Hard Times and Education:
The Meaning of the Scenes at the Schoolroom of Gradgrind's School

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by
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Hard Times and Education:
The Meaning of the Scenes at the Schoolroom of Gradgrind’s School

Hard Times (1854) includes no detailed description of the structure of Gradgrind’s school building, but we can sketch some features of that building. It contains a gallery and a floor, but it seems to have no classroom. The presence of a gallery indicates that simultaneous instruction was given there.

A schoolroom with a gallery and simultaneous instruction were of a modern and reformed type in the 1850’s. Dickens seems to express no criticism against the school building and the teaching method of simultaneous instruction. It is the schoolmaster, M’Choakumchild, and his lessons that Dickens criticizes sharply.

M’Choakumchild is described as the new type of schoolmaster that appeared in the mid-19th century. He was one of the first schoolmasters who was admitted to one of the newly built training schools in 1851, graduating from it in 1853. We can say that he was a product of the educational reform in the 1840’s and the 1850’s in England. Obviously, Dickens was aware of some educational problems associated with the training schools.

M’Choakumchild’s teaching relied too much upon figures. His teaching at Gradgrind’s school is as “overdone” as his learning at the training school is. In other words, his teaching and learning are one-sided; they are lacking in achieving Pestalozzian practical skills and activities.

Bitzer is an excellent pupil at Gradgrind’s school. Crammed with “cold abstraction or generalization,” his heart is thoroughly cold. His unwholesome body indicates that at Gradgrind’s school M’Choakumchild, in his lessons, does not adopt “physical exercise” or “field trips” which Pestalozzi’s curriculum emphasized. Bitzer’s body is no more sound than his mind is. In this sense, Bitzer is regarded as the antithesis of a mid-Victorian ideal, “A sound mind in a
sound body.”

Bitzer is a product, or a victim, of the unbalanced education which M’Choakumchild has given. As his name suggests rightly, M’Choakumchild is a “child’s spirit-‘choker.”’ In a sense, however, he himself is a product, or a victim, of the one-sided curriculum of the training school. The training school’s unbalanced curriculum produces such a schoolmaster as M’Choakumchild, and he in turn produces such an unwholesome boy as Bitzer.

The fundamental source of the problem lies in the training school curriculum. In *Hard Times* Dickens points out that the training school’s unbalanced curriculum is a fatal flaw in the contemporary reformed educational system. As far as his view of the school curriculum is concerned, we can say that Dickens maintains the Pestalozzian policy of education, which Kay-Shuttleworth already incorporated into the original daily routine of Battersea Training School in 1841.

The problem with the training school’s unbalanced curriculum is closely connected with Gradgrind’s philosophy. Gradgrind eventually undergoes a conversion from a keen advocate of “a wisdom of the Head” to a supporter of harmony between “a wisdom of the Head” and “a wisdom of the Heart.” In other words, he humanizes his former utilitarