, "My object in assisting this College was to give the Welsh poor or lower middle class a higher standard of education than they could get elsewhere on account of its cheapness - to fit the young men of Wales for better situations in the mercantile world - to compete with the English and Scotch - I understood it to be pure and simple a mercantile College or School purely elementary."⁽²⁾ These were impossible sentiments which

(1) U.C.W. Report, 1873-75, 21-22.

(2) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters, 5442, 29/3/76.

completely failed to appreciate the broader horizons of scholarship and academic pursuits associated with a university education. Opinions of this kind, presented in such a peremptory manner must have been a distressing and bewildering experience for a conscientious Principal. Many college heads would have been tempted to resign forthwith under such provocation.

Furthermore, Davies dwelt upon the religious issue. In a rather involved sentence he referred to a statement made by the Principal about his intention to undertake some religious teaching. Davies wrote to say that "to take religious teaching at all will be what was not intended by me - and I think I can speak for the whole body of nonconformists of Wales."⁽¹⁾ What particularly annoyed him was the suggestion by the Principal that the "Bishop of St. Asaph would ordain young men from this college." To David Davies this was the last straw, and he asked, "Do you think for one moment that the poor churches of the nonconformists would have collected one shilling towards the support of this college if it was understood that it was to educate young men for the Church?" He added, "I would sooner my money was at the bottom of the sea." As a rabid Nonconformist, and even a more loyal Methodist, Davies was of the opinion that "if there is not sufficient young men seeking the advantage offered by the College for Elementary Education, it only proves that it is not required or that the people do not realise the value of it. I am perfectly satisfied that it was not intended to educate for the Church."⁽²⁾

(1) & (2) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters; 5442; 29/3/76.

Two days later, he reiterated, "I wish you to understand if it is the wish of the Principal or in any other way the intention of the College to promote religious Instruction with a view of bringing up young men for the Church not another £100 would ever be paid by either myself of the Nonconformists of Wales towards the support of the College."⁽¹⁾ So exercised was he about these intentions on the part of the college authorities that he also wrote an equally resentful letter during the following month, to the Principal's father, and stated, "I was deceived as this College was held out to be a Commercial College and be entirely elementary to enable youngmen from Wales to obtain a Cheaper Education to assist them in Commercial Pursuits."⁽²⁾ It is no wonder that the cryptic comment of Lewis Edwards was "Poor man, I am sorry for him."⁽³⁾ The college could not survive without the financial support of David Davies, so utterances of this kind must have been doubly embarrassing both to the young Principal and the College authorities.

The committee, dogged to the end, proceeded in 1877 to prepare still another memorial to gain Government financial support. Hugh Owen prepared the ground with his usual care, and corresponded with all and sundry in an attempt to gain nation-wide support. The circular below, which was sent to all the school boards in Wales, was typical of his patient attempts to interest the nation and the Government in the college.

(1) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters; 5442; 29/3/76.

(2) *ibid.* 5443; 31/3/76.

(3) *ibid.* 5444; 22/4/76.

(4) *ibid.* 5806; 27/5/76.

"Circular Letter to
School Boards.

7 Queen Victoria Street,
Mansion House, London.

11th April, 1877.

"Dear Sir,

"I beg to transmit to you herewith the following documents:- (1) a copy of a Memorial which the Council of the College are about to present to H.M. Government, praying for a Grant; (2) a form of suggested resolution, which the Council venture to hope may be adopted by your Board; and (3) a letter addressed to the Board by Lord Aberdare.

"May I request that you will be so good as to take an early opportunity to submit these documents to the Board.

"You will observe that the object in view is to secure the support of the Board to the Memorial referred to, and I sincerely trust that you will be so kind as to give such assistance as you may be able in the matter.

"If a resolution is adopted, I shall be greatly obliged to you to furnish me with an authenticated copy of it for presentation to the Government with the Memorial.

I am, dear Sir,
Yours faithfully,

Hugh Owen
Hon. Sec."(1)

In the middle of all this, it is sad to relate that Gohebydd wrote to the Principal mentioning the failing health of Hugh Owen. "Y mae ein hen gyfaill Mr. Owen yn tori! He has altered a good deal the last six months. He has been troubled of late, what he was never before troubled in his life with a nasty cough. ~~But he~~ is exceedingly cheerful: more so that I have seen him for a long time. I believe that he is impressed with the thought that he cannot continue very much longer with the work that he has in hand; and the only anxiety now in his mind is about the grant. And he feels

(1) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters, N 7163, 11/5/77.

very confident that we shall succeed this year. The memorial is well supported by Corporations, Town Councils and School Boards: and he believes that these will have a good effect upon the Government."⁽¹⁾

This was serious, Hugh Owen was by now suffering from sheer exhaustion. However, deteriorating in health and having "gone back a good deal this winter"⁽²⁾ though he might have done, he nevertheless continued to go ahead with all the preparation for the memorial, and in July, he gave the Principal details about the deputation that was soon to meet members of the Government.

7 Queen Vistoria Street,
Mansion House, London.

11/7/1877.

"Application for Government Grants.

"Dear Mr. Edwards,

"His Grace the Duke of Richmond and Gordon has appointed Wednesday the 18th instant at 3 p.m. at the Privy Council Office, Whitehall, to receive the Deputation which is to present a Memorial from the Council of this College, praying that H.M. Government will make a grant of £2,500 a year towards the support of the College; and a grant of £5,000 towards the completion of the College Building.

"The Deputation will be introduced to His Grace by Lord Aberdare; and it is highly important that it should be numerously attended by persons of influence and position connected with Wales.

"I am desired by the Council to solicit the great favour of your presence and support at the Deputation.

"The Memorial of the Council has been submitted to all the Town Councils, Local Boards, and School Boards in Wales, with the gratifying result shown in the accompanying paper A, pages 1 to 3.

"I beg to invite your attention also to the statement at page 4 of the paper A., in regard to Grants made to Scotland and Ireland.

(1) & (2) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters; 6138, 11/7/77.

"With kind regards,

Yrs sincerely
Hugh Owen.⁽¹⁾

Rev. T. C. Edwards, M.A."

Whilst the promoters were busily preparing their memorial to seek financial aid from the government, Gladstone happened to chair a meeting of a Cymmrodorion Lecture at the London Institute, Finsbury Circus, during the third week in May, 1877. In response to a vote of thanks to the Chairman proposed by the Bishop of St. Asaph, Gladstone declared that "He did not think that either the state or the public thought that the nationality of Wales had upon the whole obtained a perfect, just and due recognition. Although they had by their Society achieved a good deal, - there was much to be done in order to develop freely these abundant capabilities for every kind of excellence which were freely scattered over the whole length and breadth of Wales. This was his deliberate and impartial opinion and he earnestly hoped that he might be allowed to co-operate with the bishop and others for the purpose of giving effect to his views."⁽²⁾ According to Gohebydd, "Gladstone had his eyes fixed upon Mr. Owen when he spoke these few words at the close of the lecture, and Mr. Owen bowed to him in reply."⁽³⁾ Although by now Gladstone was in opposition, his flourishes did not fail to excite the hopes of the promoters!

Gohebydd, reporting on the meeting of the college deputation with members of the government in July, 1877, was much

(1) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters, 7167, 11/7/77.

(2) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Mai 30, 1877.

(3) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters, 6138, 31/5/77.

heartened by the comment of the Marquis Hartington that "however much they might popularize and extend the operation of the English Universities they would never be able to dispense with the necessity of such an institution as this in Wales."⁽¹⁾ Once more, however, the Government failed to come to the rescue of the college, and the promoters were thrown back yet again upon their own resources and voluntary contributions. It was a disheartening rebuff, for again on this occasion, great optimism had somehow prevailed on all sides prior to the departure of the deputation for London.

Although the Government thus continued to deny Aberystwyth any financial support, Gladstone in a speech at Nottingham, in September, 1877, again declared in his usual bland manner that the Welsh were "a people deeply enamoured of knowledge, and what they have done has been done with very little assistance. With no assistance at all from any public fund of any kind, they have within the last 5 or 6 years founded a large and important college at Aberystwyth. Is it possible for you to have a stronger proof that the existence of a love for primary education does lead on, and must lead on to every great effort for the establishment of higher education?"⁽¹⁾

Hugh Owen, somehow undismayed and still looking at the brighter side of things, wrote to Gladstone, not only to thank him for his kind words on this occasion, but also to prod him about the urgent need for practical help for the college.

(1) The Times, Sept. 28th, 1877.

"University College
of Wales.

"7 Queen Victoria Street,
Mansion House, London.

1st October, 1877.

"Dear Sir,

I beg to thank you most sincerely for your generous reference to Wales in your speech at Nottingham the other day. Your appreciation of the efforts which the Welsh have made to provide for themselves the means of both Elementary and Higher Education, has caused the deepest satisfaction throughout the Principality, and the way you were pleased to allude to this College is extremely cheering to its numerous friends and supporters.

"I take the liberty of enclosing herewith a copy of the Memorial recently presented by the Council of the College to H.M. Government praying for a Grant, and also a copy of the Council's Report showing the result of the second year's collection in aid of a three years "Temporary Sustentation Fund." This report testifies to the widespread interest which the "common" people" take in the Institution.

"I remain, Dear Sir,

Respectfully and faithfully,

Hugh Owen.

Rt. Hon.
W. E. Gladstone, M.P."(1)

Such a plea could do no harm, and constant pressure of this kind might well bear fruit at some future date - however distant!

During 1878, however, two matters emerged which were to intensify the strained relationships between the London members of the committee and the Principal and Senate. Firstly, there was conflict on account of the persistent tendency of the London sector of the Committee to interfere in the internal affairs of the college. The provincial members of the committee were incensed at this interference, and it appears that J. F. Roberts of Manchester, the Principal's

(1) MSS. St. Deiniol Library, Hawarden.

~~friend~~ ^{friend} and confidant, had adopted the self-appointed role of spokesman for the country members.

Although the letters written by the Principal to his confidant are not available, the answers to the Principal's letters by J. F. Roberts all indicate that the Principal was much exercised by the activities of Hugh Owen. It was most unfortunate that both distrusted any work undertaken by Owen, and this came to a head in 1878 when the London members of the Committee made an appointment to the college staff without even consulting the Principal. Clearly, as the years went by Owen was becoming increasingly autocratic and impatient in his dealings with colleagues. Ill health as well as a fear that he would be unable to complete his plans before being overtaken by old age, and even death, may partly explain this attitude.

J. F. Roberts's immediate reaction in a letter to the Principal was, "I have very grave doubts that what the London Committee has done in appointing the 2nd Professor of Agriculture upon their hook without referring the matter to the Senate is a great mistake."⁽¹⁾ This it undoubtedly was, and without question it was a most regrettable step to take. Such activities inevitably irritated both the Principal and Senate. Unfortunately, though, the episode was far from being an isolated case of interference, and unavoidably it led to very strained relationships between individuals on both sides.

It was unfortunate too that the Principal during these minor crises seemed to suffer from a persecution mania, and tended to regard any reference to or investigation of college

(1) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters; 7514, 11/5/78.

affairs as a reflection upon his efficiency in the conduct of the establishment. Yet in all his correspondence Hugh Owen invariably supported him as Principal, and never was there a direct word of criticism of his handling of college affairs. Indeed, Hugh Owen seemed to be most concerned whenever anyone even suggested that the Principal might resign. It was, therefore, regrettable that Roberts and the Principal persisted in holding Owen almost wholly responsible for interference by the Council. Not only were Hugh Owen's letters to the Principal without exception polite and considerate, but also there was not a single derogatory comment about the Principal in any of his other correspondence. It is evident though from many of the letters written to T. C. Edwards - particularly, from his intimate friends and relations, such as J. F. Roberts - that he must have severely criticized and complained about Hugh Owen. Indeed the comments of the scripture-citing J. F. Roberts about Hugh Owen can hardly claim to show any trace of brotherly love or Christian charity. Many of his letters were critical and condescending, and others extremely vindictive.

One must readily accept the criticism that Hugh Owen, in his seventies, was becoming over anxious about college affairs, and tended to interfere far too much in the work and duties of the Senate. Now that it was possible for the Principal and Senate to handle the internal affairs of the college it was a pity that Owen failed to relinquish many of his earlier responsibilities. Becoming increasingly impatient with age he resented the delegation of any duty. Such interference had become a serious source of irritation to the

young Principal, and consequently in moments of stress these feelings must have been expressed to his confidant. Yet one cannot help sympathising with Hugh Owen in his moments of anxiety; he could not relinquish his command.

The second dispute arose on account of financial matters. By 1878, the financial state of the college had reached a more disturbing level than usual, and J. H. Puleston in a letter to the Principal on May 8th commented on the Council Meeting which had taken place that day and stated "The report read by Mr. Owen naturally gave rise to very serious reflections and many suggestions were made with a view to some practical action by the meeting to be held next month..."¹ A few days later, Puleston again informed the Principal that it "was suggested by some that the staff of Professors might perhaps be reduced - in fact the whole future of the College had to be looked at, and some means or plan adopted to meet what appeared to be absolutely essential"(2)

Hugh Owen, when he wrote to the Principal a few days later about the matters discussed at the Council meeting, observed that "the cost of maintaining the College was considered very fully, and as it appeared to the Council to be unduly heavy, a strong desire was expressed to effect some reduction in the amount. But it was felt that no step could be taken in that direction without your assistance"(3)

It is evident that the Committee was exercised not only about the finances of the college, but also about the continued low number of students. Nevertheless, Hugh Owen assured the Principal that he "was unwilling to allow the

(1) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters; 7392, 8/5/78.

(2) ibid. 7397, 8/11/78.

(3) ibid 7170, 13/5/78.

Council at their last meeting to occupy time in considering how the funds necessary for the maintenance of the College were to be provided, and I therefore begged that as they had been so good as to trust me in the past, they could for the present continue to do so, - at the same time stating that I had faith in the people of Wales, and also in myself, God helping me, and that I believed the College would not suffer from the want of such an amount of funds as may be essential to its support in a fair state of efficiency. The Council upon this dropped the questions of 'ways and means'." (1)

This letter was not only frank and open with the Principal, but also heroic in tone, for Hugh Owen continued to be confident that he could still find the money to rescue the college finances. No other person would have been prepared to shoulder such a burden.

From the correspondence between the Principal and J. F. Roberts it is evident that Owen was being held responsible by both for the pending investigation into the financial situation. With unwarranted smugness, J. F. Roberts suggested that "the real fact of the matter is this, - the Hon. Secy has become frightened and alarmed at the financial position of the College," (2) Surely, if anyone had the right to be alarmed about this, it was Hugh Owen. It was to say the least, uncharitable of J. F. Roberts to comment with satisfaction that "the Hon. Sec. is much weaker than he used to be, we can do anything we like with him only take him in the right way." (3)

(1) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters; 7170, 13/5/78.

(2) ibid. 7515, 14/5/78.

(3) ibid. ibid

Owen's fears were only too well founded, for the Council towards the end of July decided to economise on all kinds of items - furniture, the library, the museum, advertising, scholarships, and the registrar's salary was to be drastically reduced. Under the circumstances, the Principal was also prepared to forego £100 a year of his salary.⁽¹⁾ That was not all, for the Council decided to dispense with three of the members of staff, and Hugh Owen informed the Principal in August, "I have sent notices to Mr. Grinley, Mr. Keeping and Mr. Craig to terminate their appointments."⁽²⁾

The future of the College seemed to be in jeopardy once again. Yet certain individuals did not regard the decision as calamitous, and Archdeacon John Griffiths writing to the Principal in September stated, "I think the existing staff of Professors too large and expensive - I must candidly state that our Professors have not as a body shewn the active interest they should have shewn by pushing forward the interests of a struggling college."⁽³⁾ Even the President, Lord Aberdare, agreed with the Archdeacon in this, and wrote to the Principal to say, "I think too that eight Professors ought to suffice for 58 students and even for a larger number. It seems to me that the somewhat ambiguous designation of the College is misleading - We are a College not an University - and we cannot expect to have at our disposal these Professors who belong to a University, the mother of many Colleges."⁽⁴⁾

To aggravate the situation even further, it happened that

(1) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters, 7171, 27/7/78.

(2) ibid. 7172, 6/8/78.

(3) ibid 6135, 12/9/78.

(4) ibid. 5201, 5/11/78.

whilst the college authorities were thus involved in an intensive economy campaign, the conduct of Professor Joseph Parry of the Music Department continued to exacerbate the relationship between the Committee and the Principal. As already indicated, some degree of unease had existed about the activities of Professor Parry from the very beginning. Even as early as 1875, it was alleged that he had conducted himself in a very unseemly and unprofessional manner at Zion Chapel, Oswestry.

Hugh Owen had then written to Gohebydd (who had been largely responsible in persuading Joseph Parry to come to Aberystwyth) asking him to interpose on behalf of the College. Hugh Owen admitted that "we all like Professor Parry, and admire his talent and his wonderful zeal, but exhibitions such as that referred to cannot be tolerated. The council cannot afford to tolerate them and you may depend on it that when the question comes to be considered - if its consideration should be forced upon the Council - the Council will not hesitate to decide against these exhibitions regardless of the consequences."⁽¹⁾ Later in 1875, it disturbed the Council that Professor Parry was demanding further assistance to run his department, and in his letter to the Principal at the time, Hugh Owen said, "My own feeling is that Mr. Parry should not receive more students than he can instruct himself without assistance."⁽²⁾ Hugh Owen on that occasion even quoted J. F. Roberts as saying that "we have already 9 Professors for 95 students."⁽³⁾ Furthermore, it seemed that

(1) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters, 9069, 10/2/75. See also letters 9070, 7138.

(2) ibid. 7148, 28/10/75.

(3) ibid 7149, 31/11/75.

"Nis gallwn ymattal heb gyflwyno ein diolchgarwch i un gŵr y mae ei enw i'w ganfod yn mysg ei swyddogion am y gwaith anmhrisiadwy a wnaeth i'r Dywysogaeth yn gyffredinol ynglŷn âg ef, yn gystal ag mewn llawer o ffyrdd eraill, rhy liosog i'w henwi. Ac yr ydym yn dra sicr fod pawb o drigolion yr Hen Wlad sydd yn ei adnabod yn bersonol, neu yn gydnabyddus a'i enw, ac a'i lafur, yn barod i gyduno â ni o galon yn ein diolchgarwch gwresog in un, er ei fod wedi preswyllo yn y brif ddinas am tua hanner canrif, sydd hyd heddyw yn falch mai Cymro ydyw, ac yn barod bob amser i gyflwyno yr holl gynmhorth a all, ac y mae hwnw yn fawr, at wasanaeth unrhyw symudiad sydd yn amcanu at lwyddiant a dyrchafiad ei gydgenedl. Y gŵr yr ydym yn cyfeirio ato yw HUGH OWEN, Ysw. Llundain - un o'r trysoryddion. Caffed fyw lawer o flynyddoedd etto, meddwn ni, i wasanaethu ei FEISTR, ac i leshau ei gydgenedl - a derbynied ddiolchgarwch am y gwaith rhâd, hunan-ymwadol, diflino, a llwyddiannus, a dderbyniodd cenedl y Cymry oddi ar ei law."(1)

Owen wrote the following letter of thanks to Thomas Gee on that occasion, and it is worth quoting, on account of the fact that Owen was still confident that the College would eventually prosper in spite of all current difficulties:

"2 Manor Cottage,
Holloway, London.

Nov. 30, 1878.

"My dear Friend,

"I thank you sincerely for the friendly notice of the Aberystwyth College in the Baner of last week. Whatever justice there may be in the criticism to which it is now exposed, I have the fullest confidence in its ultimately proving to be of great advantage to Wales, and I am content to work for the Institution with reference to a future which I shall not see. In regard to the kind remarks respecting myself, I can truly say that I felt humbled when I read them owing to the consciousness that I so little deserved them

"With kindest regards,

I remain, very sincerely yours,

Thomas Gee, Esq.,

Hugh Owen."(2)

Fortunately, too, Henry Richard continued to give his

(1) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Tach. 27, 1878.

(2) MSS. NLW. Hugh Owen, 83070.

much valued support to the college, and at the time he even sent Owen a copy of a speech which he had made in the House in support of the movement. Such encouragement was much appreciated by Owen, particularly when the college affairs were at such a low ebb. He put on record in his letter to Henry Richard, his great joy and satisfaction in the changing political scene that had taken place in Wales. At long last it had a voice at Westminster:-

U.C.W.

"7 Queen Victoria St.,
Mansion House, London.

19 Nov. 1878.

"Dear Mr. Richard,

"I thank you very much for kindly sending me your speech. Your words were telling and seasonable. The occasion supplied a firm opportunity for pointing out how turbulent Ireland is petted by the government, while peaceable Wales receives their kicks.

"Mr. Lingen said to me many years ago, "You Welsh deserve all the kicks that you get, because you do not assert your rights. You should go to the House of Commons: this department cannot help you," or words to that effect. But Wales had no voice in Parliament then, and was consequently obliged to submit to be wronged. Happily it is otherwise now, and I am hopeful that if the Welsh members were to act unitedly in reference to a grant to this College, they would succeed in getting it.

"It was resolved at our last Council meeting that it should be suggested to the members representing Welsh constituencies to confer together at the beginning of the next session as to the best way of bringing the case before Parliament. I hope to see you soon after Christmas upon the subject.

"If you have a dozen copies of your speech to spare, I should like to send them to the leading members of our Council.

Very faithfully yrs,

Hugh Owen.⁽¹⁾

Henry Richards, Esq., M.P."

(1) MSS. NLW. Hugh Owen, 5505 B.

Relations between the Senate and the Council were, however, to deteriorate even further during 1879. The basic cause for this further trouble was a Plan for Examinations put forward by the Council to which the Senate roundly objected. Fortunately, on this occasion, Hugh Owen did not seem to be in the front line in the conflict. Although this scheme had been drawn up in October, 1878, open opposition by the Senate to it does not seem to have been lodged until June, 1879. The Council were distinctly disturbed by the belated protest, and the President, Lord Aberdare, was moved to write a strongly worded letter to the Principal. "I have read the 'Protest' of the Senate against the Council's plan of Examination with sincere regret and no little anxiety, inspired far less by the objections raised by it than by the spirit which pervades it - and I must add that I am deeply disappointed by the course you yourself have taken in this matter."⁽¹⁾

The Principal wrote a spirited reply to this letter, and one of its most significant observations was that "it is evident that this policy of managing the College from London has failed, let the Senate now at length try their inexperienced hands. If we also fail to carry on the work of the College and to command the willing obedience of our students, we shall not hesitate to place our resignation in the hands of the Council."⁽²⁾ This was in very great measure the root of the entire conflict and clearly the divided control was doing the College irreparable harm. Mark Pattison appreciated this, and summed it up in a nut-shell when he

(1) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters; 5203, 11/6/79.

(2) ibid 8365, 14/6/79.

said that the "Council is composed of the people who find the funds, while the Senate is composed of the people who are salaried out of these funds. The paymaster naturally expects to have the management - equally the Principal and Professors, who work the institution know far better than the Council can possibly know, what ought to be done."⁽¹⁾

This was the crux of the situation.

The Council and Senate, however, were now openly opposed to each other, and a Special Council Meeting was held in London on June 16th to consider the protest. The immediate reaction of J. F. Roberts was to muster the support of the influential provincial members of the Council to oppose the London Members.⁽²⁾ This was another particularly unhappy and undesirable split. Roberts advised the Principal that "if the Senate conquers, the Institution is safe, if on the contrary the London people prevail, well, I don't know what to say."⁽³⁾ This rift was most serious, and men such as J. H. Puleston and Henry Richard wrote to the Principal, endeavouring to convince him that the Council was not antagonistic towards him.⁽⁴⁾ Henry Richard was particularly disturbed that the controversy had attracted so much attention in high places, - and this it did even to the extent of being referred to in Parliamentary debates-as will be seen later! Significantly, he referred to the comment of Gladstone, made in a speech at Mill Hill the previous week that "it seems as inevitable that young institutions should pass through some difficulties of this nature as that dogs

should have the distemper and children the measles. But surely, it is not necessary to wash our dirty linen in public."⁽¹⁾

In reporting the controversy, the "Western Mail" carried such sensational headlines as - "The Unconditional Surrender of the Senate" and "Apology by the Principal."⁽²⁾ ^{can}Continuing in its opposition to the very existence of the College, the "Western Mail" did not fail to make the most of this opportunity to malign the institution still further.

Yet, as is usually the case, it was really an opportunity of giving a long-standing grievance a thorough investigation so as to evolve a working compromise. After a meeting between the Council and the Principal, there prevailed a much better atmosphere between the Senate and Council, and particularly between Lord Aberdare and the Principal. Regrettably the attitude of the Principal and J. F. Roberts towards Hugh Owen did not improve, and it may be significant that not a single letter from Hugh Owen to the Principal is extant after the Council Meeting of 1879.

This did not mean that Hugh Owen had relaxed in any way in his efforts on behalf of the College, for he remained as eager as ever to find a way to place it on a sound financial basis. At the next meeting of the Council he endeavoured to raise the students' fees from £10 a year to a realistic level, but he failed in this endeavour, although the charge for boarding was raised to £35.⁽³⁾ Each student cost the college

(1) Thos Chas. Edws. Letters, 7442, 17/6/79.

(2) Western Mail, July 2nd, 1879.

(3) Thos. Chas. Letters, 7546-7, 11/5/80.

£53 a year, and of this the students contributed a fee of £10, which meant that each student had to be subsidized to the extent of £43 a year.⁽¹⁾ Hugh Owen maintained that the College Committee could ill afford a subsidy of that magnitude at the time. J. F. Roberts immediately opposed him, and subsequently in a brash letter to the Principal, Roberts boasted that he spoke after Hugh Owen, and that he "soon pulled the ground under him. I reminded (sic) him how he and I went about the country stumping it and boasting that we were going to give them academic Education for £10."⁽²⁾ Hugh Owen failed to get support in his economy campaign - precarious though the financial situation was - and only managed to raise the charge for boarding from £30 to £35 a year.

X Events leading to the formation of the Committee of Departmental Inquiry.

In view of the financial stresses of the years 1878 and 1879, it had become increasingly clear to all persons interested in the state of higher education in Wales that voluntary subscriptions could not possibly secure for the college the stability necessary for its efficient and successful operation. State aid was indispensable to safeguard the future of the college.

Fortunately, the extension of the franchise by the Act of 1867 had awakened Wales to a new political life, and this soon found expression in a demand for new educational opportunities and special treatment of higher education. It

(1) Report of Departmental Committee Evidence, Vol. 2
Q. 367, 368.

(2) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters. 7546-7, 11/5/80.

afforded the Welsh members an admirable ground for united action, and in July, 1879, Hussey Vivian (afterwards Lord Swansea) moved that "In the opinion of this House, it is the duty of the Government to consider the best means of assisting any local effort which may be made for supplying the deficiency of higher education in Wales."⁽¹⁾

Vivian made out a good case for the urgent need of financial support for Welsh Higher Education, and lamented that "I as an old Welsh member, take shame to myself for having allowed it to continue so long, and for not sooner urging it upon the serious attention of the Government."⁽²⁾ He was most ably supported by other Welsh M.P.'s, such as J. H. Puleston, B. T. Williams, G. Osborne Morgan, Morgan Lloyd and Viscount Emlyn. Gladstone himself intervened and spoke with much enthusiasm for this Welsh cause and clearly demonstrated how far his outlook had advanced since 1870.

He based his case simply on the proven nationhood of Wales, and declared that the "Welsh people would have been justified, and in his opinion more than justified, long ago in making representations to Parliament that it had distinct claims to which no recognition had been given, and to which it was time that some recognition should be afforded." Gladstone confessed that "there existed a state of things which was inequitable, and which induced him to think that they would only be discharging a public duty were they to recognise generally the reasonableness of the request made."

Among the speakers who were against the motion was Lord George Hamilton, who was bent on ridiculing the whole plea

(1) Parl. Deb., 3rd Series, Vol. cclxvii, pp. 1141 ff.

(2) *ibid.*

of the Welsh M.P.'s and claimed that he did not see any more reason for supporting a Welsh University than a Cornish University.⁽¹⁾ Nor was he above drawing the attention of the House to the recent clashes at Aberystwyth as reported in the "Western News" (sic), and maintained "that a very serious dispute was going on between the College and the governing body, and that the students were in rebellion and refused to be examined, while a serious disagreement existed between the Council and the Senate."⁽¹⁾

The Chancellor of the Exchequer also did not wish "unnecessarily to multiply universities," or to support such "a vague resolution" as put forward by Hussey Vivian. In the words of another M.P. he wished to "postpone the matter for some indefinite time upon perfectly indefinite promises from the Government." Although this motion was lost by 105 votes to 54, many Welsh members had been given the opportunity to emphasize the deplorable condition of education in Wales.⁽²⁾

The opinions of many who opposed the University movement were voiced in a report of the debate in the "Western Mail." In its leader, it held that in "moving this resolution last night with reference to Welsh Higher Education, Mr. Hussey Vivian must have laughed in his sleeve at the credulity of that portion of his constituents who may believe it capable of doing the slightest good."⁽³⁾ The "Western Mail" ridiculed the entire motion, and observed that the whole thing was "so vaguely worded that its adoption by the House would commit the Government to nothing provided its literal interpretation and nothing more is to be adhered to." With

(1). (2). Parl. Debs. 3rd Series, Vol. cclxvii, pp. 1141 ff.

(3) Western Mail, July 2, 1879.

equal lack of sympathy, it added that the "people who read between the lines and especially those familiar with the opinions prevailing in certain Welsh educational circles at the present moment, believe what is really aimed at is the endowment of Aberystwyth College." If that were so, it then deplored that Vivian "did not have the courage of his opinions to state as much explicitly in his motion." Completely opposed to the University movement, it even posed the question "with what grace, we ask, could any Government be requested to give grants to Aberystwyth which it refuses to the infinitely more important undertaking at Manchester?"

In an attempt to belittle the institution at Aberystwyth, it bitingly added that "if Aberystwyth represents that 'local effort' which the Government is urged to assist, then it is not too much to say that that institution will have to undergo a good deal of purifying and considerable reorganisation before it can possess a valid claim to national support." Impudently, and fortunately quite wrongly, the same paper on the following day stated "that what was wanted was a subsidy for the college at Aberystwyth. But that, as we have seen, is simply absurd and is hardly likely to be again urged for a long while to come."⁽¹⁾ Happily for Wales, this was no more than wishful and bigoted thinking on the part of this Tory paper.

The debate in the House, in spite of all opposition, was an important landmark, for it henceforth made Welsh people higher education a political issue of considerable significance. It became the talking point in the 1880 electoral campaigns and very many candidates from both parties committed

(1) Western Mail, July 3, 1879.

themselves in their addresses to support a state grant for the Aberystwyth college. Welsh affairs were attracting the attention of the House at long last.

In spite of the persistent failure of the deputations and memorials submitted by the Aberystwyth Committee in 1870, 1875, and 1877, to gain financial support from both the Liberal and Conservative Governments, the change of government in 1880 prompted Hugh Owen, in May of that year to seek the support of Lord Aberdare, the President of the College, in persuading Gladstone, the Prime Minister, to appoint a Committee to inquire into the state of affairs of Higher and Intermediate Education in Wales.

Fortunately for Wales, his lordship readily agreed, and with the help of Hugh Owen a draft of the letter of application was there and then prepared in Lord Aberdare's study.¹

In addition, suggested heads for the proposed inquiry as prepared by Hugh Owen were also sent to the Prime Minister on May 10th, 1880.⁽²⁾ It would be difficult to decide which of Owen's two famous letters had the greatest impact upon the educational life of Wales - his letter of 1843 or his draft letter of 1880.

This letter, succinctly presented to the Prime Minister a brief summary of the political, denominational and educational situations in Wales.⁽³⁾ In his opening remarks Lord Aberdare dealt with the political scene and reminded the

(1) Western Mail, March 16, 1882.

(2) (See Appendix 21).

(3) P.R.O. Ed. 91/8. Correspondence File & Departmental Report, 1881.

Much of this correspondence has been published in a most valuable article in "The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies", May 1962, by Sir Ben Bowen Thomas - "The Establishment of the Aberdare Departmental Committee 1880. Some Letters and Notes."

Prime Minister that in all the Welsh elections, "every candidate whether successful or not, pledged himself to press upon the Government the consideration of the defective condition of Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales,"⁽¹⁾ and that on the reopening of Parliament, he anticipated that the Welsh M.P.'s will be putting questions on the Paper which it will be difficult to answer in a manner satisfactory to public expectation." This was a tactical approach in which Lord Aberdare, with his priorities right, drew the attention of the Prime Minister to the political expediency and even to the necessity of giving some serious attention to this issue as it had become a matter of national consequence in Wales.

In a brief review of the state of High^{e/} Education, he claimed that "Apart from the Nonconformist Theological Colleges which are numerous but which can hardly or at all be taken into account on the present occasion, there are but two colleges in Wales - viz that of St. David's, Lampeter, and the University College of Wales at Aberystwyth." His Lordship wished to remind the Prime Minister that the "former of these is essentially a Church of England Institution, confining itself almost entirely to the training of Clergymen," and he doubted, "whether any Nonconformist will ever find his way there." He added that "on the other hand, the University of Wales, - altho 'unsectarian' is mainly resorted to by Nonconformists. Of its 60 students, about 43 are preparing themselves for the Ministry of their respective denominations."

His Lordship attributed the small number of students at

(1) P.R.O. Ed. 91/8.

Aberystwyth, in spite of its having been open for over eight years, to its unfortunate location away from large towns. Initially it had been hoped that its central position between North and South Wales would have attracted the support of both regions, but pessimistically, Aberdare feared that this had been an error of judgement which "will I fear forever prevent this College from attracting Endowments or Students in sufficient amount and number to enable it to fulfil adequately the purposes for which it was designed." He deemed that "the necessity for considering the extension of Higher Education in Wales arose from these unhappy circumstances.

He also referred to the need for an investigation into the needs of intermediate education in Wales, and subsequent developments in this particular sector will be considered in the next chapter. Last of all, he added, "I have placed in another paper for consideration some suggested heads for the proposed inquiry."

Lord Aberdare publicly remarked that Hugh Owen was mainly responsible for the drafting of the above letter to the Prime Minister, and it is equally certain that "the suggested heads for the proposed inquiry," attached to the letter had also been drawn up by Owen.⁽¹⁾ No one could have been more familiar with the Welsh scene, and the points enumerated had evidently been drafted by a person who was thoroughly conversant with the problems and who had also devoted much attention to their study.

Herewith the suggested Heads of Inquiry attached to Lord Aberdare's letter:

(1) Western Mail, March 16, 1882.

- "(1) The nature and extent of the existing provision for Intermediate education in Wales.
- (2) The nature and extent of the existing provision for Higher education in Wales.
- N.B. Printed questions addressed to individuals would elicit much of the information required on both these points.
- (3) The best means of supplying any deficiencies under the foregoing heads.
- (4) How far the benefits of the existing provision for Intermediate and Higher Education are limited by conditions intended to favour any particular denomination.
- (5) How far existing endowments may be applied towards supplying deficiencies under both heads.
- (6) In what form and to what extent would contributions from the State towards the relief of existing deficiencies be required.
- (7) Whether the creation of a 'University of Wales' with power to grant degrees in Arts, would tend to advance Higher Education in Wales.

(St. David's College, Lampeter, has, by an enlargement of its original Charter, acquired the power of granting degrees of Bachelors in Art and Divinity.)"

These were passed on to the Prime Minister, and were ultimately included in the final letter of instruction by the Lord President (Lord Spencer) to Lord Aberdare when the latter was appointed to preside over the Committee of Inquiry. Thus the intervention of Hugh Owen was instrumental in

launching the Departmental Inquiry. Wales will always be indebted to him for his vision and persuasiveness on this occasion.

In less than three weeks after drafting this letter to the Prime Minister in conjunction with Lord Aberdare, Owen on June 30th, again wrote at length on the same problems to Hussey Vivian⁽¹⁾, who had already co-operated most enthusiastically on such matters in the House with other Welsh M.P.'s. It is likely, however, that Hugh Owen was prompted to lobby and to correspond with him at this time since he must have sensed that Hussey Vivian was not in favour of having an inquiry.

Owen was anxious to convince Hussey Vivian that an investigation "conducted by a few gentlemen acquainted with the people - their national peculiarities, denominational differences, and sectional jealousies - would be of the utmost assistance in dealing with the educational wants of Wales, and I should much fear that if this were attempted without such an Inquiry, the result would not be satisfactory." Owen also took it upon himself to name the six persons whom he would consider suitable to conduct the inquiry.

"Lord Aberdare, who would be Chairman,
Mr. Hussey Vivian, M.P.
Mr. Henry Richard, M.P.,
Professor John Rhys, M.A., Oxford,
Mr. A. C. Humphreys Owen, M.A., Glansevern,
Montgomeryshire.
Mr. Lewis Morris, M.A., would make a most
efficient Secretary."

It will be seen later that the composition of the Committee excited considerable attention in many walks of life in Wales.

However, when the final list of members was published, four of the names suggested by Hugh Owen were included.

Owen also provided Hussey Vivian with a copy of the "Heads

(1) P.R.O. Ed/91/8. (See Appendix 22.)

of Inquiry" which he had already given to Lord Aberdare to include with the initial letter to the Prime Minister.

Upon receiving this letter, Hussey Vivian ^{wrote} immediately to the Lord President enclosing the letter he had just received from Hugh Owen. These letters were subsequently passed on to Mr. A. J. Mundella, the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education. It was to the lasting credit of Hussey Vivian that he sent on Owen's letter to the Minister although it contained views which "did not coincide with his own."

Hussey Vivian proceeded to point out why he considered that an Inquiry was not necessary, for upon "Higher Education there is really nothing except the exact position of^{*} Jesus College to learn, and that, the University Commission has just inquired into and is now forming a scheme The Queen's Colleges and Intermediate Education Acts of Ireland and the Scotch Colleges indicate quite distinctly what the provision for Wales ought to be." As far as secondary education was concerned, he was of the opinion that "the Charity Commissioners can furnish every possible information on the Endowed Schools." Instead of an Inquiry, Hussey Vivian desired an assurance from Lord Spencer that some attention will soon be given to Welsh education and "That the Government will take the question up early next session."

From correspondence extant, it is evident that the Government was taking informal soundings at this time on several aspects of this problem.⁽¹⁾ In view of the conflicting evidence, they wished to decide whether an Inquiry was

^{*}Full information re the endowments of Jesus College.

(1) P.R.O., Ed. 91/8.

really necessary. Lord Spencer, for example, was in touch with James Bryce (later Viscount Bryce) who had been Assistant Commissioner for the Schools Inquiry Commission. Bryce in turn gleaned the information he required from Professor C. G. Edmondson of Lampeter. All relevant information was in turn sent back to Lord Spencer.

Edmondson, very much in agreement with Hugh Owen, informed Bryce on July 23rd, 1880, that he believed Gladstone was "almost bound to propose to do something in answer to the sold Welsh members' request. He did not see how anything which is to be really useful can be done without a strong Commission as a preliminary. If they were to issue one, it would be proof of two things, that the government will not merely slur the thing over like the last, and also that they wish to act with some thoroughness and not just to throw a grant of public money as a reward for the Liberal return."

Edmondson was also alive to the need for appointing a sound Committee and believed that "a good Commission might perhaps do what nothing else will and bring the diverse and centrifugal Celt into something like accord. Only for this reason it would be absolutely necessary to have a 'balance' of men on it who would command general respect from their character and general confidence as knowing something of the special subjects dealt with."

In spite of these conflicting views with regard to an Inquiry, Hugh Owen was successful in his mission, for the Government during the latter half of July, 1880, decided to appoint a Departmental Committee.

As soon as this was announced, Lord Aberdare who had

been asked to be the Chairman, wrote to Lord Spencer naming the persons who would be acceptable to him. This letter reflected the great care given by Aberdare to forming a well balanced team. Apart from having a team of men thoroughly acquainted with the problems involved, it was vitally necessary to get a committee with a proper denominational balance as well as a sound geographical balance between North and South Wales. Lord Aberdare named the men of his choice and gave his reasons for these suggestions.

"1 Queen's Gate, S.W.

July 30, 1880.

"Dear Lord Spencer,

"If Canon Robinson is to act on the Committee, I should think it unnecessary to invite Lord Emllyn. But subsequent reflection has led me to prefer Bryce to Professor Rhys.

"Bryce has larger views on Education than Rhys. Having been on the staff of the Endowed Schools Commission and reported on several Counties in it, and S. Wales, he possesses much knowledge immediately applicable. Apart from his not being a Welshman, he is in all respects a fitter man for the work than Rhys.

"No doubt you must be prepared for objections from N. Wales. But H. Richard must be looked upon as the representative of Nonconformity in Wales generally. Lewis Morris is the most eminent intellectual representative of Wales - was at Jesus College, Oxford, and took a 1st Class in Classics - and there are positively no questions to be considered in which the interests of North and South Wales can be made to clash. The Committee would then stand thus:

Professor Rhys.

Emllyn

Canon Robinson,
~~Professor Bryce, M.P.~~
H. Richard, M.P.
Lewis Morris, and
Myself,

* With Mr. Warry as Secretary.

Sincerely yours,
Aberdare."

The names suggested by Lord Aberdare in this letter were changed at a later date, probably by Lord Spencer himself, in response to pressure from various quarters - hence the erasure of the name of Professor Bryce, and the addition of Viscount Emlyn's. In spite of all the pressure and lengthy correspondence throughout the month of August there were no further amendments, and the members of the Committee remained as in the above letter in its amended form. Invitations were sent to the various Committee members on August 11th, and the letters of acceptance were returned within the week.

On August 19th, A. J. Mundella made a statement in the House of Commons about the government's decision to appoint an investigation Committee, and named the above members in reply to a question from B. T. Williams, the member for Carmarthen Boroughs. This official announcement that an Inquiry was to take place was received with satisfaction in Wales, but the composition of the Committee was not altogether popular and led to a further spate of correspondence and much Nonconformist pressure.

On the day of the above announcement, there appeared a lengthy but very sound review of Welsh feelings towards the Commission in the "South Wales Daily News."⁽¹⁾ With considerable insight it assessed the qualities and qualifications expected of suitable committee members. In its opinion, the "Constitution of the Committee to inquire into the educational resources and wants of Wales is everything. If, as some seem to be afraid, it is to be a one-sided Committee, in which the Nonconformist principles of the great majority of the Welsh people are to be ignored, it will accomplish very little

(1) South Wales Daily News, Aug. 19, 1880.

real good, and even if it set itself honestly to work and with evident intention to be thoroughly impartial, it cannot be expected to gain the confidence of all parties in Wales." Reflecting on former bitter experiences, it reminded its readers that the "Principality has already had more than sufficient one-sided inquiries into its religious and educational condition," and that some of these "inquiries have rather injured rather than benefited the Welsh people. One of them in particular was conducted in such an infamous manner that its results might fairly be characterised as a gross insult to Wales." However, it was on this occasion quite optimistic that whatever "the constitution of the Committee about to be appointed may be, we need not anticipate the gross calumnies and atrocious libel which characterised some previous inquiries." On a triumphant political note he referred to the fact that "Wales happily, had now many friends to speak out on her behalf, and no Committee could risk its reputation by being so thoroughly one-sided as some former Commissioners undoubtedly were. With a Liberal representation in the House of Commons, a public Press intelligible to Englishmen, and a large proportion of her people able to defend her, any such attempt would necessarily fail."

In the opinion of the "South Wales Daily News, - "If the present Government ignores a fact which all previous governments have ignored, that Wales is mainly a country of Nonconformists and appoints a Committee from which the Nonconformist element is excluded, or placed in a ridiculous minority, it will act most unjustly. A Committee composed

in such a way will not have, and will not deserve the confidence of the Welsh people." It believed that "Mr. Williams's enquiry about the names of the proposed members of the Departmental Committee, and especially the name of the Secretary is one of the most important features in his question." It was convinced that the "intentions of the Government will be most clearly made known by the publication of these names. It even claimed that we "seldom fail to discover the real intentions of a Government Department when we know the names of the persons to whom they entrust the carrying out of their object."

The "South Wales Daily News" was obviously very apprehensive about the selection and about the future, and declared "As we have observed on previous occasions, the demand for Higher Education has originated mainly with the Nonconformist party. They raised the cry. At this very moment, they are continuing it. They have again and again appealed to the Government to help them, not certainly as Nonconformists, but on strictly unsectarian principles. It would be a singular, not to say fatal, miscarriage of justice if, in appointing a Committee to inquire into the reasonableness of that demand, and to suggest a method of supplying it, the very men who have been prominent in making the demand, and the very people who have supported them in making it, should be either slighted or ignored. We have thought it our duty to speak plainly on this question before the names of the intended Committee have been made public."

It is not difficult to imagine the shock and dismay in Wales after A. J. Mundella had announced the names of the

Committee in the House. "Five of its members were Churchmen, of whom one was a dignitary of the Established Church and a high official in the Charity Commission, and another was a Conservative member of Parliament and heir to a peerage. There was only one Nonconformist. When one considers that this was a body appointed to inquire into the educational condition and requirements of a community the overwhelming majority of whom are Nonconformists, it must be admitted that it was not unduly in favour of the latter."⁽¹⁾ Throughout August, representation was made to the Government on this point, with a view to a more equitable distribution of parts, but there was no further heed paid to any plea. Although the members were acknowledged to be men of just character as well as of considerable ability, the Welsh press was in general rather disappointed, and the "Fanner" too made a careful appraisal of the qualities and suitability of each member for the task involved.⁽²⁾ It was a very thorough and perceptive assessment and well worth careful study, for it probably represented the general Nonconformist reactions at the time. It was the considered opinion of the "Fanner" that:

"Ar yr olwg gyntaf, y mae cyfansoddiad y ddirprwyaeth hon yn ymddangos yn foddhaol; ond, a dyweyd y gwir, nid ydym yn teimlo ond ychydig o ymddiried ynnddi. Y mae arni ddau ŵr enwog iawn sydd yn sicr o feddu ymddiried llwyr pawb sydd yn eu hadnabod; se Mr. Richard a Mr. Morris - a dyna ddigon. Nid ydym yn adnabod y Canon Robinson yn ddigon da i allu dyweyd nemawr yn ei gylch ef. Er hyny, yn ydym yn credu mai dyn rhyddfrydig ydyw o ran ei olygiadau; a phrofwyd hyny pan yr oedd efe yn un o'r boneddigion oedd ar Ddirprwyaeth yr Elusenau. A chredwn na byddai iddo daflu un rhwystr ar ffordd cynnygion a allant fod o nodwedd

(1) Henry Richard, Letters and Essays on Wales, 188.

(2) *Baner ac Amserau Cymru*, Aust. 25ain, 1880.

Gymreig. Ond, er hyny, Sais ydyw; a chan nad yw yn meddu adnabyddiaeth helaeth o'r Cymry, fel pobl, y mae'n bosibl iddo fod yn anmhenderfynol ar gwestiynau pwysig ini fel cenedl. Y mae'r Arglwydd Emlyn, fel yr ydym yn deall, yn foneddwr rhagorol, a chydwybodol; ac er mai Ceidwadwr yw, hyderwn y rhoddai ei bleidlais yn iawn pe byddai yn meddu ar ddigon o wybodaeth o'n sefyllfa. Ond pa adnabyddiaeth y gall pendefig o Sais, ac Eglwyswr, ei feddu, am sefyllfa teimlad, a meddwl, a bywyd mewnol y Dywysogaeth? Y mae Mr. Rhys yn ddigon adnabyddus i bawb, ac y mae yn ein hadnabod fel cenedl yn dda - yn llawn cystal, fe allai, a neb o'r boneddigion a enwyd. Ond y mae yn ddrwg genym orfod dyweyd nad ydyw yntau yn meddu ein hymddiried i'r graddau y dymunem. Y mae ei gysylltiad â Rhydychain ac â Dr. Harper, yn rhoddi sail i ni ofni pa fodd y rhydd efe ei bleidlais ar rai cwestiynau sydd yn sicr o ddyfod ger bron y Dirprwywr."

Having thus evaluated the attitude and possible suitability of the Committee members, the "Faner" appraised the prospects of the Inquiry:

"Yn awr, erbyn ystyried pa fodd y mae pethau yn sefyll - fod Mr. Richard a Mr. Morris ym mysg y rhai cymmhwsaf y gallesid eu cael, fod y Canon Robinson ac Arglwydd Emlyn, a Mr. Rhys yn debyg fel y ceisiasom eu disgrifio, y mae'r fantol yn ymddangos yn rhwym o droi o chwith ar rai cwestiynau gwir bwysig, os nad ellir ymddiried i Arglwydd Aberdar wneud y drwg yn dda. Gallai efe ei gwneyd yn gydwastad, a thaflu ei bleidlais fel llywydd hefyd i mewn i'r un pen i'r glorian - a byddai pob peth yn iawn."

Unfortunately, however, the "Faner" was not optimistic about this, for

"bron na ddywedwn mai y dirprwywr y teimlwn leiaf o ymddiried ynddo ydyw y llywydd. Nid un o'n cenedl ni ydyw, y mae yn wir; ond nid yw hyny o gymmaint pwys pe byddai yn meddu ar gydymdeimlad cryf â'r Cymry, ac yn meddu gyda hyny adnabyddiaeth ddofn, a thrwyadl, a chywir, o fywyd mewnol y genedl. Edrychir arno mewn rhai cylchoedd, mae'n wir, fel pendefig sydd yn gwybod mwy amdanom na nemawr un o'n boneddigion, ond y mae genym seiliau cryfion dros feddwl yn whanol. A phan yr oedd yn Is-lywydd y Bwrdd Addysg ychydig o gydymdeimlad a ddangosodd at Ymneillduaeth."

The "Faner" also held a low opinion of Principal H. D. Harper, of Jesus College, Oxford, and regretted that Lord Aberdare was so friendly with him, since according to the "Faner"

"ei fod yn meddu cydymdeimlad cryf â'i syniadau gyda golwg ar Goleg yr Iesu, a'r modd y mae Trysorfa Mr. Meyrick i gael ei ddefnyddio o hyn allan. Ac os caiff Dr. Harper ei ewylllys, ni chaiff bechgyn tlodion Cymry gymmaint a cheiniog oddiwrth y Drysorfa hono i'w cyn-northwyo i barhau yn yr ysgolion grammadegol, i'w cymmhwysu i fyned i'r prif ysgolion. A gwaith arbenig y ddirprwyg fydd gosod ei llaw ar y swm hardd hwn, a'i ddefnyddio yn y ffordd oreu, a hynny mewn ysbryd hollol anenwadol, er mantais i fechgyn tlodion galluog."

In view of this particular composition of the Committee, the "Faner" was anxious that two or three more persons should be added to it and proceeded to name: "Mr. Hugh Owen, o Lundain, gwybodaeth yr hwn am sefyllfa addysg yn Nghymru sydd yn ddi-amheuol; ac y mae ei galon yn curo yn iach bob amser." It also suggested the names of Mr. Osborne Morgan, and the Rev. H. T. Edwards, and felt if they were added to the names of the original six named "ni a deimlem yn hyderus y byddai i'r cwestiwn gael ei benderfynu ar dir boddhaol i'r Dywysogaeth yn gyffredinol."

In its next issue, the "Faner" explained that some of the men it had suggested for the Committee were unable or did not wish to undertake such duties. "er y pryd hwnw yr ydym wedi deall na dderbyniai Mr. Owen y pennodiad, ac nas gallai Mr. Morgan ei dderbyn chwaith o herwydd ei gysylltiad sylweddol â'r weinyddiaeth."⁽¹⁾ Others, at the time wished that Hugh Owen could have acted on the Committee, but in deference to his opinion that he could render more efficient aid to the movement by giving evidence, this plea was abandoned. It was a very wise decision, for as will be seen, his contribution to the investigation was quite outstanding.

In spite of all the arguments and discussion, Lord Spencer, Lord President of the Council, on August 25th, 1880,

(1) Baner ac Amseiriau Cymru, Medi 1, 1880.

wrote to the Chairman, Lord Aberdare, advising him officially of the composition of his Committee and of the nature of his duties. (2)

Spencer informed him that "Her Majesty's Government, in fulfilment of the promise made by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons, have appointed a Committee to enquire into the present condition of Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales, and to recommend the measures which they may think advisable for improving and supplementing the provision that is now, or might be made, available for such education in the Principality."

In this brief study of the survey undertaken by the Departmental Inquiry, the main consideration will be the activities of Hugh Owen. His outstanding contribution as a witness and as an advocate of both Higher and Intermediate education merits careful evaluation.

The Departmental Inquiry.

In the first instance, the evidence submitted to the Departmental Committee on higher education was much concerned with the factors which might explain the lack of progress at Aberystwyth during the previous eight years. Thereafter, it was concerned with the kind of arrangements which might be considered necessary for providing higher education in the future; whether a degree-granting university was desirable; where in Wales the centres for higher education should be located, and lastly - and probably most important of all - what financial assistance should be provided by the Government.

The main reasons for the disappointing progress at

Aberystwyth up to this time have already been considered; these included the very modest financial support, a lack of appreciation and understanding of the nature and aims of higher education, the conflicting denominational interests, the unsuitability of Aberystwyth as a centre to serve the whole of Wales, and the absence of grammar schools to prepare students adequately for this kind of work. In consequence, the Departmental Committee was eager to glean all the relevant information on these matters from representatives from all sections of the community.

Of all these problems, the foremost in need of investigation was the extent of the financial provision necessary to maintain a system of higher education. From the very start of the University movement, the founder members had been persistently thwarted in their efforts to extend such facilities on account of the lack of money. and in seeking an inquiry into the state of higher education in Wales, one of the foremost aims of Hugh Owen was to persuade the Government to provide Aberystwyth college with state aid. The institution could not continue to exist or to prosper solely on the support given by voluntary contributions. Without state aid, the college had no hope of becoming an institution of university rank.

During the inquiry, this aspect of the movement was thoroughly investigated, and since Hugh Owen had assumed greater responsibility than any other founder member for its financial position, it was not surprising that he was the outstanding witness in dealing with difficulties of that kind. For a detailed review of all emoluments, he informed the

Departmental Committee that the amount of money collected during the period from the beginning of December, 1863 to October, 1872, the date of opening of the college, was £12,034/11/3.⁽¹⁾ He assured the Committee, however, that when Nicholas and Charles were in office they had been promised substantially larger sums of money in the form of subscriptions, but unfortunately, these had not materialised.

In his report on the college finances he carefully outlined the main items of expenditure hitherto; £1,088/4/1 had been invested; £4,901/0/9 had been used to repay the principal and interest for the purchase of the college building; £2,036/13/7 had been spent on new work on the building, and the balance, £4,008/12/10, had been used to pay salaries, travelling expenses and incidental expenses of the two secretaries. In view of the public criticism made about these latter expenses, Owen hastened to add that under the circumstances "the salaries and expenses in question cannot be deemed otherwise than moderate when the long period over which they extend and the position of the gentlemen filling the office are considered."⁽²⁾ This was a very generous comment, particularly when both these gentlemen had suffered so much unpopularity when in office for that very reason, and indeed had subsequently resigned in protest on that account.

During the initial eight years of the movement the financial situation had not been prosperous or promising, yet the founder members felt in 1872 that they had to open the college. "There was then owing in respect of the purchase

(1) Report of the Departmental Committee, 1881, Vol 2, Evidence. Q. 307.

(2) *ibid.*

money of the college building, the sum of £7,703/17/4, and there was no money in hand to meet the expenses about to be incurred in the maintenance of the college."⁽¹⁾ Owen ruefully admitted that "the outlook was not promising," but he was reassured since "a number of gentlemen had committed themselves to the undertaking, and had determined that it should not fail for want of funds, at all events during the first four years of its existence." In view of the financial situation, one can therefore look upon the opening of the college as an exemplary act of faith on the part of the promoters.

Owen informed the Committee that financial support had hitherto come from such diverse sources as outstandingly generous benefactors, from a Guarantee Fund, from a Sustentation Fund and an Endowment Fund, from student fees and from such miscellaneous sources as eisteddfodic surpluses and the renting of college buildings.⁽²⁾ He estimated that the total amount raised for the purposes of the college from December, 1863, to the 30th of June, 1880, was no less than £65,398/0/2; a truly magnificent sum, but unfortunately, still pitifully inadequate. The Committee was also presented with a detailed account of the capital outlay during the ensuing years for the college building, of the cost of its maintenance, of the money spent on salaries, on scholarships and on all kinds of incidental expenses. Characteristically he furnished the Committee with a written financial report in addition to his evidence.⁽³⁾

(1) Report of the Departmental Committee, 1881, Vol. 2, Evidence. Q. 307.

(2) The National Eisteddfod contributed most generously to the university fund; Mold gave £250 in 1873; Bangor £10 in 1874, Pwllheli £41 in 1875; Caernarvon £600 in 1877, Birkenhead £100 in 1878.

(3) Report of the Departmental Committee, 1881, Vol 2, Appendix 19. (See Appendix 23.)

It is quite moving for any interested Welshman to read his terse statement about the subscribers to the college. Deliberately, he impressed upon the Committee that these had not been "confined to any class or any sect," that the "common people as well as the wealthy" had contributed, that "4,034 gave sums of over 2/6 each, 4,938 gave exactly 2/6 each, and it is estimated that those who gave sums under that amount number at least 100,000." It was a remarkable response and was unlikely to be paralleled in the history of any other country in the world. Of the general contributions towards the college, it was found that 344 persons had given "sums of £10 and under £100; 38 sums of £100 and under £500; 7 sums of £500 and under £1,000; and 7 sums of £1,000 and upwards." (1)

Not satisfied with that kind of analysis of the contributions, he assured the Committee that even in sect-ridden Wales, each denomination had made its contribution. He maintained that in "making as close an estimate as it was practicable to make," he had come "to the conclusion that 33 percent of the total amount raised was contributed by members of the Church of England, 29 per cent by the Calvinistic Methodists, 24 per cent by the Independents, and 14 per cent by other denominations." This was a surprising statement, for in spite of the alleged lack of interest on the part of the Church Authorities in the institution, several of its members, in the light of this analysis must have contributed most generously.

Owen informed the Committee that he had become thoroughly

(1) Evidence. Q. 307.

convinced that although these vast sums had been contributed towards the College in the past, "it would not be practicable to maintain the institution permanently without the assistance of the state." As usual he was over-modest and even conservative in his estimate of the financial grant required from the Government and thought that £2,500 a year would be adequate to maintain the college, although he would welcome an additional grant towards completing the college building.⁽¹⁾

It was exceptionally well-informed evidence - but nevertheless a sad tale, of immense sacrifice and dedication on the part of the people of Wales which he presented simply, in a factual manner without emotion or dramatic device. It was in short a masterly piece of understatement. He did not make a single reference to his personal labour, to his personal sacrifices or to his great unpopularity for keeping such a tight hand on the ^{purse-}strings. The Committee were much impressed by the magnitude of his contribution and by his detailed presentation of the finances of the movement. Both were outstanding.

Most of the principal witnesses conversant with the affairs of the college agreed wholeheartedly with the evidence submitted by Owen. Stephen Evans, the Vice-President of the college and a member of the finance committee, particularly stressed the need for state financial support. He informed the Committee that the annual expenditure of the last two or three years had been about £3,500 a year, and that the income from students' fees and investments was only about £1,000,

(1) Evidence. Q. 454.

a year, leaving nearly £2,500 to be raised by voluntary subscriptions. In his evidence he maintained that "Up to the present time the receipts have been sufficient to meet all the necessary expenses of the college, but it is clear that its maintenance in the future by voluntary subscriptions will be impracticable. The difficulty of obtaining subscriptions is constantly increasing."⁽¹⁾ He too regretted that "appeals have been made from time to time to the great landowners of Wales but with small success, except in a few instances." He maintained that "the support of the college has been obtained chiefly from wealthy men engaged in commerce, and from the middle and industrial classes," but he added quite firmly that "a government grant is indispensable; without it the college in its present form must collapse."⁽²⁾

Mr. Cadwaladr Davies, formerly assistant secretary to the movement, also spoke of the need for "the establishment by the State of a college for the purpose of higher education."⁽³⁾ More than anything, he confirmed the great regard of the Welsh people for higher education and in support of his argument gave details of the voluntary contributions made by the various districts in Wales, particularly by the slate-quarrying communities of Bethesda, Llanberis, Nantlle and Blaenau Ffestiniog. He pointed out that "in the course of three years, mostly in half-crown subscriptions and smaller sums than that, £508/4/4", were contributed by the quarry districts alone. He described this as "a fact without its

(1) Evidence. Q. 19.543.

(2) *ibid*

(3) *ibid* Q. 27.333.

parallel in the history of the education of any country."⁽¹⁾

The Departmental Committee could not but be convinced by the barrage of evidence concerning the financial difficulties of the College. It was almost inevitable that it should recommend that for the college at Aberystwyth and for any others that might be built "recourse shall be had to a Parliamentary grant." It appreciated that the College could not be carried on much longer without a parliamentary grant, for the fees of the students, for instance, met only about a quarter of the cost of maintaining the institution. They estimated that a yearly grant of £4,000 would be necessary for this purpose and recommended that this sum should be given to each of other two colleges which might be founded.⁽²⁾

The "South Wales Daily News," anticipating the views of the Departmental Committee, made a strong plea for united action between all denominations in Wales to get a non-sectarian college supported by state-aid. It made a point of the fact that "Welsh Nonconformists have never yet appealed to the State for endowments for religious purposes; they have established schools and denominational colleges in many places, and are now annually raising considerable funds for maintaining the colleges as training-schools for young men intended for the ministry. For these colleges they do not ask, and their principles will not permit them to ask, for any public funds or Government assistance.

"Churchmen take a different view of the case; their principles do not prevent them from taking from the public purse whatever the state will grant them for exclusively religious purposes. We maintain, however, that the question

(1) Evidence, Q. 27.333.

(2) Report of the Departmental Committee, 1881, Vol. 1, lxvi.

of Higher Education is one which must not be mixed-up with any religious question, and for that reason we should like to see Churchmen and Dissenters co-operating in obtaining it, but, of course, if Churchmen take a different view and insist upon a higher education adapted to ecclesiastical or denominational purposes it is obvious that Nonconformists cannot work with them."⁽¹⁾ This was a very idealistic view. Denominationalism was potent in higher education as it had been in every other sector. State aid for an unsectarian college or colleges seemed to be the only possible solution.

In addition to being plagued by financial problems, the college had also failed to attract both the number and quality of students anticipated by the founder members. Up to 1880, the highest number attending in any session had been 79, and by 1880 it had dropped to 53.⁽²⁾ In the eight years of its existence, 313 students had attended, of whom 117 came from Cardiganshire, 34 from Carmarthenshire, 23 from Merionethshire, 22 from Caernarvonshire, 22 from Glamorganshire, 12 from Flintshire, 12 from Montgomeryshire, 3 from Pembrokeshire, none from Radnor; 35 had come from England, 16 of whom were Welsh.⁽³⁾

Two unexpected features emerged from these returns. Firstly, the total number was pathetically low for each year and this suggested that the College had not proven attractive to the mass of young Welshmen or to their parents. There was something seriously amiss, or was a university college really necessary in Wales after all? Or was it wrongly located? Secondly, the overwhelming preponderance of students

(1) South Wales Daily News, Aug. 19, 1880.

(2) Vol. 2; Evidence, Q. 318, 319.

(3) ibid Q. 320.

came from Cardiganshire and adjacent counties, and with increasing distance from the college, the number decreased quite significantly. Hugh Owen was asked to offer some explanation for these unhappy trends, and he attributed them more than anything else to the deficiency in the supply of secondary schools which could train suitable candidates for admission, to the disinclination of the authorities of the grammar schools to encourage their students to go to the college, and lastly to the remote position of Aberystwyth.⁽¹⁾

Amost without exception, other witnesses agreed with Owen that when a suitable network of secondary schools had been established to prepare young men for higher education, applications for admission would be more than adequate for the accomm@datation available at Aberystwyth. With few exceptions, witnesses pressed for more, as well as for a better, distribution of secondary schools to meet the need of Welsh youth in every part of the country.

With regard to the old grammar schools, Owen felt that, "when the demand for secondary schools, in Wales is adequately met, and when the interests of the grammar schools and the college have ceased to conflict, the Aberystwyth College may be a success."⁽²⁾ He claimed that hitherto of the students coming to Aberystwyth only a few had come from the old endowed grammar schools, and consequently the majority of them came from the ordinary private schools of the country, some from the elementary schools, and some from the theological colleges. This, he argued, arose because of the tendency on the part of the grammar schools to retain their

(1) Vol. 2, Evidence; Q. 343.

(2) Evidence, Q. 324.

pupils as long as possible rather than let them go to Aberystwyth. The fact that the college had been undenominational had not helped, and Owen believed that "a larger amount of friendly co-operation on the part of the authorities of grammar schools would be obtained if the college were a Church of England College."⁽¹⁾ He was convinced that the then existing grammar schools in Wales occupied with reference "to the middle classes the position which the national schools occupy with reference to the labouring classes."⁽²⁾ Consequently the majority of them were in tone, if not absolutely, Church of England Schools. These schools tended to look upon Aberystwyth as a dissenting College! Stephen Evans agreed with him in this and thought that the low numbers might be related to "the want of co-operation, not to say hostility, on the part of the existing endowed grammar schools of the country."⁽³⁾

Owen also maintained that some Welsh parents had mistakenly thought of the college as a superior school in which it would be well for their sons to have a short period of six months or a year, and thus the numbers had temporarily increased, but he added that since parents were beginning to "appreciate that the college is not applicable to students who are not prepared to spend, at all events, two or three sessions in the college the numbers have become reduced."⁽⁴⁾ In this connection, Hugh Owen provided the Committee with a very helpful table which gave the age of students, their social background and parental occupation.⁽⁵⁾ The Principal

(1) Evidence, Q. 451.

(2) *ibid* Q. 420.

(3) *ibid* Q. 19.544.

(4) *ibid* Q. 19.408.

(5) Appendix 19, Vol. 2. (See Appendix 24).

agreed that the falling off in numbers was related to the fact that parents no longer sent their children to the college in a state of such utter want of preparation as they did at first,⁽¹⁾ but he attributed the drop in the number of students during the previous session from 70 to 57 "to the depression in trade" which also led to "considerable decrease in the numbers at Owens College, Manchester."⁽²⁾

The Principal ruefully admitted that Aberystwyth at the time also suffered from competition from both the Bristol College and Owens College, since the young men of Glamorgan were attracted to Bristol and the candidates from North Wales were lured to Manchester.⁽³⁾ This would explain why Aberystwyth appeared so attractive to the young men of Cardiganshire and the mid-Wales counties. Stephen Evans attributed the low numbers at the college to the "poverty of intending students" as well as "the scattered nature of the population in that part of Wales."⁽⁴⁾

It will be recalled that Lord Aberdare in his letter to Gladstone seeking to set up the Departmental Committee of Inquiry had deplored the siting of the college, and Hugh Owen admitted that in choosing Aberystwyth as the centre for the college "the opinion then formed" by the promoters was "not well founded."⁽⁵⁾ He had become convinced that had the college been sited in one of the more populous towns of Glamorganshire, the success of the college would have been immeasurably greater. He indicated that the number of students from each of the Welsh counties bore no relationship

(1) Evidence. Q. 9,560.
 (2) ibid Q. 9,572.
 (3) ibid Q. 9577
 (4) ibid Q. 19,544
 (5) ibid Q. 331.

to their population, and if "Glamorganshire had furnished the same proportion of students as Cardiganshire, the College would have had upwards of 600 from Glamorganshire."⁽¹⁾ In the future he even envisaged the need to establish a college in South Wales, but hoped that Abersystwyth would continue to meet the needs of North Wales.⁽²⁾

Principal Harper, much more critical of the siting of the College, was very condemnatory in his remarks, and observed, "I cannot help feeling that the establishment of the college at Aberystwyth was an ill-advised effort of great patriotism."⁽³⁾ In his opinion, the site at Aberystwyth was chosen for reasons which were not remotely academic - "I always think that the originators of the movement were tempted by the fact of there being a building more or less applicable, which was very cheap, in the market, that is what settled the locality. I do not believe that these men would under any circumstances have chosen Aberystwyth but for that accident. In their desire to do good for Wales they were generally speaking, sagacious in their way. Perhaps they did not know as much of education as they do now, but if they had thought simply of educating the people, and of putting this college in a place where it could do the widest work of education, they would not have placed it at Aberystwyth."⁽⁴⁾ Patronising though this criticism was, it was unfortunately true that during those early years Aberystwyth was particularly inaccessible.

Although Principal T. Charles Edwards admitted that

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- (1) Evidence, Q. 322.
 - (2) *ibid.* Q. 325.
 - (3) *ibid.* Q. 900.
 - (4) *ibid.* Q. 952.

Aberystwyth "is somewhat inaccessible and the means of communication are not the best," he nevertheless lamented that the student numbers were low "from the fact that the college has not established itself in the minds of the people of Wales as the university college of the country, and that it has been somewhat flouted by many, and hence there may have been an impression abroad that it is a comparative failure, and that impression tends to make it a failure."⁽¹⁾

Principal Harper, in direct opposition to Principal Charles Edwards, observed "that seeing the great cost of these colleges, and seeing the smallness of the population at any centre in Wales, the great thing would be to utilise the Bristol College for South Wales and the Liverpool College for North Wales. For this kind of college you do not want any affiliation with the London University or the like, anybody may go up for his degree at the London University wherever he comes from."⁽²⁾ Such sentiments hardly endeared Principal Harper to the college promoters after their unceasing struggle since 1864 to provide Wales with a national institution of its own.

Some of the more influential witnesses were for removing the college either to North or South Wales, holding that geographically it had at the time the questionable merit of being equally inaccessible to all regions except Cardiganshire. Principal Charles Edwards conceded that it would be well to have a "science college" in Glamorgan, but hoped that the teaching of general subjects would still continue at Aberystwyth.⁽³⁾

(1) Evidence, Q. 9655, also Q. 2737.

(2) ibid. Q. 908.

(3) ibid. Q. 9603 - 9605.

While it may be agreed that the lack of funds and financial security was the greatest problem which had beset the university movement during its formative years, the effects of deep sectarian cleavages in Welsh society upon the movement should not be underestimated. Denominationalism had a pervasive influence in every direction and not least in finance. This affected higher education quite as much as it had previously affected elementary education.

The letter written by Lord Aberdare to the Prime Minister, pressing for the Inquiry, described the eight-year-old college at Aberystwyth - "altho 'unsectarian' it is mainly resorted to by Nonconformists. Of its 60 students, about 43 are preparing themselves for the Ministry of their respective denominations." The image presented by his Lordship was also the image in the mind of the public, and it had played no mean part in precluding the growth of a university - non-sectarian in scope and national in concept.

Although officially a non-denominational college, it had almost invariably been regarded as a Nonconformist institution since its inception, and throughout, it had been championed almost exclusively by Nonconformist leaders. Furthermore, in the popular, even if not in the official mind, it was regarded as a Methodist college or at least a college with a distinct Methodist bias. It is true that many of the leading supporters both in Wales and in the provincial towns of England were Methodists - the Principal was a Methodist and also one of their most prominent ministers and preachers. He was the son of Dr. Lewis Edwards and the nephew of Dr. David Charles - and this made it difficult to dismiss the

reasons which made the public think of Aberystwyth as a highly denominational college.

During the conflict between the Principal and Senate on the one hand and the College Council on the other in 1878, Archdeacon Griffiths of Neath wrote to the Principal that "if you resign at the present crisis much injury will be done, and especially if it gets wind that you have been induced to do so, in consequence of charges having been brought that you are making the College a Methodist Institution."⁽¹⁾ This was particularly strong comment from someone so well disposed towards the college, and who was largely ostracised by his fellow clergy for giving the institution his support. Nevertheless he added, "I have always felt that it would add much to the dignity of your position as Principal if you denied yourself the pleasure of serving the cause of Methodism by itinerating on Sundays. I believe your place to be at home - not inactive - but shaping yourself for public teaching that might benefit morally and religiously your students."⁽²⁾ However friendly the Archdeacon intended to be, such words hardly endeared him to the Principal, for nothing was nearer to his heart than the pulpit, and it is likely that he cherished preaching far more than his work as head of this unsectarian college.

Those hostile or unsympathetic towards the college never failed to take advantage of this love of preaching by the Principal. As already noted, the "Cambrian News" kept up its vendetta with what was almost a weekly headline of "Too much preaching," nor could J. Gibson refrain from

(1) Thos. Chas. Edwards Letters; 6135, 12/9/78.

(2) ibid.

X joining, in the chorus and lament that "students went out to preach and were announced as belonging to the University college of Wales,"⁽¹⁾ Gibson claimed that since the Principal went about the country preaching, the result was that the college was looked upon by the common people as a "training school for ministers, and was pointed at by Churchmen as a Dissenting institution."

One of these Churchmen was H. T. Edwards, Dean of Bangor, and in his evidence he said that in his "view an undenominational college is an impossibility. I consider that at the present moment the college is essentially a Calvinistic Methodist College. I know that the head of the college is a very highly respected and eloquent minister of the Calvinistic Methodist body, in fact, he is considered the greatest ornament of their body in Wales, and, in the minds of ordinary Baptists, Congregationalists and Wesleyans the fact of his being the head of the college gives to it a Calvinistic Methodist character."⁽²⁾ This was the firm opinion held by most Church people, and possibly by a large sector of the Nonconformist denominations as well. Such a sectarian reaction must have seriously impaired the national image so coveted by the founder members. Even B. T. Williams in his evidence was moved to observe that "I have great respect for the present principal of the college at Aberystwyth, but I think that institution would have been more successful if he had not been a leading minister in the Calvinistic Methodist body."⁽³⁾

(1) J. Gibson: Higher Education in Wales, 1878, 18.

(2) Evidence, Q. 2453.

(3) *ibid.* Q. 7329.

Professor W. J. Gruffydd has also referred to the "Too much preaching" slogan against the Principal, and mentioned the attitude of certain sectors at the time. "Cwynid yn ei erbyn ei fod yn rhy dueddol i edrych arno'i hunan fel 'y pregethwr mawr,' a bod ei swydd fel athro yn dioddef oherwydd hyny."⁽¹⁾ In spite of that, W. J. Gruffydd (and the Methodist Connexion) regarded T. C. Edwards as an eminently suitable person to be the first principal, and maintained that "un o brif ddyletswyddau'r swydd honno oedd addasu'r coleg at deimladau rhieni gwerinol na chlywant fawr o sôn am addysg uwchraddol o'r blaen." Gruffydd thought that the ordinary folk believed that "trwy ddolen personoliaeth y Prifathro yr oedd hyd yn oed y coleg secularaidd hwn yn rhan o'r Drefn Fawr; teimliai'r rhieni ei bod yn ddiogel iddynt anfon eu meibion i'r fath sefydliad; nid oedd berygl i ormod dysg eu hynfydu." The situation, however, was not quite as simple as Gruffydd made out, for this was not the generally accepted view at the time, and whilst it may have comforted many an anxious parent to have their sons under the pastoral care "of the great Thomas Charles Edwards, we have already seen that "religious observances of any kind at the college had greatly irritated very many others. In view of this sectarian animosity, it is not surprising that the Departmental Committee advocated a secular college with a layman as head. As one would expect, Principal T. C. Edwards, was far from pleased with this kind of observation, and immediately regarded it as a reflection upon his running of the college during the previous eight years.

(1) W. J. Gruffydd, op. cit., 24.

See also D. Williams, Thomas Charles Edwards.

Actually, however, the recommendations of the Committee had little effect upon the college in this respect, and the Methodist domination continued - for many years to come. For instance, Sir Henry Jones (for a while on the staff at Aberystwyth), when he failed to be appointed Principal of the University College of North Wales in 1884, complained, rightly or wrongly, "that the "Calvinistic Methodist influence inspired and sanctified by Principal Edwards and his father ran against me like a powerful stream."(1)

Already in this brief outline of the University movement it has been noted that there was considerable conflict of opinion, and confused thinking about the role of Aberystwyth even amongst its friends and supporters. Very many of the Nonconformist leaders who through no fault of their own had had little formal education themselves were very uncertain about the role and status of a university college and university.

By and large it may be said that the Nonconformists and Radicals were supporters of the movement and that the Anglicans and Tories tended to be unsympathetic. Such a sweeping statement tends to oversimplify the situation, but it does provide a fairly accurate overall picture during the formative years of the University movement. During the inquiry, the Nonconformist witnesses almost without exception spoke on behalf of the movement - men such as Thomas Gee, T. Merchant Williams, J. F. Roberts, Lewis Edwards, Thomas Charles Edwards and W. Cadwaldr Davies, but the members of the Established Church, nearly all the clergy, the headmasters

(1) Henry Jones: Old Memories, 171.

of the grammar schools and representatives from other universities were usually opposed to the idea of a national university. As one witness said, "The objectors to a university for Wales, as far as any observations go, come from two classes, the wealthier people who can afford the expenses of Oxford and Cambridge, and clergymen who have already a college in Wales granting degrees and who are remarkably careful to restrict its benefit to themselves and their flocks."⁽¹⁾ A perusal of the evidence, however, makes it very clear that even those who were in favour of the movement did not speak with one voice. Considerable uncertainty prevailed; witnesses were unable to decide whether to promote a teaching university or an examining university, a federal university or a unitary university.

Ever since 1863, the founder members had looked to Ireland, London or Manchester for their models. But on account of their early failure to include Lampeter in the proposed federal university, some of the promoters seem to have allowed the university project to recede into the background for a while in order to concentrate their efforts on securing a teaching college at Aberystwyth. David Charles, writing to Thomas Charles Edwards in 1872, was convinced that Gladstone "was not favourable to a Government grant for the College as such, but would sanction a grant to the University of Wales."⁽²⁾

The Departmental Committee was particularly anxious to learn from the witnesses whether or not it would be expedient to have a university for Wales with the power of granting degrees. From the inception of the Movement, this had been

(1) Evidence, Q. 13,961.

(2) Thos. Chas. Edws. Letters, 5339, 1/6/72.

the cherished dream of Hugh Owen; in this he did not waver at any time, and in his evidence he declared that "the educational machinery in Wales will be incomplete - unless the elementary, the secondary, and the higher education culminate in academic distinction." He suggested that "the ^{right} of granting degrees in arts be vested in a board of examiners to be appointed by the Crown; the board to be constituted by Royal Charter, a university to be designated "The Prince of Wales University".⁽¹⁾

Since he favoured an examining university, he thought that the "University should have no special connection with any particular college or school, but should, like the London University, examine all candidates who might present themselves for examination, provided they had conformed to the regulations of the university."⁽²⁾ By implication, he strongly favoured a federal university and took it for granted that the teaching could well be undertaken in several colleges in Wales. He was convinced that "the existence of the university would give a definite direction to the course of instruction in the several educational institutions in the country which aimed at preparing students for its degrees."⁽³⁾ He remained the champion of the university idea throughout, and as his model took the University of London - in the shadows of which he had spent most of his working *life*.

Witnesses such as Principal Harper had very little sympathy with his views, and whilst Harper hoped that

(1) Evidence Q. 344.

(2) *ibid* Q. 344.

(3) *ibid*. Q. 344.

Aberystwyth could be maintained as it then was, his foremost interest was to expand the existing facilities at Lampeter.⁽¹⁾ He would be sorry to see the formation of a University in Wales and even considered the Victoria University Manchester a great mistake! In evidence he stated, "I think that the London University and the old universities are enough for granting degrees, but, of course, I start from a very different point of view to some people. Some people would like to have many universities after the German fashion. I think that would be a very great defect in the case of England. We have got all the university appliances that we want. There are quite enough authorities giving the B.A. degree to make it an unsatisfactory degree already."⁽²⁾

This was an unpalatable viewpoint which was hardly in keeping with Welsh hopes and aspirations. Harper was an Anglican, and completely failed to appreciate or sympathise with the yearning of the Nonconformists to have an institution untrammelled by the authority of the Established Church. Holding the highly traditional and conservative opinions of the older universities, he looked upon the proliferation of provincial universities with contempt. It was fortunate for both England and Wales that his views were not very seriously entertained by the Departmental Committee. In 1880, such a policy would have been anachronistic and completely out of keeping with the growing egalitarian concepts of the second half of the nineteenth century. Harper's narrow and traditionalist views with regard to secondary education will be noted in the next chapter.

(1) Evidence. Q. 890-900.

(2) *ibid.* Q. 913.

The evidence of most of the clergy was in keeping with that of Principal Harper, and for instance, H. T. Edwards, Dean of Bangor, declared, "I myself am disposed to think that the terminus of Welsh higher education ought to be in the English Universities and not in Wales."⁽¹⁾ He could not anticipate the development of a university in Wales which would in time be comensurate with any university in England. He held the view that a university college in Wales "would hardly rise above the level of a first-rate school or grammar school."⁽²⁾

W. Cadwaladr Davies spoke with feeling ~~on~~ ^{of} establishing a University of Wales, and stated in his evidence "that it appealed to the national feeling and patriotism, and that that ought not to be lost sight of in any new arrangement that may be made."⁽²⁾ He stressed in his evidence that for "the last 25 or 30 years there has been a very strong feeling in Wales in favour of the establishment of a Welsh university. That feeling has been strengthened and inflamed, perhaps by the fact that Wales, in these matters, stands in a different position from Ireland and Scotland."⁽³⁾ He, too suggested affiliating all the existing colleges in Wales and agreed with Hugh Owen's idea of having "an examining board for degrees "and that the university should be the University of Wales."⁽⁴⁾

Even Lewis Edwards, who had vacillated throughout the years and who had not shown much enthusiasm for Aberystwyth (particularly in his private correspondence), was now "disposed to think that it would be an advantage to have a

(1) Evidence, Q. 2351.

(2) *ibid.* Q. 2363

(3) *ibid.* Q. 2734.

(4) *ibid.* 2760-2762.

university." Although he confessed "that there was a time when he thought it was unimportant," he was "now convinced that we cannot do without it."⁽¹⁾ He, too, thought that "the whole thing ought to be on the same principle as the University of London."⁽²⁾

On the other hand, B. T. Williams would have liked a unitary university - "one large and successful national institution which would have a reputation throughout the whole of the principality, rather than see two or three small colleges, which would not be a great success in themselves."⁽³⁾ Also contrary to Hugh Owen, he thought that Wales was much more in need of "teaching institutions rather than institutions with power of granting degrees." He claimed that it was far better to have a good teaching institution than a university."⁽⁴⁾ In the initial stages he would connect it with the University of London or with Oxford or Cambridge."⁽⁵⁾

As one would expect, Principal T. C. Edwards was strongly in favour of a university for Wales and in his view - "it would be a great stimulus to the whole of the education of the country to have a university as the converging point of the whole system."⁽⁶⁾ He was convinced that it would give "a stamp of unity upon the whole system of education throughout the principality which is in danger of becoming scattered and fortuitous without it!" He drew attention to the presence of "a quasi university in Wales, viz St. David's College, Lampeter, which confers one degree in arts and one

(1) Evidence Q. 6419 (Nov. 3rd. 1880)

(2) *ibid.* Q. 6419, a.

(3) *ibid.* Q. 7182.

(4) *ibid.* Q. 7190.

(5) *ibid.* Q. 7192.

(6) *ibid.* Q. 9608.

in theology." Since Lampeter was a sectarian college he did not think that those seeking secular education would readily accept it as a satisfactory national institution."⁽¹⁾ Not unnaturally, with his associations with Mersey-side, the Principal looked to Manchester for his plan for higher education. He would be pleased "to follow the plan adopted in the foundation of the Victoria University." He added, "I think there ought to be teaching in connexion with the university just as there is at Owens College in connexion with the Victoria."⁽²⁾

It was the Rev. A. J. Parry, Vice-Chairman of the Swansea School Board, who perhaps succeeded more than anyone else in providing the Departmental Committee with a succinct summary of the aspirations of the majority of Welshmen interested in the project:-

- "1. It would give completeness to the whole system of education.
- "2. It would act as a stimulus in the direction of higher culture.
- "3. Its accessibility would enlarge the number of those seeking the benefit of a university.
- "4. Its existence would raise the intellectual tone of all Wales.
- "5. It would increase rather than diminish the number of those who would go to an English university.
- "6. The existence of a degree-giving college at Lampeter is a precedent for another, and the practical restriction of that college to a small part of the community is a

(1) Evidence, Q. 9608.

(2) *ibid.* Q. 9613.

strong reason for founding another for the larger portion of the community."⁽¹⁾

Representatives from all walks of life had given their views on the past, present and future issues associated with the provision of higher education, and most problems had been thoroughly examined. The evidence, though, was highly conflicting on account of the divergencies in the loyalties and affiliations of the witnesses, but since the majority of the promoters of the Aberystwyth college and of the Welsh nation were Nonconformists, the desire for state-supported, non-denominational provision for higher education was very widespread. Yet it was evident that there still existed a lack of common understanding about the aims of higher education, and this added immensely to the task confronting the Committee.

The recommendations of the Committee on the many problems involved were eagerly anticipated. Fortunately, the country did not have to wait long as the Report was written with remarkable speed and was presented to the Lord President in August, 1881.

The recommendations of the Departmental Committee for Higher Education.

In its general recommendations the Committee was in favour of promoting provincial colleges, believing that such colleges in Wales "would be found conducive to the advancement of higher education in the country."⁽²⁾ Yet it did not wish to encourage a proliferation of colleges and suggested

(1) Report of the Departmental Committee, 1881, Vol. 1, xxxiv.

(2) ibid Vol. 1, lxvi.

the addition of only one more college in Wales, which "should be placed in Glamorganshire." Such a college was expected to meet the requirements of South Wales, "and the college at Aberystwyth, whether retained in its present site or removed to Caernarvon or Bangor, must be accepted as the college for North Wales."⁽¹⁾ This was an important declaration of policy since the Departmental Committee was thus favouring a fragmentation which was likely to lead to a federal rather than a unitary university. Conflicting opinions on this issue have prevailed in Wales ever since, and the merits and shortcomings of a federal university are still being discussed. The Aberystwyth promoters could not have been happy with the reference to the location of the college, and the recommendation was soon to cause them considerable anxiety.

On the larger question of establishing a degree-conferring university in Wales, the Committee was much more guarded in its recommendation. It fully appreciated the need for such an institution in Wales and was of the opinion that "a lesser luminary in close proximity will shed more light than a far greater orb shining from a distant sphere," and in agreement with Hugh Owen, it also endorsed the idea of "a Welsh university crowning the educational edifice."⁽²⁾ Yet cautiously it did not wish to be precipitate in recommending the establishment of a university on account of "feeling some doubt as to its chances of success if at once called into existence." In particular, it viewed with some concern the monopoly then held by St. David's College, Lamp^eter, for

(1) Report of the Departmental Committee, Vol. 1, lxvi.

(2) ibid lxviii.

granting degrees, and it appreciated that the Welsh Nonconformists could not regard "with complacency or contentment the possession of such a monopoly by an institution connected with the Church of a minority of the population."⁽¹⁾

To the great annoyance of Anglicans, the Committee even suggested that the "charter conferred on St. David's College should be withdrawn, and that in substitution for it a new charter should be granted whereby the power of conferring degrees should be given to a syndicate or board, consisting of representatives in equal numbers of the governing bodies of St. David's College, the University College at Aberystwyth, and any other college, being a place of advanced secular instruction, which may be affiliated for the purpose."⁽²⁾

For the promoters at Aberystwyth, much more immediate and important was the recommendation that "resource shall be had to a parliamentary grant towards the maintenance of the colleges. In no other way so far as we can see will it be possible to maintain them."⁽³⁾ This was a vital declaration of policy which was to safeguard the position of higher education in Wales. After so many years of weary toil collecting subscriptions, nothing could have brought greater satisfaction to Hugh Owen. The Committee realised that voluntary subscriptions would not be "forthcoming in anything like an adequate amount" to support the Welsh colleges. It estimated that a "yearly grant of £4,000 to each college would with receipts from students' fees amply suffice for the payment of the professional staff and generally for the efficient maintenance of the institution."⁽⁴⁾ This recommendation was of the greatest significance.

(1) & (2) Report of the Departmental Committee, Vol. 1, lxviii.
 (3) & (4) *ibid.*

The Committee, also conscious that one of the more serious handicaps hindering progress at Aberystwyth was the inadequate provision for intermediate education, realised that until such time as this defect should be remedied, the success of the higher institutions could only be partial. Their recommendations for future developments in this sector will be considered in the next chapter.

With regard to the nature of the curricula and training at these Welsh colleges, it was significant that the Committee agreed with the policy of some of the founder members. It recommended that "the more practical the education, the more it takes account of the requirements of commercial or professional life, the more it will be in demand amongst the people who, in all the efforts they make and the sacrifices they undergo, have very definitely before them the importance of fitting themselves for a career."⁽¹⁾ Hugh Owen and his professional colleagues in London, and wealthy industrialists such as David Davies of Llandinam must have greatly approved of such sentiments. It is unlikely that Lewis Edwards, David Charles or Principal H. D. Harper would take kindly to such a recommendation.

In keeping with the opinions of many Nonconformist witnesses, the Committee too agreed that "the colleges should be altogether unsectarian, and should not undertake to provide any kind of theological instruction." It was equally adamant that "the principal should, in every case, be a layman."⁽²⁾ This suggestion hurt the Rev. T. C. Edwards more than anyone, for he regarded the suggestion as a criticism of his tenure in office rather than as a general directive

(1) (2) Report of the Departmental Committee, Vol. 1, lxviii.

against creating a denominational bias in association with any of the colleges.

On the whole, these general recommendations were very well received in Wales, particularly by the Nonconformists, but one could hardly expect the Anglicans to look upon them with any degree of enthusiasm. Many Nonconformists, though, did not think that the Report was assertive enough, and T. Marchant Williams, speaking to the Cymmrodorion Section of the Merthyr Eisteddfod in 1881, wished that the Report had been much more "emphatic" and more "demanding" on behalf of Wales. He observed that the "Report has been most skilfully worded, for every sentence bears upon itself the impress of studied care and deliberate sifting. The document bristles with phrases indicative of diplomatic caution, doubt and hesitation, and it is quite refreshing to stumble occasionally upon a word or phrase signifying what, in the opinion of the Committee, ought to be done, or must be done. It is evident that they considered it their duty to avoid the appearance of dogmatic infallibility, and it would seem that decided opinion should not be expressed by them on the minor details of their scheme, for these will have to be finally decided upon by those who may be appointed to develop and work it. A little more decision in some parts would perhaps be acceptable to the country - and a few more 'musts' instead of 'mays' and 'mights' "(1) This was a sound and perceptive comment with which most enthusiastic exponents of high education would agree.

Not unexpectedly, the reaction of the Tory Anglican "Western Mail" was not very favourable. On the publication

(1) Western Mail, Sept. 1, 1881.

of the Report, it complained in its leader, "We are fain to confess that a perusal of the report in its entirety has inspired us with a feeling of disappointment, and we have little doubt that the public will share that feeling."⁽¹⁾ It was particularly critical of the recommendations with regard to intermediate education but admitted that the "mode in which the Committee deals with the question of Higher or University Education is less open to adverse comment."

A writer with the pseudonym "Ap Tudor" wrote a series of articles in the "Western Mail" shortly after the appearance of the Report and found the views of the Committee quite unacceptable and their recommendations most imprudent. He observed that "it is clear to an impartial reader that the Committee whilst preparing the report were labouring under the influence of the dread of the political Nonconformists. They saw what the country wanted, but lacked the courage to speak out."⁽³⁾ He compared the Report with "the compilation of the 'Book of Common Prayer,' the committee of which was composed of representatives of Geneva and Rome, where one sentence follows another having totally different meaning. So in the Report of the Education Committee do we find a paragraph bearing the impress of Mr. Henry Richard, followed by another having a striking likeness to Canon Robinson." He claimed that "this unfortunate contradiction ran through the report, indicating the presence in the Committee of powerful antagonistic influences - one representing culture, and the other the absence of culture!"⁽⁴⁾ In his opinion, "the report is so full of inconsistencies, apologies and

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- (1) Western Mail, Aug. 24, 1881.
 - (2) ibid Sept. 9, 1881.
 - (3) ibid Sept. 5, 1881.
 - (4) ibid Aug. 24, 1881.

illogical conclusions that the whole thing must be thoroughly sifted and made clear before Mr. Mundella decides on what course he may adopt."⁽¹⁾ These were the extreme views of a jaundiced beholder, for it is likely that most of the shortcomings in the writing of the Report could be attributed "to the speed and urgency with which it was prepared for presentation.

The "Western Mail" had hitherto in its general vendetta against Aberystwyth not missed a single opportunity of exploiting its misfortunes or shortcomings, and it now objected "most strongly to the attempt" on the part of the Departmental Committee "to bolster up the Aberystwyth College with a grant of £4,000 per annum." Since in its opinion 'for all purposes of really higher education, in the generally accepted sense of the term, it has been and must be a failure."⁽²⁾

Like most critics at the time, it joined in condemning its location which was such "as to render its success absolutely impossible." Consequently, it maintained that "if the Committee had suggested its removal to Caernarvon they would have satisfied the North Walian. As it is, they are throwing away £4,000 a year on a hopeless enterprise and will cause untold disappointment and chagrin to the people of North Wales who will never recognise in Aberystwith a College suited to their local needs."⁽³⁾ Unhappily for Aberystwyth, this prognostication was only too true.

"Ap Tudur," too, examined the denominational issue and claimed that the "Welsh people never took kindly to the

(1) Western Mail, 5/9/81.

(2) ibid. 24/8/81.

(3) ibid 5/9/81.

college" and although "the different denominations at the quarterly and annual outings had no objection to pass resolutions in its favour - that was all."⁽¹⁾ It was most certainly not all. The Nonconformist denominations had contributed most generously, and only a bigoted observer could have made such an unwarranted remark. Although he allowed that "some of the leading ministers of the Calvinistic Methodists openly advocated the college," he quite wrongly maintained that the "Independents and Baptists took no interest whatever in it." He was nearer the mark when he added "and with the exception of the Rector of Neath, the Church of England was indifferent."

After all this criticism, "Ap Tudur" eventually showed his hand and argued that "Cardiff is the only town in Wales where the conditions named.... are possible to be realised"⁽²⁾ The "Western Mail" was not only the mouthpiece of the Established Church and the Tory Party in their opposition to the Nonconformists and Liberals who were involved in promoting Aberystwyth, but was also anti-Aberystwyth in its policy.

The recommendations of the Departmental Committee for Higher Education were carried out most expeditiously. (It was not so in Intermediate Education as will be seen in the next chapter.) The Government agreed that there should be two colleges for Wales - a college in North Wales which could either be the existing college at Aberystwyth, or it could be removed to some spot in North Wales, and the other was to be in South Wales, possibly at Cardiff or Swansea. The Government also accepted the recommendation that a yearly grant of £4,000 was necessary to maintain each of the two colleges.

(1) & (2) Western Mail, 5/9/81.

Unfortunately, Hugh Owen was not to see his life's ambition realised in this respect, for Aberystwyth - ostensibly as the college for North Wales - did not receive its first grant until a year later, in the Autumn of 1882. In October of that year it received £2,000 from the State. It was quite an historic event, it was the first grant ever made by the State towards a Welsh university college. Similarly, a year later the University College at Cardiff, founded in 1883, received an annual grant of £4,000 as the college for South Wales.

The great pleasure and relief of the Aberystwyth authorities was, however, short lived, for to their chagrin and despair they were informed during 1883 that it had been decided to establish a new University College in North Wales at Bangor. Aberystwyth was not to be accepted as the North Wales college. The University College of North Wales was opened at Bangor in 1884, and this meant that Aberystwyth was to lose its newly-found annual grant of £4,000, and once again its ~~future~~ future was in dire peril.

This turn of events gave rise to considerable indignation throughout the land, and in the face of much pressure from inside and outside the House of Commons, Gladstone yielded on this issue and made an annual grant of £2,500 to the Aberystwyth College for the next five years - provided that £1,000 could be raised annually from friends of the college. This was a very demanding condition, and in view of all the Gladstonian blandishments during the previous decade, this was a particularly niggardly award. As far as Aberystwyth was concerned, Gladstone remained "a man of

promises." Consequently, whereas the two new colleges - Cardiff and Bangor - each received £4,000 a year from the State, the pioneer college at Aberystwyth, very unhappily, was to get just over a half of that amount - it was no longer even regarded as being permanent in character. Aberystwyth seemed doomed to many more years of financial stringency and a shoe-string budget, but luckily, with the change of Government in 1885, there was also a change of heart. In response to much further public and parliamentary pressure, the Government eventually yielded, and in the House of Commons, on August 22nd, 1885, Edward Stanhope, the Vice-president of the Council, announced "That Her Majesty's Government had, after careful consideration come to the conclusion that Aberystwyth might reasonably claim to be treated in the same manner as Cardiff and Bangor, and that the grant to Aberystwyth ought to be raised to the same amount as that now given in these two cases - namely £4,000 a year." At long last, Aberystwyth was placed on a reasonably sound financial footing for the first time in its history, and it was only then that it was able to proceed with some confidence with its plans for the future. There inevitably arose much apprehension whether the three Welsh colleges were really necessary, and there were many who felt anything but confident about their future. Yet once a reliable and secure annual grant by the State had been assured, the three young colleges expanded with speed and confidence.

The unhappy years of insecure income based on voluntary subscriptions were over. It was a great pity that Hugh Owen did not live to see the day when the State at last,

to some extent, recognised his efforts. As the champion of state-aiders throughout the century, he would have regarded this concession as a very fitting climax to his years of toil.

It has been noted that the Departmental Committee was most guarded in its recommendations on the question of a degree-granting university, but within a short period of setting-up three university colleges on a fairly sound financial footing, a Second University Movement soon emerged. Since the Committee had not accepted Hugh Owen's plea for the simultaneous establishment of a degree-conferring University, the realisation of Welsh hopes did not seem imminent, although the federal idea had already been adopted in England shortly before the Committee had even started on its inquiry.

A great longing closely associated with national sentiment and national aspirations made Welsh leaders continue to seek the establishment of a national University of Wales. As a result of the fragmentation advocated by the Departmental Committee, it was realised that the three university colleges tended to exist as isolated units and seemed doomed to serve as preparatory schools for the degrees of the University of London for years to come.

With the consequent growth of these three regional university colleges, the only solution seemed to be the creation of a federal university as proposed a quarter of a century earlier by Nicholas and Hugh Owen. Yet, nearly a decade passed before the authorities of the three university colleges moved to produce a Charter to Constitute the University of Wales, in 1891 and 1892. After lengthy deliberations, the Charter eventually received the Royal Assent

on 30th November, 1893 - thirty years after Hugh Owen and his colleagues had launched the first University movement. The educational edifice had been given its crown at last - the founders' dream had come true.

CONCLUSION

Nag enaint gwerthfawr, enw da
Sydd well, sydd lawer angen;
Tra Chymry a Chymro y parhâ
Yr enw - Syr Hugh Owen.(1)

The contribution of Hugh Owen to the whole university movement was quite monumental; no man ever gave more freely of his time, effort and energy to promote an ideal. It is difficult to appreciate that throughout these years of unparalleled devotion up to the autumn of 1872, Hugh Owen was a highly placed civil servant and that all his educational work was but a leisure-time pre-occupation. One too often tends to regard him as a full-time organiser and director of educational services for Wales.

From 1863, if not from 1854, he became the driving force of the whole university movement. It was he who convened the first meeting of likely associates, and it was he who was the ever-present link in all the subsequent meetings associated with the movement until his death. In the innumerable committees before and after the opening of Aberystwyth, he was invariably in attendance and became much involved in the whole affair. When men of less resilient fibre suddenly found it necessary to withdraw their support, it was Hugh Owen who courageously soldiered on until success was achieved.

When one considers the time he spent in attending

(1) Y Drysorfa, 1881; p. 353.

committees, in corresponding, in travelling, in canvassing, in addressing public meetings and in collecting money, one is filled with admiration for the sheer stamina and energy of the man. He undertook these duties for all but a score of years and they must have made inordinate demands upon his health.

Fortunately for him and for Wales, his great gift for selecting suitable and able men served him well in the movement. His associates in London and Wales, irrespective of calling, creed or even party, were skilfully deployed in promoting his well-laid plans. Many observers testify that Hugh Owen was the central figure in their midst throughout the campaign. The "Geninen" succinctly reports that "Syr Hugh Owen oedd gyfrifol, ac ef oedd arian byw y mudiadau mawr ynglŷn â Chymru y blynyddoedd hynny."⁽¹⁾ Similarly Vincent Evans agreed that during this period "Syr Hugh Owen oedd cychwynydd bron bob symudiad cenedlaethol o bwys ac oddiwrtho ef y deuai y rhan fwyaf o'r ysbrydiaeth a'r penderfyniad anghenrheidiol i'w gario ymlaen." Evans bore testimony to his ability to co-ordinate the efforts of various London Welshmen from diverse fields to help him further his plans - "ef i fesur mawr enillodd Lewis Morris y bardd, Stephen Evans y masnachwr, John Griffith y Gohebydd, Brinley Richards y cerddor, John Thomas y telynwr, Robert Jones (Rotherhithe) y clerigwr, Joseph Edwards y cerflunydd, Cadwaladr Davies y llenor a Roland Phillips yr hanesydd i weithgarwch byw ac egniol dros eu gwlad."⁽²⁾ These were only a few of the many who contributed to the ultimate success of his schemes.

(1) & (2) Y Geninen, Mawrth 1, 1915, 2.

It has become common-place to claim that the university movement in Wales was a democratic movement initiated by the ordinary people of the Principality, and that it was "the outcome of what may properly be called a national movement, the fruit of patriotic enterprise and voluntary effort." However, the movement really originated in London. It was the successful London Welshmen who actually launched the movement and who in spite of many difficulties were mainly responsible for sustaining the movement until it was firmly on the road to success.

Initially, the university movement would not even be regarded as being democratic in outlook or intent. It will be recalled that the early statements and manifestoes issued periodically by the London promoters could not be claimed to be democratic in tone. At the inception of the movement, its exclusiveness for the benefit of the middle classes was unashamedly and even blatantly emphasized by the London promoters. This exclusiveness was not to disappear until it was realised that the upper classes, the wealthy and the landlords of Wales had little sympathy for the movement. It was the unique interest and support from the labouring classes that was to give the university its democratic character.

From about 1860 until his death, Hugh Owen also devoted considerable attention to the Eisteddfod, and throughout those crucial years, he made the fullest possible use of the Eisteddfod to promote the university movement. Owen believed that the Eisteddfod should be an educational institution and that it should be "reconstituted on a basis

similar to that of the Social Science Association and be devoted mainly to the discussion of subjects similar to those embraced by that Association."⁽¹⁾

The Freemason's Tavern in Great Queen Street was to become the starting place of some of the most important Welsh cultural and educational movements during the nineteenth century, and it was within its walls that the University of Wales movement was nurtured and the Second and Third Cymmrodorion Societies were born.⁽²⁾ Gohebydd and Hugh Owen were the two founders of the Third Cymmrodorion Society in 1873,⁽³⁾ and it would be impossible to exaggerate the influence of members of this Society upon the movement for higher education. It was at a meeting of the Social Science Section in 1863, that Nicholas at Owen's request read a paper which led to the formation of the university movement.

In this project, too, Owen was given invaluable support in publicising his plans and in conditioning public opinion by certain sectors of the Welsh press. Some of these journals, such as the "Traethodydd," "Eurgrawn" and "Drysorfa," and weeklies such as the "Welshman" and "Baner ac Amserau Cymru," gave sterling support to his appeals throughout the years.

Yet of all the agencies employed by him to further the cause of higher education in Wales, none was as important as the use he made of the Welsh M.P.'s after 1868. Throughout

(1) NLW. MSS. Nefydd, 9369 E.

(2) The National Eisteddfod Association, First Annual Report, Oct., 1881.

(3) R. T. Jenkins and H. Ramage, History of the Cymmrodorion Society, 49.

the years he was loyally supported by such men as George Osborne Morgan, Morgan Lloyd, Henry Richard, J. H. Puleston and Hussey Vivian. Without the support of these politicians Owen's plans would have foundered.

Nevertheless, it was seen that Owen was not altogether popular with several of those with whom he had to associate in promoting the university movement. In particular, he fell foul of most academics - Dr. David Thomas, Dr. Thomas Nicholas, Dr. David Charles and even Dr. Lewis Edwards. It is not easy to explain this particular weakness, except in so far as academics and administrators so often fail to work together. He was not a university man himself and possibly failed to understand the values, attitudes and concepts of these men, and it is known that he had scant regard for academics as administrators. To the chagrin of the academic staff at Aberystwyth, he was prone to run the college as a civil service department from London. Yet, the late Sir Emrys Evans was convinced that "Without the touch of ruthlessness that went with his clear-sighted realism, Hugh Owen would not have performed the overwhelmingly difficult task to which he had set his mind, nor can he be blamed for hesitating to entrust to others commissions which he had good reason to doubt their ability or their will to discharge effectively."⁽¹⁾

After his death in 1881, the Aberystwyth College Council at their meeting on December 21st passed a resolution to place on record their great indebtedness to him for his remarkable dedication to that institution. The resolution recorded:

(1) Sir D. Emrys Evans, University of Wales: Historical Sketch, 20.

"That the Council desire to express their deep sorrow for the loss of their late colleague and Treasurer, Sir Hugh Owen, and at the same time to record their gratitude for the inestimable services he rendered to the cause of education, and more especially to the Uni. Coll. of Wales, of which he was a chief founder, and which has owed its continued existence and career of usefulness no less to his energy and resources than to the confidence and enthusiasm with which his pure and noble character inspired his fellow-countrymen of all classes and denominations. By the Council his loss, as a wise and sagacious counsellor and as a guide in delicate and difficult circumstances will long be keenly felt; while his memory will be tenderly and affectionately cherished by them for his kindly and genial qualities, for his generosity of character, and warmth of heart."⁽¹⁾

(1) University College of Wales Report, 1881/82, 11.

CHAPTER EIGHT

TOWARDS A WELSH SYSTEM OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

Hugh Owen had been instrumental in establishing a network of elementary schools, two training colleges and a university college in Wales before he turned his attention to the provision of secondary education. Elementary schools and university education had similarly been given prior attention in England during the nineteenth century and provision for state secondary education came last in both countries. England, however, was already provided with many old endowed grammar schools and the need for further provision was less pressing than in Wales.

During the Tudor Period, eighteen independent and collegiate grammar schools had been established in the Principality, as for example at Brecon in 1531, Abergavenny in 1534 and Bangor Friars in 1569 - and the provision "for a population of about 350,000, was approximately at the rate of one Grammar school for every 20,000 of the general population; in other words, it was about twice the corresponding provision in the middle of the nineteenth century, with its 32 grammar schools for a population of approximately 1,286,000."⁽¹⁾ This was grossly inadequate and was the cause of much dissatisfaction.

To aggravate the position further, the few endowed grammar schools which existed in Wales during the first half

(1) The Public Schools. Board of Education, 1942; 87.

of the nineteenth century had a very precarious existence. "Some of them died of inanition, while others owing to gross malversation of funds or to the incompetence and indolence of their headmasters were on the verge of decay."⁽¹⁾ One of the most notorious examples of an ancient foundation that was closed and deserted for many years was the grammar school at Llanrwst, and one of its illustrious pupils, Ieuan Glan Geirionydd (1795-1855), in his later years described it as a place haunted by bats, "where erst the strains of Homer and of melodious Virgil were sounded."⁽²⁾

In the same year as Hugh Owen wrote his letter to the Welsh Nonconformists on the need for elementary schools, Owen Owen Roberts circulated an address to the Dissenters and Nonconformists of North Wales on the need for grammar schools for the humble folk of the Principality. Roberts claimed that "immense annual revenues" had been placed at the disposal of the Bishops and Clergy for the educational benefit of the lower and poorer classes, and he maintained that "in 99 cases out of every 100" the clergy had "grossly betrayed the trust reposed in them" since the "poor derive no benefit whatever from the princely estates and enormous revenues left to educate them."⁽³⁾

Neither this accusation nor the lack of provision for secondary education seem to have attracted the attention of Hugh Owen at the time, although there was a steady growth of interest in secondary education even as early as the 1840's.

(1) W. C. Davies & C. L. Jones, The University of Wales, 56.

(2) "Ystlum a'u mud ehediad
Sy'n gwau eu hwydrwm hynt
Lle pyncid cerddi Homer
A Vergil geinber gynt."

Ieuan Glan Geirionydd.

(3) O. O. Roberts, The Church and Education: An address to the Dissenters and Nonconformists of North Wales, 1843, 6.

Owen was already heavily committed during these years to the founding of British Schools, to providing facilities for teacher training and later to the establishment of higher education. He, however, could not possibly have failed to appreciate the pleas for secondary schools made from time to time by several prominent leaders in Welsh affairs. But he could not have coped with the launching of yet another massive project during the middle years of the century. This makes it necessary to trace very briefly the main developments in this sector of education until he finally got to grips with it during the mid-seventies.

In 1849, Lewis Edwards expressed sentiments similar to those of Ieuan Glan Geirionydd about the deplorable state of many Welsh grammar schools, and he would have liked to see the endowments of the old foundations revived for their original purpose. "Byddai yn chwildroad cyffredinol yn myd y pryf copyn, yr hwn sydd yn awr wedi cymeryd meddiant o lawer hen ysgoldŷ enwog; ac os digwyddai i ambell un fod yn ddigon cyfrwys i lechu yn guddiedig yng nghanol y dinystyr a oddiweddai ei dŷ a'i dylwyth, nid bychan yn ddiau fyddai ei syndod wrth glywed iaith ardderchog yr hen Homer yn cael ei pharablu unwaith eto, swm yr hon sydd yn ddigon i swyno creadur direswm."⁽¹⁾

Edwards was anxious to establish good grammar schools in Wales to provide thorough training in Latin and Greek, though as yet no serious plans had been mooted to establish facilities for higher education in the Principality. Ambitiously, he maintained that a good grammar school without affiliation to any religious or political body ought to be established

(1) Y Traethodydd, 1849, 350.

in each county. He particularly cherished the early founding of schools such as Rugby or Llandovery, or even such as those old institutions which had existed at Ystradmeurig and Castellhywel forty years previously. Such sentiments, however, found little support at the time.⁽¹⁾

Edwards was convinced that the greatest obstacle to the founding of grammar schools was the prevailing low opinion of the value of education and culture among the Welsh people. If they could be convinced of the great value of education he was confident that this gap in the educational system would soon disappear.⁽²⁾

Sir Thomas Phillips, writing in 1849 also believed that the "extensive decay of grammar schools in Wales has been brought about partly by the influence of social changes and natural causes, and partly by the defective government to which they are subjected and the imperfect provision made by our own law for the correction of abuses to which they are exposed."⁽³⁾ His claims were probably true, and might well account for the seemingly unbridgeable gap between such schools and the mass of Welsh people.

The Nonconformists already resented the control of the Church over the old grammar schools. "Most if not all, of these foundations were governed by Churchmen, and few besides sons of Church parents or proteges of the clergy and the landed gentry were educated in them. Dissenters who set any value on their distinctive religious principles were obliged to look elsewhere for the education of their children, and during the first half of the century a goodly number of

(1) Y Traethodydd, 1849, 348.

(2) ibid. 350.

(3) Sir Thomas Phillips, Wales, 1849, 379.

private-adventure schools, conducted mostly by Nonconformist ministers, were established in the more populous districts. Several of these denominational, or, as some of them might be styled, undenominational 'academics' provided what was, for the time, quite a respectable education, and many of the most eminent Welshmen of the nineteenth century owed to them their first intellectual stimulus."⁽¹⁾

The "Traethodydd" in consequence, again in 1850, urged the Welsh people to provide post-primary education, but asserted, "rhaid profi i'r Cymry werthfawrogrwydd addysg cyn y ceir ganddynt wneyd ebyrth ac ymdrechion digonol er mwyn eu plant."⁽²⁾ It gave high praise to Llandovery School (founded in 1848 by Sir Thomas Phillips), - and in the opinion of the writer, "dylid ei hystyried ni debygem fel ysgol ar gyfer, yn benaf, y rhai sydd yn bwriadu ymaflyd yn un o'r galwedigaethau dysgedig fel y cyfryw; mae iddi ei lle, a'r lle uchaf yn ddiau fel sefydliad paratoawl i'r prifysgolion. A chyn byth y llwyddwn ni i sefydlu prifysgol Gymreig rhaid cyfodi nifer o ysgolion cyffelyb ..."⁽³⁾

Yet the writer correctly surmised that a classical education of this kind would meet the needs of the few only, and in referring to Llandovery, stated that it was not a school designed for the children of farmers and tradesmen - who did not need a training in Latin and Greek. He maintained that they were in far greater need of a knowledge of English, Mathematics, Botany and agricultural studies. This was a very reasonable even if a materialistic plea for a new

(1) W. C. Davies & C. L. Jones, The University of Wales, 58.

(2) Y Traethodydd, 1850, 59.

(3) *ibid.* 62.

type of secondary education with a wider curriculum than that provided by the ancient grammar school.

A year later, the "Traethodydd" was showing considerable interest in residential grammar schools, and especially schools for the sons of ministers, and was of the opinion that it would be most beneficial for boys to reside for three or four years in a school away from the home district.⁽¹⁾ This again, was a most ambitious policy, but it would be attractive to a few only, and would not touch the mass of Welsh children.

In any case, it had already become the custom of the landed gentry, of the emerging industrialists, and even of the professional classes in Wales to send their boys to residential grammar schools in England, and the Taunton Commission attributed the habit to a desire of parents to free their children from any peculiarities which they identified as Welsh.⁽²⁾ Consequently, the fate of the grammar schools of Wales of necessity depended upon the efforts of a few enlightened individuals who wished to provide for post-primary education of a more modest kind. Unfortunately, many able people among Nonconformist ministers and the Clergy were too involved in denominational wrangling over elementary schools to pay adequate attention to the needs of secondary education.

Writers in the denominational journals did much to publicise the need for secondary education, and tried to convince public opinion that secondary schools were really desirable and necessary. Lewis Edwards, in 1856 stressed that even if Wales was covered with British Schools, and even if a training

(1) Y Traethodydd, 1851, 510.

(2) Report of the Taunton Commission, VIII, 8.

College

were to be founded at Bangor, it would not in any way eliminate the need to establish good grammar schools so as to provide a thorough training in language and mathematics well above that in a British School.⁽¹⁾

These sentiments would not exactly have endeared him to Hugh Owen, who was then so hard pressed in promoting a teachers' training college in Wales. Furthermore, it seemed that Edwards was advocating schools of a rather high academic standing which would most probably have held very little attraction for the bulk of the Welsh people at that time.

During the fifties, residential schools for girls were founded at Llandaff and Denbigh by the Howell Charity Trust, and attempts were also made within the very narrow limits then sanctioned by law and public opinion, to put new life into some of the old grammar schools. Thus "between the year 1850 and the passing of the Endowed Schools Act, 1869, schemes were drawn up for the reform of seven of these foundations by the Court of Chancery, and for an equal number by the Charity Commissioners."⁽²⁾

In a leading article in the "Fanner" in October, 1858, it was said that the children of the poor were being shut out entirely from sharing in the charitable institutions set up for their benefit and it demanded to know how the poor could find fees of 4 guineas to enter such schools. In its opinion, their English and Anglican character made them unattractive to the Welsh Nonconformists, and it blamed the Established Church for the exclusion of the working class children from such schools. It maintained that the sectarian hostility

(1) Lewis Edwards, Traethodau Diwinyddol, 457-459.

(2) Special Report on Educational Subjects, Vol. 2, H.M.S.O., 1898, 4.

which had hitherto coloured the atmosphere in elementary education was now operating in the secondary sphere as well, and alleged that in some of the old grammar schools class distinction was so marked that schools like Llanrwst and Denbigh had no sons of working men among their pupils although new schemes had recently brought certain improvements.⁽¹⁾ This was a dismal but accurate picture of the state of secondary education in the country during the mid-century years.

Hugh Owen, since 1854, had been preoccupied with the idea of establishing a university college or a Queen's College on the Irish model in Wales,^{but} no real progress was made for eight or nine years. To his surprise, however, there appeared in the "Cambrian Daily Leader" and the "Caernarvon Herald," during 1862, a series of letters which discussed the need for "Middle and High Schools as well as a University for Wales." It will be recalled that these letters, by the Rev. Thomas Nicholas, were subsequently republished in pamphlet form, were widely circulated in the Principality, and aroused considerable interest in the provision of secondary education for the "middle classes."

In his first letter, Nicholas urged that the "time is surely not far distant when something shall be done for middle and high school education in Wales an education suited to the exigencies of the middle and higher classes of our population, and supplied in something approaching to an adequate quantity."⁽²⁾ He claimed that all "persons of discernment can see that, relatively, the humbler class of

(1) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, October, 15; 1858.

(2) Rev. Thomas Nicholas, Middle and High Schools and a University for Wales, 1863, 7.

children are now better educated than the higher, and all will acknowledge that our proper intellectual growth and due progress as a nation must depend on something being done to correct this serious anomaly."⁽¹⁾

The sentiments and tone of the letter fully reflect the Victorian pre-occupation with the class structure of society. It was the characteristic attitude of the period, particularly in England, to pay exaggerated attention to all educational needs in relation to the class structure of society. This was a view which led to the Clarendon Report of 1864 and which defined the seven major public schools, and the Taunton Report of 1868 which classified other endowed schools into three grades to meet the needs of different social strata.

The Welsh exiles in London who were interested in educational problems were also very imbued with this social distinction, and they regarded elementary schooling as being quite ample to meet the needs of the labouring classes. This may in part, at least, explain the attitude and tardy attention even of Hugh Owen to this particular sector of education in Wales. The only London philanthropist during the nineteenth century to endow a Welsh grammar school was Thomas Phillips, although many London Welshmen were then prepared to give financial aid towards founding a college or university so as to provide higher education for the middle classes.

Nicholas, who was very concerned about the education of the middle-classes, deplored the fact that "the children of farmers, of small shop keepers, of the lower grades of professional men, of those engaged in non-lucrative Government

(1) *ibid*, 7.

and other offices - in a word, - the future directors and proprietors de jure of our agricultural, commercial and manufacturing interests - excluded from these common schools, as not being 'poor' enough, and denied the more expensive boarding-schools as they were 'too poor' to meet the charges, are left, in numberless cases, to the tender mercies of the sorriest and most inefficient private establishments."⁽¹⁾

Nicholas returned to this Victorian concept in his fifth letter when he pleaded that the "voice which so loudly and urgently calls our country to action, is that of the badly educated thousands of our respectable youth, and of the grave interests which a nation may gain or forfeit through the liberal or defective training of its better conditioned and most gifted sons."⁽²⁾ With this defect in mind, Nicholas wished to establish a system of "Middle and High School" for the education of the "middle and higher classes" and proceeded to define their "character and place."

He regarded the "Middle School" as a "school imparting a sound practical education on self-supporting principles, but at a strictly moderate cost. It opens its door to the farmer, the shopkeeper, the trader, and humbler professional men, and offers branches of instruction which the National and British School does not profess to give, but which are essential as introductory steps to the High School and University, or to the higher walks of commercial employment,"⁽³⁾ and he considered that "one such school established in each county, on the 'proprietary', or on the 'limited liability' principle, would prove an inestimable blessing."⁽⁴⁾

(1) Ibid., p. 10.

(2) Ibid p. 26.

(3) Ibid. p. 26

(4) Ibid. p. 26.

On the other hand, his "High School" was to be a much more exclusive institution. Here, Nicholas was very ambitious and claimed that it should be "fitted to impart such education as would carry the more aspiring student through the ordeal of the most searching examinations and of university graduation," and that "this school should be in its structure more thoroughly collegiate, and should afford facilities for the most liberal style of education."⁽¹⁾ He also thought that two schools of this kind should be established in Wales. These letters not only attracted a great deal of attention in Wales, but also the interest of Hugh Owen, yet at that stage the idea of establishing a University College in Wales appealed far more to him than the exhortation to build Middle and High Schools.

It is worth noting that when Thomas Gee, two years later in 1865, opposed a scheme proposed by the Charty Commissioners for the Grammar school at Denbigh, he immediately approached Hugh Owen for advice. In other words, Owen was not unaware at the time of the problems associated with secondary education. Not only was he able to define exactly the authority of the Commissioners to Thomas Gee, but also exhorted him to engage a Queen's Counsel to oppose them. Advising Gee to start a fund for this purpose, he added, "Rhof fy mhunt at yr achos fy hun."⁽²⁾

Lewis Edwards had not been happy with the pre-occupation of people like Hugh Owen with the founding of a Welsh university, and he advocated the establishment of a good grammar schools in the first instance. He was convinced that the mere

(1) *ibid.* p. 27.

(2) T. Gwyn Jones, *op. cit.*, 198.

label of "College" or "university" was unduly attractive to some people, "ac y mae yn bur debyg fod yr enw hwn yn tynnu mwy o sylw na phe sonid yn unig am gael dwy ysgol dda, un yn y Gogledd a'r llall yn y Deheubarth." (1)

Neither was the government of the day altogether happy about the gap which existed in the educational ladder between the elementary schools and the Universities - hence the appointment of the Schools Inquiry Commission under Lord Taunton to investigate the condition of the endowed grammar schools in England and Wales. Between 1853 and 1869, the reform of the old endowed grammar schools had been the responsibility of the Charity Commissioners, but they could only act at the request of school trustees. Progress had thus been limited in scope and unsatisfactory in outcome.

Most of the proposals made in the Taunton Report were too revolutionary for the period and the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 implemented but a few of its suggestions. However, an Endowed Schools Commission was set-up to re-organise some of the old endowed grammar schools. Three Commissioners and six Assistant Commissioners were appointed, and the North of England and North Wales were assigned to Canon. H. G. Robinson and the Midlands and South Wales to Lord Lyttleton.

From the Welsh point of view, two aspects of the Taunton Report were of note. In the first place, the general policy of the Commission with regard to the type of secondary schools which should be provided was very interesting. The Report suggested that there should be three grades of schools providing education at the secondary level. In the First Grade

(1) "Y Traethodydd," 1865, 142.

Schools, the pupils would continue with their education up to 18 or 19 years of age, in the Second Grade schools up to about 16 years of age, and in the Third Grade Schools they would leave at 14 years of age.⁽¹⁾ Each type of school according to the Commissioners should have a separate curriculum and distinctive goals.

Secondly, with these grades of school in mind, the Report concluded that in order to bring the best secondary education within the reach of parents, there should be provision ultimately in towns for not less than 16 boys per 1,000 of the population, that is in every town large enough to maintain a day school it was desirable that there should be at once provision for 10 boys per 1,000 population, with a power of extension, and that of the whole presumed demand, one-half at least should be assigned to the requirements of the third grade."⁽²⁾

After these general principles had been put forward, another aspect of considerable interest was a survey of the provision for this type of education in Wales. Clearly, it was ~~not~~ nowhere near the ratio suggested by the Commissioners, for the population of Wales at the time was 1,286,413, and there was only 36 places in the Principality with grammar schools endowments, and the total number of scholars in all these schools excluding elementary was given as 1,136.⁽³⁾

The Taunton Report showed that in the moorland fastness of the Welsh heartland and in the Llŷn Peninsula almost every old foundation was either closed, or was not better than an elementary school. Elsewhere though, along the northern

(1) Report of the Taunton Commission, Vol. I, 15.

(2) ibid Vol I, 15.

(3) ibid Vol. V. 99.

seaboard, and in the fertile valleys, as well as in the South Wales counties, the grammar schools almost without exception continued to give grammar school education.

Judged by statistics alone, the results of the Endowed Schools Act, 1869, during the 10 years that elapse between its passing and the appointment of the Aberdare Committee in 1880 were not very remarkable. "Its implementation caused much controversy in Wales. Both the Endowed Schools Commission and the Charity Commission (who took over the work after the amending Act of 1874) found it almost impossible to find a constitution for local governing bodies that would satisfy local Nonconformists and then be approved by the bishop when the scheme reached the House of Lords."⁽¹⁾ The Schools Inquiry Commission (1867) reported that there were 24 classical and semi-classical endowed schools in Wales and Monmouthshire educating together 961 boys, while the Departmental Committee (1881) found 27 schools with 1,540 boys.⁽²⁾

However, it is claimed that the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 had valuable results in more than one direction. First of all it laid down principles for dealing with endowments which with changes in procedure were in substances those which later governed the framing of schemes under the Welsh Intermediate Act. The schemes resulting from the Act also raised the standard of education by encouraging a wider curriculum with more attention to modern subjects. Local interest in the schools was quickened by the introduction of a representative element in its Governing Bodies. A beginning was made

(1) J.R. Webster, "The Place of Secondary Education in Welsh Society, 1800-1919." Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, 1958.

(2) Education Department, Special Reports on Educational Subjects, Vol. 2, H.M.S.O., 1898, 3.

in providing a link between the primary and secondary schools by means of entrance scholarships. It initiated schemes for the reform of these schools, and by 1880, 13 grammar schools were regulated by schemes made under the Endowed Schools Act and considerable progress had been made in other cases.⁽¹⁾

Yet, it was seen that the University College at Aberystwyth in the years after 1872, failed to attract either the number or quality of students which had been anticipated. Although Hugh Owen and the college authorities appreciated that the real reason for such a poor response was the absence of secondary schools in Wales, neither Owen nor his fellow educationists at that date took any step to promote better provision for secondary education - they had enough trouble on their hands already.

In the years following the opening of the University College though, both Anglicans and Nonconformists in their respective journals and in various pamphlets would from time to time advocate improvements in the provision of secondary education. Fortunately, these provide useful evidence of the current state of secondary education and of the increasing pressure that was being brought to bear to improve post-primary education.

One of these pamphlets, written in 1876 by the Rev. D. Lewis Lloyd, formerly a head master at Bangor and Brecon, had the significant title of "The Missing Link in Education in Wales or The means of connecting the Public Elementary Schools with the Higher Grade Grammar Schools." The pamphlet deplored the wide gap then existing between the elementary schools and

(1) Education Department, Special Reports on Educational Subjects, Vol. 2, H.M.S.O., 1898, 6.

the higher-grade grammar schools, and the author regretted that he had "never heard of any attempt made to help those to cross it who, by the accidental circumstances of their birth, are unable to bridge it over for themselves."⁽¹⁾ In agreement with the findings of the Taunton Report, he thought that "under a more perfect system of education this 'missing link' in the educational machinery could doubtless be supplied by third and second grade schools fixed at the more populous centres over the Principality."⁽²⁾ He was, however, very dubious whether such a development would take place and declared "that it was once contemplated by the Government to establish a system of graded schools, but the project seems to have been waived for a time, and whether it will ever be carried out by the Charity Commissioners is, to say the least, a matter of great uncertainty at present."⁽³⁾

Lloyd, very conscious of the limited opportunities that existed for boys to continue with their studies beyond the elementary school, described the elementary schools of Wales as being "filled with the children of the working classes with a sprinkling in the country, of the sons of farmers, and in the towns, of the sons of the smaller tradesmen. Of the two latter classes, many at the ages of 12-15 pass to some school which is reported by the lights of the locality to be of a higher class than the National or Board School; where in the course of a year more or less (it used to be a quarter of a year), they receive the finishing touch, and are turned out ready, versatile and accomplished young gentlemen - whose reading is possibly bad, spelling worse, and intelligence

(1) D. Lewis Lloyd, The Missing Link in Education in Wales, 1876, 3.

(2) & (3) *ibid.*, 3.

at the lowest ebb. But the education of the working classes ends with the Public Elementary School. At this point, nature has set up a barrier beyond which they cannot pass. All over the country there must be many lads with powers and aspirations which can be but scantily satisfied with the three R's of the Public Elementary Schools."⁽¹⁾ Appreciating the general poverty of the working classes, he was nevertheless, convinced that it was impossible for the grammar schools to reduce their fees, and in order to meet this pressing need of the labouring classes, he advocated that "a scheme of Scholarships or Bursaries should be established all over the country."⁽²⁾ Lloyd had come across such a scheme in Liverpool, and T. Marchant Williams, in his pamphlet in the following year, referred to similar schemes in London and Sheffield. So, although this suggestion was by no means new or original, it is nevertheless quite possible that the idea might have stimulated the imagination of Hugh Owen, who in 1879 was to initiate a Scholarship Scheme in Caernarvon and Anglesey on the lines suggested by Lloyd.

In his pamphlet, Lloyd stated, "I am confident that there would be no difficulty in carrying it out for North Wales. But if this area should be deemed too extensive a field to launch an experiment upon, North Wales might be divided into three groups of two counties each co-operating towards the same end."⁽³⁾

In connection with his scheme, one of the main concerns of Lloyd was its financial aspect, and according to him, it "would not be presuming too much in asking the Government or

(1) *ibid.*, p. 5.

(2) & (3) *ibid.* p. 7.

the Charity Commissioners to grant an annual subsidy towards the object, but in spite of the reasonableness of such a claim, I am afraid that an appeal of the kind, however strongly backed would be ineffectual. We are, therefore, driven to fall back on voluntary subscriptions, and surely there ought to be no difficulty in raising in Caernarvonshire and Anglesey at least £300 a year, more or less, in order to establish these Scholarships on a secure footing."⁽¹⁾

Incidentally, on lines similar to the suggestions in the Taunton Report, Lloyd, was evidently attracted to the idea of grouping some of the old grammar schools and this led to the comment - "that if the idea of amalgamating Beaumaris and Friars School - and I should add Llanrwst - into one great educational centre, had been successfully carried out, some portion of the combined revenue of these endowments might have been utilized for this subject; however, a short-sighted policy has hindered the concentration of these dissipated forces and consequently, the creation of a commanding school in North Wales."⁽²⁾

A year later, in 1877, T. Marchant Williams, an Inspector of Schools under the London School Board, in his pamphlet entitled "The Educational Wants of Wales," gave fuller evidence of the state of grammar school education at that time. In referring to the endowed grammar schools of Wales, he too considered that their "past history is a history of misappropriation, maladministration, and shameful inefficiency," but he added that many "of them are now in very good hands and are gradually having an appreciable effect on the

(1) Ibid., p. 7.

(2) Ibid., p. 9.

country generally. These have been thoroughly re-organised, and the curriculum of study has been so changed that it may now be considered to be in tolerable accordance with the special tendencies of the age. Classics yet receive an overdue share of attention perhaps at most Grammar Schools, and I am eagerly looking forward, therefore, to a further re-adjustment of their subjects of instruction."⁽¹⁾

In addition to comments on the curriculum and on the need for external examinations, T. Marchant Williams was keen on fostering better facilities of admission into grammar schools by multiplying the scholarships, by removing the conditions that related to those in existence, and by making the connection between the elementary schools and the grammar schools more apparent to the public and more real to the children.⁽²⁾

In spite of some reservations, T. Marchant Williams was grateful to Lewis Lloyd for drawing the attention of the country to the scholarship scheme and hoped that "it will at once be taken up by some of my patriotic countrymen, either in the simple shape of it advocated by Mr. Lloyd, or in its improved shape as conveyed in the proposition recently made by some of the members of the Council of Aberystwyth College."⁽³⁾ Here, T. Marchant Williams was referring to the scheme proposed by the College authorities at Aberystwyth which suggested that "the Elementary Schools in each county be invited to send candidates who must be thirteen years of age to some central place (in the county) to be examined competitively; and that a scholarship of £40 be divided

(1) T. Marchant Williams, Educational Wants of Wales, (Pamphlet), 1877, 19.

(2) *ibid.*, 20

(3) *ibid.*, 24.

equally among the three candidates (of each county) who are highest on the examination list and to be applied towards their education in a Grammar or Middle-Class School for two years; that the three candidates be examined again competitively at the end of two years, and the highest in this examination be entitled to hold the full amount of the *Scholarship* at the University of Wales for a period of three years."⁽¹⁾ As long as Welsh Intermediate education remained negligible, there would be few able Welshmen to benefit from higher instruction. Of the 313 students who entered Aberystwyth College up to 1880, 70 were under 16 years of age and with a very modest academic background.⁽²⁾

One cannot help feeling that the attention of Hugh Owen was being deliberately drawn to this need by one of his fellow London Welshmen. Williams knew of Owen's dissatisfaction with the applicants for admission to Aberystwyth and that the situation would only be improved by more and better attendance at grammar schools. The urgency of the idea for establishing a Scholarship Scheme and for improving the link between the elementary schools, grammar schools and higher education was being advocated on all sides, and was being presented as a challenge. It was almost inevitable that Hugh Owen should at last accept this challenge.

Before continuing with the discussion of the development of secondary education, it is again necessary to recall very briefly the changing political scene in Wales. Soon after the Reform Act of 1867 had placed political power in the hands of the Welsh people - in particular ~~th~~ the Nonconformist

(1) University of Wales, Aberystwyth, Report 1876-77, 8.

(2) Sir Emrys Evans, op. cit., 22.

lower middle classes, the demand for better secondary and higher education soon became matters of some importance. During the seventies the political climate became more conducive for promoting such ideas. When the general election of 1880 sent to Parliament an overwhelming majority of members for Welsh constituencies pledged to a national conception of Welsh political interests, the Lord President of the Council did not long delay setting up a Departmental Committee to investigate the state of secondary and higher education.

Hugh Owen's first direct participation in the field of secondary education was announced in the "North Wales Chronicle," September 15th, 1877, under the heading of "The County Scholarship for Anglesey." It was the first attempt to assist able boys to have the benefit of a secondary education. The announcement ran as follows:- "Acting on behalf of a gentleman who does not desire his name to be known, Hugh Owen has issued the following circular to schoolmasters throughout Wales.

"A native of the county is prepared to found in Anglesey, 'County Scholarships' to be competed for by boys in the public elementary schools of the county, and wishes now to intimate to you that your school will be invited to supply ^d candidates for the competition. The candidates must not be under 13 nor over 15 years. The scholarships will be £20 a year for the first two years tenable at any grammar or middle class school approved by the examiners, and if the scholar at the end of that period is found to be eligible as regards health, character and attainments, he will be offered a scholarship

of £30 a year, tenable at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, for three years. An invitation will be sent to your school in the month of December next, and will be accompanied by a detailed statement showing the manner in which the examination will be conducted, and the centres at which the candidates will have to attend. The competitors will be examined in Arithmetic, English Grammar and composition, English history, modern geography and in one (or more, at the option of each competitor) of the specific subjects of secular instruction which are indicated in the new code of regulations. It is believed that similar scholarships will be founded presently in other counties in the Principality. The donor of the first Anglesey County Scholarship has expressed his intention to provide for its permanence by endowment."

The statement was a preliminary announcement to attract the attention of schoolmasters and the general public to the great need for financial assistance for able boys to have grammar school education. Owen did not actually launch the Scholarship Scheme for another two years, yet it was the first step in a long struggle to provide post-primary education.

It was on October 18th, 1879, that Owen convened a meeting of the Head Masters and Mistresses of Elementary Schools in Anglesey, together with other persons interested in Public Elementary Education, at Rhianfa, Menai Bridge, to consider a proposal to provide scholarships from Elementary Schools to Higher Grade Schools. A further meeting was held in Bangor on the following Saturday, October 25th, 1897, when the

Head Teachers of Elementary Schools in Caernarvonshire and Anglesey similarly met at St. Paul's Board School.

At both meetings, Hugh Owen read a paper in which he reviewed the progress which had taken place in education in Wales during the nineteenth century, and then stressed the need for "bridging over the chasm that separates the Elementary School from the Higher Grade School - in other words, of assisting clever boys and girls to pass on from the one school to the other, in order to extend their education, and in some instances of preparing them to compete for the prizes offered in colleges and universities."⁽¹⁾

With great care, he outlined a scheme he had worked out. He suggested the formation of an association which ultimately adopted the title of "The North Wales Scholarship Association," and put forward details about an Executive Committee, sources of revenue, amounts of scholarships, periods of tenure, the likely number of schools and candidates that would be involved, and lastly, the selection of schools in which the scholarships could be held. Although the first of its kind to be launched in Wales, the scheme met with instant approval and was adopted by a provisional committee which decided that the first examination of candidates for it in the counties of Anglesey and Caernarvon would be held in November, 1880.⁽²⁾

In the meantime a great deal of organising was necessary to put the scheme into operation. In this Owen was once again particularly fortunate to have the enthusiastic co-operation of the secretary - W. Cadwaladr Davies, and, on the examining

(1) North Wales Scholarship Association Reports, 1-6.

(Complete paper given in Appendix 25.)

(2) *ibid.* 8.

side, the advice of T. Marchant Williams, who was already familiar with such a scheme in London.

In the words of the "First Annual Report of the North Wales Scholarship Association" - for the year 1880-81, the movement had "already been the means of uniting together men of diverse opinion in furtherance of the practical work of education and although the Provisional Committee have deemed it advisable to proceed hitherto in a tentative manner, and have confined their operations to the two counties of Anglesey and Caernarvon, they have already met with ample evidence of the sure though gradual growth of public opinion on the subject in the particular direction contemplated in the scheme which they were appointed to carry out."⁽¹⁾

It was also reported that the first examination had been successfully conducted and that the four boys elected to scholarships had entered Friars School, Bangor. Hugh Owen had launched yet another successful venture, and the youth of that particular area were already benefiting from his schemes. Whilst others had conceived the idea of creating a Scholarship Scheme, it was this seemingly tireless civil servant who succeeded in putting the scheme into operation in Wales. He may be denied originality in conceptual thinking, but ~~no~~ one could deny his sterling qualities as a pioneer and promoter of these new ideas and novel schemes in the face of all kinds of difficulties.

The successful completion of the first year had been so encouraging in Caernarvonshire and Anglesey that arrangements were made to extend the operations of the association to

(1) First Annual Report; North Wales Scholarship Association, 1880-81; 3.

Flintshire, where candidates would be examined at Rhyl for two scholarships of the annual value of £20 and £10 respectively, given by John Roberts, M.P.⁽¹⁾

The success of the scheme must have been of great satisfaction to Hugh Owen and the first report on the work of the Association states that "inquiries have shown to a certainty, what was before surmised, that in our elementary schools are found to be boys and girls of exceptional ability whose progress is barred by the want of some agency as that of the Association to enable them to enter the secondary schools,
... and the attainment of this object will not only benefit the individual recipients of the Scholarships, but also raise the tone of our elementary schools, imbue teachers with a sense of the nobler aspects of their profession, give the public an opportunity of fostering and encouraging talent, and help to establish the much-needed passage from the elementary schools to higher educational establishments."⁽²⁾

In presenting its Second Report on July 5th, 1882, the Association, alas, considered that its first duty was to "acknowledge the great loss which the organisation has sustained in the death of its founder Sir Hugh Owen," and went on to state that "in late years he had become more and more impressed with the imperative necessity (in order to complete the edifice of Welsh education) of constructing a bridge across the gap which intervenes between the elementary and the higher class of schools. The same want was felt by others, and his indefatigable energy was not long in bringing together those friends of education, with the result that this

(1) First Annual Report, N. Wales Scholarships Association, 1880-81, p. 3.

(2) *ibid.* p. 5.

Association was formed for the express purpose of assisting promising boys and girls to continue their education beyond the elementary stage."⁽¹⁾ The work of the Association nevertheless progressed satisfactorily, and the report "hoped that very soon scholarships would be taken up by girls as well." Some people, such as Principal H. D. Harper, had thought that the scheme "would last as long as he (Owen) lived," and no longer, but fortunately for North Wales, the Principal was completely awry in his prognosis.⁽²⁾

The third Annual Meeting of the Association was addressed by no-one less than W. E. Forster, who observed "that the truth has got so thoroughly acknowledged by managers of schools and those interested in education that we find these scholarship associations springing up in many parts of England. We have several in Yorkshire. There is one working well in Bradford. In Leeds and also in Liverpool, you find an excellent association of this sort, and they are working very well in London. Therefore, I am not at all surprised that that man whom Wales has lately lost - Sir Hugh Owen - looking about how he could help his fellow-countrymen and country-women amongst the many institutions he set on foot was also instrumental in forming this."⁽³⁾

In stressing the importance of Scholarship Associations, Forster pointed out that the "endowments in Wales are far less than they are in almost any one of the counties in England. There are good grammar schools in Wales, but there are too few of them. As regards endowments that might be used for

(1) Second Annual Report of N. Wales Scholarship Association, 1881-82. 4.

(2) Report of the Departmental Committee, 1881, Vol. 2, 39.

(3) Third Annual Report of the North Wales Scholarship Association, 1883; 6.

that purpose, inasmuch as endowments for purely elementary schools, now that they are fastened upon the rates, ought, if possible, to be used for intermediate education, because you must remember that these endowments were given for the purpose of teaching and not for the purpose of saving the pockets of the ratepayers."⁽¹⁾ There was no question about the success of the Association by this date, and it was decided to continue with the work until a state system of Scholarships and Exhibitions was established. The work of the Association continued to expand well after the death of Hugh Owen and even after the publication of the Departmental Report in 1881. It expanded to include the whole of North Wales during the eighties and even the passing of the Welsh Intermediate Act of 1889 made no difference; for in the Eleventh Annual Report of 1890, we find the significant comment:-

"To prevent mis-apprehension, the Committee wishes to state that there is no likelihood of the Association being immediately superseded by the new Schemes which came into operation under the Intermediate Education Act. On the contrary, the necessity for the work carried on by the North Wales Scholarship Association will be more urgent than ever during the next two or three years and until the Scholarship Schemes formulated under the new Act come into operation. The Committee is pledged to the Scholars now on the fund, and also to make awards of primary and further Scholarships in June next."⁽²⁾

(1) Third Annual Report of the North Wales Scholarship Association, 1883, 9.

(2) Eleventh Annual Report of the North Wales Scholarship Association, 1890; 7.

It was only when submitting to members of the Association their twelfth Annual Report that the Committee announced that "in consequence of the provision now made under the Welsh Intermediate Education Act for filling up the gap between the elementary schools and places of higher education, the time has come for winding up the organisation which has endeavoured for a period extending over twelve years to supply that want in the educational system of the Principality."⁽¹⁾

In that meeting W. Cadwaladr Davies, the Secretary, succinctly referred to the vision of Hugh Owen, the founder of the Association. "That great Welshman showed his usual sagacity by urging upon his fellow-countrymen the importance of proceeding tentatively with the work of building up a national system of education, and he advocated the formation of the Association in order to enforce the need of an educational ladder in a national system and to prove by actual experiment that a connecting link between the elementary schools and the higher schools was both desirable and practicable. Sir Hugh Owen wanted the Association to prepare the way for system of higher and intermediate education rather than embark at once on more ambitious schemes. Therefore, it was that it laboured assiduously, not only to raise funds to help forward particular boys and girls who distinguished themselves at the examinations, but also to educate the public mind as to the direction its educational energies should take, and also to ensure the inclusion of a system of scholarships in any legislative proposals brought forward with

(1) Twelfth & Final Report, North Wales Scholarship Association, Sept. 1894.

regard to Welsh education. He ventured to express a belief that the Association had, in a quiet way, educated the public mind and influenced legislation with regard to Welsh education. During the twelve years of the Association's life, too, there had been an undoubted change in the attitude of the public mind towards education. It was certainly difficult to command and retain public interest in educational questions twelve or fifteen years ago, whilst it was marvellous what a number of people now professed the keenest interest in the educational movement. He did not know whether this enthusiasm was due to the labours of such organisation as theirs, or to the fact that Welsh education was now rate-supported, possibly the saving grace was in one case quite as much as in the other, and he did not much care whether this multiplication of educationists was to be attributed to a sincere though somewhat belated interest in education."⁽¹⁾

Thus, apart from the direct academic success of the Association, it was invaluable in that it showed how men and women of diverse political and religious opinions could at a time of great religious and political controversy unite in the promotion of education. When the Association was dissolved in 1894, it had paid out nearly £3,000 in scholarships, and the balance in hand was handed over to the University College of North Wales.⁽²⁾

The effectiveness of the scheme had finally convinced Hugh Owen of the urgent need for promoting a complete state system of secondary education for his country. He became as

(1) North Wales Chronicle, Sept. 15th, 1894.

(2) Fleming Report, H.M.S.O., 1942, 88.

convinced of this as he had been of the need for providing elementary education in 1843, and became imbued with the idea of launching yet another educational scheme in Wales. There was no English pattern to follow this time and he had to seek further afield for inspiration and guidance. As in 1854, when he was so much impressed with the provision made for higher education in Ireland, so on this occasion did he become enamoured of the Irish schemes for secondary education.

With his usual sense of dedication he entered upon a campaign for providing secondary education. It has already been seen how he made a direct approach to Lord Aberdare in May, 1880 to persuade him to get Mr. Gladstone to agree to the formation of a Committee of Inquiry into the state of "Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales."⁽¹⁾ This was a momentous decision which proved to be one of the milestones in the history of secondary education in Wales.

The letter drafted by Lord Aberdare and Hugh Owen and sent to the Prime Minister on May 10th, 1880, after dealing with the needs of Higher Education, went on to mention the problems of secondary education. Lord Aberdare declared that "the question of intermediate education is more complicated." He suggested a thorough investigation of this sector since the "only public inquiry bearing on it, and of course only to a limited extent, has been conducted by the Endowed Schools Commission." He reminded the Prime Minister that "the last Return of the Charity Commissioners (July 1879) shows the number and amount of these endowments, and their utter insufficiency to supply the public want. They are few and generally scanty. Some 15 schemes for North and South Wales

(1) Letter from Lord Aberdare to the Prime Minister, May 10th, 1880, P.R.O. Ed. 91/8. (See Appendix 22.)

have been approved and are in force; of these 7 or 8 may not be expected to do useful work. Four schemes are now under consideration, and 26 more, some of which are very important, remain to be dealt with." It appeared too, that in spite of a much smaller population, North Wales had much the larger share of these endowments.

His Lordship referred to the attempts made "at Cardiff and Swansea to establish proprietary middle-class schools, which are prospering, But he thought that these were "exceptionally rich and prosperous places; and the experiment is not likely to be tried elsewhere, or, at any rate, in 2 or 3 other Towns at most." He was certain that if such schools were reformed, they "would very inadequately supply the local wants; although we have no means of knowing the exact measure of the deficiency." Consequently, he encouraged an investigation into the state of secondary education throughout the country.

Several members of parliament and even members of the Government did not think that an investigation was necessary. Lord Spencer, Lord President of the Council, reminded Lord Aberdare even in the final letter appointing him as Chairman of the Departmental Committee,⁽¹⁾ that a "considerable amount of valuable information bearing on the subject of the enquiry has been already got together." Spencer assured him that since the Schools Enquiry Commissioners reported upon the provision for superior education in Wales in 1864-6, "many of the educational endowments in different parts of Wales have been dealt with under the Endowed Schools Acts."

Furthermore, this work was "still going on under the Charity

(1) Letter from Lord Spencer to Lord Aberdare, Aug. 25th, 1880.

Commissioners, and a great deal of information obtained by their Assistant Commissioners, as well as by the officers of the Schools Enquiry Commission, will be available for the use of the Committee." In addition he had "reason to believe that the Oxford University Commissioners have prepared a scheme to extend the usefulness of the School endowments in Wales of which Jesus College is Trustee."⁽²⁾

A Memorandum on this topic had also been prepared by the Chief Charity Commissioner, and in his opinion "the reports of the Schools Inquiry Commissioners appear to place at the disposal of the government all the information required."⁽²⁾ He did not believe "that a new Commission dealing with the same subject could add anything to the facts obtained only 14 years ago by the able men specially appointed for the purpose by the Royal Commission of 1864." He claimed that the "Principality possessed many valuable schools, several of which were doing useful and important work, and had done so for many years." The great difficulty in Wales, in his opinion, was "that some of the Higher Schools such as Monmouth, Brecon, Llandovery and Ruthin were more or less well endowed, but there were also many schools of importance such as Cowbridge, Carmarthen and others which had very small and insignificant incomes."⁽¹⁾ He added, though, that it "cannot be doubted that schools of this class might confer far greater educational advantages if the government are prepared to assist them by a public grant." Yet he had come to the same conclusion as Hussey Vivian that it "does not appear that further inquiry is needed - there

(1) Letter from Lord Spencer to Lord Aberdare, Aug. 25th, 1880.

(2) ~~P.R.O. Ed. 91/8.~~

are proportionately as many effective schools in Wales as in other parts of the Kingdom. What is wanted is money to make these schools which are poorly endowed more efficient."

On the other hand, Professor C. G. Edmondson, Lampeter, writing to James Bryce, was in favour of an Inquiry and thought that with "correct information a Commission might go far to decide the due connexion of secondary and first grade schools, and the locating of them with a view to such connexion, e.g., a second grade school at Carmarthen, whence boys might advance to Llandovery." (1)

Lord Spencer, however, agreed with the representations made to Her Majesty's Government ~~that~~ "at the very best, the existing educational Institutions, of a class above Public Elementary Schools, are not only insufficient in number, but so inconveniently situated, and in some cases so fettered by denominational restrictions, as to be at once inadequate to meet the wants of the Principality, and unsuitable for the character of the population." Yet since so much information was already available on these issues, Spencer hoped that the proposed inquiry would "not make any serious demand upon the time of the Members of the Committee." (2)

On August 26th, 1880, the day before Spencer sent Lord Aberdare a formal letter stating the terms of reference of the Inquiry, Hugh Owen - as always, in an attempt to prepare the public for the coming investigation - read a paper at a meeting of the Cymmrodorion Section of the Caernarvon National Eisteddfod, on "Intermediate Education in Ireland, and Secondary Education in Wales." (3) Anticipating the line

(1) P.R.O. Ed. 91/8.

(2) Letter from Lord Spencer to Aberdare, 25/8/80.

(3) Report of the Departmental Committee, 1881, Vol. 2, Appendix 2, 866. (See Appendix 26.)

of investigation by the Departmental Committee, he took advantage of the occasion to enlighten a very prominent sector of public opinion on the need for post-primary education.

He gave a detailed account of such a scheme in Ireland and much admired their ample provision for elementary, intermediate and higher education. He expressed a wish "that Wales, the inhabitants of which, like those of Ireland, form a distinct nationality, were similarly favoured." In a comparison of the provision for education in the two countries at that time, he observed "the State supplies Wales as well as Ireland with the means of elementary education, and greatly does Wales value the boon. The State provides Ireland with upwards of £30,000 a year towards intermediate education, but it makes no provision whatever for a similar purpose in Wales. Again the State advances upwards of £30,000 a year towards higher education in Ireland, but the State does not advance one penny towards that object in Wales.

"We wait the result of the proposed Government Inquiry for accurate information with regard to the state of secondary (or intermediate) education in Wales. It was stated by the late Lord Chancellor that intermediate education in Ireland, before the recent legislation upon the subject was 'defective in quality and inadequate in quantity', but we fear that the inquiry referred to will show that the defect in quality and the inadequacy in quantity are greater still in Wales now than they were in Ireland then

"In presenting an account of the provisions made on behalf of intermediate education in Ireland, it is not intended

to recommend that a precisely similar provision should be made in the interest of secondary education in Wales. It is, however, suggested that a scheme for promoting secondary education in our own country, formed, in the main, on the lines of the Irish scheme might not be unworthy of consideration. The following are some of the points that would probably be embraced by such a scheme prepared for Wales:-(1)

- "1. Parliament to be asked to grant out of the Imperial Treasury a sum of £5,000 a year (a considerably less sum in proportion to the population than Ireland receives) for the purposes of the scheme.
- "2. The administration of the grant and the carrying out of scheme to be placed in the hands of the Endowed Schools Commission.
- "3. The amount to be applied in providing exhibitions to students and 'results fees' to schools, - the conditions, limitations, and safeguards attached to these benefits in the Irish scheme to be adopted in the Welsh.
- "4. Assuming that the number of existing secondary schools is insufficient, new schools for boys and girls also to be provided. These new schools to be designated 'County Schools.' The cost of the school buildings to be defrayed out of the county rate, - the amount being borrowed from the Public Works Loan Commissioners, to be repaid by annual instalments spread over 50 years. This would render the burden upon the county rate so light as to be scarcely appreciable.
- "5. The management of the county schools to be vested in the

(1) Report of the Departmental Committee, 1881, Vol. 2, 867-868.

case of each school in a committee composed of the chairmen of the several School Boards in the county, together with six, more or less, others, nominated by such chairmen.

- "6. The County schools to be maintained by the fees of the students and the result fees.
- "7. All schools, of whatever nature, participating in the benefits of the scheme, to be completely undenominational - to be so in fact as well as in profession.
- "8. As a rule, only exhibitions, to students, but no 'results fees' to managers to be allowed in the case of schools already endowed."

It was an ambitious scheme, and Owen gave his ideas as much publicity as possible. He considered it important to enlighten the public in these matters before any witnesses gave evidence at the official inquiry.

As soon as the appointment of the Committee became known, it was noted that conferences and meetings were organised throughout Wales at which resolutions were passed demanding improvements in the provision for secondary and higher education. A letter in the "Fanner" exemplified the eagerness of the Nonconformist press to support the movement - "Yr ydym yn anturio taer gymhell ein cydwladwyr i gyd ddeffro, heb oedi dim, er trefnu tuag at alw cynnadledd a fyddai yn cynnrychioli pob dosbarth o Ymneillduwyr, ac felly a fyddai yn medru ar hawl a phenderfynu ar gynllun addysg."⁽¹⁾ From the evidence available, it is also clear that it was the Nonconformists who were setting the pace and pressing for reforms in these sectors of education.

(1) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Awst 25, 1880.

At a Nonconformist conference held at Aberystwyth in September, "largely attended by people from all parts of Wales," in which "all the Nonconformist denominations were represented"⁽¹⁾ the following resolutions were passed in connection with secondary education:-

- "1. That the present grammar schools should be absolutely free from denominational restriction.
- "2. That grammar schools for girls should be established and that as much as possible of the old endowments should be diverted to their establishment and to provide scholarships for the girls.
- "3. That a scheme should be adopted to enable the most able boys and girls from the elementary schools to enter the grammar schools and in turn enter the colleges."⁽²⁾

In its enthusiasm to promote these reforms, the "Faner" after the conference felt constrained to include a tribute to Hugh Owen for his contribution to Welsh education. As much as anything it wished to put on record the great debt which the Welsh nation already owed him, and also to encourage the people to have faith in what he was now trying to do.

"Y mae enw Mr. Owen yn fawr ei barch gan bob Cymro cywir-galon, o herwydd ei ymdrechadau gorchestol a pharhaus gydag addysg yn Nghymru - bron nad allem ddyweyd am yr hanner canrif diweddaf. Yr oeddym o'r braidd yn teimlo wrth ddarllen rhai sylwadau a wnaed yn nghyfarfod Aberystwyth oedd yn tueddu i archolli teimladau y gwladgarwr hwn; ond o bossibl un bydd y neb a' gwnaeth, wedi oeri, yn teimlo lawn cymmaint a neb oddi wrth ei sylwadau ei hun. Nid ydym yn petruso dyweyd nad

(1) Henry Richard, Letters and Essays on Wales, 195.

(2) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Hyd. 6, 1880.

oedd Mr. Owen yn eu haeddu, a'i fod yn teilyngu diolchgarwch cynnhes yr holl genedl Gymreig am ei ymdrechion penderfynol a hunanymwadwy ynglyn âg addysg, hyd yn oed cyn i'r Ysgolion Brytanaidd gael eu sefydlu yn ein mysg - a thrachefn ynglŷn â'r sefydliad presennol sydd yn Aberystwyth. Cysegrodd ei nerth a'i amser am lawer o flynyddoedd fel hyn at wasanaeth y genedl, heb dal na chydabyddiaeth o fath yn y byd; ac ni a anturiwn ddyweyd y bydd ei enw a'i goffadwriaeth yn barchus ac yn anrhydeddus am lawer blwyddyn gan bawb o'i gydwladwyr sydd wedi cael cyfleuderau i wybod am ei 'lafurus gariad' ar eu rhan,"⁽¹⁾ It was a handsome tribute which must have encouraged Owen enormously on the eve of the Departmental Inquiry.

In a study of the Inquiry, attention here will be focussed on Owen's particular contribution. As noted in the previous chapter, the Committee proceeded with its task without delay, and Owen made his first appearance as witness in October, 1880. In support of his plea for the better provision of secondary education, he submitted the paper on "Intermediate Education in Ireland" which he had read at Caernarvon. First of all he gave a brief outline of the background to the general educational position in Ireland and then presented the details of the Irish Scheme. He compared the position of Wales with that of Ireland, and stressed that up "to the year 1878, the wants of Ireland had been overlooked as regards intermediate education. But in June of that year a Bill was brought into the House of Lords by the Lord Chancellor which had for its object the promoting of intermediate education in that country. The Act to

(1) Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Medi 29, 1880.

promote Intermediate Education in Ireland was passed on the 16th of August, 1878."⁽¹⁾

In presenting this Irish Scheme he claimed that it had four particular advantages:-

"1. It has the principle of elasticity, so that it could be readily adapted to the special circumstances and requirements of Wales. 2. In following the Irish scheme, the existing secondary schools, both public and private, provided they fulfilled certain conditions would be adopted, and substantial inducements in the form of 'results fees' would be offered to the managers or head teachers to improve the quality and extend the range of teaching in their respective schools. 3. Substantial rewards in the form of exhibitions would be offered also to the students, which could not fail to be effective incentives to them to strive to excel. 4. The scheme could be made to supply the strongest motive to the authorities of grammar schools to render the schools free from conditions or observances that might tend to make them unacceptable to persons who were not members of the Established Church. Where such conditions or observances were found to exist the school ought to be treated as being entitled to be a recipient of any benefit under the scheme."⁽²⁾

It was a promising beginning to the whole investigation. Yet Owen himself was not satisfied with his evidence, and after this first appearance as witness, he decided to investigate at first-hand the problem in Ireland. Consequently, in January, 1881, he sought an opportunity to submit further evidence on this subject to the Departmental Committee. He

(1) Report of the Departmental Committee, 1881, Vol. II, 866, Appendix 2.

(2) *ibid.* Vol. II, Evidence, Q. 349; 15, 16.

informed them that since his previous appearance he had "paid a visit to the office of the Irish Intermediate Education Commissioners in Dublin, and the information which I received from the authorities there led me to conclude that, although the Irish intermediate scheme would be of great value to Ireland, it would require considerable modifications to render it applicable to Wales, inasmuch as it had serious defects and was moreover very costly. The million of money that was handed over for the purposes of the scheme in Ireland, will, it is expected, be found in a short time inadequate. I inquired - not in the office staff, but from one of the recipients of benefits under the scheme - from what fund they expected to obtain additional help. "Oh from the same fund," was the reply - "a further slice of the Irish Church property." (1) It was on the basis of his thorough researches at Dublin that he now prepared an outline of a scheme for promoting secondary education in Wales. The fifteen sections contained in the outline were as follows:-

"Section 1. The scheme to be carried out by the Charity Commissioners, and additional commissioner, who shall possess special qualifications for the purpose, being appointed to assist the Commissioners in this particular work.

"Section II. All old endowments (founded over 50 years) applicable to the purpose of education in Wales, to be vested in and administered by the Charity Commissioners. The fund so formed to be designated the 'Welsh Education Endowment Fund.' While the bulk of the endowments will form the fund, it may be practicable, where deemed desirable, to reserve some exceptional advantages to the places for the benefit of which the endowments were originally founded.

"Section III. The schools to be placed under the scheme to be those only which shall have been certified by a departmental inspector as efficient schools. All

(1) Report of the Departmental Committee, Vol. II, 830.

schools under the scheme to be designated either County Public Schools or County Private Schools. The former class of schools to be under a committee of elected managers, while the latter will be under private management as private adventure schools. The existing endowed grammar schools to be treated as county public schools. (It may be found desirable that the Commissioners should address a circular to the head teachers of private middle-class schools, informing them of the essential qualifications of schools that may be placed under the scheme, and intimating the readiness of the Commissioners to consider applications from head teachers to have their schools so placed.)

"Section IV. Departmental inspectors to ascertain the extent of the additional school accommodation required in each county; and also to determine, in concert with the managers of the several schools in the county, upon the localities in which the schools ought to be placed.

Section V. The cost of building new school-houses to be defrayed out of the county rate, such school-houses to be the property of the county. It may be remarked that the burden upon the rate would become extremely light if the money required were borrowed from the Public Works Loan Commissioners, and the repayment spread over 50 years; and it may be remarked further, that the greater portion of the rate itself would fall upon the class for whose benefit the schools are provided.

"Section VI. Every county public school to be under a board of managers, consisting of, say, 12, to be elected for a period of three years, as follows:

(a) All persons within the county rated to the poor rate at not less than, say, £30, to have the right to nominate one or more persons, not exceeding the number to be elected, as managers.

(b) The nominations to be sent on or before a given date to the returning officer, who shall be a person appointed to the duty by the Commissioners.

(c) The electors to be the chairman of the quarter sessions, the mayors of corporate towns, and the chairmen and vice-chairmen of each school board and school attendance committee within the county.

(d) The returning officer to transmit to each of the electors a list of the persons nominated as managers, with instructions respecting the manner of recording, the vote and returning the list to himself.

(e) The returning officer to transmit copies of his return to the elected managers, and in other suitable ways to give publicity to the same.)

"Section VII. When the establishment of a new school has been determined upon, managers for the proposed school should be forthwith elected, whose duty it will be to procure a school-house to be erected, and to make all necessary arrangements in regard to the school,

providing fittings, appointing teachers, etc. The plan and estimated cost of the building to be submitted for the approval of the Commissioners.

"Section VIII. The school fees to be fixed by the managers, but to be approved by the Commissioners.

"Section IX. The schools to be graded according to standards to be prescribed by the Commissioners.....

"Section X. The Schools to be examined once each year by departmental inspectors, and exhibitions awarded to pupils by the Commissioners upon the reports of the inspectors according to a scale and subject to conditions to be prescribed by the Commissioners. The Commissioners, where they see fit, to grant certificates to pupils of special merit.

"Section X. The exhibitions to be provided out of the Welsh Education Endowment Fund, in the hands of the Commissioners, and, as a rule, the exhibition in each case to be tenable in the school where the pupil receives it.

"Section XII. County private schools placed under the scheme, to be on the same footing as county public schools as regards exhibitions and certificates.

"Section XIII. The Commissioners to provide, by means of the county rate, scholarships of £20, to the extent of not exceeding one scholarship for every ten thousand of the populations of the county, to be competed for by scholars (boys or girls) in elementary schools. The charge on the rate which this proposal would necessitate would be less than the fifth of a penny in the pound upon the rate.

"Section XIV. The Commissioners to provide, by means of Jesus College endowments, scholarships, to be competed for by pupils in county public schools, and also those in county private schools, the scholarships to be tenable in colleges. The competition for these scholarships to be held at, say two centres simultaneously - one in North Wales and the other in South Wales.

"Section XV. The managers or masters of schools, before receiving any benefit under the scheme to furnish the Commissioners with a declaration to the following effect: 'I (or we) declare that no pupil who has attended this School from last has been permitted to remain in attendance during the time of religious instruction which the parents or guardians of such pupils have not sanctioned; and that the time for giving such religious instruction has been so fixed that no pupil who did not remain in attendance was excluded directly or indirectly

from the advantages of the secular education given in the school."(1)

It was a remarkable outline - so characteristic of the man; it virtually provided a complete structure of a state secondary-school system. Again, whilst this scheme again could not be regarded as being original in concept, since many of the ideas had already been embodied in the Irish Scheme, and in the Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission before that - yet even for a man so often accused of conventionality, his outline embodied ideas which were remarkably progressive and ambitious for the time.

In examining the proposed scheme, the Committee investigated a vast range of problems connected with the whole spectrum of secondary education. Not unnaturally, the immediate reaction was to question the cost of such provision, and to investigate the likely sources of revenue to finance the whole programme. In the Lord President's letter of instruction to the Chairman, it is evident that he expected any deficiencies in the existing provisions to be met primarily out of endowments, and that other means were only to be considered if and in so far as these should be found inadequate.

On this question, Owen with his expertise as a Poor Law official, was at his very best, and in an age of parsimony in educational expenditure he realised that it was essential to prove that these innovations were financially viable. He proceeded to indicate the sources of revenue available - from all the charitable endowments connected with the

1. Report of the Departmental Committee, 1881, Vol. I, xl-xliii.

Principality, from voluntary contributions, from local rates, as well as from a parliamentary grant.

To the astonishment of the Committee members, he provided them with concise tables of the resources of a county rate;⁽¹⁾ the cost of providing scholarships out of such a county rate;⁽²⁾ and the total income that would be available from a county rate for such a purpose from all Welsh counties.⁽³⁾ Such detailed information was of great help to the Committee in its attempt to assess the financial viability of his vast scheme.

Similarly, the schemes for a new system of secondary education submitted by Thomas Gee and T. Marchant Williams agreed in recommending the consolidation of endowments with a National Fund, and the provision of new schools out of the rates, but this provision was by each witness restricted to buildings, the endowments being destined mainly for scholarships, while tuition fees were regarded as the proper fund for the maintenance of the schools.

In his zeal to launch a system of secondary education, it is true that Owen was again prone to underestimate the real financial burden his proposals would entail. At one point, in reply to a query from the chairman, he admitted that he would "not propose that the State should make any advances beyond the 'results fees' and 'exhibitions', and he still believed that "the fees paid by the students would be sufficient or ought to be sufficient for the maintenance of the schools."⁽⁴⁾ This unrealistic view could only be

(1) Report of the Departmental Committee, 1881, Vol. I, Appendix 6.

(2) ibid.

(3) ibid.

(4) ibid.

Vol. II, Appendix 21.

Vol. II, 16.

attributed to his boundless enthusiasm to go ahead with a state scheme.

The Rev. H. G. Robinson seriously questioned this claim, and drew Owen's attention to the rather limited income school fees would provide even for the salaries of masters apart from any other commitments.⁽¹⁾ This alone would be a very heavy burden which could not possibly be avoided. In his reply, Owen's rather low regard for teachers was again evinced by his niggardly attitude towards their salaries, for when Robinson was questioning him about his proposed rates of pay for teachers, he pointed out to him, "You are aware, are you not, that that is very much below the rate that a headmaster gets in an ordinarily efficient English grammar school?" Owen who had spent the major part of his life in London rather lamely replied "No, I am not aware of that fact,"⁽²⁾ and went on to add, "in Wales talent and learning whether in the college or in the pulpit, do not as a rule command more than £200 a year."⁽³⁾ This was a philistine attitude to adopt, and can only be attributed to his eagerness to promote his schemes at almost any price.

His thorough investigation of all financial resources which might support the scheme was, however, ultimately to prove of immense help to the Committee. It was not surprising that they paid handsome tribute to Hugh Owen for his investigation and wished to place on record their indebtedness to him on that account. In the words of the Report, he had entered more fully than any "other witness into the manner

(1) Report of the Departmental Committee, 1881, Vol. II, 832.

(2) *ibid*

(3) *ibid.* Vol. I, lii.

in which, and the extent to which he would have recourse to the county rate; and he has added to the many services he has rendered to this inquiry by furnishing the committee with an elaborate estimate of the cost which his schemes from the county rate would entail."⁽¹⁾

In the administration of this new scheme, Owen expected that the Charity Commissioners would be fully involved, and he also anticipated that the administration of the Consolidated Education Endowment Fund would be conducted by the Charity Commissioners. He hoped that their functions would not simply be limited to the control and supervision of all charitable endowments as then exercised by them, but that they should also grade the schools, control the fees and provide scholarships. Thomas Gee went much further in this respect in his scheme, and recommended that the functions of the Charity Commissioners and of the existing trustees of schools be taken over by a new body, the Welsh Education Commissioners, consisting of 13 persons chosen, one for each county, by the county boards. T. Marchant Williams also recommended that all existing endowments should be administered by a special body of commissioners who were to have almost dictatorial powers. He was aware that the Charity Commissioners were organising grammar school schemes in parts of Wales already.⁽²⁾ Unfortunately, for Hugh Owen, the Welsh County Councils, which would have formed ideal local administrative units, were not formed until 1888/9.

Owen was also most eager to have a representative governing body or board of managers which would include

(1) Report of the Departmental Committee, 1881, Vol. I, lii.

(2) " " " " " 1881, Vol. I, xlv.

Nonconformists as well as Anglicans for each of these new schools. Thomas Gee was similarly anxious to end the exclusive Tory-Anglican control of the grammar schools, and recommended that the local management of grammar schools should be entrusted to county boards, consisting of the chairmen of all school boards and boards of guardians within the county or, if thought preferable, elected representatives of these boards.⁽¹⁾ Not unexpectedly, some of the clergy were horrified at the thought.

On the denominational problem Owen was prepared to fight for secondary education as he had fought for elementary education. In reply to Lewis Morris, he stated that the "existing grammar schools in Wales, whether really so or not are regarded as Church of England Schools. They occupy with reference to the middle classes the position which the national schools occupy with reference to the labouring classes That was the reason why means were adopted some 40 years ago to establish British Schools in Wales, which superseded to a large extent the national schools."⁽²⁾ In this he was strongly supported by other Nonconformist witnesses such as B. T. Williams, Thomas Gee and Lewis Edwards.

Typical of the period, Owen subscribed to the Victorian class hierarchy and middle-class respectability. Yet his scheme provided a marked departure from the traditional provision of grammar school education for the few and the privileged. He was far more progressive and egalitarian in outlook, for instance, than the highly traditional Principal H. D. Harper. In agreement with many of the other witnesses

(1) Report of the Departmental Committee, 1881, Vol. I, xliii - xliv.

(2) ibid.

Vol. II, 18.

Owen favoured the formation of a graded system of secondary schools which would cater for a far greater number of children (girls as well as boys) and which would also provide an education much wider in scope than that previously provided by the old grammar schools. Gee did not refer to the grading of schools, and T. Marchant Williams thought that there "might be two grades of schools."

With his usual factual approach, Owen provided the Committee with likely numbers of candidates who would participate in this kind of education, and estimated "that the number of pupils in the secondary schools of Wales may within the next few years reach 15,000, or 10 in every 1,000 of the population, taking it at 1,500,000."⁽¹⁾ This estimate was not in any way unrealistic or generous since in 1868 even, the Schools Inquiry Commission stipulated that 16 boys in 1,000 of the population ought to receive an education higher than that of elementary schooling. He does add, however, that "as the need of improved education is more widely felt among the middle class, the proportion may in the course of years attain to 22.500 or 15 in the 1,000 of the population. In this estimate, I am taking girls as well as boys. I also assume that the Welsh endowment fund may amount to £10,000 a year. For 15,000 pupils will require 150 schools containing on the average 100 pupils."⁽²⁾

He had related these estimates to what he considered to be the demand in relation to the class structure of contemporary society. In his opinion, "the proportion of boys belonging to the middle classes in England is $12\frac{1}{2}$ in the

(1) & (2) Report of the Departmental Committee, Vol. II, 832

thousand of the population, but I am inclined to think, as regards Wales, that if schools were provided for 10 in a thousand of the population, taking boys and girls together they would be found sufficient for the next few years." He claimed "that the middle class in Wales is, as a rule, less substantial than the corresponding class in England, and therefore, that persons belonging to that class in Wales avail themselves to a far greater extent of elementary schools than is the case in England." He too referred to a custom characteristic of the period, that "the upper section of the middle class in Wales, to a large extent send their children to schools in England in order to acquire polish and manners which is supposed to be requisite."⁽¹⁾

Interested though Hugh Owen was in the respectability of the middle classes, he was nevertheless most eager on all occasions to provide opportunities for the children of the humble or labouring classes. This attitude manifested itself most clearly in his concern before the Committee to provide scholarships and endowments, and also, as already noted, in his activities in connection with the North Wales Scholarship Association. When he maintained that the permanency of the scholarships would be assured if the charge were placed upon the county rate, Lord Aberdare agreed that "a very considerable stimulus would be given in that way to the education of the lower classes."⁽²⁾ Similarly, when asked by the Rev. H. G. Robinson whether the "humbler classes in Wales would take advantage of exhibitions if put within their reach?" Owen claimed that "the desire for education

(1) Report of the Departmental Committee, Vol. II, 830.

(2) ibid. Vol, II, 16.

amongst the humbler classes in Wales is much stronger and more widely attended than in England." One cannot doubt ~~that~~ Hugh Owen's sincerity in making this claim, whatever his regard for the middle classes.

Anticipating the location and distribution of new secondary schools, most witnesses agreed that the existing distribution was singularly unsatisfactory in view of the great social and economic changes that had taken place in Wales during the nineteenth century. The resultant changes in population distribution created unrealistic anomalies in the distribution of the existing grammar schools since some highly rural and sparsely populated counties were blessed with 3 or 4 old endowed grammar schools, whilst new and larger industrial towns such as Merthyr had none at all.

Owen has been roundly condemned for his readiness to close or to re-locate a school to meet the current needs of any district.⁽¹⁾ When asked whether he would move the Beaumaris school, he said, "Yes. Holyhead or Llangefni ^{be} would/probably a better point at which to place that school,"⁽²⁾ On another occasion, he was regarded as being far too cavalier in his attitude when he said, "I should get rid of local claims whenever I could, so as to swell the education endowment fund."⁽³⁾ In this, he was merely being realistic in relation to the demands of a new age, and people such as Thomas Gee, B. T. Williams, T. Marchant Williams and Lewis Edwards would have readily agreed with him.

Inexplicably though, when he was pressed with the ~~the~~ suggestion that it was desirable to have a "bold redistribution

(1) Chas. Gittins (Edt.) Pioneers in Welsh Education, G. A. Williams, Sir Hugh Owen, 78.

(2) Report of the Departmental Committee, Vol. II, 831.

(3) *ibid.*

of all the endowed schools with a distinct view to the benefit of the whole population," his evasive answer was, "I am not sufficiently acquainted with the subject to be able to express an opinion upon it."⁽¹⁾ This was an astonishing reply from someone bent on providing a complete network of schools. A redistribution was an urgent and important necessity.

The least satisfactory aspect of Hugh Owen's evidence was his readiness on occasion to agree with, or succumb to, some of Robinson's less desirable suggestions, such as the possibility of scholars paying "the cost price of education," or paying "the market price for his education,"⁽²⁾ or with Viscount Emlyn's remark, "You would wish people to pay as much as they can for their education."⁽³⁾ A terse statement in the General Report in consequence added that "those who cannot afford to pay at ~~this~~ rate, or can not gain a scholarship or exhibition to meet the cost must be content with a school of a lower type providing a less costly kind of education."⁽⁴⁾ Owen expected the middle classes to pay moderate fees, and thought in terms of between £6 and £10 a year.⁽⁵⁾ Robinson, however, doubted whether it would be possible to make the school efficient if the only revenue for paying teachers were derived from the school fees, with the scholars themselves not paying more than £10 as a maximum.⁽⁶⁾

An undercurrent of doubt prevailed in the minds of the

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| (1) | Report of the Departmental Committee, Vol. II, 18. |
| (2) | ibid. II, 833. |
| (3) | ibid. II, 830. |
| (4) | ibid. I, lv. |
| (5) | ibid. II, 830. |
| (6) | ibid. II, 833. |

Committee about the financial practicability of Hugh Owen's scheme. It was thought to be altogether too ambitious and that neither the general public nor the government of the day were ready to accept his recommendations for a state system of secondary education on such a generous scale for Wales. Robinson questioned Owen on whether public opinion was ripe for such a change and whether one could "fairly ask the Government to make a change with regard to one portion of the country and not the rest?" Owen believed that "middle-class education in England would be quite prepared to recommend a great alteration in the existing state of things, and that the Government might not be unwilling to make the change as regards Wales as an experiment."⁽¹⁾ It was an optimistic viewpoint which again arose from Owen's unbounded enthusiasm for promoting a new system. Both Robinson and Owen realised that the scheme was ambitious, that it constituted a great departure from practice both in England and Wales, and that, more than anything prompted Robinson to ask Owen, "Do you think that we should be pioneers of the new movement?"⁽²⁾ Owen was more than ready to pioneer the scheme although a similar project had yet to be promoted in England.

Another influential witness, Principal H. D. Harper of Jesus College, Oxford, also submitted a scheme for a system of intermediate education in Wales.⁽³⁾ Harper, severely academic in background and outlook and a member of the Established Church, was far less in sympathy with Welsh aspirations. This possibly accounted for the greater

(1) Report of the Departmental Committee, Vol. II,

(2) *ibid.* Vol. I, xxxviii - xl.

(3) *ibid.* I, xxxviii.

disagreement between his evidence and that of Hugh Owen than there was between Hugh Owen's and that of any of the other principal witnesses. Harper's pronouncements, at times high-sounding and academic possibly reflected the elitist Charity Commission policy that had developed since the Endowed Schools Act of 1869. His scheme largely advocated the continuance of the existing system, and did little more than suggest the extension and further use of the endowments and institutions already available. In agreement with the Charity Commissioners he believed in grading secondary schools, but was mainly interested in fostering a few first-class schools - about six in number, which would be examined by Oxford and Cambridge. This would differ very little from the academic, exclusive and traditional provision of the old endowed schools already in being.

As Harper appeared before the Committee almost immediately after Owen's first submission of evidence, he was not then fully familiar with the latter's suggestions arising from the Irish Scheme. When asked for his opinion of that scheme, Harper scornfully dismissed it with the comment, "I have nothing to say about it. We stand in a very different position from Ireland. You see we have schools, whereas Ireland has not; the Irish scheme recognises the fact that you must get your education as you can, and gives you money if you show that you have got it, and also helps the schools to give education. We say that we will produce schools, and exhibitions to bring children to the schools and will teach them well."⁽¹⁾ It is quite possible that it was these lofty remarks which stung Owen to prepare his second scheme

(1) Report of the Departmental Committee, 1881, Vol. II, 44.

and to request another opportunity to submit further evidence to the Committee.

The conservatism and limitations of Harper's outlook were most strongly emphasized when he even disagreed with Owen's basic claim that the number of existing secondary schools was insufficient. His bland observation was, "I think we have enough secondary schools."¹ Few witnesses could have accepted such an unrealistic statement, and Harper's horizons were amazingly circumscribed in the light of the enthusiasm and public clamour for extended secondary education in Wales.

Again, when asked to comment on Owen's hope that the cost of the school buildings should be "defrayed out of the county rate; the amount borrowed from the Public Loan Commissioners, to be re paid by annual instalments spread over 50 years," his supercilious answer was, "I am aware that he made that remark."⁽²⁾ The contrast in the outlook and attitude of the "administrator" and the "academic" on this occasion could not have been more marked; but it was the administrator who had given careful consideration to the working of a nation-wide system in practical everyday terms, and it was the administrator who emerged as the man of vision and imagination. In reply to Robinson's query, "What is your view with regard to the county rate?" to help finance the whole scheme, Harper's arrogant comment was, "I do not take the county rate as a special hobby of mine. It was suggested by Mr. Hugh Owen."⁽³⁾ There was a touch of the disdain and scorn of a theorising academic in his ivory

(1) Report of the Departmental Committee, 1881, Vol. II, 44.

(2) ibid. II. 44.

(3) ibid II. 43.

tower in this comment which enhanced very considerably the value of the painstaking evidence prepared by Owen.

Harper did not agree either with Owen's ideas for organising the scheme he had proposed for secondary education. Professor Rhys wished to know what he thought of Owen's idea, that the "administration of the grant to carry out the scheme be placed in the hands of the Charity Commissioners." Harper's terse reply was, "it takes an entirely different line, and is not adapted, I think, to the state of Wales."⁽¹⁾ Harper could hardly have been more out of touch with the general yearning for secondary education; his lack of vision and enthusiasm for expansion in this sector was quite pathetic, and it was fortunate for Wales that there were other witnesses who were progressive in outlook and really enthusiastic supporters of Hugh Owen's proposals.

A third scheme put forward by Thomas Gee, took into account that many new schools were necessary at convenient centres throughout the land and that they should be under the management of County Boards and the Welsh Education Commissioners. He agreed with Owen that the whole scheme should be financed by using educational endowments, certain non-educational charities and money borrowed from the Public Works Loan Commissioners, repayable in 50 years out of the rates of the county. He wanted the schools to be unsectarian and even objected to any religious instruction being given in them at all. Although he had not worked out as thorough a scheme as Owen, these two outlines, however much they differed in detail, were certainly in accord in sympathy and outlook.⁽²⁾

(1) Report of the Departmental Committee, Vol. II, 44.

(2) *ibid.* Vol. I, xliii.

A fourth scheme submitted by T. Marchant Williams - an inspector under the London School Board - was very much on the same lines as that submitted by Owen. He too supported a system operated by a body of Commissioners, of schools supported by all available endowments, voluntary subscriptions and a county rate, but he did not feel that a government grant was necessary. He was in favour of two grades of schools, and whilst he wished that they should be wholly unsectarian, he did not object to "opening and closing religious services and Scripture lessons, according to the plan adopted by the London School Board."⁽¹⁾

During the examination of about 257 witnesses, it was not surprising that there were highly conflicting opinions upon a host of issues. The views of witnesses were related to their religious or political allegiances, and consequently Henry Richard regretted that "the number of Churchmen called was far in excess of the proportion which the adherents of the Church bears to the populations of the country."⁽²⁾ This made the summarising of the conflicting submissions very difficult and even more so when the whole investigation was carried out with such speed and despatch.

The Committee found that there were 27 grammar schools in Wales and Monmouthshire at the time, of which 13 were in North Wales and 11 in South Wales, in addition to another 3 in Monmouthshire. There were also a few old grammar school foundations which for various reasons had fallen into abeyance and had become little better than elementary schools.⁽³⁾

The total number of boys under instruction in the various

(1) Report of the Departmental Committee, Vol. I, xvi.

(2) Henry Richard, Letters and Essays on Wales, 189.

(3) Report of the Departmental Committee, 1881, Vol. I, vi.

kinds of schools embraced in the inquiry was as follows:

In endowed grammar schools	1,540
In proprietary schools	209
In private schools	<u>2,287</u>
	<u>4,036</u> ⁽¹⁾

For the education of girls, there were only three endowed schools in the whole of the Principality - those at Denbigh and Llandaff supported out of the funds of Howell's charity, (the gross income of which amounts to £6,500), and the school at Dolgelley provided out of a charity of a Dr. Daniel Williams.

One remarkable feature in the returns of the Committee was the total number of boys and girls in the Principality educated in the proprietary and private schools - this was greater than that in the endowed schools. The total number of boys in endowed schools at the time of the Inquiry, as we have seen, was 1,540, with 209 in the proprietary schools in Cardiff, Merthyr and Neath, and another 2,387 boys in 79 private schools. In addition there were 1,871 girls in 73 private schools.

In Wales and Monmouthshire, the Committee found that although there was accommodation for 2,846 scholars in the endowed grammar schools, much of it possibly of an inferior kind, only 1,540 attended. If Hugh Owen's estimate that 10 per 1,000 of the population of Wales should be accommodated in secondary schools had been accepted then places should be provided for 15,000 boys and girls, and for this 150 schools might be required.

The Committee, and a majority of the witnesses, were

(1) Report of the Departmental Committee, 1881, Vol. I, xvi.

convinced that state action was necessary to secure such a provision of secondary schools in Wales since voluntary efforts had failed, and the endowed schools were too few, too poor, too unevenly distributed, and too closely connected with the Church of England, and of course, it had been proved to people such as Hugh Owen how much wasted effort and money were involved to maintain the University College at Aberystwyth whilst the means of preparation available for the mass of Welsh students was so inadequate.

The recommendations of the Committee have been expertly summarized as follows:-

- "1. The re-constitution of the endowed schools by means of existing legislative provisions, so as to ensure their usefulness and popularity.
- "2. The establishment on a strictly undenominational basis of all schools not specially protected in that respect by the provisions of the Endowed Schools Acts. This was to be effected by the adoption of the provision known as the Cowper-Temple clause, which excluded instruction in the doctrines or formalities of any church, sect or denomination. There was added a further recommendation that no religious instruction should be given to any scholar unless the consent of the parent or guardian had been previously obtained.
- "3. Popular election, to a great extent, of governing bodies, but under such limitations as might be necessary in order to secure the variety of element essential to the constitution of an efficient governing body. The county might perhaps be taken as the administrative area in many cases, but not universally, and it was pointed out that sufficient powers existed under the Endowed Schools Acts to give effect to this plan, where desired.
- "4. Existing Grammar Schools should be made to serve their immediate neighbourhood more effectually than they had done in the past, and a tendency to use them as means to the establishment of private boarding-schools should be checked. This should be effected by (a) adapting the education to the requirements of the people. (b) providing it at a cost within their means, and (c) enlarging and improving the existing buildings, which in most cases were of the most unworthy description.

"5. For the small number of 'First Grade' Schools which would be required, a minimum yearly fee of £10 would probably be necessary. But the kind of school most needed would be one which, for a fee of about £6 a year, would provide instruction in English, Latin, Mathematics, National Science, and at least one modern foreign language for boys up to the age of 16 or thereabouts. New schools of this class should be provided, and some of them should give prominence to technical subjects.

"6. Existing grammar school buildings could not be made satisfactory if their endowments were the only source from which the cost was to be met; and for this, if for no other reason, financial assistance was required, and should be afforded partly out of the rates, partly out by a grant from the Consolidated Fund.

"7. For the provision of new schools which was urgently needed, aid must be obtained from the same quarters. In some cases it might be possible to consolidate and use for this purpose endowments applied to the maintenance of Elementary Schools, but at the best these would only suffice for a few districts. As a rule, new buildings should be provided by loan to be repaid out of the rates within 50 years, and grants in aid of maintenance should be made by Parliament in the form of graduated capitation payments on the average number in attendance, to be made on the results of an annual examination.

"8. All schools so provided or aided should be wholly undenominational, and managed by governing bodies elected mainly, though not exclusively, by the rate-payers or their representatives.

"9. In places where a considerable industrial population existed, Advanced Elementary Schools, carefully adapted to the characteristics of the place, might also be established with advantage.

"10. The foregoing recommendations should, generally speaking, apply to girls as well as boys, but stress was laid on the need for a re-casting of the scheme for the Howell Charity so as to secure a wider diffusion of its benefits and a suggestion was made for the removal to Wales of the Welsh Girls' Schools at Ashford (Middlesex).

"11. Scholarships should be provided, tenable at secondary schools and at places of higher education. The funds for this purpose should be obtained from (a) Endowments used for the maintenance of elementary schools, and (b) Endowments applicable to to other charitable objects, and no longer useful in their present mode of application.

Such Endowments should be formed into a County Fund, or be administered by a County Board.

"12. Some organised machinery should be provided for the periodical inspection and supervision of the schools, and for an independent examination, to the benefits of which private schools might also be admitted."(1)

Of the 12 recommendations, it should be noted that 10 were eventually embodied in the Welsh Intermediate Act of 1889, and the remaining two merely dealt with minor endowments and the establishment of High Elementary Schools. In comparing these recommendations with the final scheme and with the evidence submitted by Hugh Owen to the Departmental Committee, one is immediately impressed by the considerable groundwork carried out by Owen which was of such help to the Committee members in their final recommendations.

It has been generally felt that the findings of the Aberdare Committee were not strikingly original since so many of the recommendations had already been put forward by the Schools Inquiry Commission (1864-67). There was much truth in such comment, but the Aberdare Committee tactfully and firmly guided the movement with a practical insight that eventually led to the founding of an organisation of secondary education without any serious check on the enthusiasm which had gripped the Welsh nation. It preserved what was worth preserving in existing institutions, and led the way to a new structure in a secondary education which was far more democratic than anything that had previously existed either in England or Wales in spite of the prevailing pre-occupation with the needs of the so-called Middle Classes.

The recommendations of the Committee were largely based on an amalgam of the schemes proposed, and the evidence submitted during the Inquiry. Whatever the limitations of the Report, its publication was an outstanding event in the

history of Welsh education. It was ultimately to initiate a new era and another dimension in the educational system of Wales.

Owen had advocated what most Nonconformists in Wales would have cherished; a well distributed network of new secondary schools throughout the land, a variety of schools which would meet the needs of a new age, schools which would be strictly unsectarian but not entirely secular, schools which would be managed by an elected and representative body, but in which the fees would be within reach of a wide range of middle class parents, and in which a fair number of scholarships and exhibitions should be available to able children from humbler classes, and he urged that well conceived schemes should be arranged to meet the financial burdens involved in promoting a new system which would not be onerous on any one section of the community.

Hugh Owen was knighted in July, 1881, and a month later the findings of the Aberdare Committee were made public. This was to be his last effort and achievement on behalf of Welsh education, for he died in November, 1881. It was regrettable that the Welsh Intermediate Education Act was not passed for another eight years after his death.

This is not surprising when it is borne in mind that there was no general approval of the way in which the Committee had carried out its work. Some sections of the press, though, were agreeably surprised, especially when they had been so suspicious of the choice of Committee members. According to one observer "o'r chwech nid oedd ond un Ymneillduwr, ond aethont trwy eu gorchwyl yn hynod o foddolawn

a danghosant eu bod yn foneddigion caruaid ac anmhleiddgar. Yr oedd eu hadroddiad yn dra gwahanol o ran ysbryd i eiddo Dirprwywyr 1847."⁽¹⁾ Similar sentiments were expressed by another writer who said that "happily, however, the gentlemen to whom the work was entrusted were men of eminently honourable temper, who kept their minds open to evidence and to the conviction which evidence produces, and also prosecuted their work with a candour and a conscientiousness which merit grateful acknowledgements."⁽²⁾

Not all Nonconformists even agreed with Hugh Owen, or with the Committee. For instance, many disagreed that secondary and higher education should be rate aided, and in this connection a class-animosity soon appeared. In the words of one critic, "tybiai y diweddar Syr Hugh Owen y bydd treth o hanner ceiniog y bunt yn ddigonol. O'n rhan ein hunain, yr ydym yn credu na ddylid codi treth tuag at y math yma o addysg ond pan y ceir fod pob ffynnonell arall yn anigonol.

"Y plant a anfonir yna gan amlaf, yn ddiameu fydd plant masnachwyr ac amaethwyr mewn sefyllfaoedd lled barchus ynghyda plant ambell i weithiwr mewn amgylchiadau lled gysurus -- un mewn cysylltiad a pha rai y defnyddir y geiriau 'genteel', 'respectable' ac yn y blaen, fydd y rhai a anfonir i'r sefydliadau hyn. Ond ni ddylid gorfodi yr amaethwr tlawd a llwm i dalu gymaint a dimau tuag at gynnal yr ysgolion hyn."⁽³⁾ Even this letter tacitly accepted the gearing of all educational provision to the prevailing class structure of society.

(1) Charles Ashton, Hanes Addysg yng Nghymru, 1885; 94.

(2) Henry Richard, Letters and Essays on Wales; 189.

(3) Charles Ashton: Hanes Addysg yng Nghymru, 1885; 100.

The Nonconformist denominations were generally enthusiastic about the Report, and the Calvinistic Methodist Association at its meeting in Llangollen in December, 1880, passed a resolution expressing "its deep sense of appreciation of the wisdom and fairness of the recently issued report of the Departmental Committee on Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales, although not quite understanding why ministers should be excluded from the headships of schools and colleges."! However, in spite of this objection to the Committee's desire to see laymen in charge of schools and colleges and for the teaching to be strictly unsectarian, the Association respectfully urged "Her Majesty's Government in the next Session of Parliament to try to pass a law based on the recommendations of the committee, so as to put the important educational advantages contemplated in the report, and with the least possible delay, within the reach of a people who have so long and so earnestly desired to enjoy them."⁽¹⁾

Similarly the North Wales Scholarship Association was very impressed with the Report and passed three resolutions to express their approval:-

"1. That we desire to record our high approval of the manner in which the Inquiry was conducted by the Committee, and our sense of the great ability, wisdom and fairness which are evinced in the recommendations they make as a result of that Inquiry.

"2. As bearing upon the more immediate work of this Association, we deeply rejoice at the conclusions which the Committee came to in regard to the urgent necessity of providing means

(1) The Daily Post; Dec. 2, 1880.

whereby promising scholars might be enabled to proceed from the Elementary to the Intermediate Schools, and from the Intermediate Schools to the Colleges, and that we highly approve of the recommendations they make with a view to providing scholarships for that purpose.

"3. That being convinced, generally, of the great value of the recommendations of the Committee and their suitability to the wants of Wales, we earnestly pray Her Majesty's ministers to introduce a Bill incorporating the same as soon as possible to Parliament with a view to pass it into law, and so extend with the least practicable delay these long-wished-for benefits to the inhabitants of the Principality."⁽¹⁾

The Rev. Daniel Rowlands of the Bangor Normal College in reviewing the Aberdare Report, gave expression to the sentiments of leading Nonconformists throughout the Principality when he referred to it as a highly significant document in the history of Wales and not merely an education report. To him, it symbolized the spirit of a new Wales, a renascent Wales that had emerged since the '67 Act and the '68 Election. It was a report that recognised that Wales was a nation apart, with its own needs and aspirations, as well as its own difficulties and problems. Since Wales was now well and ably represented at Westminster he deemed that another report of the kind presented in 1847 was no longer possible or imaginable. He thus looked to the future of Wales with sober satisfaction and exclaimed "Mae yn hyfryd meddwl fel y mae pethau yn gwella gyda golwg ar Gymru. Wedi deffro o honom fel pobl o ddifrawder oesoedd ein darostyngiad, a dyfod i deimlo fod gennym hawliau ag yr oedd yn

(1) P.R.O. Ed. 91/8.

gwbl o anghyfiawn i'n llywodraethwyr eu hattal oddiwrthym, fe'n meddiennid am amser maith gan yr ystyriaeth, more anobeithiol, wedi y cwbl, ydoedd i ni ddysgwyl amwrandawriad i'n cwynion Erbyn hyn, fodd bynnag, y mae pethau wedi newid yn fawr; mae llais Cymru i'w glywed yn nghyngor y Llywodraeth, ac nid ydyw yn ormod gan y Senedd a Gweinidogion ei Mawrhydi roddi gwrandawriad parchus i'r hyn sydd genym i'w ddweyd, a cheisio ystyried pa fodd i ganiatau i ni ein ceisiadau."⁽¹⁾

It was great satisfaction to Rowlands and the Nonconformists of Wales that the Committee had recognised the particular needs of the Welsh people, for he said "Y mae wedi bod yn gymaint ffasiwn, wrth drafod helyntion Cymru i beidio cydnabod dim o'r pethau pwysig sydd yn arbennig nodweddiadol o honi, ac i'n barnu fel cenedl fel pe buasem ymhob ystyr yn sefyll ar yr un tir a'r Saeson, fel y mae yn gysur neillduol gwëled gwŷr fel y rhai sydd yn gyfrifol am yr Adroddiad hwn yn torri ar draws yr hen arfer ffôl; ac yn wynebu yr amgylchiadau fel y maent, gan ddangos mai ar gyfer y rhai hynny y dylai y Llywodraeth y mae y Cymru dani drefnu ei mesurau."⁽²⁾

Rowlands also gave expression to the general satisfaction that was felt among the Nonconformists at the change of spirit and attitude towards Wales in high places and by the Government of the day when it was decided to appoint the Aberdare Committee. He aptly commented "Mewn ysbryd o gydymdeimlad caredig â Chymru, dan amgylchiadau mor eithriadol, y penodwyd y Pwyllgor hwn, ac mae yn gwbl amlwg mae yn yr un ysbryd y gwaneth yntau ei waith."⁽³⁾

(1) Y Traethodydd, 1881; 474.

(2) ibid. 480.

(3) ibid. 491.

In view of past experience, Rowlands stressed that the Committee members should not have been alarmed or offended that they were held in doubt or suspicion by the Welsh people when they were appointed. "Yr oedd yn beth newydd i ni dderbyn unrhyw ystyriaeth garedig oddiar law y Llywodraeth; fe ddeallid hefyd eu bod hwythau oll, oddieithr un, yn Eglwysywr, ac yr oedd rhai o honynt mor adnabyddus, fel nad ydoedd mewn un modd yn beth annaturiol i ni deimlo fod ar ein gwyliadwriaeth, ac ystyried y gall y tro hwn hefyd brofi yn siomedigaeth i ni."⁽¹⁾ With the publication of the Report, however, all doubts and suspicions had been removed as far as the Nonconformists were concerned and optimistically he declared, "Ni fyddai yn syn genym weled for rhai o'n cydwladyr yn cymeryd golwg dra gwahanol ar eu gwaith."⁽²⁾

In reviewing the recommendations of the Committee, Rowlands, like many other leading Nonconformists, was very conscious that both the capital outlay and the running costs of the ambitious schemes outlined would throughout the years be heavy and demanding. In his opinion, even if all the endowments of the Principality could be amalgamated as suggested by the Committee, they could not possibly meet the financing burden involved, and he referred to the resentment of Nonconformists at the fact that hitherto these endowments had been monopolised by the Established Church "ac mewn canlyniad nid ydyw pobl Cymru wedi bod yn meddwl am gael unrhyw fantais arnynt, ond y maent wedi bod yn helpu eu hunain fel pe na fuasai ygsolion gwaddoledig o fewn eu gwlad, gan adael i sect, a hon yn un fechan, yr hyn a fwriadwyd i genedl."⁽³⁾ He anticipated the objection of

(1) & (2) Y Traethodydd, 1881; 491.

(3) ibid 492.

the Established Church to the recommended changes "wrth gael eu hamddifau o'r gallu a'r nawddgarwch sydd wedi bod cyhyd yn eu dwylaw, ac y bydd yn chwith ganddynt feddwl am yr anfantais i'r Eglwys o golli peirianwaith rhadlawn a chyfleus i ddwyn i fyny offeiriaid iddi." (1)

In keeping with Nonconformist opinion, he held Hugh Owen's suggestions for financing the scheme in very high regard, but appreciated that the Committee found it difficult to decide whether to recommend a loan, a county rate or a government grant to supplement the financial arrangements which already existed, in order to meet such schemes on a national scale.

It was also a measure of considerable satisfaction to most Nonconformists that the Committee had condemned the sectarian character of the old grammar school. Although Nonconformists were fully aware that under Section 17 of the Endowed Schools Act of 1869, the old endowed grammar schools had become completely unsectarian from a legal point of view, nevertheless, Rowlands claimed that the schools were with very few exceptions "yn ymarferol yn nwyllaw un corff crefyddol, sydd yn gwneyd i fyny yr hyn sydd mewn cymhariaeth yn lleiafrif bychan o'r boblogaeth." (2) Now, Nonconformists anticipated with confidence that this narrow sectarian character of the schools would come to an end.

Similarly, the fact that the management of these old grammar schools had been almost entirely in the hands of Church people had been an annoyance to Welsh Nonconformists. In view of the recommendations in the Report, they however

(1) Y Traethodydd, 1881; 492.

(2) *ibid* 483.

looked forward to the day when Nonconformist participation would be possible. Rowlands did not expect that this would be acceptable to Church people - "Digon tebyg y bydd yn ysgorn gan rai o honynt feddwl am gydweithredu â phobl sydd bellach yn debyg o gael eu gosod, gyda golwg ar y pethau hyn, ar yr un tir â hwythau."⁽¹⁾

In his review, the Rev. Daniel Rowlands had presented a very fair picture of the reactions of both Nonconformists and Anglicans to the contents of the Report. In contrast, the "Western Mail" in its observations on the Report in a series of articles during September, 1881 (as already seen in the previous chapter), believed that it was heavily biased in favour of the Nonconformists. It claimed that the Report, whilst wishing to voice the views of Anglicans (such as Lord Aberdare and Prebendary Robinson) had suffered much from the Nonconformist influence of Henry Richard. The Rev. Daniel Rowland regarded this accusation as being highly ironical, for the firm impression of all interested parties at the time was that the Report had been written by Prebendary H. G. Robinson - a member of the Established Church and the only cleric on the Committee.⁽²⁾

W. E. Davies agreed with this view, and in his "Life of Hugh Owen" he observed "that the Report was mainly drafted by the late Canon Robinson is now an open secret, and that it should display such unfettered breadth of view and sympathy on subjects which might have been expected without the slightest imputation of narrowness, to have aroused his opposition, is a fact that has endeared to the Welsh people the memory of that able and highly-minded clergyman."⁽³⁾

(1) Y Traethodydd, 1881; 495.

(2) *ibid.* 493.

(3) W. E. Davies, Life and Life Work of Sir Hugh Owen; 59,60

Several of the Committee's findings were not approved by members of the Established Church. The Dean of Bangor, even when he was before the Committee, expressed considerable alarm about Hugh Owen's ideas on secondary education. The Dean strongly objected to Owen's scheme because "my impression is that by a county school he means a school of the same character as a grammar school, managed under very inferior auspices, such as the Chairmen of Board Schools, some of whom in this country can hardly write their names, and to supplement the work of the grammar school, but I do not think that such a school is required."⁽¹⁾

The Rev. Prebendary Garmon Williams even wrote to Gladstone so as to present the resolutions passed by the four Brecon Rural Deaneries on the Report:

"1. That in any allocation of Church Endowments from the purposes to which these donors devoted them, it be recognised as a principle that they be applied to Church purposes only, and that when they are carefully employed no allocation should take place.

"2. That inasmuch as a large majority of those who avail themselves of the education in Grammar Schools in Wales are members of the Church of England, the proposal of the Departmental Committee that the Management should be taken out of the hands of the present Governors is utterly unjust."⁽²⁾

One could hardly expect any other reaction from the Established Church, and as one magazine put it, "To say that

(1) Report of the Departmental Committee, 1881, Vol. II, 112.

(2) P.R.O. Ed. 91/8.

the Report is wholly free from the tokens of bias would be to claim for it an almost impossible perfection."⁽¹⁾

On the whole, however, the publication of the Report in 1881 led to great enthusiasm in Nonconformist Wales, and educational institutions and associations eagerly awaited the implementation of its recommendations. Yet, much was to happen before any of the recommendations were to be embodied in the Welsh Intermediate Act of 1889.⁽²⁾ The difficulties were to some extent political at a national level, and administrative and financial at a local level.

The Education Department was immediately involved in the drafting of a Bill for the implementation of the recommendations, and the Queen's speech at the opening of the 1882 Parliament also promised that the recommendations of the Aberdare Report would be implemented that session.⁽³⁾ Even Lord Aberdare appreciated how the Welsh Nation pinned its hopes on this when he wrote to his wife saying how such an announcement would "Gratify the Cymru."⁽⁴⁾ A. J. Mundella with his great enthusiasm and industry was also most anxious to get this Bill through the House in the hope that these educational schemes could be tried out in Wales and later possibly in England.

However, it was not to be. The Bill suffered considerable political manipulation between 1882 and 1889, and its vicissitudes during this period are dealt with in detail in an article on the "Welsh Intermediate Act" by Professor J. R.

(1) College Magazine, St. David's College, Lampeter, 1882.

(2) J. R. Webster: "The Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889," The Welsh History Review, Vol. IV, no. 3, 1969; 277.

(3) Parliamentary Debates, 3rd Series, Vol. 257, Col. 6.

(4) Lord Aberdare Letters, Oxford 1902, Vol. ii; 144.

X Webster.⁽⁴⁾ Before the passing of the Local Government Act, 1888, several fruitless efforts were made to carry out the main recommendations of the Committee and the delay and prevarication caused much dismay and resentment in Wales.

When the Welsh Intermediate Act was passed in 1889, it provided for an effective organisation of secondary schools in Wales based on the Local Government Act of 1888. County Councils were then in their infancy, and it was too early to be sure of their capacity for educational administration, or to foresee how far their zeal would carry them in providing for the cost out of rates. The authority of the State to aid or to guide local effort was meagre, and moreover, was divided amongst three Departments: The Committee of Council in Education; the Charity Commission, and the Science and Art Department. Yet in these early years the newly formed County Councils faced up to their responsibilities with much courage and zest.

It was not until 1894 that a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the organisation of Secondary Education in England. Thus Wales in organising its own Secondary Schools could not look to its larger neighbour for guidance, but had to encounter alone the difficulties which commonly confront the pioneer and almost inevitably mar the perfection of his achievement. That such an organisation was actually in working order in Wales ten years before a serious start had been made in England was perhaps in some degree due to the difference between the two countries in size, and to the complexities of the problems involved, but

(1) J. R. Webster: "The Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889"; The Welsh History Review, Vol. IV, no. 3; 1969; 277.

to a much larger measure to the fact that as soon as the Welsh people began to exercise the political power in their hands, they made the provision of the means of middle and higher education a question of first importance.

Despite all the political and administrative upheavals and difficulties, the first schools under the Act were founded in the mid-nineties and by 1902 and the passing of the Education Act, there was a net work of about 90 intermediate schools in Wales.

It was regrettable that a separate Board of Education for Wales was not formed at the same time.⁽¹⁾ Many subsequent difficulties of administration and educational policy might have been avoided if advantage had been taken of this great opportunity in 1889. Nevertheless, the Welsh Intermediate Education Act was undoubtedly the "Magna Carta" of Welsh Education, and the only separate education act ever to be passed for Wales only.

In retrospect, it has been felt that the new intermediate schools established in Wales after the Intermediate Education Act of 1889 were from their inception very English in character and remained so for many years to come. It was a long time before the Welsh language and Welsh literature, the history, geography and music of Wales were given their rightful place in these schools. At first, they were all prone to ape the character and tone as well as the curriculum of the old endowed grammar schools of England. Hugh Owen was guilty of not insisting that these new schools should be more Welsh in character, sympathy and in outlook. It is true that Thomas Gee and T. Marchant Williams had at least expressed a wish that a study of the Celtic language and literature

(1) J. R. Webster, *op. cit.* 291.

should be included in the curriculum.

Hugh Owen has again been accused of introducing and promoting, quite unwittingly, another Anglicised institution into Wales. No safeguards had been adopted to ensure that these schools in the early years would promote the true interests of the Welsh nation. Fortunately, they have since more than made up for their early lapses. Happily, too, the duality based on denominationalism was avoided in these schools, and from the very beginning they maintained a wholly unsectarian character. Much duplication of effort, time and money, not to mention sectarian hostility, was thus avoided.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

Da wladwr duwiol ydoedd,
A gŵr Duw o'r gwraidd oedd"

Eben Fardd.

Any evaluation of the educational work of Sir Hugh Owen must be related to the great political, religious, economic and social changes which took place during the nineteenth century. The life of Sir Hugh had spanned three quarters of that century, and during those years the nation had emerged from its backward state into a people striving for national identity and recognition. In a crowded life, Sir Hugh had a significant share in moulding this new Wales. His dominant interest was education, and most of his life was subordinated to the task of providing Nonconformist Wales with educational facilities. Surprisingly free from denominational bigotry, he yet for over forty years was committed to do battle against the monopoly of the Established Church, both in the control and in the provision of educational facilities in this country. When he first turned his attention to the needs of Wales in the late 1830's, the provision for elementary education was rudimentary; secondary education was almost non-existent and higher education was not provided at all. At his death in 1881, he was survived by a network of primary schools, two training colleges, a university college, and in addition,

well-laid schemes for a state-supported system of secondary education.

The progress in education during the period was inextricably interwoven with the changing political, religious, social and economic state of the country. Sir Hugh was not a firebrand in political affairs nor a narrow sectarian in religious matters and neither was he a fervid nationalist, yet the significant changes which overtook Wales in these spheres during his life time made his task significantly less onerous and the outcome of his labours decidedly more hopeful with the passing of the years.

Before proceeding to evaluate the effect of these influences upon his educational work, it would be well to consider the immense impact of certain agencies in bringing about these changes in the political, religious, and social and economic life of the country. In the first instance, it is important to appreciate the influence of the press. Writers in the periodicals and papers of the time - and particularly the leading Nonconformist ministers who edited them and contributed to them - were essentially responsible for conditioning the attitude of the Welsh people. It is doubtful whether any of the changes referred to would have come about without their influence.

The first and most important form of militant Nonconformity during the early years of the nineteenth century was literary, and it would be difficult to exaggerate the influence of the Press on the growth of Radical-Nonconformity as a distinctive force in our national life. During the mid-century years, the Press of Wales largely fell into two

sectors: one a Radical Nonconformist, the other Tory Anglican. The conflicting views of these two sectors forcibly reflect the intensity of the political and religious affiliations of the period.

From the early years of the nineteenth century, the Baptists and the Congregationalists in particular were attracted by radical concepts and ideals for promoting a new and more equitable society. In the dissemination of these views, the Baptists produced "Seren Gomer" as early as 1814, and the Congregationalists followed with the "Dysgedydd" in 1821, the "Efanglydd" in 1830, and the "Diwygiwr" in 1835; later the Methodists produced the "Drysorfa" in 1831. In direct opposition to the "Diwygiwr," the Anglicans brought out "Yr Haul" in 1835, and between 1848 and 1852 they published the "Cymro" to counteract the influence of the "Amserau", first published in 1843. Indeed, the "Diwygiwr" and the "Haul" both established in 1835, deliberately as rivals, continued for thirty years under the same editors, who were the great champions in the struggle between Dissent and the Established Church, and between Radicalism and Toryism. These periodicals regularly went into hundreds of homes and provided the people with their first opportunity of gaining political, religious and educational knowledge and opinions. Sir Hugh was to be very indebted to their contributions throughout his working life. It was these periodicals which made Nonconformity keenly aware of itself as the most powerful element in the life of the nation.

The middle decades of the century saw a period of massive expansion in the number of Welsh periodicals and newspapers,

which reflected and created a conscious growth of attitudes in these matters that often transcended denominational barriers. By 1866 there were five quarterlies, twenty-five monthlies and eight weeklies in Welsh with a combined circulation of 120,000. These from the first were overwhelmingly Nonconformist, and provided a vital and fundamental medium for changing the opinions and attitudes of the people.

"It is scarcely more than 20 years," said Henry Richard in 1866, "since the Welsh began to have anything like a political literature. Much indeed, had been done before that through the medium of the monthly periodicals to awaken something like a public spirit in the nation."⁽¹⁾ He particularly wished to draw attention to two Nonconformist writers - the Rev. Joseph Harries of Swansea, (Gomer), and the Rev. David Rees of Llanelli, who did so much to rouse the Nonconformists - "as editors of the two principal monthly series - 'Seren Gomer' and 'Y Diwygiwr' - they did so much to stimulate popular intelligence on other than merely religious questions, and to prepare men for taking up the active duties of citizenship." It was such periodicals in due course which were so instrumental in gathering widespread support for providing educational facilities.

In the same way as "The Daily News" or "The Times" in England presented opposing views, so in Wales, we later had the "South Wales Daily News" and the "Western Mail." Similarly, there was a kind of balance of views presented between the various weeklies. The Tory "Carmarthen Journal" was opposed by the Liberal "Welshman"; the Tory "Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian" by the "Monmouthshire Merlin" and the Tory

(1) Henry Richard: Letters and Essays on Wales, 93.

"North Wales Chronicle" by the Liberal "Caernarvon and Denbigh Herald." According to their political and religious allegiances, these papers either strongly supported or violently opposed the policies of such men as Hugh Owen. The "Faner" on the other hand, on account of its constantly high quality without any denominational attachment, won its way into the homesteads of a very wide sector of the community throughout the land, and with its appearance the direct education of the Welsh people in public affairs was greatly enhanced.

It was seen that the first and greatest problem which Hugh Owen had to contend with was the "religious difficulty." This was probably greater in Wales than in England. When, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the majority of the Welsh people still belonged to the Established Church, the monopoly of the Church in educational affairs was unquestioned. Such a situation, however, was not to last, for with the rapid spread of Nonconformity, the position and monopoly of the Established Church was seriously challenged. It was Hugh Owen's mission to lead the Welsh people in this challenge, and the history of education in Wales for the remainder of the century was a record of gradual but incomplete advances by the Nonconformists from one contested position to another at the cost of minor surrenders by the Established Church. Yet throughout the century, the Established Church was able to provide much more lavishly for Welsh youth than the Nonconformists. A close network of Church or National Schools was created throughout the land; the old endowed grammar schools were overwhelmingly Anglican in sympathy and outlook; two teacher-training colleges had been set up, and

St. David's College, Lampeter, founded in 1827, had been given the power to grant degrees in Divinity and the Arts. In the face of such a vast challenge, Sir Hugh's success in providing similar facilities for the Nonconformists was a monumental achievement.

Again, no part of the United Kingdom stood in greater need of political enlightenment and leadership during the first half of the nineteenth century than Wales. Welsh interests had been almost exclusively religious; Wales had for centuries suffered from a political eclipse, and Tom Ellis claimed that prior to 1868 "the political subjection of Wales was complete. It had no voice in Parliament, no advocate in the Press, no valourous friend to do battle for its honour outside its borders, no one to meet enemies at the gate."⁽¹⁾

During the early years of the century, little account was taken of the fate of ordinary Welshmen in the political life of Wales, for the Principality was entirely represented in Parliament by the landed gentry and county families. In 1818, only four Parliamentary elections were held in Wales, and the other 23 seats were unopposed. In Denbighshire, there existed a gentleman's agreement that the Wynnstays should represent the county (and they did so without a break from 1775 to 1855) whilst the Chirk Castle family represented the boroughs. The Reform Act of 1832 gave additional Members of Parliament to the shires of Glamorgan, Carmarthen and Denbigh, and thereby Wales had a total of 32 members, but the results were insignificant. Whilst the landowners in the boroughs

(1) Tom Ellis: Wales and the Local Government Act, 1894.
Speeches and Addresses. Wrexham, 1912. 182.

were liable to be replaced by employers of labour, in the shires their influence remained undiminished.

The old county families tended to regard Nonconformity as a sub-culture and Nonconformists as no more than second-class citizens. The Tory "North Wales Chronicle" was also of the opinion that "the commons were never meant to include the lower classes."⁽¹⁾ It was the Nonconformist ministers who became the radical leaders and leaders of "political dissent." Outspoken radicals emerged from the Congregational and Baptists denominations early in the century, and agitators such as the Rev. David Rees, Llanelli, and the Rev. Samuel Roberts, Llanbrynmair, set out to champion political dissent through the medium of papers such as the "Diwygiwr." They also set out to destroy the dominant position and the monopoly of control assumed by the Established Church in Welsh life - a cry which later in the century led eventually to the movement for the dis-establishment of the Church. They were determined to arouse Welsh Nonconformists from their political stupor and to interest and even engage them in duties of social and political citizenship.

The Methodist leaders were reluctant to accept their advanced views until about the middle of the century. By then, fortunately for Hugh Owen, even Dr. Lewis Edwards failed to see any hope of justice and equity for Welsh Nonconformists "os na lwyddwn i ddylanwadu ar yr etholiadau."⁽²⁾ In 1848, he hoped for some redress in this direction, and anticipated the day when Wales would have real representation in Parliament - "nid gormod fyddai disgwyl yr anfonid Ymneillduwyr egwyddorol

(1) North Wales Chronicle, March 16, 1831.

(2) Y Traethodydd, 1848; 251.

for a remarkable outburst of national feeling, and the consequences were evident in the election of 1868, when against ten conservatives, Wales returned twenty three Liberals, among whom were three Nonconformists, and in the whole Parliament there were 95 members who were opposed to the Established Church. Outstanding members such as Henry Richard, George Osborne Morgan, Morgan Lloyd, Watkin Williams and John Roberts won seats and became the vanguard of a notable and increasing body of men who for the remainder of the century represented the ideals of the Welsh people at the seat of government.

Late in coming though it was, such parliamentary support was of immense value to the educational reformers, for in Wales, problems of education stood on the border line between religion and politics. Welsh affairs were given a better hearing than ever before in the history of this country. No government Report was ever again to express sentiments on Welsh matters in the vein of the 1847 Blue Books.

Hugh Owen's association with the Members of Parliament, and particularly with the Welsh members, became closer than ever and this particular association was in the fullness of time to reap the greatest harvest of all. Without the support and influence of these new members in the House, many of his plans **could not possibly have succeeded.**

Apart from this development in the political life of Wales, it will be recalled that almost in spite of themselves one reluctant Government after another had become involved in the provision of education for the youth of Britain during the nineteenth century. The fate of Wales in this respect

was irrevocably tied to that of England. Constant pressure was exerted by reformers, educationists and politicians with decided egalitarian views on an increasing government concern and responsibility in educational matters. Hugh Owen and Wales in turn benefited from their exertions. The first state grant for education had been made in 1833, a Committee of the Privy Council with a permanent secretary to deal with education was appointed in 1839, and again the famous Minutes of the Committee of Council which were promulgated in 1846 were early milestones along this road which led to better facilities in both countries.

Throughout the century, too, commission had followed commission in investigating the state of popular education within England and Wales. The Commission of Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales in 1846, the Newcastle Commission in 1858, the Pakington Inquiry in 1866, the Clarendon Commission in 1864, the Taunton Commission in 1869, not to mention the Departmental Inquiry of 1880, were very significant even if tardy signs which indicated the greater concern of governments with the prevailing state of education. The political climate was slowly changing, and these were steps which greatly helped the reformer in his ambitions.

In turn, the writings of men such as Darwin, Newman, Stuart Mill, Huxley and Arnold could not but influence governments and the public at large, nor could any government be completely unconcerned with the significant developments taking place in the continent of Europe. Whilst France and Germany were making generous provisions for the education

of the masses, this country was lagging far behind.

With the passing of the Education Act of 1870, the State at last became irrevocably committed to the provision of elementary education. Serious though the shortcomings of the Act may have been, it brought to an end the maintenance of an educational system primarily based on voluntary support. It became considerably easier for a School Board to establish a school in Wales in the seventies than it had been for the Rev. John Phillips to establish a British School in the Principality in the forties. In response to the egalitarian demands and a new political climate, governments slowly if reluctantly shouldered an increasing share of the responsibility for providing and maintaining educational facilities.

With the growth of Radical Nonconformity, it was seen that a distinct dichotomy appeared in the social structure of contemporary society in Wales. The aristocracy, the landed gentry and county families remained Anglican, Tory and English-speaking whilst the vast majority of the ordinary people were Radical, Nonconformist and Welsh-speaking. This Nonconformist sector was to produce its own leaders, and the structure of society slowly but irrevocably changed. The great social unrest and dissatisfaction which existed among the labouring classes during the 30's and 40's expressed itself in the Chartist Movement and in the Rebecca Riots. This was really the only method open to the masses to express their discontent, for little communication existed between them and those in authority.

The new leaders in Welsh society, such as the Rev. David

Rees were accused of fomenting uprisings such as the Rebecca Riots. Rees was certainly in sympathy with the ordinary folk of Wales, and for years agitated against the landlord, the squire and the State Church, but far more significant was the fact that democracy was on the march and that the masses were bent upon getting better social conditions - which incidentally meant better educational facilities. This egalitarian movement not only demanded better education, but also in itself created an educational demand. With the passing of time it too facilitated the task of Hugh Owen.

It is possible to consider the leaders of this new egalitarian movement as being of two distinct groups of men. Although both types sprang from the people, only one had been able to remain in very close touch with the ordinary life and lot of the people. Many of them had been born and bred before the coming of the state-aided school - men such as S.R. born in 1800, Gwilym Hiraethog in 1802, Hugh Owen in 1804 and Lewis Edwards in 1809. These were from the common people, were democratic in outlook, and - unlike the leaders in England who were from the upper-middle classes - had not been educated in grammar schools. Of these, one sector consisted of those men who had achieved success and even prosperity in London and in the large cities of England, but had either individually or in conjunction with various associations continued to be deeply interested in Welsh affairs even from their distant bases. This was particularly true of London Welshmen. The other sector consisted of leaders of the Welsh nation who had remained in their native land amongst the people.

In general terms, it may be claimed that members of the former group of which Hugh Owen was one, were the policy-makers who inspired progress and organised its steps - men such as George Osborne Morgan, M.P., Henry Richard, M.P., and William Williams, M.P., who never failed to serve their country at every opportunity. The second group was composed of a totally different type of leader who operated within Wales. This group consisted mainly of ministers of religion and dealt with all the religions, political, educational and national movements at their grass-roots; they dealt face to face with the cottager and the labourer, with the artisan and the miner. The work undertaken by both groups was essentially complementary - both groups were democratic in outlook, and both were essential for the nation's progress and welfare.

Both groups "stormed and pled in turn from pulpits, they called at cottage doors, they urged from public platforms, they agitated in season and out of season, - till they had aroused the sleeping conscience and intelligence, and warmed the cold hearts of the people to give the human popular force that is always necessary in Wales before any great movement can be a success."⁽¹⁾ It was the co-operation of these leaders - the new moulders of society - which eventually guaranteed ^{the} success of Hugh Owen's educational schemes, and ensured for the youth of the Welsh Nonconformists of the labouring classes the facilities for elementary schooling, teacher training, a university education, and at a later date, secondary schooling for the first time in the history of the nation.

There was yet another change in the structure of society

(1) J. V. Morgan. op. cit., 215.

in Wales, for during the nineteenth century, and for the first time, it was to have a significant industrial as well as a rural population. Great changes took place in the economy of Wales between 1832 and 1848, and the sudden industrialisation and better communications made the whole population more open to new and external influences. From the 1841 Census onwards, nearly all the rural parishes in Wales declined in population whilst in the industrial valleys, villages and towns, the population increased on an unprecedented scale. In short, three significant features emerged with this sudden process of industrialisation; the depopulation of rural Wales, the mushroom growth of an industrial population in North-East and South-East Wales and a very marked increase in the total population of the country.

<u>Population of Wales</u>			<u>Population of Glamorganshire</u>		
1801	-	587,000	1801	-	70,879
1851	-	1,163,000	1851	-	231,849
1901	-	2,018,000	1901	-	859,931

These changes in their wake brought about new quantitative and qualitative problems in education, for the new type of labouring class and the industrial areas of the Principality, and for the increasingly scattered population of rural Wales.

Nonconformity was to grow apace in the new industrial areas, both in North East and South Wales, and this proved to be the most potent link between rural and industrial Wales for several generations to come. It helped to preserve the Welsh character and language of its inhabitants at least until the end of the century. Hugh Owen did not fail to accept the challenge associated with the new educational demands of these

areas, and with the aid of the Rev. William Roberts (Nefydd), of Blaina, he at least succeeded in providing these populous areas of South Wales with rudimentary educational facilities.

Hugh Owen's educational work can only be evaluated and understood in the light of this changing background. Almost inevitably, these forces were slowly to favour the innovations and schemes advanced by him, and in consequence it was considerably easier to promote the new educational schemes in the last quarter of the century than it had been when he first launched his projects during the late thirties. Yet, some of the political, religious, social and economic conflicts referred to often accounted for many of the difficulties which arose during those crucial years in furthering his schemes. In addition, on account of their poverty, possibly their lack of imagination, and certainly their lack of understanding, Hugh Owen found it a difficult task for many decades to convince all his countrymen of the great need for providing a complete educational edifice within the Principality.

Yet remarkable though it may seem, of all the Welshmen of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who undertook so much on behalf of the youth of Wales, Sir Hugh Owen is not readily found among the revered idols of the Welsh nation. His name is not really familiar to his countrymen even in this century. He is never mentioned with the same reverence as Thomas Charles of Bala, Griffith Jones of Llanddowror or Owen M. Edwards, or even Robert Owen in contemporary Wales. This is indeed surprising in view of the magnitude of his contribution to Welsh life during the nineteenth century and

the extent to which his work has survived him to this day. No simple explanation can be found for this.

Pioneers are seldom beloved by their contemporaries, for their singleness of purpose, their unremitting zeal, their hounding and hustling of colleagues eventually palls upon all and sundry. This was so often true in the life and work of Hugh Owen. He was far from being widely loved for this very reason. With a clear sight of the road ahead he was loth to be side-tracked by the subtleties of an issue, and this often brought him into conflict with contemporaries and particularly academic associates - of subtler minds - but alas, of considerably less tenacious fibre and practical acumen for undertaking the vast educational schemes of the nineteenth century. The scope of his ambitions, and the demands of his schemes, during these years not unnaturally, lay him open to much harsh criticism.

Yet in spite of opposition, it has been noted throughout this survey that he himself rarely passed adverse comment, either in print or by word of mouth, on those who opposed him. Neither did he carp in public about the iniquities of official reports on the state of Welsh education, nor did he rant on the failure of governments to give much needed state aid to his costly schemes. Patience and prudence were as much a part of his personality as courage and determination. Even when a man of wealth such as Robert Davies, Bodlondob, Bangor, threatened to withdraw his gift of £1,000 to the Bangor Normal College, Hugh Owen was not reluctant to reproach him with two hours of moral blackmail. With uncanny resolution, whatever the odds against him, this man merely went

ahead with his plans when all around him would abandon all hope.

During the forty years of educational work, many were the adverse comments and letters of criticism opposing his plans in the contemporary Welsh papers, but fortunately for Wales, there was an even greater number of notices of approval, of resolutions of appreciation from governing bodies, and memorials of esteem drawn up by public societies and associations. One letter to this effect published in the "Drysorfa" as early as 1844 is worthy of note since it complains of the general tendency in Wales not to appreciate Hugh Owen's great effort.

"Dyled y Cymry i Mr. H. Owen, Llundain"

"Mr. Golygydd, Bod ein cenedl wedi ei chodi i raddau helaeth o'r sefyllfa anwybodus yr ydoedd hi ynnddi gynt, trwy bregethiad yr efengyl, Ysgolion Sabbothol, Cyhoeddiadau Misol, sydd yn destyn o lawenydd i bob dyngarwr Cristionogol, ond y mae un bai, fe allai, perthynol i'r Cymry, sef y diffyg o gydnabod y rhai a'u gwasanaethant. Nid wyf yn ammeu nad oes ugeiniau a channoedd wedi gwasanaethu eu hoes a'u cenedlaeth, ag sydd wedi myned oddiwrth eu gwaith at eu gwobr. Ond y mae un yn bresennol, Mr. Hugh Owen, 8 Coles Terrace, Islington, London, a haeddai ryw gydnabyddiaeth oddiar law ei genedl am ei ymdrech difflino i gael Ysgolion dyddiol at bob capel yn y Dywysogaeth. Beth debygwch chi, Mr. Golygydd, a'ch Gohebwy'r deallus am hyn?

Yr eiddoch etc.

W. Morris⁽¹⁾

Caepant-tywyll, Merthyr Tydfil.

(1) "Y Drysorfa," 1844; 31.

It has been seen how the governing bodies of the British Society, the Bangor Normal College, the Swansea Training College, the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth and ^{the} Departmental Committee held him in esteem for the great work he had undertaken on their behalf.

The "Genedl Gymreig" with considerable understanding appreciated that in his educational work Owen was one of those rare men who could rise above the conflicts of religious sects and political parties, and claimed "nid oes Gymro arall yn fyw heddyw, os bu un erioed, yn perthyn i bob plaid ac i'r un graddau a'r Marchog newydd yn ddyn i'w wlad! Nis gellir dyweyd amdano ef ei fod yn cysegru i wasanaethu plaid y doniau hyny a fwriadwyd i'r holl ddynoliaeth,; i'r gwrthwyneb, pa le bynag yr oedd eisiau cynnal i fyny y gwir, pa le bynag yr oedd galwad am oleuni i blant dynion yn nhywyllwch glyn anwybodaeth yr oedd Hugh Owen yno."⁽¹⁾ This was a rare quality - but unfortunately not a quality always appreciated or admired in a sect-ridden age.

In a review of his work the "Genedl Gymreig" was able to appreciate his efforts to provide educational facilities on a national scale, and regretted that in spite of his efforts, education had suffered so much from the grip of sectarian control and denominational narrow-mindedness. The "Genedl" noted the traditional link between denominationalism and education, and was aware that the Nonconformist Academies in spite of their limitations had previously provided the only real opportunity above the elementary level for the majority of Welshmen - "y cylch crefyddol yn wir, oedd yr unig un oedd

(1) Y Genedl Gymreig, Awst 4, 1881;

yn cynyg manteision i wr ieuanc awyddus i fod yn ddefnyddiol yn ei oes a'i genedlaeth ond nid oedd yn Nghymru y pryd hwnw, mwy nag yn bresenol, gylch crefyddol ar wahan i sectyddiaeth, ac nis gellid gwasanaethu Crefydd ond yn hualau Enwad." Consequently, in paying tribute to Owen, it wished to stress the emancipated quality of his outlook - "yn meddu y penderfyniad i dorri trwy yr ormes hon, a chawn ef yn taflu ei holl egnion i symudiadau oedd a'u dyben, nid i godi shibboleth plaid, ond i hyrwyddo amcanion daionus ag y gallai pob plaid ymuno i'w cefnogi."

The "Genedl" even claimed that he had succeeded in initiating national concepts and attitudes which in themselves were more important than the provision of educational facilities within Wales - "dysgodd i Gymru ysbryd newydd, ac am fagu a meithryn yr ysbryd hwn, ysbryd undeb a chenedlgarwch yn hytrach nag ymraniad a sectgarwch, y mae y wlad dan fwy o rwymau iddo na hyd yn oed am ei wasanaeth hunan-ymwadol yn mhlaid sefydliadau neillduol."

Many of his contemporaries were to refer to his tenacity and singleness of purpose, and E. G. Salisbury, the Chester M.P., in particular recalls the time when they were interested in founding Queen's Colleges. "I very well remember that he was the plague of my life just then; his letters to me were continuous, his calls upon me in London and at Chester were very unlike angel's visits - few and far between, - and I certainly never met a man to compare with him, in quiet, but untiring energy, when he had set his heart upon any given object."⁽¹⁾ Complaining about him to the Rev. Edward Morgan, Dyffryn, Salisbury once remarked, "what a persevering tout

(1) Caernarvon & Denbigh Herald, Dec. 3, 1881.

Hugh Owen was in all Welsh matters!" Morgan replied, "Y machgen anwyl i, fydd Huw Owain byth yn llonydd ar addysg i'r Cymru nes ei gladdu." This prediction proved to be correct, for in his last letter to Salisbury, Hugh Owen wrote, "I shall never rest until the Welsh Educational Appliances are perfected."⁽¹⁾

He was held in the highest possible regard by his contemporaries in London. The generous praise bestowed upon him by **such outstanding men as George Osborne Morgan and Henry Richard** during the opening ceremonies of the college at **Aberystwyth bore ample testimony to this.** Henry Richard was **to echo these sentiments** after the death of Hugh Owen, and he stressed that throughout his life, Owen had been a man who had made the utmost of every opportunity to further his plans and had never failed, "to grasp the skirts of happy chance."⁽²⁾ Richard, who knew him well, thought that he "never affected to be a man of brilliant parts," and to him this made, "his example all the more significant and instructive." Richard described how "he wished to serve his country," and how his aspirations did not, "evaporate in mere wishes and longings." Rightly Richard stressed that "he had an eminently practical constructive mind which led him to form plans of usefulness and to embody his wishes in act." Richard too, particularly wished to stress his "pertinacity of purpose" which he did not think was "a national characteristic." For Richard thought that his fellow countrymen tended to be "full of good and noble impulses, easily moved to contemplate great enterprises by an appeal to their higher feelings." Yet he

(1) Caernarvon & Denbigh Herald, Dec. 3, 1881.

(2) South Wales Daily News, Nov. 29, 1881.

feared that their goodness "is as the morning cloud and the early dew which passeth away." Hugh Owen, on the contrary, "clung to his purpose with unyielding tenacity, plodding on in pursuit of his object through times of depression and discouragement, and had the faculty of believing all things and hoping all things that tended in the direction of what he aimed at." In referring to his steadfastness, Richard did not fail to describe how, "while the zeal of others slackened until they fell out of the course one after another, he ever stuck valiantly to his post."

Whilst Henry Richard also appreciated that Owen "had a keen eye to discern where useful instruments might be found for any work in which he was interested and a persuasive power by which he could win them to become fellow labourers," he did not fail to emphasize that Hugh Owen "was among the most strenuous, devoted and persevering labourers whose united efforts accomplished such benefits to our country."

After the death of Hugh Owen, Lord Aberdare, who had been associated with him in every aspect of educational work during the previous quarter of a century, particularly referred to his work in association with the Departmental Committee of 1881 - "it was to Sir Hugh Owen more than to any other man the appointment of that Committee¹ was due."⁽¹⁾ and he recalled that "not only in the evidence given by him before the Committee, but in the appendices to its report, proofs might be found that his vigorous and active brain was to the last engaged in devising improved means for educating the children of Wales."

(1) Western Mail, March 16, 1882.

Lord Aberdare like most of his contemporaries agreed "that he did not possess the brilliant talents of an orator," for apparently, he "was not at home on the platform, but in committee he spoke easily and fluently but dispassionately, rarely appealing to the feelings of his hearers but relying almost entirely on the safe, if dry, logic of facts and figures."⁽¹⁾

"The Weekly Mail" also wished to emphasize his freedom from prejudice, whether religious or political, and reminded its readers how Hugh Owen, the staunch Liberal and devout Nonconformist, had the confidence of the political leaders on both sides of the House of Commons. It illustrated this "by two facts - each significant in more ways than one."⁽²⁾ It related how - "Mr. Disraeli at the time when he was working out the details of his Reform Bill, relied on two men - Mr. Lumley, the secretary of the Statistical Society, and Mr. Hugh Owen, both engaged at Gwydir House, one a Roman Catholic and the other a Nonconformist," and claimed that, Mrs. Disraeli on one occasion referred to these two gentlemen as her husband's "guardian angels." Though the staunch Liberal had on this occasion given every support to a Tory Prime Minister, Lewis Morris assured us that from "both parties in the State he received the greatest consideration and honour."⁽³⁾

Lewis Morris was a great admirer of his breadth of vision and outlook, and maintained that "Hugh Owen was always full of some patriotic scheme, not the narrow and ill-advised patriotism which looks to the preservation of anything - an

(1) J. V. Morgan. op. cit., 215.

(2) Weekly Mail, Nov. 10, 1888.

(3) Y Cymmrodor, 1882; 42.

old language or an old institution - because it is old, but the wider patriotism which has for its sole object the greater development and the greater good of the greatest number."⁽¹⁾ He even thought that "old age, which narrows so many, only made him (Hugh Owen) broader, more tolerant, and more eager for necessary change because he knew that the time was short."⁽²⁾ Lewis Morris made a delightful comparison between Hugh Owen and Stephen Evans both of whom had worked so hard on behalf of Aberystwyth. To him the two men represented "two types of temperament which characterised the type of men of North and South Wales - Sir Hugh of the astute, laborious Northern type, the calm unruffled temper, working by conciliatory methods, but never giving way when persuaded he was right; Stephen Evans of the more fiery and impetuous type of the South, loud-voiced, with frank blue eyes, bluff in manner and hasty sometimes, often prone to jump at conclusions, a little imperious perhaps, but always deferring in the long run to the calmer judgement of his revered leader."⁽³⁾

The most derogatory comments about Owen as a man and the most scathing criticism of his educational ambitions, came during his association with Aberystwyth. In turn, Dr. David Thomas, Dr. Thomas Nicholas, the Charles-Edwards family and J. F. Roberts of Manchester were unbelievably abusive and critical in their letters. This continued throughout this period and to the very end of his life. Even a few weeks before giving evidence to the Departmental Committee in the Autumns of 1880, Lewis Edwards, who was still hankering after a University College in North Wales to be located at Bala,

(1) Y Cymmrodor, 1882; 47.

(2) ibid 47.

(3) Trans. Cymm. Soc., 1904-5; 2.

thought that such a plan would not only enable his son to return to North Wales but would also enable him to "get rid of Hugh Owen."⁽¹⁾

It would be difficult to put forward any easy explanation for the sustained antipathy of these men. There must have been a host of issues of major and minor significance responsible for creating such an unhappy situation. It could have been partly due to the antipathy of the provincials towards the London Welshmen, or the disdain of the academics towards the unacademic,⁽²⁾ or the resentment of the ascendant Methodists towards London-formulated policies, or it might be that the Charles-Edwards family wished to control the direction of Welsh educational affairs. Or on the other hand, had Hugh Owen by now assumed a ruthless, dictatorial and authoritarian manner which would not brook questioning from any quarter? Had the stresses and strains, the endless difficulties and the constant battle made him insensitive to the feelings of other? It is likely that all these factors in varying degrees had contributed to a clash of personalities amongst men of strong will. The consequences were lamentable. It is even possible that he had become obsessively pre-occupied with education.

An instance which revealed the almost unnatural dedication of Hugh Owen to educational matters occurred at the death of Mrs. Owen. On January 22, 1880, he wrote to Mr. W. Cadwaladr Davies, informing him of Mrs. Owen's illness - "Rhaid i mi fynd i Gaer yfory i gyfarfod Bwrdd y Diphwys, a fy mwriad oedd myned oddiyno i Gaernarfon. Yr wyf yn canfod yn awr pa fodd

(1) Thos. Chas. Eds. Letters, 16/9/80, 7834.

(2) "dyn Prifysgol oedd Lewis Edwards. Yr oedd Hugh Owen yn fwy o ddyn y werin." Trebor Lloyd Evans: Lewis Edwards, 273.

bynag, y bydd rhaid i mi ddychwelyd adref yn uniongyrchol, oherwydd ansawdd iechyd Mrs. Owen. Cafodd stroke arall nos Fawrth, ac er fod yr ergyd ar ryw ystyriaeth yn ysgafn, y mae ei chyflwr yn peri i mi anesmwythder."⁽¹⁾

Four days later on January 26, 1880, Mrs Owen passed away and on the very next day, Hugh Owen wrote to Mr. W. Cadwaladr Davies once again:-

"Voel, Henasey Lane,
Llundain.

27ain Ion. 1880.

"Fy Anwyl Mr. Davies,

Mae yn alarus gennyf eich hysbysu fod fy anwyl briod wedi marw ddoe ar ol salwch o ychydig ddyddiau yn unig. Mae yr angladd i gymeryd lle ddydd Gwener, ac yr wyf yn bwriadu cychwyn y dydd canlynol am Gaernarfon, i aros yno dros yr wythnos nesaf. Yr wyf yn gobeithio eich gweled ddydd Llun nesaf i drefnu am gyfarfod o Bwyllgor Darbodol y Gymdeithas Ysgoloriaethol y Sadwrn canlynol. Oni fyddai yn ddymunol anfon allan y rhybuddion cyn diwedd yr wythnos hon?

"Mewn galar, ond nid fel ereill sydd heb obaith,

Y gorphwysaf gyda chofion caredicaf,

Yr eiddoch yn fwyaf diffuant,

Hugh Owen."⁽²⁾

It is almost unbelievable that he could be so involved in the affairs of the North Wales Scholarship Association when so deeply afflicted by personal grief!

Was this the reason why he did not win a place in popular esteem? Or was it because he was not an educator but rather and administrator and an organiser of education, and in Wales,

(1) Hanesion - Llyfrau Ceiniog. Humphreys, Caernarfon.

(2) ibid.

is the former held in greater esteem than the latter? Or was it because Owen was the personification of a London Welshman who had spent his working life in London - who ended his days in London, and did not return to his native heath? Or was he not as entirely Welsh in outlook, sympathy and behaviour as his countrymen would have had him to be? In addition to living in London, his immediate family was very English; he attended an English place of worship, he was very much the London civil servant. Writing to his own father in 1834, he added a postscript - "I have not troubled myself with writing in Welsh to you knowing the English to be just as intelligible to you as the former."⁽¹⁾

Was the educational edifice which he transplanted into Wales rather alien and somewhat unattractive in character and regarded as being no more than a necessary evil by the common people of Wales? The British School was most English in all its activities; the Training Colleges were copies of Borough Road in tone and attitude; the University College was only an anaemic copy of the London University, and it took the new Intermediate Schools very many years to identify themselves with Wales and Welsh affairs. This may overstate the case, but the view of the "Genedl Gymreig" even in 1881 was - "yr oedd sefydliadau y Saeson er codi rhinwedd a thaenu gwybodaeth yn meddu rhyw swyn rhyfedd iddo."⁽²⁾ And this could not be gainsaid.

Although comparatively well educated, he could not possibly assume the role of the scholar or of the academic. He left neither a legacy of scholarly papers, or treatises on

(1) Bangor MSS., Porth-yr-Aur, 1110, 61; 11/2/1834.

(2) Y Genedl Gymreig, Awst 4, 1881.

education, nor any homely tracts for the ordinary people of Wales. Prolific letter-writer though he was, yet to know anything about his ideas on education, we have to be content with strictly businesslike circulars, letters of instruction, a few eisteddfodic speeches, some Cymmrodorion papers and the evidence (valuable it is true) which he submitted at various inquiries. Unlike Owen M. Edwards, he did not write beautifully simple and attractive Welsh prose for the ordinary people of Wales. Neither was he happy as a public speaker and orator, and in an age of giants in the Welsh pulpit, this was a serious handicap, and set the taciturn civil servant at a grave disadvantage.

It is also open to question whether Owen's educational aspirations were entirely in accord with the wishes of the ordinary Welsh people. Charles Gittins emphasized that Griffith Jones of Llanddowror, and Thomas Charles of Bala, were concerned "with the cure of souls. They were dedicated to save sinners and education was a means to this over-riding end."⁽¹⁾ Such a spiritual and emotional appeal to the people of Wales of that particular age had a significant impact, and although during the nineteenth century, Wales had moved into quite a different social climate, it is well to ask whether Owen was too materialistic and over class-conscious for most of the Welsh people? A vast sector it is true, hoped for material advancement and expected to be provided with more and better education of this kind, but was the dichotomy between the British School and the lives of ordinary Welsh people too great to be bridged?

(1) Charles Gittins (Edt), Pioneers in Welsh Education; Foreword.

Together some of these factors may account for the general absence of recognition, esteem and affection for Owen that has prevailed in Wales. When so indebted to him, this absence of warmth towards Owen as a man, and the general lack of appreciation of his work by the nation is remarkable. Yet the great endeavour, and the ultimate triumph of this man on behalf of Welsh education was worthy of investigation and appreciation.

ANWYL GYDWLADWYR,

Yr ydych yn gweled angenrheid-
rwydd am addysg i'ch plant, ac yn caru
rhyddid cydwybod: tuag at gael addysg
iddynt, rhaid cael ysgolion; tuag at sicrhau
rhyddid cydwybod, rhaid cael ysgolion heb
fod yn dwyn cyssylltiad neillduol ag unrhyw
blaid grefyddol. I'r dyben hyn, cynnygiad
i'ch ystyriaeth y cynllun canlynol:—

1. Bod Ysgol Frytanaidd (*British School*)
i gael ei sefydlu yn mhob ardal. Mae
trefn yr Ysgolion Brytanaidd yn hollol
gyson â rhyddid cydwybod, ac yn rhagorol
o effeithiol i weinyddu dysg.

2. Bod Cymdeithas i gael ei ffurfio yn
mhob Sir, i gael ei galw "Cymdeithas Ys-
golion Brytanaidd Sir —." Gorchwyl-
ion y Cymdeithas i gael eu dwyn yn mlaen
gan Gyfeisteddod (*Committee*); ynghyd a
Thrysorydd ac Ysgrifenydd. Y Cyfeistedd-
od i fod yn gynnwysedig o wyr cymhwys
o blith y gwahanol enwadau crefyddol yn y
Sir. Dybenion y Cymdeithas: casglu

"fund" tuag at gynnorthwyo cymmydog-
aethau tlodion i adeiladu a chynnal ysgol-
ion; cynnorthwyo yn fflurad Cyfeisteddod-
au Lleol (*Local Committees*); rhoddi cyfar-
wyddiadau ynghylch y manau y bydd oreu
adeiladu ysgolion, ynghyd â'u cynllun, a'u
maintoli; y modd i gael arian i gario y
gwaith yn mlaen; dewis athrawon, &c.

3. Bod Cyfeisteddod o tua deuddeg o
bersonau, ynghyd a Thrysorydd ac Ysgrif-
enydd, i gael ei ffurfio yn mhob ardal y
bydd eisieu ysgol ynddi. Aelodau y Cy-
feisteddod hwn (yr hwn a alwas y Cyfeis-
teddod Lleol) i gael eu dewis o blith yr
amrywiol enwadau crefyddol yn yr ardal;
er nad ydynt o angenrheidrwydd i fod oll yn
aelodau profsedig gydag unrhyw blaid.
Dybenion y Cyfeisteddod Lleol: gofalu
am dir i adeiladu ysgol arno; am sicrhau y
tir i ymddiriedolion (*Trustees*); am Gyn-
lluniau (*Plans*); am Adeiladydd; am geisio
cymhorth y Llywodraeth at yr adeilad; am
geisio cymhorth y gymmydogaeth at yr
adeilad, yn gyystal ag at gynnal yr ysgol; a
gofalu hefyd am athraw: ac yn olaf, am
fod yr ysgol yn cael ei chario yn mlaen yn
effeithiol.

Dymunaf eich sylw yn mhellach at gyn-
northwy y Llywodraeth; at ddarpariad
athrawon; ac at gynnal ysgolion.

Cynnorthwy y Llywodraeth:—Dylai pawb
wybod bod y Llywodraeth yn cyfrannu tua
deng mil ar hugain o bunnau yn y flwydd-
yn tuag at adeiladu ysgoldai; a bod cyflawn
ryddid i'r Ymneillduwyr gael rhan o honynt
tuag at Ysgolion Brytanaidd. Rhoddir yn
gyffredin yn ol deg swllt am bob plentyn
a gynnwysa yr ysgol: yr hyn a wna gan
punt tuag at ysgol a gynnwys ddau gant o
blant. Maintoli ysgol i'r nifer yma i fod
tua 48 troedfedd o hyd, a 26 troedfedd o
led. Gwna swyddogion y Llywodraeth
barotol cynlluniau, a "specifications," os
bydd eu heisiau, yn ddigost.

Yr wyf yn meddwl bod genyf fantais i
wasanaethu fy nghydwladyr yn yr achos
yma; ac yr wyf yn barod i wneud hyn
hyd eithaf fy ngallu yn rhad. Os bydd
rhyw un gan hyn, yn rhyw barth o Gymru,
yn cael ar ei feddwl wneud ysgogiad tuag
at gael Ysgol Frytanaidd yn ei ardal, ys-
grifened ataf; a bydd yn dda genyf gyflwyno
ei achos i'r Llywodraeth, ac anfon iddo y
cyfarwyddiadau angenrheidiol tuag at ddwyn
yr amcan yn mlaen.

Cynnorthwy Lleol:—Yr wyf yn dysgwyl
y bydd yr arian a ganiatâ y Llywodraeth,
mewn lle fel Cymru, lle y mae gwaith a
defnyddiau mor rhad, ac yn enwedig, lle y
ceir cymmaint o help yn ddigost i gludo
defnyddiau at yr adeilad, yn agos ddigon i
adeiladu. Ond i gwblhau unrhyw ddiwyg,
dylid gofyn cynnorthwy perchenogion tir-
oedd yr ardal.

Athrawon:—Ni bydd byth yn werth
myned i'r gost a'r drafferth i godi ysgolion

APPENDIX ONE.

os na ofelir cael athrawon cymhwys i'w
cadw: ac nid pob un ag y mae ganddo
wybodaeth ei hun sydd yn addas i addysgu
ereill: gwaith gorchestol i ddyn dysgedig
yw trosglwyddo ei wybodaeth i blant;
gwaith na ddylai neb ymddynd ynddo heb
ragbarotoad tuag ato. Mae yn Llundain
ysgol i hyfforddi athrawon yn y Drefn Fry-
tanaidd; sef, *Normal School y British and
Foreign School Society*. Gellir cael dynion
ieuaic cymhwys o Gymru, i mewn i'r ysgol
hon yn rhad. Byddai yn ofynol iddynt fod
yno am rai misoedd, i wneuthur eu hunain
yn hyddysg yn eu galwedigaeth.

Cynnalid yr Ysgolion:—Wedi cael ysgol
ac athraw, bydd rhaid gwneud darpariad
tuag at eu cynnal. Gwnaer hyn yn y
modd canlynol:—Gofynir i bob perchen tir,
ac i bob un sydd yn talu treth yn yr ardal,
pa swm yn y flwyddyn a rydd tuag at yr ysgol.
Pob un a rydd bum swllt yn y flwydd-
yn i gael rhyddid i anfon un plentyn (ei
eiddo ei hun, neu eiddo rhyw un arall) i'r
ysgol, trwy iddo ef, neu y plentyn dalu
ceiniog a dimeu yn yr wythnos. Pob un a
rydd ddeg swllt yn y flwyddyn, i anfon un
plentyn i'r ysgol heb dalu dim yn ychwan-
eg na hyny. Pob un a rydd ugain swllt yn
y flwyddyn i anfon dau plentyn i'r ysgol
heb dalu dim yn ychwaneg; ac felly yn y
blaen. Y plant hyn na bydd neb yn talu
unrhyw swm yn flynyddol drostynt, i dalu
am eu hysgol dair ceiniog yn yr wythnos.

Yr wyf yn credu bod y flwybr uchod yn
un mor esmwyth fel ag y gall pob ardal
trwy Gymru. ond ei ddilyn, gael ysgol
effeithiol, seiliedig ar berffaith ryddid cyd-
wybod. Mae iau orthrymus wedi cael ei
gosod eisoes ar wâr llawer ardal trwy offer-
ynoliaeth ysgolion; ac y mae yr un iau yn
cael ei pharotol i ardaloedd ereill; a'r unig
ffordd i'w gochel ydyw codi ysgolion eu
hunain ar y Drefn Frytanaidd.

Ydwyf eich ufudd wasanaethwr,

HUGH OWEN.

Yr ydym ni yn hollol gymmeradwyo y
llythyr uchod o eiddo ein cyfaill, Mr. Hugh
Owen, ac yn teimlo yn ddiolchgar am y
cynnygiad gwladgarawl sydd ynddo, ac
hefyd yn taer ddymuno i ein cydwladwyr
yn Nghymru wneuthur sylw dyladwy o
hono yn ddioed.

JAMES HUGHES,

Jewin Crescent, Llundain.

GRIFFITH DAVIES,

Guardian Assurance Office, Llundain.

JOHN PARRY,

Cyhoeddwr y *Drysorfa*, Caerlleon.

Dilys genym nad anfuddiol fyddai dodi
i ddilyn llythyr ein cyfaill caredig, rai
Dyfyniadau allan o *Atodiad y Cofnodau*
[1843] mewn perthynas i'r dull o wneuthur
cais am gynnorthwy gan y Llywodraeth.

Y mae Cyfeisteddod y Cyngor ag sydd
yn cyfrannu Cynnorthwyon oddiwrth y

DAY SCHOOLS.

TO THE WELSH PEOPLE.

8, Coles Terrace, Islington,
London, August 26, 1843.

DEAR FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,

You feel the necessity of giving education to your children, and you love liberty of conscience: in order to provide the children with education, you must have schools: in order to secure liberty of conscience, you must have schools which shall not be identified with any particular religious denomination. In order to attain this end, I offer the following scheme for your consideration:—

1. That a British School shall be established in every district. The plan adopted in British Schools is entirely consistent with freedom of conscience, and is excellently effective in the conveying of instruction.

2. That a society shall be formed in every county, to be called "The British School Society of the county of —." The work of the Society to be carried on by a Committee, with the assistance of a treasurer and secretary. The Committee to be composed of fit and proper persons chosen from among the members of the various religious denominations in the county. The objects of the society shall be: to collect a fund for the assistance of poor neighbourhoods in the erection and maintenance of schools; to help in the formation of local committees; to advise as to the best sites for schools, and upon the

plans for their erection and their size : to point out the means for obtaining money for the execution of the work ; to choose teachers, etc.

3. That in every district where a school shall be required a committee be formed, to consist of about twelve persons, with a treasurer and secretary. The members of this committee (which I will call the local committee) to be chosen from among the various religious denominations in the district, but they need not of necessity be professed members of their respective bodies. The objects of the local committee shall be : to find a site for a school ; to secure its conveyance to trustees ; to provide plans ; to select an architect ; to seek the assistance of the neighbourhood in building the school and in its subsequent maintenance ; to secure a teacher ; and, lastly, to see that the school be efficiently conducted.

I would further call your attention to the aid which Government offers for the provision of teachers, and for the support of the schools.

Government Aid.—Every man ought to know that the Government contributes about thirty thousand pounds annually towards the erection of schools, and that Dissenters enjoy full liberty to obtain part of this sum for the erection of British Schools. As an ordinary rule, a grant of ten shillings is made for every child which the school will accommodate ; that is to say, one hundred pounds would be granted towards the erection of a school intended to accommodate two hundred children. The dimensions of a school for that number of children to be about forty-eight feet in length, and twenty-six feet in width. The officials of Government will prepare, should that be necessary, specifications as well as plans free of expense.

I think I am advantageously placed for rendering my

fellow-countrymen assistance in this matter, and I am willing to do it gratuitously to the full extent of my power. If therefore anybody, in any part of Wales feels himself impelled to make a move in the direction of establishing a British School in his district, let him write to me, and I shall be glad to place his case before Government and to send him the necessary information to enable him to carry out his intentions.

Local Aid.—I anticipate that the grant which the Government can make will be nearly sufficient, in a country like Wales, where labour and building materials are so cheap, and especially where so much help will be given free of cost in the cartage of building materials to build the school. But to make up any deficiency, help should be asked from neighbouring landlords.

Teachers.—It would never be worth entailing the cost and trouble of erecting the schools unless care be taken to secure for them efficient teachers. It is not always he who possesses knowledge himself that can impart it to others; learned men find it a task of extraordinary difficulty—to give instruction to children, and it is a task which no one ought to undertake without special training. There is in London a school for the instruction of teachers in the method of the British Schools—viz., the Normal School of the British and Foreign School Society. Eligible young men from Wales can obtain free admission to this school. They would have to remain there for some months in order to make them efficient in their calling.

The Support of Schools.—After securing a school and a teacher, provision will have to be made for their support. This should be done in the following way: Let every land-owner and every ratepayer in the district be asked what sum he will annually subscribe towards the schools.

Every subscriber of five shillings to be entitled to send one child (his own or that of another) to school on payment by him or the child of three-halfpence per week. Every subscriber of ten shillings to be entitled to send one child to school without having to make any further payment. Every annual subscriber of twenty shillings to be entitled to send two children to the school free of further payment; and so on. Children of others than subscribers to pay a school fee of threepence per week.

I believe that this path is so easy that every district in Wales may, by following it, secure an efficient school, with due regard to perfect freedom of conscience. An oppressive yoke has been already placed upon the neck of several districts through the instrumentality of schools; the same yoke is being prepared for others; and the only way to escape it is by erecting your own schools according to the system of the British School Society.

I am, your obedient servant,

HUGH OWEN.

Appendix 3

Ysgolion Brytanaidd

Mr. Cyhoeddwr. - Buoch mor fwyn a rhoddi lle i fy llythyr at fy nghydwladwyr ar y mater yma, yn eich Misolyn am Fehefin diweddaf; ac yn bresennol yr wyf yn dymuno hysbysu i chwi a'ch darllenwyr lluosog ychydig o hanes yr hyn sydd wedi cymmeryd lle mewn canlyniad i gyhoeddiad y llythyr hwnw. Yn y lle cyntaf yr wyf wedi derbyn llythyrau o bron bob Sir yn Nghymru, ar achos Ysgolion Brytanaidd; ac y maent y fath ag sydd yn profi nid yn unig bod mawr angen am y cyfryw Ysgolion, ond hefyd bod teimlad o'r angen hwnw yn lled helaeth. Ond er canfod hyn, yr oedd ofn arnaf na byddai i'r Dywysogaeth gydysgogi tuag at hyn yma, oddieithr i ryw beiriant gael ei lunio yn bwrpasol at y gorchwyl.

O dan y teimlad yma anfonais gyfieithad o'r llythyr crybwylliedig at y British and Foreign School Society; ac wedi dysgrifio amgylchiadau Cymru o barth Ysgolion, a'r maes helaeth y sydd yno i'r Gymdeithas weithredu, erfyniais arnynt i benodi dan Agent, un i Ogledd, a'r llall i Ddeheudir Cymru. Derbyniodd y Gymdeithas y cais yn dra charedig, ac y maent eisoes wedi penodi y Parch John Phillips, o Fon, gynt o Dreffynon, i fod yn Agent i Ogledd Cymru. Mae Mr. Phillips yn bresennol yma (yn Llundain) yn edrych i mewn i'r Drefn Frytanaidd; a chyn i'r hysbysiad hwn fyned i ddwylau eich darllenwyr efe a fydd ar y maes, ac wedi dechreu ar ei lafur. Gorchwyl Mr. Phillips fydd cynnal cyfarfodydd trwy holl Siroedd y Gogledd, i eglurhau y Drefn Frytanaidd, a chynnorthwyo yn ffurfiad.

Cymdeithas Ysgolion yn mhob Sir, ac yn ffurfiad Cyfeisteddfodau, yn yr ardaloedd hyn y mae eisiau Ysgolion ynddynt. Bydd hefyd yn barod i roddi pob help tuag at gael personau cymhwys i fod yn Ysgolfeistriaid. Yr Arglwydd a fyddo yn ei lwyddo, ac yn rhoddi ffafr iddo, ac i'w achos, yn ngolwg ei frodyn o bob enwad crefyddol, gan mai yr amcan ydyw nid dyrchafu plaid, ond codi i fynu gymeriad y genedl. Yr eiddoch yn ffyddlawn. Hugh Owen. 8, Colis Terrace, Islington, Llundain. Tach.16, 1843.

O.T. Bydd yn hydfrydwch genyf barhau i roddi cyfarwyddiadau pa fodd i gael cynnorthwy y Llywodraeth tuag at adeiladu Ysgoldai, i bwy bynnag a fyddo yn cael ar ei feddwl ysgrifenu ataf am y cyfryw gyfarwyddiadau.¹

1. Drysorfa, 1843, 376.

THE CAMBRIAN EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY,

FOR PROMOTING THE ESTABLISHMENT AND ASSISTING THE OPERATIONS OF

DAY SCHOOLS IN WALES.

ON SCRIPTURAL AND COMPREHENSIVE PRINCIPLES.

President.

Vice-Presidents.

THE LORD MOSTYN.

THE HON. EDWARD MOSTYN LLOYD MOSTYN, M.P.

THE HON. W. OWEN STANLEY, M.P.

WM. BULKELEY HUGHES, ESQ., M.P.

SIR JOHN WALSHAM, BART.

LEWIS LOYD, ESQ.

(To which important additions are about to be made.)

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MR. HUGH OWEN, 8, Coles Terrace, Islington.

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MR. WILLIAM OWEN, 10, Gibson Square, Islington.

GENERAL EDUCATION, it may be affirmed, without injustice to any of the praiseworthy efforts hitherto made, is a work scarcely commenced in Wales. Those efforts, of recent origin and limited character, are far from being adequate to the wants of the country; and further endeavours, which can be rendered more effectual only by being made more comprehensive, are imperatively needed.

It is a recorded fact, that in the early part of the last century "hardly any of the lower ranks in Wales could read at all." (Trysorfa for 1799.) The Rev. Griffith Jones, rector of Llanddowror, referring to this period, remarks, that "in many places, where sixty or eighty young and old people came into his "schools, not above three or four of them could say the Lord's prayer, and they too, in a very corrupt and unintelligible manner, not knowing so much as who their Father in heaven is."

In the year 1786, however, the benevolent clergyman just named, set up the first of the "Welsh Circulating Schools," in which he says, "men, women, and children, being ignorant of the English tongue, are taught to read their native British language, and instructed daily in the principles and duties of religion." When one of the schools was set up in a neighbourhood it remained there from four to five months and sometimes longer, and it was then transferred to another neighbourhood, returning again after the lapse of about three years. So readily did the people avail themselves of these opportunities, that in about ten years the number of schools amounted to 128, and the scholars to 7595: and at the end of thirty years the aggregate number of the schools established during that period was found to be 3495, which had been attended by no less than 158,237 persons. This fact will appear the more remarkable, when it is recollected that the population at that period did not reach half a million.

This valuable work was subsequently carried forward by the Rev. Thomas Charles, of Bala, who also laboured with great success to establish Sunday-schools throughout Wales; and these ultimately superseded the "Circulating schools," the object of both being limited to teaching the people to read the Scriptures in their native language, and to impart religious instruction. Wales has long since been covered with Sunday-schools, which are attended by the great bulk of the people, adults as well as children, old age and manhood, as well as infancy. In North Wales there are, among the various denominations of Dissenters alone, 1022 Sunday-schools, attended by 141,357 persons, being more than one third of the entire population; and South Wales is not less distinguished in this respect.

The ability to read thus created, induced the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, at an early period, to make large issues of Welsh Bibles; and the efforts of Mr. Charles to supply the demand for Bibles, which continued daily to increase, led afterwards to the formation of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which has enabled the humblest of the peasantry of Wales to possess copies of the Holy Scriptures. The desire for information led also, in 1799, to the publication of the first Welsh periodical. At the present time there are not less than a dozen of such periodicals, the aggregate circulation of which amounts to 27,000 monthly. The same desire has called for the translation into Welsh of various standard works, among which are—Matthew Henry's, Dr. Adam Clarke's, Scott's, and Gill's Commentaries, the Pictorial Bible, and Albert Barnes's Notes on the New Testament; upwards of 2500 copies of this latter work have been sold in five of the South Wales counties.

While the Welsh people have thus, mainly by their own unaided efforts, provided themselves with more extensive means for securing *religious* instruction, than probably are possessed by any other country in the world, their opportunities for obtaining *secular* instruction, are more limited than those of England, Scotland, or Ireland. The Sunday-schools being exclusively devoted to religious teaching, and that in the Welsh language, they supply no means for acquiring the general knowledge which it is the object of Day-schools to impart. Hence it is found, that the people, although able to read in their native tongue, and possessing an extensive acquaintance with the Scriptures, are lamentably deficient in their knowledge of the English language, and of the elements of those branches of secular learning which are so necessary for their social advancement. The inconveniences resulting from the want of an acquaintance with the English language are serious and pressing.

Wales being subject to the laws of England, which are promulgated and administered in English, the counsel frequently addresses the jury, and the judge delivers his charge, in what is to them an unknown tongue; while the prisoner at the bar is an ignorant spectator of the process by which his destiny is being decided.

A large majority of even the local functionaries, such as guardians and overseers of the poor, are unacquainted with the English language; and the laws which they are entrusted to administer, as well as the official instructions by which they should be guided, are therefore wholly unintelligible to them; and when the Assistant Poor Law Commissioner attends the board of guardians, his remarks have generally to be conveyed to the board through an interpreter.

This want of acquaintance with English has moreover the effect of tying down the industrious classes of Wales to their own soil, and depriving them of the advantages which they might otherwise obtain by migrating into England, or proceeding to other parts of the empire; and when the Welshman does quit his home and seek a living among his neighbours in England, he finds the difficulties which have usually to be encountered in settling amidst strangers greatly increased by his inability to speak their language.

So far as ability to write is an index to the amount of Day-school instruction possessed by the working classes in Wales, the amount is small indeed. By a Parliamentary return it appears that out of every 100 males who were married in South Wales in 1844, forty-five signed the marriage register with marks; and out of every 100 females so married, seventy signed the register in the same way. In North Wales, forty-one out of every 100 males, and sixty-six out of every 100 females who were married in that year, signed the register with marks.

Properly conducted Day-schools would confer on the Welsh people inestimable benefits; they would by an enlightened system of moral training secure increased regard for moral, relative, and social obligations; they would open to the people the stores of information and sterling thought which the literature of England presents to English readers; they would impart to the people a more comprehensive knowledge of the world in which they live, and of the condition of the human family, and thereby expand their minds and enlarge their sympathies; they would enable the people to prosecute their avocations at home, whether as masters, or as servants, whether in trade, or in cultivating the soil, more intelligently, and consequently more profitably; they would, moreover, fit such as desired to leave their own country to do so with hopes of employment less laborious and more remunerative than they usually obtain under their present disadvantages.

The Welsh are now distinguished as a religious community; place within their reach the means of acquiring Day-school instruction, and they will soon become no less eminent for their general intelligence.

Desirable as it may appear that Day-schools should be established in Wales, there are formidable obstacles standing in the way of the accomplishment of the object. The principal of these are, the poverty of the masses, and the unwillingness of many of those who possess the wealth of the country to extend the benefits of such Schools, except on condition that their own religious peculiarities shall be embraced by the scholars.

National Schools have been established in many parts of the Principality, but from the restrictive terms imposed on the scholars, they are found to be unsuited to the circumstances of the country, and therefore to fail in securing popular sympathy and confidence.

However strongly attached the Welsh peasant may be to his own mode of worship, and however earnestly he may desire instruction for his children, often is he told that this boon cannot be obtained unless he will allow his children to attend a place of worship which he may never frequent, or learn a catechism from some of the doctrines of which he may conscientiously differ. It may be feared that a course like this not only obstructs the progress of education, but also tends to alienate the feelings of the people from those whom they would otherwise honour and esteem.

The Bible is emphatically the book of the Welsh people; every sect acknowledges its authority; and the principles, *that the Bible shall be the only book for conveying religious instruction in the school, and that the scholars shall attend on the Sabbath whatever place of worship their parents may desire*, would be in perfect accordance with the religious feelings of all.

No systematic efforts had been made to introduce Schools adopting these principles in Wales before the close of 1843, when the attention of the British and Foreign School Society was directed to the state of education in that country; and in consequence of the exertions of that Society, thirty-one schools have since been opened, and thirty-five young men from the Principality have been trained as teachers in the normal school at the Borough-Road. The high estimation in which these Schools are held by the

people, is sufficiently manifest by the interest with which they have watched the erection of the school houses—by the liberality with which they have supplied materials and cartage—and by the crowded attendance of scholars.

A valuable auxiliary to the work of popular education has also been furnished within the last few months by the establishment of a normal school at Brecon, in which there are already several young men under training.

The work of extending Day schools throughout Wales, requires a greater outlay than the British and Foreign School Society could be expected to incur, unless a large portion of the increased expenditure were supplied from that country; at the same time a Society formed expressly for Wales would present stronger claims on the landowners of the Principality, than one of a more general character.

These considerations have led to the formation of the "CAMBRIAN EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY, FOR PROMOTING THE ESTABLISHMENT AND ASSISTING THE OPERATION OF DAY SCHOOLS IN WALES, ON SCRIPTURAL AND COMPREHENSIVE PRINCIPLES."

The objects of this Society are:—

1. To employ agents throughout Wales for the purpose of stimulating the exertions of the people to establish schools wherever they may be required, and also to guide their labours.
2. To facilitate the efforts of local Committees, by furnishing them with school plans suited to their localities, by conducting applications, on their behalf for grants from the Government, where such grants may be desired, and to afford such information as their circumstances may require.
3. To afford pecuniary assistance towards the erection of School-houses in localities presenting peculiar claims.
4. To secure properly qualified masters, to aid promising young men in availing themselves of the necessary training at a normal school, and to reward teachers of distinguished merit.
5. To employ school inspectors—whose duty it will be to assist in organising schools, and to inspect their future progress.
6. To assist the operations of Schools after their establishment; and generally to aid the advancement of education.

The Cambrian Educational Society desires to act as auxiliary to the British and Foreign School Society, which will promote its objects—by continuing to admit into its normal schools suitable young persons from Wales, to be trained as teachers—by preparing elementary books in the two languages, English and Welsh, for the special use of schools in Wales—and by making grants of such books and other school requisites on the opening of every new school.

To carry into effect the important objects contemplated by the Cambrian Educational Society, the Committee earnestly entreat the co-operation of all the friends of popular education, and especially of those who are anxious to promote the intellectual and moral improvement of Wales. They appeal for assistance to the nobility, gentry, and landowners of Wales; to ministers of religion, with their parishioners and congregations; and to Welshmen living in England, who may be desirous of imparting to their countrymen that knowledge which has proved so advantageous to themselves.

August, 1846.

Contributions will be thankfully received by MESSRS. JONES LOYD, and Co., 43, *Lothbury*; MESSRS. COX, BIDDULPH, and Co.; *the Secretaries; and the other members of the Committee.*

YSGOLION DYDDIOL YN NGHYMURU.

Y Gymdeithas Addysgiadol Gymreig.

Yn ydym yn deall y bwriedir anfon y cylchlythyr canlynol yn ddioed at bersonau cymhwys yn mhob plwyf yn Ngogledd a De-heudir Cymru, er mwyn cael cyfrif cywir o nifer pob cynulleidfia ac Ysgol Sabbothol drwy y wlad, a thrwy hyny ddangos yr anghyfiawnder a'r gorthwrm o ymddiried hyfforddiad y genedl i rai na fynant gyfranu ond addysg eu sect benodol eu hunain i'r bobl yn gyffredinol. Nac oedded ein cyfeillion lauwy "Dafflen" yn ol y cyfarwyddiadau a roddir; canys i wneuthur y fath gyfrif ar frys, "onid oes achos?" Hyderwn y gwerthfawrogir yr ymdrech chwangel hwn o eiddo ein cyfaill teilwng Mr. Owen, yr hwn sydd "yn ewyllysgar iawn yn treulio ac yn ymdreulio," er mwyn cael Addysg da, ar sylfaen rhyddid cydwybod, i'w gyd-genedl.

"8, Coles Terrace, Islington, Llundain, Rhagfyr, 1846.

"ANWYL SYR.—Y mae yn awr yn ddigon eglur na chaniateir i Gymru barâu yn hwy heb ddarpariaeth gyflawn o Ysgolion Dyddiol; ond nid yw mor amlwg pa fath Ysgolion a fyddant.

"Y mae yr Archddiacon Sinclair, Trysor-ydd Cymdeithas yr Ysgolion Cenedlaethol, wedi cyhoeddi yn ddiweddar 'Apeliad at Gyfeillion Addysg ar Egwyddorion Eglwysig, ar ran Tywysogaeth Cymru.' Yn yr 'Apeliad' hwnw dywed yr Archddiacon:—

"'Fe allai yr awgrymwr drachefn y caem gydweithrediad mwy effeithiol i sierâu y dyben mewn golwg, drwy fabwysiadu egwyddor eang, a llunio rhyw drefn o Addysg Cyffredinol, yn mha un y gallai pob sect a phlaid uno â'r Eglwys. Ond nis gellir dysgwyl i Aelodau yr Eglwys gydweithredu mewn un cynllun o'r fath. Nid ydynt yn barnu y gwnai Cristionogaeth wedi ei chyffredinoli o ba un y tynwyd ymaith Athrawiaethau Nodweddiadol yr Eglwys, adeni Cymru na Lloegr, na chymhwyso pobl ieuaic i fod yn Gristionogion da, ac yn aelodau defnyddiol o gymdeithas ddiwylliedig. Byddai y cyfryw drefniant gan hyny yn tueddu yn groes i'r effaith a ddymunir, pe na buasai yn dra niwedol mewn ystyriaethau eraill. Byddai yn culhanu y sail y bwriedid ei heangu.'

"Gwelwn yn amlwg yn y dyfyniad hwn pa fath Ysgolion mae y Gymdeithas Genedlaethol yn bwriadu eu sefydlu yn Nghymru. Y maent

i fod yn Ysgolion yn mha rai y bydd rhaid dysgu 'Athrawiaethau Nodweddiadol yr Eglwys.' Gellir gwled hyn yn amlycach eto, drwy edrych ar yr ammodau a osodir gan y Gymdeithas Genedlaethol ar bob Ysgol a fyddo mewn cysylltiad â hi. Y maent fel y canlyn—

'1. Mae y plant i gael eu haddysgu yn yr Ysgrythrau Sanctaidd, ac yn *Liturgy a Chatecism yr Eglwys Sefydledig*.

'2. Er sierâu y cyfryw addysg, y mae yr Ysgolion i fod dan olygiaeth yr Offeiriaid plwyfol.

'3. Y mae y plant i gael eu cynnull yn rheolaidd i fyned i'r Gwasanaeth Dwyfol i *Eglwys y plwyf, neu rhyw le o addoliad perthynol i'r Eglwys Sefydledig*, oddieithr i reswm gael ei roddi dros eu habsennoldeb a fyddo yn foddhaol i gyfarwyddwyr yr Ysgolion.

'4. Y mae yr Athrawon a'r Athrawesau i fod yn Aelodau o *Eglwys Loegr*.'

"Ffurfiwyd y Gymdeithas Addysgiadol Gymreig (*Cambrian Educational Society*) i gynnorthwyo y Cymry i sefydlu Ysgolion iddynt eu hunain, ar egwyddorion rhydd y *British and Foreign School Society*; sef—*mai yr unig lyfr i gyflwyno addysg grefyddol yn yr Ysgol yw y Beibl, a bod i'r plant fyned y Sabboth i addoli i'r man a ddymuno eu rhieni*.

"Gan hyny y mater sydd yn awr o flaen y wlad yw hyn—*A raid i blant y verin yn Nghymru ymwerthod a golygiadau ac arferion eu rhieni, a chael myned i gydaddoli a hwynt, cyn y gallont dderbyn manteision o addysg mewn Ysgolion dyddiol? Rhaid i'r mater pwysig hwn gael ei benderfynu yn fuan.*

"Y mae y Gymdeithas Addysgiadol Gymreig yn cydnabod ac yn parchu hawl y tlodion yn gystal a'r cyfoethogion i lawn a pherffaith ryddid cydwybod. Ac y maent yn dra awyddus na bo i'r fraint gysegredig hono gael ei dwyn oddi arnynt, drwy wneuthur derbynriad o erthyglau un sect na phlaid yn ammod derbynriad eu plant i fwynhau manteision addysg.

"Os dangosir nad yw y blaid sydd yn honi yr awdurdod i osod y telerau caethion hyn ar y wlad ond lleiafrif bychan o'r boblogaeth, gwelir ar unwaith afresymoldeb y fath gynnygiad, a'r gorthwrm mawr a ddilynai lwyddiant y fath gais.

"Y mae hyn wedi ei brofi eisoes mewn rhai ardaloedd. Y mae amgylchiad Llanrhualllad, Mon, yn engraifft.

Cynnulleidfaoedd yn yr Eglwysi Plwyfol, ac Addoldai yr Ymneilldwyry, o fewn dwy filldir a hanner i Lanrhuddlad, wedi eu rhifo Mehefin 1, 1845.—Poblogaeth yr ardal, 2105.

<i>Lleodd Addoliad.</i>	<i>Boren.</i>		<i>Prydnawn.</i>		<i>Hwyr.</i>	
LLANAU PLWYFOL.	Gwasanaeth.	Ysgol.	Gwasanaeth.	Ysgol.	Gwasanaeth.	Ysgol.
Llanrhuddlad	41	...	.....	.....	.....	.....
Llanfair-yng-hornwy	57	...	.....	30	.....	.....
Llanflewyn .....	.....	.....	*	.....	.....	.....
Y cyfan	95		30		Dim.	
ADDOLDAI YR YMNEILLDUWYR.						
Methodistiaid Calfinaidd (Bethel Hen)	40	...	.....	160	531	...
Eto (Hafodlas)	479	...	.....	300	100	...
Eto (Salem) .....	.....	80	103	.....	40	...
Bedyddwyr (Rhydwyn) .....	.....	130	60	.....	475	...
Eto (Gareg-fawr)	40	...	.....	35	15	...
Wesleyaid (Ty'n-y-maen)	30	...	.....	50	95	...
Annibynwyr (Silo) .....	.....	60	90	.....	20	...
Y cyfan	859		698		1276	
Cyfartaledd o'r boblogaeth yn myned i'r	Llanau.....		1½ y cant, neu 1 o bob 21½.		Dim.	
	Capeli		21 y cant, neu 1 o bob 2½.		60½ y cant, neu 1 o bob 1½.	

*Gwasanaeth ar y Prydnawn. Rhif cyffredin y gynulleidfa. o 3 i 5, ond dim ar Meh. 1, 1845

"Dymuniad y Gymdeithas Addysgiadol Gymreig yw bod yn alluog i osod allan olygiad cywir o'r nifer sydd yn cyfarfod yn addoldai y gwahanol enwadau drwy y Dywysogaeth. A chan mai amean y Gymdeithas yn hyn yw cefnogi achos Addysg Ansectaidd, ac mewn canlyniad i ymddiffyn Rhyddid cydwylbod, ymddiriedant yn hyderus ar eich cydweithrediad i gael llenwi y daflen ganlynol yn gywir.

"Anwyl Syr—Y mae yn debygol na wneir y cais hwn atoch byth mwy genyf. Peth am unwaith yw. Gan hyny yr wyf yn erfyn yn daer arnoch gymeryd hyn o orchwyl o dan eich gofal mwyaf pryderus, megys pe byddai hawlfreintiau miloedd o'ch cydwladwyr yn dibynu ar eich ffyddlondeb chi. —Ydwyf, anwyl syr, yr eiddoch, &c.

"HUGH OWEN."

APPENDIX SIX

Y DAFLEN.

Sir		Plwyf						
Enwau yr holl Addoldai yn y Plwyf —y Llanau a'r Capeli.	Yr Enwadi ba un y perthynna pob lle	Gwir nifer y gynulleidfa ar y Sabboth cynaf ar ol derbynriad y Daflen hon.	Gwir nifer yr Ysgol Sabbothol ymhob lle ar yr un dydd.	Enw a Rhif yr Ysgol.	Ysgol pob heigion arlyfrau y plwyf.	Os oes Mudan-iaid yn y plwyf, nifer y cyfryw a'u hoed		
		Bore. Prydnawn. Hwyr.	Bore. Prydnawn. Hwyr.	Plwyf.	Iol.			

D.S. Er llenwi y Daflen yn gywir, bydd yn anghenrheidiol gosod rhyw wr-ag y gellir ymddiried ynddo i rifo pob Cynulleidfa ac Ysgol yn y Plwyf, a hyny ar yr un Sabboth: nid cyneryd y cyfrif mewn un lle un Sabboth, ac mewn lle arall ar Sabboth arall.

Dylid gofalu am beidio rhoddi cyfrif o un lle yn y Daflen na byddo o fewn terfynau y Plwyf.

Ar y tu arall i'r Daflen, ysgrifened y personau a fyddant wedi bod wrth y gorchwyl o rifo, eu henwau, er tystiolaeth o gywirdeb eu cyfrif.

Yna rhodder y Daflen wedi ei phlygu, &c. yn y Llythyrdy.

NINI. y rhai a gasglasom y Cyfrifon yn y Daflen ar y tu arall, ydym yn tystiolaethu fod y Cyfrifon hyny, hyd eithaf ein gwybodaeth, yn gywir,

ENWAU.	TRIGLEOEDD.

Dyddiad.

134

Nyni, y rhai a gasglasom y Cyfrifon yn y Daflen ar y tu arall,
 ydym yn tystiolaethu fod y cyfrifon hyny, hyd eithaf ein gwybod-
 aeth, yn gywir.

ENWAU.	TRIGLEOEDD.
Thomas Davies	Rainbathill
William Williams	Gouty
William Thomas	Wood
John Collins	Porters wells

Dyddiad May 3 1847

Mr. Hugh Owen,
 8, Coles Terrace,
 Islington,
 LONDON.

Paid.

ROCHESTER
 MAY 6 1847
 17-57C

Appendix 8

"Outline of a Plan for extending the means of Education in Wales"

It is proposed,

That a system of popular education, of which the following is an outline, shall be introduced into the Principality, under the provisions of an Act of Parliament.

That this system shall be based on the principle of raising the necessary funds by means of local assessments, and administering those funds through the instrumentality of local boards.

That the system shall include, as an essential point, a negative condition, preventing the children from being taught in the schools the peculiar or distinguishing tenets, creed, or catechism, of any church or religious sect or denomination.

That in carrying these views into operation, the geographical arrangement of the Poor-Law Unions shall be adopted; every such Union being formed by the Act into a school district.

That the business of each school district shall be conducted by a board of school-directors, to consist of members elected annually by the payers of the school-rate.

That the directors shall be constituted a corporate body, and be empowered to erect, buy, or hire, the necessary buildings for school purposes, and also to hold (under certain regulations) existing schools.

That the directors shall be authorized to appoint a secretary, a treasurer, and other requisite officers, and also duly qualified masters and mistresses of the several schools in the district; and shall likewise be authorized to dismiss any of such officers, whenever they may see occasion.

That the directors shall be required to parcel out the district into as many school divisions as they may deem expedient, taking care to provide, at least, one school for each division.

That the business of each such school-division shall be conducted by a committee of school-managers; to consist of the directors, clergy, and ordained ministers, of all denominations resident within the division, together with an additional number of managers elected by the rate-payers; but while it shall be the province of the committee of managers to superintend the detailed management of the divisional school, the direction of all expenditure shall be vested in the board of directors.

That the necessary funds shall be raised by the directors as occasion may require; the poor-rate, extended so as to include mining property, being taken as the basis of the school assessment.

That the accounts shall be audited by duly authorized auditors yearly, and afterwards published for the information of the payers of the school-rate.

That each divisional school shall be open to all children and young persons residing in the division, on payment of such weekly sum as the directors of the district may define; the only

disqualification being disease or infirmity.

That the several schools shall be open to the inspection of inspectors of schools, appointed by her Majesty; provided that no such inspector shall be at liberty to interfere in any way with the discipline or management thereof.

January, 1848.

¹. Sir Thomas Phillips, Wales, 603-604.

Y TRAETHODYDD, 1847, 256-257.

ADDYSGIAETH—CYNLLUN Y LLYWODRAETH.

PAN oeddyd yn paratoi ychydig sylwadau ar y mater hwn, daeth y llythyr a ganlyn i'n llaw. Nis gallwn gydweled â Mr. Owen mewn perthynas i anallu yr ymneillduwyr yn Nghymru i fyned ymlaen heb gymhorth y llywodraeth; ond y mae ei olygiadau ar y cynllun presennol yn hollol gywir, ac yn deilwng o sylw difrifol.

Syr—

Caniatêwch i mi alw sylw eich darllenwyr at y penderfyniadau a gyhoeddwyd yn ddiweddar gan Bwyllgor y Cynghor ar Addysg (*Committee of Council on Education*).

Y mae yr hyn a ganlyn yn dalfyriad o'r penderfyniadau.

I. *Hyfforddiad addysgwyr (pupil teachers) a chynnorthwyr (stipendiary monitors)*.

Y maent yn darparu ar gyfer hyfforddiad dynion ieuainc i fod yn addysgwyr, er eu paratoi yn athrawon; y rhai sydd i fod am bum mlynedd, megys prentisiaid at swydd athraw, i fod, o leiaf yn dair-blwydd-ar-ddeg oed, ac heb unrhyw wendid corfforol tebyg i anmharu eu defnyddioldeb. Mewn ysgolion perthynol i'r Eglwys Sefydledig, y mae offeiriad y plwyf, a llywyddion yr ysgol (*managers*) i roddi tystiolaeth o gymeriad da pob ymgeisydd am swydd addysgwr. Yn yr ysgolion eraill, tystiolaeth llywyddion yr ysgol yn unig a ofynnir.

Rhaid iddynt fedru darllen yn rhwydd—ysgrifenu llaw dda—deall pedair rhëol gyntaf rhifyddiaeth, ac elfenau cyntaf gramadeg a daearyddiaeth—rhaid iddynt fod yn alluog i ddyysgu y dosbarthau ieuengaf i foddlonrwydd yr ymwelwr (*inspector*), &c.

Yn yr ysgolion perthynol i'r Eglwys Sefydledig, rhaid iddynt fedru adrodd y catecism, a dangos eu bod yn deall ei ystyr, ac yn adnabyddus o hanesiaeth ysgrythyrol. Y mae yr offeiriad i fod yn cynnorthwyo yn yr arholiad. Yn yr ysgolion eraill, rhaid iddynt gael tystiolaeth llywyddion yr ysgol am raddau eu gwybodaeth grefyddol.

Y mae y cymhwysderau gofynol mewn cynnorthwyr yn gyffelyb i'r hyn a nodwyd am addysgwyr.

II. *Cyflogau addysgwyr a chynnorthwyr.*

Os dygir tystiolaethau boddhaol, caniatêir y cyflogau canlynol i addysgwyr a chynnorthwyr, yn ychwanegol at unrhyw swm arall a dderbyniont o'r ysgol, neu rywfodd arall.

		I addysgwyr.		I gynnorthwyr.	
Ar ddiwedd y flwyddyn gyntaf	-	P.10	0 0	-	P.5 0 0
— yr ail	-	12	10 0	—	7 10 0
— y drydedd	-	15	10 0	—	10 0 0
— y bedwaredd	-	17	10 0	—	12 10 0
— y bummed	-	20	0 0		

III. Cyflogau a dyledswyddau athrawon ac athrawesau.

Arddiwedd pob un o'r blyneddau uchod, os bydd yr addysgwyr wedi derbyn tystiolaeth o gymeriad da, &c. caniatêir i'r athraw neu yr athrawes, y byddont wedi eu hyfforddi ganddynt, y swm o 5*p.* am bob un, 9*p.* am ddau, a 12*p.* am dri addysgydd; a 3*p.* yn flyneddol am bob un yn ychwanegol: ac ar y cyfryw delerau, caniatêir 2*p.* 10*s.* am bob cynnorthwywr, 4*p.* am ddau, a 6*p.* am dri; a 1*p.* 10*s.* yn flyneddol am bob un yn ychwanegol.

Heblaw y darpariadau uchod ar gyfer addysg, os bydd yr addysgwyr wedi eu hyfforddi mewn garddwriaeth, neu ryw gelfyddyd gyfaddas at *ysgol lafuriol*, neu *ysgol i ddysgu gweithio (school of industry)*, neu os bydd y benywod a fyddo dan yr un addysgiad wedi cael eu hyfforddi gan yr athrawes i dori dillad allan, neu mewn coginiaeth, pobi, a golechi, ac yn enwedig mewn gwnio a gwan, caniatêir i'r cyfryw athraw neu athrawes symiau ychwanegol yn rhodd, yn ol y graddau o fedrusrwydd a gofai fyddont wedi ei ddangos yn hyfforddiad yr addysgwyr.

IV. Cynnalïaeth ysgolion normalaidd.

Awdurdodir un o'r ymwelwyr, ynghyd â phrif-athraw ysgol normalaidd, i gyflwyno i sylw Pwyllgor y Cynghor, nifer penodol o'r addysgwyr a fyddo wedi cyrraedd enwog-rwydd yn eu dysg, er eu haddasu i fod yn athrawon; a chaniatêir i gynnyfer ag a fernir yn addas y swm o 20*p.* neu 25*p.* Bydd y cyfryw addysgwyr, o hyny allan, i gael eu galw "ysgolêigion y frenines."

Barna y pwyllgor yn briodol hefyd, fel cefnogaeth i lafur ac ymdrech i'r rhai hyny o'r addysgwyr a fyddo wedi ymddwyn yn foddhâol, ac eto heb roddi arwyddion o'u cymhwysder i fod yn athrawon, gael y fanteis o'u penodi i ryw swydd yn ngwasanaeth y llywodraeth.

Caniatêir symiau ychwanegol hefyd i'r rhai hyny yn yr ysgol normalaidd, a gânt dystiolaethau boddhâol o'u medrusrwydd at swydd athraw; sef 20*p.* yn niwedd y flwyddyn gyntaf; 25*p.* yn niwedd yr ail; a 30*p.* yn niwedd y drydedd flwyddyn o'u haddysgiad. Ychwanegir at gyflog yr athraw hefyd, yn mhob ysgol, dan ymweliad, a fyddo wedi bod mewn ysgol normalaidd, am un flwyddyn, 15*p.* neu 20*p.* yn flyneddol—i un a fyddo wedi bod ddwy flynedd, 20*p.* neu 25*p.* yn flyneddol—ac i un a fyddo wedi bod dair blynedd, 25*p.* neu 30*p.* yn flyneddol. Ond bydd yn ofnol i *drustees* y fath ysgol, ddarparu i'r athraw dŷ heb ardreth, a chyflog yn cyfateb i gymaint arall a'r symiau uchod. Caniatêir dwy ran o dair o'r cyfryw symiau i athrawesau ar yr un telerau.

V. Pension i athrawon ac athrawesau.

Caniatêir *pension* oddwy ran o dair o swm y cyflog, pan mewn swydd, i bob athraw neu athrawes a fyddo wedi myned yn analluog i ddilyn yr alwedigaeth, drwy oedran neu lesgeidd, os byddant wedi bod yn y swydd am bymtheng mlynedd; ac os bydd yr ysgol wedi bod yn agored i ymweliad, am saith mlynedd o leiaf. Yn yr holl amgylechiadau uchod, gofynnir tystiolaeth foddhâol, mewn ysgrifen, dan law y swyddogion awdurdodedig; ac o ddifffyg hyny, ni chaniatêir y talion.

Nid yw y manteision hyn yn cael eu cyfyngu i ysgolion unrhyw blaid neillduol. Gellir eu cael at yr Ysgolion Brutanaidd, yn gystal a'r rhai Cenedlaethol. Y mae y cynnygiad o herwydd hyn yn gwisgo ymddangosiad o annhleidgarwch. Eto oherwydd mawredd cyfoeth a dylanwad bydol yr Eglwys Sefydledig, ynghyd ag annharoddrwydd llawer o ymneillduwyr i dderbyn help at eu hysgolion oddiwrth y llywodraeth, y canlyniad a fydd i holl roddion y llywodraeth, o'r bron, syrthio i ddwyllaw pleidwyr yr Ysgolion Cenedlaethol; a chan nad yw yn debygol y gall yr ysgolion a ymddibynant ar gyfraniadau gwirfoddol yn unig ddal eu ffordd yn wnech manteision y rhai a dderbyniant help gan y llywodraeth, bydd addysgiad y werin yn Lloegr yn cael ei gyflwyno bron yn gwbl oll i ofal a than awdurdod yr Eglwys Sefydledig.

Y mae tuedd penderfyniadau Pwyllgor y Cynghor y fath ag sydd wedi arwain llawer o ymneillduwyr, oedd o'r blaen yn flafriol i gefnogaeth y llywodraeth at addysg, o fewn terfynau penodol, yn awr i wrthwynebu pob ymyriad o eiddo y llywodraeth âg addysg yn mhob modd. Ar yr un pryd, y mae eto liaws hyd yn nod o ymneillduwyr sydd yn barnu y gellid ffurfio cynllun, ar yr hwn y gallai y llywodraeth gynnorthwyo, er darparu moddion hyfforddiad i'r werin mewn modd manteisiol ac esmwyth i bawb, yn enwedig hyfforddiad mewn gwybodaeth gyffredin. Dyma olygiad y gwledyddion hyny, y rhai na phrisiant nemawr ar grefydd, ond a edrychant ar ledaniad y cyfryw wybodaeth yn anheborol er dyrchafiad y werin i sefyllfa briodol fel aelodau o gymdeithas.

Ceir gwled y bydd i'r swyddogion sydd yn awr yn Nghymru, yn gwneyd ymofyniad i sefyllfa addysg, ddangos fod diffyg moddion hyfforddiad mor fawr yno, fel y bydd i

bob ymdrech a allo yr ymneillduwyr wneyd, er attal y llywodraeth rhag rhoddi dim cymhorth i unrhyw blaid tuag at wneyd y diffyg hwnw i fyny, fod yn hollol æffeithiol. O hyn nid oes genyf yr ammhewaeth lleiaf.

Pa lwybr, gan hyny, a ddylai Anghydffurfwyr Cymru gymeryd? Wedi yr ystyr-iaeth oreu a allaswn ei roddi i'r mater, yr wyf yn barnu mai y llwybr a ddygai fwyaf o fantais ymarferol i'r wlad a fyddai hyn; sef ymdrech i'w cael gan y llywodraeth beidio rhoddi unrhyw gymhorth arianol i unrhyw ysgol yn Nghymru, ond ar yr ammodau penodol o fod yr ysgol yn agored i bawb, ac heb un math o gaethrwygau o'i mewn. Os ceir ysgolion ar yr egwyddorion hyn, nid yw nemawr o bwys pa un ai gan eglwyswyr ai ymneillduwyr y caffont eu sefydlu. Y peth sydd arnom eisieu ydyw addysg heb y llystheirian. Dywedwn gan hyny wrth y llywodraeth mewn perthynas i Gymru, "Os ydych wedi penderfynu darparu ysgolion dyddiol i ni, attolwg, peidiwch a gadael iddynt sefyll rhyngom a'n hegwyddorion crefyddol, nac ar ffordd ein plant i fyned ar y Sabboth i addoli Duw i'r manau yr arferwn fyned ein hunain!" Byddai y dymuniad hwn mor rhesymol, fel yr wyf yn gwbl hyderus, pe ei gwnelid gan nerth unedig yr ymneillduwyr, y cai wrandawriad gan y llywodraeth. Dengys yr ymneillduwyr (fel y gallant wneyd yn awr) bod, o bob naw sydd yn myned i leocdd o addoliad yn Nghymru, wyth o honynt yn ymneillduwyr.

Y mae erfyniad i'r senedd yn awr yn cael ei ddarparu gan y Gymdeithas Addysgiadol Gymreig (*Cambrian Educational Society*), i'r dyben o ddeisyf yr un peth hwn; ac anfonir yr erfyniad yn fuan i bob parth o'r dywysogaeth.

Dylid cadw mewn golwg y mawr bwys sydd am ymdrech i'w parhaus ac egniol, er sefydlu ysgolion yn y manau ac y mae anghen am danynt. Dylid codi ysgoldai yn y cyfryw leocdd yn ddioed, naill ai gyda, ai heb, help y llywodraeth. Os bydd i'r ymneillduwyr arafu yn eu hymdrechiadau dros godi ysgolion, cofier, nad ymaria yr eglwyswyr ddim; ond ânt ymlaen yn ddystaw, gan dynu allan o drysorau y llywodraeth, ac adeiladu eu colegau normalaidd, a sefydlu eu hysgolion pleidiol eu hunain.

Dymunwn grybwyll gair eto ynghylch y cymhorth arianol a gynnigia y llywodraeth tuag at adeiladu ysgoldai. Y mae y rhoddion hyn yn awr yn sefyll yn hollol ar yr un tir ag yr oeddynt cyn cyhoeddi y penderfyniadau diweddar. Y mae yr arian i'w cael ar yr ammod o fod yr ysgolion yn agored i ymweliad swyddog a benodir gan y frenines ac a gymeradwyir gan y Gymdeithas Ysgolion Brutanaidd a Thramor. Ond ni bydd gan yr ymwelwr unrhyw awdurdod i ymyryd dim â'r addysg a gyflwynir yn yr ysgolion; a gall *trustees* pob ysgol (y rhai a ddewisir gan y cydroddwyr) roddi terfyn ar yr hawl o ymweld â'r ysgol, trwy dalu yn ol yr arian a dderbyniwyd oddi wrth y llywodraeth, os bydd ammod felly yn y *trust deed*, yr hyn y mae Pwyllgor y Cynghor yn caniatáu ei wneuthur pan y galwer am hyny.

Ydwyf yr eiddoch, &c.

HUGH OWEN.

Llundain, Mawrth 17eg, 1847.

Appendix 10

Correspondence relating to the building of the British School at Beddgelert. The original letters are in the possession of a great grandson of Mr. John Jones, Glangwynant, who was the Secretary of the British School Committee.

Beddgelert British School
March 31st, 1851.

Hon. Sir,

Gan na allaf egluro ein meddwl yn iawn yn yr iaith Saesneg yr wyf gyda dyledus Barch ich arglwyddiaethau yn hysbysu fod yn ofidus iawn genym na fuasem yn gwneuthur pobpeth yn iawn yn unol ach rheolau, gan obeithio y bydd i chwi faddau imi oblegid mai mewn anwybodaeth y darfu imi gam deall, yr oeddym ni yn meddwl mai yn ol eich cyfarwyddyd chwi yr oeddym yn mynd ymlaen o'r dechrau i'r diwedd.

Yr oedd arnom fawr eisiau Ysgoldy ond ni wyddem pa fodd yw gael ond daeth Mr. Phillips yma ag a ddywedodd wrth y gymdogaeth ond i'r ardal wneud ei goreu y byddai i'r llywodraeth roi cymorth da imi, ar ol hynny cawsom addewid am le i adeiladu gan Sir R. B. W. Bulkley, M.P. - yn ganbrynol trwy Mr. Phillips cawsom lawer o Bapurau a Llyfr o'r Council Office.

Ar ol hynny darfu imi ddechreu adeiladu yr ysgoldy yn Chwefror 1850 a darfu imi ei orphen er Mis Medi yn dy i'r Meistr, ar ysgoldy, ar cwbl yn waith da, cryf, a hardd nes y mae yn harddwch i'n pentref ag i'r Boneddigion a fydd yn ymweled a mi yn yr Haf a chostiodd imi 400£, a darfu'r ardal rhwng ei rhoddion ar cario wneuthur 150£ ag y mae arnom eto heb ei talu 250£ an gofynwyr yn bur aniddig wrthym a ninnau yn lled dylodion. Yn awr Barchedig foneddigion yr ydym ni yn heddychol ddeiliaid ei Mawrhydi Victoria ag yn ufudd yn llywodraethwyr yn mhob peth ag yn deisyf yn ostyngedig am eich tosturi ach teriondeb trwy ein cynorthwyo i dalu y Swm sydd yn aros arnom cyn gynted ag y byddo modd ag os darfu imi yn ein tywyllwch ar hyd mynyddoedd Cymru fethu dilin eich rheolau yr ydym yn ostyngedig erfyn eich maddeuant. Yr ydwyf yn anfon y Plan yn ol eich gorchymyn am Dy yr ysgol feistr nid oedd dim lle gennym yw wneuthur yn hwy na lletach. Cewch ei hanes oddiwrth Mr. Phillips yn well.

Ydwyf eich ufudd was,

John Jones, Glangwynant.

Ysgrifennydd y Committee.

Appendix 11

"Copy of Petition prepared by Nonconformists.

To the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of Her Majesty's
Privy Council on Education. April, 1861.

The Petition of the undersigned Inhabitants of _____
in the County of _____, of the Members of the
Congregation of _____, in the Parish of _____
in the County of _____.

Showeth.

1. That although it is generally acknowledged that schools established & supported in a great measure out of the public taxes ought to be so constituted as to reflect the sentiments & respect the convictions of the population whose children they are designed to educate, yet the denominational Minutes of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, as at present framed, meet the circumstances of Wales but very imperfectly.
2. That a very large majority of the population of Wales, and particularly of that part of the population for whose benefit the annual vote for public education is made by your Honourable are Protestant Dissenters of various denominations.
3. That this majority rarely includes great landed proprietors, or other persons of wealth; but is, in the main, confined to the middle & to the labouring classes.
4. That it is burdened with the provision for its own-form of religious worship, as well as for schools.
5. That in the establishment, maintenance, and managements of its chapels, it has shown much self sacrifice & much aptitude for local government.
6. That this majority strongly objects to the use of public funds for the propagation of the peculiar religious ideas of any portion of the Christian church, and altogether refuses to regard day schools for children as fit places for proselytism.
7. That the Welsh Dissenters of every class, with the exception of one small body, are unanimous in desiring that the instruction of their children in day schools should be unsectarian, though Christian & Scriptural.
8. That schools established on the principles of the B.F.S.S. have been reported by Her Majesty's Inspectors, and proved by extensive experience, to be well adapted to the wants & wishes of the Welsh people; but that the mass of the working population in Wales cannot accept the compulsory religious instruction which is contemplated in National Schools, & that Nonconformists are wholly excluded, by the enforcement of religious tests, from all share in the management of such schools.
9. That the National Society has repeatedly refused & still refuses to admit on principle the right of parents to withdraw their children from the religious instruction given in its schools; & that, where such liberty is conceded de facto in National Schools, it rests only on the personal discretion of the Managers for the time being - that is to say, practically, of the Incumbent.
10. That two schools for the poor can rarely be maintained in efficiency near to each other in a county so poor, & so thinly peopled, as the rural parts of Wales.
11. That the existence of strict National Schools under such circumstances, either necessitates the creation of other schools by the side of them - thereby wasting the local resources for education - or else works a practical grievance by excluding one portion of the children of Nonconformists, and by violating the consciences of the parents of the remainder.

12. That in this manner the establishment of Parochial Schools, on the terms prescribed by the National Society, has become an offence instead of a boon to a vast majority of the working class in Wales, has wounded their susceptibilities on the tenderest point, & has been regarded as sacrificing their legitimate & more cherished feelings to the bigoting of a small but influential minority.

13. That, to aid private subscriptions with public money, under such circumstances, for the establishment of National Schools is to do for the National Society in Wales that which your Honourable House has uniformly refused to do for the Church Education Society in Ireland.

14. Your Petitioners, therefore, humbly pray that the regulations under which public funds are voted, or the promotion of popular education in Wales be modified, so as to meet the peculiar circumstances of this Principality, and so as to afford its inhabitants the opportunity, wherever that is possible of having their children brought up in schools which base their religious teaching on the Bible alone, without Catechisms or other denominational

15. That, if there be any cases in which purely unsectarian schools cannot be secured, it be, at all events provided that no grant of public money be made establish any school in Wales without a valid legal proviso, as one of its trusts, that the religious instruction given in such schools shall not be compulsory, & that the children shall not be obliged on Sundays to attend any particular religious service against the wishes of their parents expressed on conscientious grounds; and that no such grant be made to maintain any existing School in Wales which is not certified by its managers to be kept open upon these conditions.

16. That when the population admits of the establishment of one school only, no grant of public money be made for its establishment, unless, in addition to the foregoing conscience clause, its trusts also provide that the Subscribers for the time being shall be free to elect its Managing Committee without being subject to any religious test.¹ "

¹ Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Ebrill 17; 1861.

Appendix 12

"To the Right Honourable Earl Granville, the Lord President of the Council.

The memorial of the undersigned members of a Deputation appointed by the Baptist, Independent, and Calvinistic Methodist Bodies in North & South Wales.

Sheweth -

That the circumstances of Wales are peculiar, and require, in the opinion of your Memorialists, that the system on which the Education Grant is now administered should be modified.

That the Landowners, and the higher classes generally, are members of the Church of England, while the middle & poorer classes generally are attached to the several Dissenting Communities.

That your Memorialists submit that the granting of public money for the establishment of Church of England Schools in Wales excepting in the more populous Towns & Districts, is therefore a grievance of which all classes of Dissenters have found to complain; & is at the same time a serious hindrance to the advancement of education in that country.

That your Memorialists believe that abundant evidence can be adduced to show, that the denominational character of these Schools has caused them to be but very partially used by those for whom they are designed; and that the large grants of public money made towards their establishment have been, consequently, in a great measure wasted.

Your Memorialists believe also that it can be shown that these Schools, established with the aid of public money, have been used to a great extent for proselyting purposes, by training the children of Dissenters in the principles of the Church of England. Your Memorialists believe further, that it can be shown that the Education Grant has in some instances been applied to the erection of a building to be used as a place for holding Church of England services, as well as a school, & thereby making the Education Grant subservient to the purposes of Church extension.

That your Memorialists submit that in granting public money for the establishment of Church of England Schools for the children of Dissenters, the Education Department of the Privy Council becomes instrumental to wound the feelings and degrade the position of the parents of such children.

That your Memorialists submit, also, that the exclusion of Dissenters from the management of any School established & maintained with the aid of public money, when they are willing & able to contribute towards its support is at once unjust & humiliating.

That your Memorialists submit further that the granting of public money for the establishment of Church Schools for the children of Dissenters, is calculated to excite jealousy, irritation, & discord - which cannot fail to be detrimental to the progress of popular education in the Principality.

That your Memorialists while they recognise in the "Conscience Clause", a desire on the part of the Committee of Council on Education to afford some relief to the children of Dissenters in Wales, submit that that clause does not meet the requirements of the case, inasmuch as it merely enables the majority to obtain relief from conditions which are only fairly applicable to a small minority; & inasmuch also as it leaves the management exclusively in the hands of Members of the Church of England.

Your Memorialists would therefore pray that your Lordship would be pleased to adopt such measures as may be needful for enabling the Education Department of the Privy Council to restrict the grant of public money, so far as Wales is concerned - the more populous Towns & Districts excepted - to schools in which the religious instruction is undenominational; & the management of which is vested in Committees of Subscribers selected without reference to their religious peculiarities.

May 8th 1862.

Signed T.Williams, Aberdare
W.Ambrose, Porthmadog
S.Jones, Bala.
etc. "

Baner ac Amserau Cymru, Mai 14, 1862.

Appendix No. 3.

TABLE put in by Mr. *Jingen*, 20 April 1866.

RETURN for *Wales* and *Monmouthshire*, 1865.

NAME of COUNTY.	Population.	Number of Schools receiving Annual Grants.				Average Number of Scholars in				Amount of Annual Grants in 1865 paid to				Amount of Building Grants in 1865 paid to			
		National or Church of England.	British or Protestant Dissenting.	Roman Catholic or other.	TOTAL.	National or Church of England.	British or Protestant Dissenting.	Roman Catholic or other.	TOTAL.	National or Church of England.	British or Protestant Dissenting.	Roman Catholic or other.	TOTAL.	National or Church of England.	British or Protestant Dissenting.	Roman Catholic or other.	TOTAL.
Anglesea - -	54,609	22	13	-	35	1,931	1,525	-	3,456	£. s. d. 822 9 3	£. s. d. 651 15 -	£. s. d. -	£. s. d. 1,474 4 3	£. s. d. -	£. s. d. 286 5 -	£. s. d. -	£. s. d. 286 5 -
Brecon - -	61,627	17	7	-	24	1,137	1,039	-	2,176	514 - 3	465 16 10	-	979 17 1	-	-	-	-
Caermarthen -	72,245	29	25	-	54	2,363	3,003	-	5,366	1,111 4 8	1,577 7 11	-	2,688 12 7	-	-	-	-
Caernarvon -	111,796	31	19	-	50	4,106	2,809	-	6,915	1,873 7 3	1,130 18 11	-	3,004 6 2	-	-	-	-
Cardigan - -	95,694	15	17	-	32	1,208	1,381	-	2,589	459 18 7	445 2 2	-	905 - 9	-	-	-	-
Denbigh - -	100,778	33	11	-	44	3,334	1,506	-	4,840	1,227 13 8	635 8 4	-	1,863 2 -	-	226 17 6	-	226 17 6
Flint - -	69,737	35	4	3	42	3,420	252	281	3,953	1,392 4 -	85 8 -	135 13 10	1,613 5 10	75 7 6	262 13 9	-	338 1 3
Glamorgan - -	317,752	55	48	3	106	8,061	8,454	1,060	17,575	3,444 7 4	4,037 - 9	499 7 6	7,980 15 7	195 12 6	65 - -	26 11 2	287 3 8
Merioneth - -	38,963	14	12	-	26	978	1,055	-	2,033	418 2 3	438 9 9	-	856 12 -	-	-	-	-
Monmouth - -	174,633	25	17	4	46	3,089	2,504	649	6,242	1,180 11 11	1,110 - 11	315 16 5	2,606 9 3	126 5 -	-	-	126 5 -
Montgomery -	66,919	21	7	-	28	1,542	550	-	2,092	620 3 5	212 16 8	-	833 - 1	163 16 3	192 10 -	-	356 6 3
Pembroke - -	96,278	25	8	-	33	1,847	849	-	2,696	874 7 6	446 7 8	-	1,320 15 2	-	-	-	-
Radnor - -	25,382	5	-	-	5	279	-	-	279	94 6 1	-	-	94 6 1	515 - -	-	-	515 - -
TOTAL - -	1,286,413	327	188	10	525	33,295	24,927	1,990	60,212	14,032 16 2	11,236 12 11	950 17 9	26,220 6 10	1,076 1 3	1,033 6 3	26 11 2	2,135 18 8

Church Schools, 62·28 per cent. of whole number.

Church Scholars, 55·29 per cent. of whole number.

Church Annual Grants, 53·89 per cent. of whole Annual Grant.

Committee of Council on Education,
Council Office, Whitehall, March 16th, 1849.

Carmarthen Training School

Sir, - Your letter, dated the 13th March, together with the examination papers of the students recently admitted into the Carmarthen Training School, and a letter of the Rev. the Principal, have been submitted to the Lord President of the Council. His Lordship has given his attentive consideration to the suggestions contained in the letter of the Principal, respecting the peculiar circumstances affecting the preparatory education of the students.

While, on the one hand, it is important that this examination for exhibitions should be so conducted, as not to establish any precedent likely injuriously to interfere with the administration of the Minutes of 1846, as far as they relate to Queen's scholarships - on the other hand, his Lordship is not less anxious to afford to the Welsh Education Committee a satisfactory proof of the sympathy with which the Committee of Council on Education regard their efforts to improve the state of elementary education in Wales, by the establishment of the Carmarthen Training College.

His Lordship is of opinion that the examination papers accompanying your letter justify the admission of these students as candidates for exhibitions, and the Rev. Harry Longueville Jones will be directed to proceed to Carmarthen, in order to conduct his examination, at the earliest convenient period.

Mr. Longueville Jones will receive instructions to prepare a paper in Welsh, containing one passage to be translated from Welsh into English, and another from English into Welsh, as well as questions on the grammatical construction of the Welsh passage. Mr. Longueville Jones will also ascertain whether the colloquial idiom of the Welsh, used by each student, is such as may be properly employed in school teaching, or is only a vulgar and ungrammatical dialect.

I am further to intimate to you that, in consideration of the suggestions contained in the principal's letter, the Lord President will accept a grammatical knowledge of the Welsh language, and a familiarity with a good colloquial idiom, in lieu of one or two of the subjects required from pupil teachers in the fifth year, which are not rudimentary. He will accept a good and systematic knowledge of the Welsh in lieu of two subjects; and a less perfect knowledge in the lieu of one subject only.

These arrangements will sufficiently indicate to you that his Lordship is desirous to promote, by means of the teachers educated at the Carmarthen Training School, not only a good grammatical knowledge of the Welsh language, and such an acquaintance with English as may render its literature accessible to the common people of the Principality, but that he is convinced that it would be difficult to attain either of these objects separately, and that the most effectual means of accomplishing each, is the general introduction of an efficient bi-lingual instruction. You will also,

I trust, perceive how anxious his Lordship is to be enabled to grant exhibitions to the Carmarthen Training College, without establishing any precedent otherwise injurious to the public service.-
I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,
(Signed) J.P.K.Shuttleworth.

¹. Sir Thomas Phillips, Wales, 605-606.

APPENDIX No. 1.

PROPOSAL TO ESTABLISH QUEEN'S COLLEGES IN WALES, PREPARED IN 1854. SEE MR. HUGH OWEN'S EVIDENCE, Q. 307.

The importance of providing some system of National Education for the middle classes of this country has been frequently and generally acknowledged. In no part of the United Kingdom, however, has the want of such a system been more deeply felt than in the Principality of Wales. Excluded from the English Universities by the great expense of a University education, by the inconveniences attendant upon a long absence from their homes in a distant part of the country, and, above all, by religious scruples, a class daily increasing in numbers, in wealth, and in importance have long been left unprovided with any better means of instruction than those which were accessible to the children of the poor.

To remedy so great an evil, several schemes have been set on foot for the establishment of a local University, which would place within the reach of the youths of Wales the benefits of a liberal, and at the same time a practical, education. That these plans have proved abortive can scarcely excite surprise. An object so truly national could only be attained by a combination of the religious parties into which the Principality is divided, and each party naturally shrank from a combination which involved a compromise. Thus, those who could and would have availed themselves of the proposed scheme were forced reluctantly to relinquish the benefits of an improved mental culture which could only be purchased by the sacrifice of their rights of conscience.

In Ireland the same difficulties existed. After a long struggle they were overcome by the establishment of the Queen's Colleges. The Reports which have been already published of the working of these institutions have proved how groundless was the outcry raised against them. In the words of the President of the Belfast College, "The New Universities have solved the problem of combining various denominations for mental culture, without interference with religious convictions, and of providing at the same time for a young man (if under age) that spiritual instruction of which his parents may approve, or (if above age) which his own choice and position may dictate."

There is every ground for believing that the same experiment, if tried in Wales, would be attended by the same results. The circumstances of the two countries are by no means dissimilar. The distinctive characteristics of the Welsh, even more than their local isolation, plead urgently for the establishment of a Collegiate Institution adapted to the wants and habits of the people. Indeed, experience shows that education to be effective must be National; that it is impossible to force one class of minds into a mould adapted for those of others; and that no system of instruction will bear solid fruit which does not make allowances for local, as well as individual, peculiarities of intellect and character.

It is proposed then to found in some central part of Wales one or more Queen's Colleges, to be conducted on the model of those already in existence in Ireland. Such an undertaking would, of course, require a considerable outlay of money. Fortunately in Wales ample means are at hand for that purpose. The Reports of the Charity Commissioners show that both North and South Wales abound in educational endowments the objects of which have practically ceased to exist. In many instances the funds by which these endowments were supported have been suffered to lie comparatively idle; in others, they have been grossly misappropriated. A large proportion of these funds might, it is believed, under the provisions of the late Charitable Trusts Act, be rendered available for a purpose so much more useful, and so much more congenial to the wants of the present day.

It is obvious that the accomplishment of this object would be a great step towards the success of the proposed undertaking. It is scarcely to be expected that Govern-

ment, upon whose aid it might be necessary eventually to rely, would extend their assistance to a project which offered no guarantee that it would be energetically prosecuted. Provided with an independent source of income, the new Queen's College would materially strengthen its claims to external aid by proving that it possessed in itself the elements at least of a self-supporting institution.

The promoters of the scheme most earnestly trust that no party feeling or prejudice will be allowed to deter those who ought to be directly interested in its encouragement from lending their aid to so desirable, and, as they believe, so feasible, an object. And yet they are, of course, compelled to speak only in general terms. Their present object, it must be remembered, is to invite discussion rather than to prescribe details. They feel assured, however, that the more their proposal is canvassed and understood the more it will recommend itself to the consideration of all impartial well-wishers of Wales; and they cannot but express their sincere hopes that the sympathies of all parties and classes may be enlisted on behalf of an undertaking which, while it wounds the susceptibilities and interferes with the scruples of no sect or denomination, is designed to confer an invaluable benefit upon all.

OUTLINE OF CONSTITUTION OF PROPOSED WELSH QUEEN'S COLLEGES, PREPARED IN 1854. SEE MR. HUGH OWEN'S EVIDENCE, Q. 307.

This institution, to be called the Queen's College, its general object being to afford to the Middle Classes of Wales the advantages of a Collegiate Education, based upon unsectarian principles.

The Governing body of the College to consist of a Visitor, a Council, and a Senate.

The Visitor to be the Prince of Wales, to whom in all cases of dispute an ultimate and final appeal shall lie.

The general management and superintendence of the finances, economy, and studies of the College to be committed to a Council consisting, in the first instance, of 12 persons, to be nominated by the Crown.

The ordinary meetings of the Council to be held at such times and in such places as shall be deemed proper and necessary; at which meetings such byelaws, ordinances, and regulations as may from time to time be necessary for the government of the College shall be discussed. The resolution of a majority (subject to the right of appeal herein-before reserved) to be in all cases decisive.

The Members of the Council to elect their own President, who in all cases, when the numbers are equal, shall have a casting vote.

The studies to be pursued in the College to be those which usually form part of a liberal education, with the addition of practical instruction in Civil Engineering, Agriculture, and other branches of useful and experimental knowledge.

The officers of the College to consist of a Principal, Professors, Lecturers, and a Secretary, to be nominated by the Crown.

The Principal, besides superintending the morals and discipline of the students, to exercise a general control over their academical pursuits.

The Professors (who shall deliver regular courses of Lectures, and generally superintend the progress of the students in the several faculties or branches of instruction assigned to them) to be three in number, viz. :—

1. A Professor of General Literature, including Greek, Latin, and Modern Literature and Languages.
2. A Professor of Mathematical and Physical Science, including Pure Mathematics, Astronomy, Geology, Mineralogy, Botany, &c.

The draft address having been prepared, it was submitted to Messrs. Lloyd, Morgan, and Qwen, and finally adopted.

The following is a copy of the address:—

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS.

“Many persons of enlightened and patriotic sentiments have long felt that something ought to be done to secure for the Welsh people those means of obtaining a liberal education which are possessed by all other provinces of the British Empire.

“Incredible as it may seem, Wales, with nearly a million and a quarter inhabitants, remains to this day without a single High Class College. While popular education in common schools is advancing rapidly, no systematic effort has as yet been made to provide proportionate advantages for the middle and upper classes.

“There is not in the whole of Europe a country so populous as Wales in which such a want has been suffered to exist. Among the provinces of the United Kingdom, Wales stands alone destitute of superior Colleges, and of the means of rewarding literary merit with University honours.

“Ireland and Scotland have been liberally provided for. The English Government has expended above £100,000 in erecting three Queen's Colleges and a Queen's University for Ireland (although that island possessed already the University of Dublin and the Royal Belfast Institution), and is expending some £22,000 annually in support of these and other high class institutions, in addition to about £300,000 per annum given towards common school education in Ireland. Scotland, which has for many ages been in possession of four great Universities, where some 4,000 of her sons are under continual training, has recently had the income of these seats of learning supplemented by not less than £20,000 per annum out of the English exchequer. The corporation of the University of London receives above £5,000 per annum from the same source. Wales alone has been passed by without notice, and left destitute of the means of educating her own children.

“It is useless to complain of the backward and obscure condition of the Welsh people, while no proper efforts are made to

put them on a footing of intellectual equality with their neighbours. Such condition is not traceable to poverty, to intellectual inferiority, or to any of the social or political evils which corrupt or degrade a nation. No portion of the British people is endowed with a quicker or more penetrating intellect, none is more ambitious of obtaining knowledge, or more able to appreciate and use it when obtained.

"To send the youth of the Principality on any large scale to England for education has been found impracticable. Economy and convenience require that they should be educated nearer home.

"While anxious to discourage all fanciful ideas of nationality we cannot but feel that the Welsh people have an equal right with others to educational institutions of their own, and that, if possessed, such institutions would, from the very fact of their nationality, be valued and loved. At the same time it is obvious that their establishment would powerfully contribute to spread a knowledge of the language and literature of England among the people of Wales.

"The material wealth and commercial importance of the Principality are every day increasing. Our mines and manufactures, our railways and shipping interests, are rapidly expanding. The demand for educated talent, for scientific acquirements, for engineering skill,—in a word, for all the results of a liberal training, is becoming more and more imperative. With the rapid increase of the opulent class of residents, and of offices requiring educated men, the paucity of our means of education is becoming painfully apparent.

"The direction of our large and lucrative undertakings, the chief posts in the country which require superior skill and attainments, are monopolised by strangers. The Welshman has to struggle in an unequal race, and is necessarily left behind. Let Wales have 2,000 of her sons under daily University training, (about the proportion found in Scotland,) and a different result will certainly follow.

"To meet this national want, a provision truly national must be made. Colleges must be formed for the education of the *nation*, and in order that they may awaken no sectarian or party antipathies they must be perfectly free from all sectarian or party preferences. It is essential to success that all classes and all denominations should join hands in the work. A University

for Wales must embrace the whole Welsh people, and must clash with no existing educational institutions.

"It is believed that Colleges and a University on the plan of the 'Queen's Colleges' and University in Ireland, with certain necessary modifications to meet the peculiarities of the country, would supply all that is required, and it is hoped that the bounty of the public in Wales, of patriotic Welshman and others in England, and of the English Government combined, will prove more than sufficient to carry the enterprise to a successful issue."

University College of Wales Report, 1863-1870, 4.

17

APPENDIX SEVENTEEN.

FURTHER EXPOSITION OF PLAN AND OBJECT.

The Committee, in the early part of 1864, issued a statement, further detailing and expounding the plan and object sought to be carried out. As this statement enters so fully into the subject, the Committee think that it will answer a useful purpose to embody the document in this report. It is as follows:—

“The University in relation to Wales.—It is believed that the establishment of a University which should have the effect of fostering a merely Welsh nationality, and promoting in any degree the separation of the inhabitants of the Principality from the great English community, would prove a great evil. The object aimed at by the present movement is widely different

from this. It is taken for granted, as beyond question, that the interests of Wales require that her people should in reality, as well as politically, become an integral part of the United Kingdom. Free inter-communication between the two peoples is essential, if Wales is not relatively to fall back in the wake of modern progress. Without depreciating or wishing to extinguish the vernacular language, or the time-honoured customs of Wales, it is still believed that the hope of the country lies in nearer approximation to England, in language, in general culture, in commercial enterprise, &c. As to language, what is required is not the extinction of the Welsh, but the diffusion of English. Let the perpetuation of the vernacular, and other peculiarities of the nation, be left to the free choice and sympathies of the people when fully enlightened as to their own interests; but, meantime, let the light enter, and let all the barriers which divert the influences of modern civilization from Wales be removed. The establishment of Collegiate Institutions, with a University worthy of the present age, and conducted on the plan of the most approved English Colleges, would probably operate more powerfully than any other means in securing this result. Wales has, for a long time, possessed the blessing of a generally diffused religious instruction, which, doubtless, forms a chief instrument in the elevation of a people. The most obvious desideratum at present, seeing that Elementary Schools are making hopeful progress, is a system of middle and higher class education, which shall raise the tone of the national intellect in its more influential classes, and enable it to enter freely into the fellowship of surrounding peoples.

"The University in relation to different Sections of the Community.—The conception of a University for a province like Wales, involves, of necessity, the idea of catholicity. A University is an institution for the whole people—as well as for the diffusion of a comprehensive system of knowledge. It must therefore avoid fettering itself with ecclesiastical or denominational peculiarities. For Wales, especially, no other kind of University would be of any avail. The Welsh, as a people, belong neither to the Church of England, nor to the Nonconforming bodies; nor should, therefore, a University to suit the country belong exclusively, or even chiefly, to either of these parties, but should rather be so constituted as to look with equal favour on the interests of all parties, in so far as these interests are identified with the literary and scientific culture of the

people. Happily, Wales is not deficient in Theological instruction. Seminaries for the ministry of the different denominations are numerous; and no provision on this head (except, perhaps, an arrangement for simple *Examination* in the original Texts of Scripture) would be required in the proposed University, or its Colleges. The curriculum of study prescribed would be adapted for graduation in Arts, Science, Law, and, perhaps, Medicine. The omission of theological teaching (supplied so abundantly by the pulpits and seminaries of the country) would obviate the difficulty which would inevitably arise in selecting a Divinity Professor, and also the objection which many would conscientiously advance against the use of public money for the support of religious teaching. By granting the privilege of "affiliation" to the Colleges of the different religious bodies now existing, which should be found to come up to the required standard, and by making the New College or Colleges sought to be established in connexion with the University equally open to all, and thus distributing benefit without respect to sectarian distinctions, the University would guard itself against all charge of favouritism, and challenge acknowledgment as a truly National Institution.

"*The Model it is desired to follow.*—The University of London, and the 'Queen's University' in Ireland, offer excellent models. They have the advantage of having received their constitution in modern times, and from recent Governments; are thoroughly intelligible to our public men, and have proved the wisdom of those who founded them by their success. They recognise the ecclesiastical peculiarities of the country, and dispense their privileges impartially.

"These Institutions, in one respect, differ from each other. The University of London, as is well known, is not a teaching institution, but simply tests and rewards the merits of Candidates, whencesoever they come. The Queen's University, in Ireland, on the other hand, possesses an educational machinery of its own in the three 'Queen's Colleges' of Belfast, Galway, and Cork. At the time of its first formation, the University of London found its teaching apparatus in Colleges already in existence throughout the country, to which it granted the privilege of 'affiliation' to itself. By this means a certain unity was secured for the whole Confederacy of Colleges, and all derived a share of dignity from their relation to the University. It is conceived that the University of Wales would profit from a

combination of these two plans. It is very evident that the existing Schools of Wales need supplementing by a College or Colleges which should afford the means of the most liberal culture. If, at some central spot, convenient for the whole of Wales, one High Class College can be erected; or, if at two different spots, two such Colleges can be erected, one for South Wales, and one for North Wales, respectively; and if all existing Colleges of a certain standing can, by 'affiliation,' be brought into the educational confederacy, the University forming the crown and finish of the whole, and conferring on all an equal honour, all that is needful will be supplied. The University proper will test and reward merit; and the Colleges, newly founded and 'affiliated,'—the former being open to all ranks and denominations without distinction—will supply the education.

"The University Proper, and its Government.—The University itself, like that of London, would be a corporation of noblemen and gentlemen of education, constituted by Charter from the Sovereign. The Government of the University would be entrusted to a Senate, composed of men of high standing in the country, whose appointment, in the first instance, would emanate from the Queen, but who would be probably selected in due proportion afterwards from the most distinguished graduates of the University, as these increased in number. The Senate would appoint Professors to the newly-founded Colleges, select examiners, determine the number of scholarships and prizes, and, according to the Examiner's reports as to the merits of candidates, grant degrees, scholarships, and other honours. The character of the men composing the Senate would place the management of the University above all suspicion of partiality and favouritism.

"The Scope and Extent of the Education to be administered by the University.—Let it be remembered that 'University Education' embraces a breadth of instruction which fits young men for the various professions and employments of life. It at least aims at laying down such general *basis* of culture as will be a natural introduction to a course of training more distinctly professional, and should, in large measure, supply that very training itself. The young men of the Principality are at present almost totally deprived of such means of extended culture. While in times past the ministry seemed to be the only outlet to native talent, the increase of trade, the introduc-

tion of railways, the immense development of mining and manufacturing operations, the openings offered by competitive examination for the higher posts in the Civil and Indian services, &c., invite the young men of education in our day to a thousand lines of honourable employment and promotion. The varied and comprehensive course of education which the University would supply would fit our young men for such openings. In addition to superior classical, mathematical, and historical attainments, it would secure respectable acquaintance with the natural sciences, engineering, metallurgy, mining, and agriculture—matters which directly concern the great industries of the Principality, but which have hitherto been all but entirely neglected. Jurisprudence, political economy, medicine, &c., would also doubtless receive attention.

"The incalculable advantage of a National University would be seen, not only in the wider scope which it would thus give to the culture of the *individual*, but also, and very especially, in the general *diffusion* it would secure to this culture. Instead of tens, we should see hundreds of our youth under competent instruction; and the enterprising Welshman, now almost always thrown into the rear, would soon be found successfully competing with the Englishman and the Scotchman for posts of lucrative employment. If Wales is ever to equal Scotland in winning success for her sons, Wales must have about *two thousand* of her youth under daily Collegiate training; and how far she falls short of this at the present time it is not needful to specify.

"The impossibility of thus widely diffusing the means of liberal education otherwise than by the establishment of Colleges and a University in the country is a fair and sufficient answer to the statement occasionally made, that the youth of Wales should be sent to England for education. It is true that the education of the *few* may thus be carried out; but the education of *many* is the need of our country. It must be allowed that the facilities of modern travelling make it less difficult than formerly to reach the English Schools and Universities, but it nevertheless continues true that education nearer home would be both more economical and more abundantly and generally enjoyed. Every people ought to possess the chief institutions of civilised society amongst themselves. It is as abnormal a state of things when a people are obliged to send their children to another country for education, as it would be if they were obliged to send them

to another country for bread. It were perfectly as reasonable to argue that all cases of litigation in Wales should be sent up to Westminster Hall, or that the invalids of Wales should be transported to England for advice and cure, as to argue that the youth of Wales should be sent to England for education. Undoubtedly, many advantages would accrue from the latter course, as also from the former. But the question is one of a *balance* of advantages. The few solitary youths of good family which are now sent to the schools of England, doubtless have their views of life widened, their manners improved, and their education better conducted. But what of the thousands that are *not* sent? What of those numerous aspiring youths, with keen and noble faculties, whose means are too slender, or whose parents are too parsimonious, to meet the outlay required? These, which form the bone and marrow of the nation, are they for whom we mainly plead, when we plead for a National University which shall bring the education of England within the reach of the Welsh student, instead of imposing on the student the formidable sacrifice of travelling to England in search of it—a sacrifice which, in nine cases out of ten, is avoided at the cost of settling down in perpetual ignorance and obscurity, or of resting satisfied with what is unworthy of the name of education.

Colleges, and a University, for Wales, are procurable.—If it can be made out that Wales is the only principality in Europe without suitable academic institutions, and that justice to its million and a quarter inhabitants requires that it should possess such institutions, surely the thing shall be accomplished. But the combined efforts of the whole community, especially of its public and influential men, will be required for the realisation of so great a boon. The need, however, is so obvious and so pressing, and the good to be secured so paramount, that few will hold back from rendering their share of assistance. Those who have laboured for the education of the poor will not stand aloof when the education of the middle and higher classes is sought to be advanced in proportionate ratio; and as united action is essential to the procurement of a *national* University, no supposed conflicting interests, no party jealousies, will be allowed to mar the harmony of the movement. Our noblemen and prelates, our representatives in Parliament, our great employers of labour, our ministers of religion of all sections of the Church, and the different ranks of our magistracy, will doubt-

less give the countenance and aid in a work so reasonable and beneficent.

"If such general combination is secured among those most interested in the work, who can doubt that a National Fund can be raised of such proportions as will gain for the movement the favour of the Legislature? The English Government has already, of its own accord, patronised liberal University education by the establishment of the London University and the Queen's University in Ireland, and by its more recent endeavours to improve, at great cost, the Scottish Universities. Wales, alone, though contributing towards the outlay, remains unvisited by this generosity. But the time to do her full justice will soon come, if she is only faithful to herself."

PROCEEDING TO MEET WITH THE COMMITTEE OF ST. DAVID'S
University College of Wales Report, 1863-1870, 7.

OUTLINE OF PROPOSED CONSTITUTION

FOR THE

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF WALES.

1. The object of this Institution is to give, more especially to the Middle Classes of Wales, a sound and high-class education, at a moderate cost.

2. The Institution shall be purely NON-SECTARIAN, open on equal terms to all Denominations.

3. The College shall be a Corporation of the status of the Queen's Colleges in Ireland, and University and King's Colleges in London. The course of study shall be adapted for the different liberal professions, and shall embrace special preparation for commercial, scientific, and engineering pursuits, as well as for Academic Degrees.

The Curriculum to include the following subjects :—

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. The Greek and Latin Languages. | 7. The Evidences of Christianity, and Original Languages of Scripture. |
| 2. Ancient and Modern History. | 8. Chemistry, Botany, and Natural History. |
| 3. English Language and Literature. | 9. Geology, Agriculture, Mineralogy, Engineering. |
| 4. Modern and Celtic Languages. | 10. Medicine, Physiology, and Anatomy. |
| 5. Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. | 11. Law, Jurisprudence, and Political Economy. |
| 6. Logic, and Mental and Moral Philosophy. | |

4. The General Government of the College shall be vested in a SENATE, consisting of thirty Governors; of whom four shall be elected by each of the great religious bodies of Wales, namely—the Episcopalian, the Calvinistic Methodist, the Congregational, the Baptist, and the Wesleyan (2 in North Wales and 2 in South Wales), and 2 by the Unitarian body; 2 shall be nominated by the Lord President of the Privy Council, 2 by the President of the College, 2 by the Welsh residents in London, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and Bristol, and 2 by those distinguished Alumni who shall be called "Associates" of the College.

5. These 30 Governors shall elect a President; and with him, as the SENATE, shall form the Supreme Governing Body.

6. The Senate shall appoint out of the Governors a Treasurer and eight members of Committee, who with the Principal and two Professors, shall form the *Executive Committee*.

7. The Executive Committee shall, subject to the control of the Senate, conduct the whole of the ordinary secular business and the external relations of the College; while the whole of its internal or academic business shall, subject to the control of the Executive Committee, be entrusted to the Principal and Professors. The Principal and Professors shall form the *Council*. The President shall be the official head of the Senate, the Treasurer shall be the official head of the Executive Committee, and the Principal shall be the official head of the Council.

8. The election of Principal and Professors shall be vested in the Senate.

9. All other Colleges and Schools in Wales, and within convenient distances, whose course of study shall be so framed as to come up to the recognised standard, shall be entitled to the privilege of "Affiliation."

Students.

1. The Students shall be either matriculated or non-matriculated.

2. Those who shall have passed a Matriculation Examination shall be considered as *regular Students*.

3. All regular Students shall be resident. Residence to mean, living in the College House, or in houses duly registered or approved by the Council, and attendance at Lectures.

4. Such Students alone as shall have passed the Matriculation Examination shall be entitled to compete for Scholarships and Medals, and to pursue the regular course for Degrees.

5. All Students, before proceeding to their first Degree (B.A.), shall produce certificates from the Registrar of having resided at College 3 years, or 9 Terms from the time of Matriculation.

6. Students from "Affiliated" Colleges shall produce similar certificates from their own College.

7. In the case of any Student who shall have pursued part of his Collegiate Studies in any one of the Affiliated Colleges or Schools, such time shall be reckoned in his favour upon producing a certificate of having passed a certain period at such College or School; and shall, if required, be deducted from the full period of 3 years of College residence.

The College Session.

The College Session shall be divided into 3 Terms.

The First Term shall commence on the first Tuesday in October, and end on the 21st day of December.

The Second Term shall commence on the Friday of the first week in January and end on the Thursday before Easter.

The Third Term shall commence on the first Friday after Easter and end on the first day of June.

Matriculation.

1. Candidates for Matriculation shall be required to appear in the Registrar's Office before the Matriculation Examination, for the purpose of entering their names on the College Book.

2. Each Candidate, before being admitted to the Matriculation Examination, shall be required to pay the Matriculation Fee of Ten Shillings. This fee will be returned to such Students as may fail to pass the Examination.

Fees.

The Fees payable for all Lectures shall not exceed £10 per annum.

Examinations.

1. Examinations shall be held at the close of each Session.

2. All Students who shall distinguish themselves shall be rewarded—

1. By Certificates of Honour. 2. By Prizes. 3. By Scholarships. These to be entitled "Scholars" of their College.

3. Annual Examinations shall be held to which Candidates from any existing School whatever shall be admitted upon payment of a moderate fee. There shall be two such Examinations—one open to all Candidates, the other limited to Candidates under fifteen years of age. These Examinations shall be held annually at the beginning of June.

4. Every successful Candidate shall receive a Certificate in Arts, specifying the subjects in which he has satisfied the Examiners. The names of all such successful Candidates shall be published, as well as the names of the particular Schools to which they belong.

Non-Matriculated Students.

Non-Matriculated Students shall be permitted to attend the Lectures of any of the Professors, without being required to pass the Matriculation or any other Examination, upon payment of the appointed fees for such attendance, and signing an engagement to observe the order and discipline of the College.

Theological Halls.

In the case of any Theological Halls belonging to any religious body whatever being founded in the neighbourhood of Aberystwyth, special provisions shall be made in favour of the Students of such Halls, who may wish to avail themselves of the privilege of attending the College Courses,

and in the case of any such Hall, the Registrar shall be required to make such arrangements as may be necessary for the admission of such Students to the College Courses, and to the examination of such Students, and to the award of such Prizes and Scholarships as may be applicable to such Students, and to the publication of the names of such Students, and to the publication of the names of the particular Halls to which they belong.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF WALES.

7, QUEEN VICTORIA STREET,

LONDON, 25th October, 1875.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,

Next Sunday, as you are aware, will be "SUL Y BRIFYSGOL," and I take the liberty, on behalf of the Council, of entreating that you will be so kind as to urge the claims of the College on your congregation. The complete success of this appeal to the people will not only help to place the Institution on a permanently secure basis, but will also supply evidence of its national character, and of the favour with which the people regard the placing of higher Education within the reach of the many. It may be added that the success of this appeal cannot fail also to reflect honour on our Country, and to exalt it in the estimation of the intelligence of the English nation.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

HUGH OWEN.

Please to observe the "Facts bearing on University Education" on the other page.

A.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF WALES

(ABERYSTWYTH).

THE POSITION OF THE COLLEGE, AND THE
TEMPORARY SUSTENTATION FUND, 1876.

In October next this College will enter on its fifth session ; and the Council are thankful to be able to state that its course from its opening in October, 1872, to the present time has been one of steady progress.

The College embraces all the branches of learning usually taught in the English Universities, excepting theology, and is conducted by a staff of able professors. The number of students is about one hundred, several of whom reside within the College. The fee of the students, in order to render the College available to the many, has been fixed at £10 a year each. Resident students pay in addition to this fee, £30 a year for board and apartments.

The College building, which is freehold, and is estimated to be worth £50,000, is entirely free from incumbrance. The accommodation has been considerably increased within the last year, six additional lecture-rooms and twenty bedrooms having been provided.

The cost of the building, of the extensive new works, of furniture, library, &c., as well as that of maintaining the College during the last four years, has been wholly met by the voluntary contributions of its friends.

The sources on which the Council rely in the absence of a Parliamentary grant for the permanent maintenance of the College are :— (1) The Fees of Students, say, £1,000 a year ; (2) Annual Subscriptions, say, £1,000 a year ; and (3) The Dividends to arise from an *Endowment Fund* of £50,000, say, £2,000 a year—total, £4,000 a year.

A considerable amount has already been received or promised towards the Endowment Fund ; but it is expected that its completion will require two or three years at least. The Council look hopefully to the wealthier of their countrymen to complete this Fund, and to the commercial and agricultural classes to constitute the bulk of the Annual Subscribers.

The support of the College until a grant is obtained, or the Endowment Fund is completed, required that a temporary fund should be if possible secured; and hence the appeal made in October last on behalf of a

TEMPORARY SUSTENTATION FUND.

The eminently successful result of the appeal in aid of this Fund is shown in the accompanying report. It is proposed to renew the appeal in October next, in the earnest hope that it may be as gratifying in its result as was that of the first year. The appeal will again be made

(1) By a house-to-house collection in the last week in October, 1876. [This collection is expected to embrace contributions of 2s. 6d., 5s., 10s., 20s., and upwards—sums which cannot ordinarily be looked for in congregational collections—as well as smaller amounts.] And also

(2) By congregational collections in all places of worship on the last Sunday in that month.

With the view of facilitating the proposed collection from house to house the Council would offer the following suggestions, which may of course be modified according to the circumstances of particular districts:—

1. *Committee.*—A Committee should be formed in each district, whose duty it will be to make all the preparations necessary for effecting the house-to-house collection. It is of importance that all denominations should be represented on the Committee, as the College is a national institution in which all denominations are equally interested. The Committee will find it desirable at their first meeting to appoint a Treasurer and a Secretary, whose names and addresses, together with those of the members of the Committee, should be communicated with as little delay as possible to the Honorary Secretary at the office of the College in London.

2. *District.*—Every county should be divided into districts. The district may comprise a parish, or, as will frequently be found convenient, the district usually adopted for other annual collections.

3. *Collecting Books.*—The Collectors should be provided with memorandum books in which to enter the name and address of every subscriber, together with the amount of his subscription, however small. The names of all subscribers of 2s. 6d. or upwards will be published.

4. *Closing of the Accounts.*—The Committee should meet as early as practicable in November, when the collectors will bring in their books and the money they may have collected. The Treasurer will take charge of the money, and the books will be placed in the hands of the Secretary.

5. *Disposal of the Money collected.*—It will be convenient if the Treasurer will remit the money by a banker's cheque made payable to the "University College of Wales," and crossed "North and South Wales Bank, Aberystwyth." The cheque may be sent direct to the Bank at Aberystwyth, or it may be addressed to the Honorary Secretary as under. The books, when examined, should be forwarded to the same address.

HUGH OWEN, *Hon. Sec.*

7, QUEEN VICTORIA STREET,
LONDON, Aug., 1876.

1 Queen's Gate, S.W.
May 10, 1880.

Dear Mr. Gladstone,

I do not think that your own contest in Midlothian, altho you were fighting 'non tibi sed patria', will have so entirely absorbed your attention as to have made you unobservant of the fact that in all the Welsh elections one subject was everywhere prominent, and that every candidate, whether successful or not, pledged himself to press upon Government the consideration of the defective condition of Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales.

Parliament will soon be assembled; and Welsh M.P.'s will be putting questions on the Paper, which it will be difficult to answer in a manner satisfactory to public expectation.

I know that the subject of Higher Education in Wales is not new to you; and it is therefore probable that you will be prepared to express your views on it. At any rate you are aware of the facts of the case, which are few and simple.

Apart from the Nonconformist Theological Colleges, which are numerous but which can hardly or at all be taken into account on the present occasion, there are but two colleges in Wales - viz., that of St. Davids, Lampeter, and the 'University College of Wales' at Aberystwyth.

The former of these is essentially a Church of England Institution, confining itself almost entirely to the training of Clergymen. It has indeed invited lay students, and is anxious to attract them; and the new life and vigour infused by its present Principal, Mr. Jayne,¹ may so raise its reputation as, to some extent, to attain that object; but I doubt whether any Nonconformist will ever find his way there.

The University College of Wales, altho 'unsectarian' is mainly resorted to by Nonconformists. Of its 60 students, about 43 are preparing themselves for the Ministry of their respective denominations. This college is doing fair work, and is supplying a pressing want; but its situation is unfortunate. Had it been attached to some large Town, e.g. Swansea, its students would probably have been at least tripled in number. But, in order to secure the moral and material support of North Wales, a central position was sought; and the opportunity of buying a large and convenient building at a small cost, determined the choice of Aberystwyth, and this choice will I fear forever prevent this College from attracting Endowments or Students in sufficient amount and number to enable it to fulfil adequately the purposes for which it was designed. Hence arises the necessity for considering the extension of Higher Education in Wales.

The question of intermediate education is more complicated. The only public inquiry bearing on it, and of course only to a limited extent, has been that conducted by the Endowed Schools Commission. The last Return of the Charity Commissioners (July 1879) shows the number and amount of these endowments, and their utter insufficiency to supply the public want. They are few and generally scanty. Some 15 schemes for North and South Wales have been approved and are in force; of these 7 or 8 may be

¹ Francis John Jayne (1845-1921), Principal of St. David's College, Lampeter, 1879-86.

expected to do useful work. Four schemes are now under consideration; and 26 more, some of which are very unimportant, remain to be dealt with. Of these endowments, such as they are, North Wales has much the larger share.

Attempts have been made at Cardiff and Swansea to establish proprietary middle-class schools, which are prospering. But these are exceptionally rich and prosperous places; and the experiment is not likely to be tried elsewhere, or, at any rate, in 2 or 3 other Towns at most. One school of recent creation by endowments, that of Llandovery, is flourishing, and is probably the best in Wales.

I may add that I have reason to believe that the Oxford University Commissioners have prepared a scheme, which will extend the usefulness of the school endowments in Wales, of which Jesus College is Trustee.

But all these schools, however reformed, would very inadequately supply the local wants; although we have no means of knowing the exact measure of the deficiency.

More precise information is required; and I therefore venture to suggest that the most satisfactory to inquirers would be that the Government is about to issue a Royal Commission on the subject both of Higher and Intermediate Education. Such a Commission need not be numerously composed; its labours would be neither long nor costly. Nor, considering our imperfect information, would it be open to the objection so often and reasonably urged against the late Government, of shifting to other shoulders the responsibilities which they should themselves have assumed.

I have placed in another paper, for consideration, some suggested heads for the proposed inquiry.¹

Believe me, dear Mr. Gladstone,
Very sincerely yours,
ABERDARE.

¹ The suggested Heads of Enquiry which were attached to Lord Aberdare's letter of 10 May 1880:

- (1) The nature and extent of the existing provision for Intermediate education in Wales.
- (2) The nature and extent of the existing provision for Higher Education in Wales. N.B. Printed questions addressed to individuals would elicit much of the information required on both these points.
- (3) The best means of supplying any deficiencies under the foregoing heads.
- (4) How far the benefits of the existing provision for Intermediate and Higher Education are limited by conditions intended to favour any particular denomination.
- (5) How far existing endowments may be applied towards supplying deficiencies under both heads.
- (6) In what form and to what extent could contributions from the State towards the relief of existing deficiencies be required.
- (7) Whether the creation of a 'University of Wales', with power to grant degrees in Arts, would tend to advance Higher education in Wales. (St. David's College, Lampeter, has by an enlargement of its original Charter, acquired the power of granting degrees of Bachelors in Arts and Divinity.)

Voel,
Hornsey Lane, N,
London.
30 June, 1880.

Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales

My dear Sir,

Referring to my interview with you the other day, I beg to state that in my opinion an Inquiry, conducted by a few gentlemen acquainted with the people - their national peculiarities, denominational differences, and sectional jealousies - would be of the utmost assistance in dealing with the educational wants of Wales; and I should much fear that if this were attempted without such an Inquiry, the result would not be satisfactory.

The Commission would be an unpaid Commission, and I would venture to suggest that it might be composed as follows:-

Lord Aberdare, who would be the Chairman

Mr. Hussey Vivian, M.P.

Mr. Henry Richard, M.P.

Professor John Rhys, M.A., Oxford

and

Mr. A. C. Humphreys Owen, M.A., Glansevern, Montgomeryshire.

Mr. Lewis Morris, M.A., would make a most efficient Secretary.

The scope of the Inquiry might be as follows:-

1. As to the nature and extent of the existing provision for Intermediate Education in Wales.
Information on these points may be obtained from the reports of the Endowed Schools Commission and by means of printed questions addressed to Individuals.
2. As to how any deficiency shown to exist may be best supplied.
3. The nature and extent of the existing provision for Higher Education. Printed questions addressed to Individuals would elicit all the information required on these points.
4. As to how any deficiency shown to exist may be best supplied.
5. As to how far the benefits of the existing provision are in any case restricted by conditions or practices intended to favour the Established Church.
6. As to how existing endowments may be applied towards supplying the deficiency as regards Intermediate and Higher Education.
7. In what form, and to what extent may the State be reasonably looked to to assist in supplying the deficiency as regards Intermediate and Higher Education.
8. As to whether the creation of a 'University of Wales', with power to grant Degrees would help to advance Higher Education in Wales.

I believe that the Inquiry might be completed and reported upon during the approaching Parliamentary Recess.

I need not tell you, dear Sir, that Wales is anxiously looking to the Government to take some action at once in reference to this subject.

I remain, faithfully yours,

H. Hussey Vivian, Esq., M.P.

HUGH OWEN

APPENDIX No. 18.

Handed in by MR. HUGH OWEN, *Vide* Q. 19,404.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF WALES, ABERYSTWITH.

Statement of Receipts and Expenditure from 9th December 1863 to 30th June 1880.

Receipts.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions, &c.	51,131	18	1			
Students' fees	6,178	8	5			
College rooms	1,395	9	3			
Dividends, &c.	1,580	10	9			
Miscellaneous	394	13	8			
				60,681	0	2
North Wales Commercial Travellers' Scholarship (on deposit)	717	0	0			
Reserved by D. Davies, Esq., M.P.	4,000	0	0			
				4,717	0	0
				65,398	0	2

Expenditure.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Building (principal, 10,000 <i>l.</i> ; interest, 2,604 <i>l.</i> 18 <i>s.</i> 1 <i>d.</i>)	12,604	18	1			
New works, alterations, repairs, &c.	4,945	18	4			
Library, museum, and laboratory	1,262	17	3			
Salaries of staff	17,339	11	1			
Scholarships	2,974	8	9			
Coal and gas	568	10	1			
Furniture	1,014	11	11			
General—						
Salaries of late secretaries, travelling and incidental expenses, incurred from 9th December 1863 to 8th October 1872, date of the opening of the college	4,032	2	10			
Printing, stationery, postages, advertising, rent of office, salary of clerk, incidental expenses from 9th October 1872 to 30th June 1880	4,154	13	3			
				8,186	16	1
				48,897	11	7
Investments	11,735	0	9			
Balance at bankers (less 7 <i>l.</i> 19 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i> due to treasurers)	48	7	10			
North Wales Commercial Travellers' Scholarship (on deposit)	717	0	0			
Reserved by D. Davies, Esq., M.P.	4,000	0	0*			
				16,500	8	7
				£65,398	0	2

* On 2,000*l.* of this amount Mr. Davies allows interest at 4 per cent. per annum, which is applied to scholarships. The remaining 2,000*l.* are reserved, awaiting the completion of the Endowment Fund of 50,000*l.*

APPENDIX No. 19.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF WALES.

Particulars respecting Ordinary Students who attended the College from October 1872 to June 1880.

I.—Ages of Students.					
Years of Age.		No. of Students.			
Under 16	-	70	Managers of works	-	7
16 and under 17	-	51	Retired	-	7
17 „ 18	-	37	Smiths	-	7
18 „ 19	-	26	Builders and contractors	-	6
19 „ 21	-	38	Hotel-keepers, publicans, and maltsters	-	6
21 „ 25	-	53	Surgeons	-	6
25 and over	-	38	Agents	-	6
			Millers	-	5
			Booksellers	-	5
			Cashiers, clerks, lawyers' clerks	-	5
			Ironmongers	-	4
			Solicitors	-	3
			Painters	-	3
			Shipbrokers	-	2
			Architects	-	2
			Weavers	-	2
			Civil engineers	-	2
			Printers	-	2
			Indian civil servants	-	2
			Auctioneer	-	1
			Coroner	-	1
			Saddler	-	1
			Shipowner	-	1
			Butcher	-	1
			Cowkeeper	-	1
			Jeweller	-	1
			Police officer	-	1
			Chemist	-	1
			Tax collector	-	1
			Commercial traveller	-	1
			Station-master	-	1
			Bank manager	-	1
			Military	-	1
			Chandler	-	1
			Gardener	-	1
			Not known	-	11
					313
II.—Where Students came from.					
County.		No. of Students.			
Cardigan	-	117			
Carmarthen	-	34			
Merioneth	-	23			
Carnarvon	-	22			
Glamorgan	-	22			
Flint	-	12			
Montgomery	-	12			
Denbigh	-	9			
Anglesey	-	8			
Brecon	-	8			
Monmouth	-	6			
Pembroke	-	3			
Radnor	-	-			
England, &c.	-	37			
		313			
III.—Condition or Quality of Students' Parents.			IV.—Duration of Stay at College.		
Farmers	-	74	48 students attended 3 sessions (= 9 terms), or upwards.		
Clergymen and ministers	-	29	63 „ „ 2 „ and under 3.		
Merchants	-	22	121 „ „ 1 session „ 2.		
Bootmakers and shoemakers	-	15	81 „ „ under 1 session.		
Drapers	-	15			
Master mariners	-	14			
Labourers	-	10			
Grocers	-	10			
Cabinet makers, joiners	-	8			
Quarrymen and miners	-	7			
		313			

APPENDIX No. 20.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF WALES.

Particulars respecting Students of Music.

I.—Ages of Students.			II.—Where Students came from.		
Years of age.		No. of Students.	County.		No. of Students.
Under 16	-	3	Cardigan	-	28
16 and under 17	-	1	Montgomery	-	10
17 „ 18	-	6	Glamorgan	-	9
18 „ 19	-	6	Carnarvon	-	5
19 „ 21	-	16	Carmarthen	-	4
21 „ 25	-	23	Flint	-	3
25 and over	-	21	Merioneth	-	3
			Monmouth	-	2
			Brecon	-	1
			Denbigh	-	1
			Radnor	-	1
			Anglesey	-	0
			Pembroke	-	0
			England, &c.	-	9
					76

Scholarships

FOR

PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.



A Meeting of Head-Masters and Mistresses of Elementary Schools in Anglesey, together with several other ladies and gentlemen interested in Public Elementary Education, was held at Rhianva, on the invitation of Captain Verney, R.N., on Saturday, the 18th October, 1879, for the purpose of considering a proposal to connect Elementary Schools with Higher Grade Schools by means of Scholarships.

Captain Verney presided, and having explained the object of the meeting, requested Mr. Hugh Owen to read his paper on the subject.

Mr. Hugh Owen : It has been my privilege to be connected with education in Wales, in one form or another, from the year 1843 to the present time. During the 37 years that have elapsed, the progress of Elementary Education has been remarkable. Thirty-seven years ago Wales was most scantily supplied with day schools ; but now the number in proportion to the population is fully equal to that in England. The number of Board Schools in Wales, in proportion to the population, in fact, exceeds the number in England ; while the number of children in average attendance does not fall short in Wales, as compared with England. Neither is the progress of Welsh children in learning less satisfactory than that of English children. During the period referred to, Wales has made provision for the training of teachers for her schools by the establishment of colleges for the training of masters at Carmarthen, Carnarvon and Bangor ; and of mistresses at Swansea. We may therefore regard the provision that at present exists in Wales, so far as Elementary Education is concerned, as fairly complete. What seems now to be wanting is the means of bridging over the chasm that separates the Elementary School from the Higher Grade School—in other words, of assisting clever boys and girls to pass on from the one school to the other, in order to extend their education, and in some instances of preparing them to compete for the prizes offered in colleges and universities.

The question which I am now permitted to submit for consideration is this :—How we can best effect this obviously desirable object. Or, as the “programme” before the meeting states the question to be—*The advancement of education in Public Elementary Schools in North Wales, by the awarding of scholarships or exhibitions to boys and girls of exceptional merit. The scholarships to be tenable in Higher Grade Schools, or in colleges.**

The total number of children in average attendance in day schools in North Wales is stated to be 50,548. The limit of age of candidates for scholarships is proposed to be fixed at from ten to fourteen. But regard will be had also to the standard reached by the children. Generally, the candidates will practically be restricted to those who have reached the sixth standard ; and it is believed that the number of candidates cannot exceed 10 per cent. upon the children in average attendance, or about 5,000 possible candidates from all the Public Elementary Schools in North Wales. At this rate the Anglesey schools would furnish 448 candidates ; and the Carnarvonshire schools 1,318.

I would suggest that the following sources may be relied upon to supply the funds required for the purposes of the proposed scholarships :—

1.† THE SUBSCRIPTIONS OF THE CHILDREN—*say 1s. a year, or 1d. per month*,—a sum so small as to be within the means of the poorest. It is well known that a considerable proportion of those attending day schools in Wales are not the poorest ; but are the children of farmers, tradesmen, and artisans, who may reasonably be expected to concur cheerfully in the proposal that their children should become subscribers to a fund formed for their own benefit. If one half only of the children in average attendance were to subscribe the sum mentioned, the total of the subscriptions for the schools in North Wales would amount to £1,263 per annum ; or, if we take Anglesey and Carnarvonshire separately, the amount for the former would be £112, and for the latter £329. Happily it accords with the habits of the Welsh people to depend, in great measure, upon themselves to secure the advantages which they feel the need of. They do not, as a rule, look to others to do for them what they can do for themselves. I cherish much confidence that this source is one that may safely be relied upon. But the hearty co-operation of the teacher is assumed, that being an element essential to success.

*The object has since been defined as follows :—“To assist, by means of Scholarships, Boys and Girls of exceptional merit in Public Elementary Schools, to continue under instruction in Higher Grade Schools or in Colleges.”

† In consequence of subsequent discussions this “source” has been modified. See pages 11 and 12.

3

2. THE ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS OF SCHOOL MANAGERS AND OTHERS.—I would suggest that the minimum annual subscription and donation qualifying the subscriber or donor to membership of an association, should be fixed at the low sums of 5s. per annum subscription, and £3 donation, in order to secure the interest and co-operation of the many. This source is capable of any amount of extension, and ought to produce not less than £5 on the average for each of the 514 schools in North Wales, or a total of £2570; or if we deal with Anglesey and Carnarvonshire separately, where we have 53 and 117 schools, the amount will be for Anglesey £265, and for Carnarvonshire £585.

3. SCHOLARSHIPS FOUNDED BY INDIVIDUALS.—It is hoped that persons of means may be found desirous of adopting this mode of advancing education among the working classes in North Wales. The individual doing this would connect his name with an act, the benefits flowing from which would be enjoyed from year to year to distant ages.

4. CHARITABLE ENDOWMENTS THAT MAY BE AUTHORIZED TO BE APPLIED FOR THE PURPOSES OF SCHOLARSHIPS IN CONNECTION WITH ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.—When the proposal now before us is in actual and successful operation, there is great probability that the Charity Commissioners will feel themselves at liberty to authorize endowments under their control to be applied in the manner suggested.

It is believed that these several sources may fairly warrant the attempt to give effect to our proposal; but the creation of some form of organisation for the purpose is essential; which to be effective must be simple; and it is submitted that an association of which the following is an outline would combine the requisite qualities to ensure success:—

An Association to be formed, to be designated THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS SCHOLARSHIPS ASSOCIATION OF NORTH WALES.*

The qualification of Membership to be an Annual Subscription of not less than 5s., or a Donation of not less than £3; or in the case of a Teacher, the collecting of a sum of not less than 5s. annually for every 10 Children in the School.

A School in which the Children shall contribute annually in the proportion of not less than 5s. for every 10 of the number, to the Funds of the Association, to be deemed an *affiliated School*.†

* The name ultimately adopted is "The North Wales Scholarship Association."

† See page 11.

The Association to have a President, Vice-Presidents, and an Executive Council, consisting of 20 Members, 10 of whom shall be Teachers, nominated by the Teachers of the several affiliated Schools.

The Executive Council to be elected annually by the Members at their Annual Meeting.

Every affiliated School to be constituted an *Auxiliary Association*, with a Committee composed of the Managers, together with any others that they may think fit to elect, who shall appoint a Treasurer and Secretary for the Auxiliary. This Committee to assist in furthering the object of the Association, especially in the matter of Funds.

The Executive Council to appoint a Treasurer and Secretary or Secretaries,—to appoint Examiners,—to fix upon the place and time for holding the Examination,—to determine the amounts of the Scholarships and Exhibitions,—the period during which they may be held,—the Schools or other Institutions in which they shall be tenable,—and to do all such other acts as may be necessary for the carrying out of the object of the Association.

The Executive Council to present to the Members an Annual Report of their proceedings.

Such is the outline of the organization which I take the liberty of proposing.

The Executive Council will probably limit their operations in the first instance to the Counties of Anglesey and Carnarvon; and proceed gradually to deal with the other counties under the guidance of the experience which they may thus acquire.

The Executive Council will find it necessary at an early date to consider, among others, the following points, viz.—

1. The amounts of the scholarships;
2. The period during which they may be held; and
3. The schools at which they may be held.

As to the first point, the amounts of the scholarships must be governed a good deal by the amount of the scholarship fund, and also by the number of successful candidates.

As to the second point, I would suggest that the scholarships should, as a rule, be held for a period of four years.*

If we assume that the scholarship is fixed at £25 a year, and is tenable for four years, and if we assume further that we shall have two scholars every year in Anglesey, and six in Carnarvonshire,—the two scholars annually elected in Anglesey

* See page 12.

would require in the first year £50 ; the second, £100 ; the third £150 ; the fourth, £200, and the like sum in every future year. And the six scholars annually elected in Carnarvonshire would require in the first year, £150 ; the second, £300 ; the third, £450 ; the fourth, £600, and the like sum in every future year.

As to the third point, which is one of the utmost importance, namely the selection of schools in which the scholarships may be held, I would suggest that for the present scholars should be placed in such of the endowed grammar schools, or other schools of Wales as may offer the greatest advantages,—liberty being given to any scholar, whose parents may desire it, to hold the scholarship during a portion of the period in other than the school in which he may have been first placed. Although the wishes of the parents will be consulted in the selection of the school in the first instance or in the transfer of the scholar to another school or to a college, the school or college must in every case have the approval of the council, who will, doubtless, think it essential that the efficiency of the school or college is satisfactorily attested by examiners unconnected with the institution.

It will interest the friends of this movement to learn the extent to which Wales is possessed of Endowed Grammar Schools. A paper read by Dr Harper at the recent Church Congress held at Swansea, shows that there are from 25 to 30 such schools in Wales and Monmouthshire. The endowments of some of them are large. The gross income of the Monmouth Foundation is £4500 a year ; Beaumaris, Brecon, and Caerleon, which includes Elementary Schools, have each more than £1000 a year ; Bangor, Gelligaer, Haverfordwest, Llandovery, Llanrwst, Ruthin, and Swansea, have educational endowments exceeding £500 a year each, and for some of these considerable increase is anticipated, if not assured. Abergavenny, Bala, Bottwnog, Llanegryn, Llantilio, Crosseny, Ruabon, Usk, and Ystrad Meurig, are severally endowed with monies varying from £150 to £400. The paper referred to further shows the amounts of the scholarships attached to some of these Grammar Schools. Llandovery already provides 20 scholarships ; Brecon is to provide 24 of £20 each ; Ystrad Meurig, 10 of £12 each ; Haverfordwest, 12 of £10 each ; Beaumaris is to give £200 a year in exhibitions of the value of £20 or £30 ; Caerleon and Llanrwst are each to assign £200 a year, and Ruthin £30 a year to be competed for in the first instance by boys from Elementary Schools, whilst in all cases governors are to provide scholarships exempting boys from the payment of the whole or part of the tuition fees, and are authorized to provide scholarships of greater value if their funds permit.

The number of endowed Grammar Schools in Wales, their incomes, and the scholarships attached to them, are matters of

considerable importance in view of an effort to assist boys to proceed from the Elementary School to a Higher Grade School; and so also is the existence of the University College of Wales, which is specially designed to advance higher education in the Principality, and which provides a number of scholarships,—its expenditure for that purpose during the last seven years amounting to £2830.

With respect to girls who may gain scholarships, it is earnestly hoped that arrangements may be made for their admission into the Howell's Charity School for Girls at Denbigh; the Dolgelley Endowed School for Girls; or the Anglesey or Carnarvonshire Endowed School of the future for Girls.

I venture to submit that this brief outline points to a scheme simple and workable; and is not undeserving of the attention of the present meeting.

We cannot estimate too highly the advantages that may accrue from any plan that shall enable boys and girls in our Elementary Schools, who show special aptitude for acquiring learning, to continue their education in higher grade schools. These advantages must reach not the children only, but also parents, fellow-scholars, teachers, and possibly even society at large. The teachers, under whose care these privileged scholars are placed, will ever be anxious, while seeking to advance their mental culture, so to mould their character as that they shall become generous, unselfish, truthful, and eminently good.

APPENDIX No. 2.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION IN IRELAND, AND SECONDARY EDUCATION IN WALES. SEE MR. HUGH OWEN'S EVIDENCE, Q. 349.

The following paper was read by Mr. Hugh Owen at meeting of the Cymmredorion Section of the Carnarvon National Eisteddfod, held the 24th August 1880.

In view of the proposed Government inquiry into the state of intermediate as well as higher education in Wales, it may be useful to direct attention to the provision made by the Legislature in the interest of intermediate education in Ireland.

Elementary education in Ireland receives, in proportion to the number of school children, a much larger Government Grant than it does in England and Wales; while the amount given by the State towards higher education in that country finds no parallel in any other part of the United Kingdom. So far then as elementary and higher education in Ireland are concerned, the State provision appears to be exceptionally liberal. It is not, however, suggested that Ireland is receiving too much; but it will probably be felt that Wales, especially, is receiving too little.

Up to the year 1878, the wants even of Ireland had been overlooked as regards intermediate education. But in June of that year a Bill was brought into the House of Lords by the Lord Chancellor which had for its object the promoting of intermediate education in that country. The Lord Chancellor on the occasion stated very fully the circumstances which called for the measure. They were, in substance, that Intermediate Education in Ireland was, as shown by the reports of commissions, defective in quality and inadequate in quantity. The Census of 1871 gave the number of boys who were engaged in any Educational Establishment in Ireland in learning either Latin or Greek, or any Modern Languages, or Mathematics. The number of boys in a country with a population of 5,500,000 who were learning any of these subjects was 10,814, or not more than two in every 1,000 of the population. It is supposed that in England at least 10, and probably much nearer 15, in every 1,000 are receiving instruction in these matters. If they had not proper provision for intermediate schools, it was quite useless to endeavour to improve their University Education. In the great Educational Building the primary schools were the foundation and the University was the roof. In Ireland the primary foundation was laid wide and deep enough; but it was idle to expect to complete the edifice until attention was paid to the walls and the intermediate parts of the building. The condition of Intermediate Education in Ireland was not merely unprogressive, but retrogressive. According to the Census of 1871, there were in 1861 729 intermediate schools; in 1871 the 729 had fallen to 724. This result had been owing to the action of the State. The State had introduced into Ireland one of the most efficient systems of Primary Education in the world, and that at an extremely large cost. Parliament made large grants annually for Primary Education in England and Scotland; but the people themselves in England and Scotland aided very largely in meeting the expenses which were incurred for Primary Education. In Ireland, however, this education was provided almost entirely at the cost of the State; and the consequence had been that the intermediate schools of the country had, to a large extent, been dried up by the primary schools. Before the introduction of this system of primary schools, there were a great number of Private Adventure Schools in Ireland, in which two-thirds or three-fourths of the pupils were receiving Primary Education, and one-third or one-fourth Classical or Higher Education. When the State stepped in and

established a system of primary instruction, the pupils who were receiving primary instruction at these adventure schools were withdrawn; and it became impossible any longer to maintain the schools themselves as commercial undertakings. The following quotation from the report of the Endowed Schools Commission of 1858 supported this fact:—"We are of opinion that the establishment of a system of Primary Education by the Government has had the effect of greatly diminishing the resources which, though no doubt scanty and imperfect, formerly enabled the middle classes, to a certain extent, to provide a suitable education for their children; and that there seems to be no prospect that the void thus left will be supplied by exertions of a purely voluntary nature." The Rev. Dr. McIver, whose evidence is given in the report of the Commission of 1870, stated, "The previously existing schools were very defective in many respects, particularly in the lower English subjects, yet they were mainly supported by their English pupils. The country schoolmaster would have perhaps six, eight, or ten pupils in the Classical class, and 30 boys in English classes. The classical pupils were the nucleus of all superior teaching; yet, when the English boys were taken away by the competition of the National System, the Master was not able to keep the Classical School. These Classical Schools, with their superior English, are now all gone, and we have only Primary schools in their stead." The action of the State had been remarkable in another respect—namely, with reference to what are called in Ireland "Diocesan Schools." They were Free Grammar Schools, and were founded in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. They were called Diocesan Schools because there was to be one in every Diocese in Ireland, and as there were at that time 34 Dioceses, it was intended that there should be 34 of these schools. They were not in their foundation required to have any connection with the Church in Ireland, but were to be open to children of all denominations. The Master was to be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant, and the salary of the Master was to be provided for by a tax upon the Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese,—the Bishop contributing one-third, and the beneficed Clergy the remaining two-thirds. The expense of building the school house was to be provided by an assessment upon the inhabitants of the Diocese. There was, therefore, in Ireland a provision by the State for a very extensive system of intermediate education for the whole of the 34 Dioceses. But although this provision existed, 19 schoolmasters only were ever appointed in place of 34; and in 1869, when the Irish Church Act was passed, the number had dwindled to 14, leaving 20 Dioceses without any such provision. The Bishops and Clergy of those Dioceses had been subject to no deduction from their incomes; and when those incomes came to be assessed for compensation, no deduction from the Annuities was made in respect of claims on account of the schools; though for upwards of 300 years the Church had been receiving considerable sums of money which ought to have been expended in the maintenance of Diocesan Schools. The prominent reasons then which satisfied the Government that it was their duty to make a proposal on the subject to Parliament were, the necessity of providing intermediate education as a means of supplying the Universities, and remedying the disastrous effect the action of the State in regard to Primary Education and the Diocesan Schools had had upon Intermediate Education in Ireland.

The Lord Chancellor then proceeded to explain the provisions of the Government Bill, which is now embodied in the "Act to promote Intermediate Education in Ireland," passed on the 16th August 1878. This Act provided, among other matters, that a Board should be established, to be called "The Intermediate Education Board for Ireland." The Board to consist of seven members, and to be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant, who was empowered to appoint two Assistant Commissioners, who were also to act as Secretaries and Inspectors. The Board, with the consent of the Lord Lieutenant and the approval of the Treasury, to appoint Examiners and other Officers. The functions of the Board to be to promote Intermediate Education in Ireland—(1) By instituting a system of public examination of students: (2) By providing for the payment of prizes and exhibitions, and the giving of certificates to students: (3) By providing for the payment to Managers of Schools complying with the prescribed conditions of fees dependent on the results of public examinations of students: (4) Generally, by applying the funds at the disposal of the Board for the purposes of the Act; provided that no examination should be held in any subject of religious instruction, nor any payment made in respect thereof. For the purpose of carrying the Act into effect, the Commissioners of Church Temporalities in Ireland were directed, out of the property accruing to them under the Irish Church Act, 1869, to provide for the use of the Board an amount not exceeding one million of pounds sterling.

The Board, on the 20th of December 1879, made rules for the purposes of the Act. Under these rules examinations extending over a course of three years were to be held in accordance with certain rules. The following abstract of some of the rules may assist in the elucidation of the Scheme:—

Rule 1. The examinations in each of the three grades [as to grades, see rule 5] to be held between the 1st June and the 1st August, at convenient centres. The following to be the subjects of examination:—

(1) The ancient language, literature, and history of Greece; (2) The ancient language, literature, and history of Rome; (3) The language, literature, and history of Great Britain and Ireland; (4) The language and literature of France, or Germany, or Italy, or the Celtic language, and literature; (5) Mathematics (including arithmetic and book-keeping); (6) Natural sciences; (7) Music or drawing, or such other subject of secular education as the Board might prescribe.

Rule 5. Any student to be eligible for examination who on the 1st of June should in the junior grade attain or be under 16; in the middle grade either attain or be under 17; and in the senior grade either attain or be under 18.

Rule 6, among other points, stipulates that, before admitting any student to examination, the Board was to satisfy itself that during the year preceding the date of the examinations he had pursued a course of study in Ireland.

Rule 8. No student to obtain a pass, or be awarded any exhibition or certificate, unless he passed in either Greek, Latin, English, or two Mathematical subjects; but in the case of girls to pass in Arithmetic to be sufficient.

Rule 13. Exhibitions not exceeding 20*l.* a year, tenable for three years, to be awarded to the students obtaining the highest places at the examination in the junior grade. They must have passed in three subjects at the least.

Rule 14. Exhibitions not exceeding 30*l.* a year, tenable for two years, in the case of students in the middle grade.

Rule 17. Prizes not exceeding 50*l.* to be awarded in the case of students in the senior grade. No student obtaining such prize to retain any exhibition previously obtained.

Rule 18. No exhibition under the Act to be tenable by any student holding a scholarship, &c. from any other Endowment.

Rule 20. The number of exhibitions to be awarded in each grade to be determined by assigning one exhibition for every ten students in the aggregate, who had passed in any three of the following subjects, viz:—(a) Greek, (b) Latin, (c) English, (d) French, (e) German, (f) Italian, (g) Celtic, (h) Two Mathematical subjects (counted as one), (i) Two Natural Science subjects (counted as one), (j) Drawing, (k) Music [in the case of girls Arithmetic to count instead of two Mathematical subjects]; at least one of the subjects to be Greek, Latin, English, or two Mathematical subjects.

Rule 25. Results fees according to the following scale to be paid to the managers of schools for students who obtained passes in at least two subjects, of which one must be Greek, Latin, English, or two Mathematical subjects (counted as one); or, in the case of girls, Greek, Latin, English, a modern language, two Mathematical subjects (counted as one), or Arithmetic.

SCALE OF RESULTS FEES:—

SUBJECTS.	GRADE.		
	Junior.	Middle.	Senior.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Greek - - -	1 5 0	1 10 0	1 15 0
Latin - - -	1 5 0	1 10 0	1 15 0
English - - -	1 5 0	1 10 0	1 15 0
French - - -	0 17 6	1 1 0	1 4 6
German - - -	0 17 6	1 1 0	1 4 6
Italian - - -	0 12 6	0 15 0	0 17 6
Celtic - - -	0 15 0	0 18 0	1 1 0
Arithmetic - -	0 12 6	0 9 0	—
Book-keeping -	0 5 0	—	—
Euclid - - -	0 12 6	0 18 0	0 17 6
Algebra - - -	0 12 6	0 18 0	1 4 6
Plane trigonometry -	—	—	1 1 0
Elementary mechanics -	—	—	0 14 0
Natural philosophy -	0 12 6	0 15 0	1 1 0
Chemistry - -	0 15 0	0 15 0	0 17 6
Botany - - -	0 7 6	0 12 0	0 7 0
Animal physiology -	—	—	0 7 0
Physical geography -	0 3 9	—	—
Drawing - - -	0 12 6	0 15 0	0 17 6
Music - - -	0 12 6	0 15 0	0 17 6
Maximum obtainable -	7 0 0	8 0 0	10 0 0

Rule 26. A school to mean any Educational Institution (not being a National School) which afforded classical or scientific education to pupils not exceeding 18 years of age, of whom not less than 10 had made 100 attendances at the least in the year preceding the examination.

Rule 27. The Managers or Masters of Schools claiming Results Fees to send to the Board when making their claim a declaration to the following effect:—

I declare that no pupil who has attended this School from the 1st November last has been permitted to remain in attendance during the time of any religious instruction which the parents or guardians of such pupil have not sanctioned, and that the time for giving such religious instruction has been so fixed that no pupil who did not remain in attendance was excluded directly or indirectly from the advantages of the secular education given in the school.

Rule 28. Managers or masters of schools to certify to the Board as to the number of attendances of students, not more than one attendance to be reckoned for each day.

Rule 29. The Act and the Rules to apply to the education of girls; the examination of girls to be held apart from that of boys, but on the same days. No competition to be between girls and boys for exhibitions, &c.

Such is the provision which the Legislature has made for promoting intermediate education in Ireland. The scheme may be considered costly, but it is simple, and is at the same time well calculated to be effective. The Board is not charged with the duty of setting up new schools, nor of interfering with existing schools, but it looks to accomplishing the purpose of its establishment, namely, the improvement and extension of intermediate education, simply by encouraging good school teaching. The teaching which enables the students to gain exhibitions also enables the managers or teachers to secure "Results Fees." Inefficient teaching brings no reward either to the students or the school authorities.

We congratulate Ireland on its ample provision for elementary, intermediate, and higher education, and sincerely wish that Wales, the inhabitants of which, like those of Ireland, form a distinct nationality, were similarly favoured. The case at the present time stands thus:—The State supplies Wales as well as Ireland with the means of elementary education, and greatly does Wales value the boon. The State provides Ireland with upwards of 30,000*l.* a year towards intermediate education; but it makes no provision whatever for a similar purpose in Wales. Again, the State advances upwards of 30,000*l.* a year towards higher education in Ireland; but the State does not advance one penny towards that object in Wales.

We wait the result of the proposed Government inquiry for accurate information in regard to the state of secondary (or intermediate) education in Wales. It was stated by the late Lord Chancellor that intermediate education in Ireland, before the recent legislation upon the subject, was "defective in quality and inadequate in quantity;" but we fear that the inquiry referred to will show that the defect in quality and the inadequacy in quantity are greater still in Wales now than they were in Ireland then.

We may, however, take comfort from the conviction that the Government, when it undertook to ascertain the educational wants of Wales, had the full intention of proposing measures that would fairly meet such wants as might be shown to exist. We may also feel assured that the gentlemen to whom the inquiry is entrusted will conduct it not only with ability, but also with strict impartiality,—taking care to consider the claims and the interests of every section of the community. We may, moreover, rely that their final recommendations will be free from any tinge of ecclesiastical bias.

In presenting an account of the provisions made on behalf of intermediate education in Ireland, it is not intended to recommend that a precisely similar provision should be made in the interest of secondary education in Wales. It is, however, suggested that a scheme for promoting secondary education in our own country, framed, in the main, on the lines of the Irish scheme, might not be unworthy of consideration. The following are some of the points that would probably be embraced by such a scheme:—

(1.) Parliament to be asked to grant out of the Imperial Treasury a sum of 5,000*l.* a year (a considerably less sum in proportion to the population than Ireland receives) for the purposes of the scheme.

(2.) The administration of the grant and the carrying out of the scheme to be placed in the hands of the Endowed Schools Commission.

(3.) The amount to be applied in providing exhibitions to students and results fees to schools,—the conditions, limitations, and safeguards attached to these benefits in the Irish scheme to be adopted in the Welsh.

(4.) Assuming that the number of existing secondary schools is insufficient, new schools for boys and for girls also to be provided. These new schools to be designated

“County Schools.” The cost of the school buildings to be defrayed out of the county rate,—the amount being borrowed from the Public Works Loan Commissioners, to be repaid by annual instalments, spread over 50 years. This would render the burden upon the county rate so light as to be scarcely appreciable. It will have been seen that, in the case of the diocesan schools in Ireland, the cost of the school buildings was defrayed by an assessment on the inhabitants of the diocese.

(5.) The management of the county schools to be vested in the case of each school in a committee composed of the chairmen of the several School Boards in the county, together with six, more or less, others, nominated by such chairmen.

(6.) The county schools to be maintained by the fees of the students and the results fees.

(7.) All schools, of whatever nature, participating in the benefits of the scheme, to be completely undenominational—to be so in fact as well as in profession.

(8.) As a rule, only exhibitions to students, but no results fees to managers, to be allowed in the case of schools already endowed.

Under a scheme such as that now indicated, the youth of the middle class generally might become well grounded in the elements of the higher branches of learning, and fitted for entering upon the advanced studies of the college or the university whenever circumstances rendered it desirable that they should do so.

It is not within the scope of this paper to treat of higher education in Wales, or the claims of the country to State assistance towards promoting it. We may, however, express the sincere hope—the full belief, indeed—that the Government will not fail to recognise those claims, or to appreciate the noble efforts which the people of Wales have made to secure for themselves the benefits of higher education.

II.—MR. HUGH OWEN'S SCHEME.

When Mr. Hugh Owen appeared before the Committee, at No. 109, Victoria Street, on the 8th October 1880, he made a recommendation that the Irish intermediate education scheme should, with necessary modifications, be adopted in Wales, and he handed in a printed paper, setting forth the main features of that scheme.

On the 27th of January, however, he again attended before the Committee, for the purpose of supplementing the evidence previously given, and on this occasion he submitted the heads of a more complete scheme, which he had in the meantime prepared for promoting intermediate education in Wales.

The following is an outline of this scheme, divided into 15 sections:—

Section I.—The scheme to be carried out by the Charity Commissioners, an additional

Commissioner, who shall possess special qualifications for the purpose, being appointed to assist in this particular work.

Section II.—All endowments given to charitable uses more than 50 years ago, applicable to the purposes of education in Wales, to be vested in and administered by the Charity Commissioners. The fund so formed to be designated "The Welsh Education Endowment Fund." Some exceptional advantages to be reserved in certain cases for the places which the endowments were originally intended to benefit.

Section III.—The schools to be placed under the scheme to be those only which shall have been certified by a departmental inspector as efficient schools.

All schools under the scheme to be designated either *county public schools* or *county private schools*.

The former class of schools to be under a committee of elected managers, while the latter will be under private management, as private adventure schools.

The existing endowed grammar schools to be treated as county public schools.

Section IV.—Departmental inspectors to ascertain the extent of the additional school accommodation required in each county, and also to determine, in concert with the managers of the several schools in the county, upon the localities in which the schools ought to be placed.

Section V.—The cost of building new school-houses to be defrayed out of the county rate, and such school-houses to be the property of the county. He remarked that the burden upon the rate would be extremely light (not quite one sixth of a penny in the pound) if the money were borrowed from the Public Works Loan Commissioners and the repayment spread over fifty years.

Section VI.—Every county public school to be under a board of managers, consisting (say) of 12, to be elected for a period of three years, as follows:—

- (a.) All persons within the county rated to the poor rate at not less (say) than 30*l.*, to have the right to nominate one or more persons, not exceeding the number to be elected, as managers.
- (b.) The nominations to be sent on or before a given date to the returning officer, who shall be a person appointed to this duty by the Commissioners.
- (c.) The electors to be the chairman of the quarter sessions, the mayors of corporate towns, and the chairman and vice-chairman of each school board, and school attendance committee within the county.
- (d.) The returning officer to transmit to each of the electors a list of the persons nominated as managers, with instructions respecting the manner of recording the vote and returning the list.
- (e.) The returning officer to transmit copies of his return to the elected managers, and in other suitable ways to give publicity to the same.

Section VII.—When the establishment of a new school has been determined on managers for the proposed school should be forthwith elected, whose duty it will be to procure a school-house to be erected, and to make all necessary arrangements with regard to the school, providing fittings, appointing teachers, &c. Plans of building and estimates to be approved by the Commissioners.

Section VIII.—School fees to be fixed by the managers, but approved by the Commissioners.

Section IX.—The school to be graded by the Commissioners, and the subjects of instruction to be those prescribed by the regulations of the Irish Intermediate Education Commissioners, with modifications, according to the grade of the school.

Section X.—The schools to be examined once each year by departmental inspectors, and exhibitions to be awarded to pupils by the Commissioners, upon the reports of the inspectors, according to a scale, and subject to conditions to be prescribed by the Commissioners. The Commissioners, where they see fit, to grant certificates to pupils of special merit.

Section XI.—The exhibitions to be provided out of the Welsh Education Endowment Fund, and as a rule, to be tenable in a school where the pupil receives it. Regulations to be framed for exceptional cases.

Section XII.—County private schools placed under the scheme to be on the same footing as county public schools, as regards exhibitions and certificates.

Section XIII.—The Commissioners to provide, by means of the county rate, scholarships of 20*l.* each, to the extent of not more than one scholarship for every 10,000 of the population of the county, to be competed for by boys and girls in public elementary schools, and tenable for two years, in county public schools.

(Estimated charge on the rate not more than one fifth of a penny in the pound.)

Section XIV.—The Commissioners to provide, by means of Jesus College Endowments, scholarships, to be competed for by pupils in county public schools and in county private schools, and to be tenable in colleges. The competition for these scholarships to be held at (say) two centres simultaneously; one in North Wales and the other in South Wales.

Section XV.—The managers or masters of schools before receiving any benefit under the scheme, to furnish the Commissioners with a declaration to the following effect:—
“ I (or we) declare that no pupil who has attended this school from last has
“ been permitted to remain in attendance during the time of any religious instruction
“ which the parents or guardians of such pupil have not sanctioned; and that the
“ time for giving such instruction has been so fixed that no pupil who did not remain
“ in attendance was excluded directly or indirectly from the advantages of the secular
“ education given in the school.”

In the course of his examination before the Committee Mr. Owen more fully explained some of his proposals, and replied to certain questions arising out of them to which his attention was directed.

He made it clear, for instance, that he contemplated the actual *administration* by the Charity Commissioners of the Consolidated Education Endowment Fund and not simply the *control* and *supervision* of it as now exercised by the Commissioners over all charitable endowments.

In other words, his view was that the Commissioners should supersede the present bodies of trustees.

When it was pointed out to him that the Charity Commission, as at present constituted, had no machinery for discharging functions hitherto discharged by local trustees, he admitted the fact, but was of opinion that the necessary machinery should be created and that the necessary modification and extension of the official staff should be authorised by the Legislature.

He met the objection that if his proposal were carried out there would be one system for Wales and another for England, by saying that he saw no reason why the same scheme might not be made applicable to the whole of England.

He did not seem to think there would be any difficulty in the management by a central body in London of charitable endowments and foundations dispersed over the whole country. The Commissioners might, he said, employ receivers like the receivers of Crown rents in Wales.

He admitted that the new system of management, the appointment of a special commissioner, of departmental inspectors and other officers rendered necessary by the change, would involve considerable expense, but the expense he regarded as a boon which the Government would, it was hoped, be prepared to give to Wales in furtherance of its educational interests.

Again, as regards the nature and extent of the control exercised by the Commissioners over the several schools, his view, as explained by himself, appeared to be that such control should be more direct and immediate than at present; that the Commissioners should not simply, as now in the exercise of their powers under the Endowed Schools Acts, frame schemes for the regulation of the schools which the local governors should administer, but that they should have the right of interference from time to time and should exercise a kind of organising function in the schools.

Although this plan for the election of local governors provides for their appointment by a body of electors co-extensive with the county, yet he stated his view to be that each school should have its own governing body; at the same time he did not propose any plan for the representation in such governing body of the locality more immediately interested. He admitted that the persons suggested by him as electors of the governing bodies would not necessarily have any great knowledge of secondary or intermediate education, but he thought them fully competent to make a proper selection. At the same time he recognised the desirability of allowing the senate of a Welsh university, if established, to nominate a lay member of the governing body of every county public school.

As to the best mode of applying endowments, he enforced his view that they should be used almost exclusively to provide scholarships and exhibitions. At first he had been disposed to recommend the application of some part of the fund in the payment of result fees on the Irish system. Further consideration, however, had led him to modify his view. Having regard to the probable amount of the endowment fund, he thought that if it were divided between scholarships and result fees neither the one object nor the other would confer a substantial benefit on the schools.

He was not in favour of using endowments to cheapen the education in the schools.

The scholars' fees should, he thought, suffice to provide the necessary working expenses.

At the same time he was of opinion that in first grade schools the fees should not exceed from 6*l.* to 10*l.* yearly, and in second grade schools from 5*l.* to 7*l.*

With such fees, schools with an average of 100 pupils ought, in his opinion, to be self-supporting. When pressed with the necessity of paying substantial salaries to secure efficient teachers, he appealed to the greater cheapness of Wales and to the fact that in Wales talent and learning, whether in the college or in the pulpit, do not as a rule command more than 200*l.* a year.

However, he admitted that, whatever the cost price of efficient education might turn out to be, the fees must either be fixed at a rate sufficient to pay for it or, if the circumstances of the country will not admit of this, recourse must be had to the endowments.

In answer to a question on the point, he stated his belief that the Welsh people would not object to be rated for the purposes suggested in his scheme.

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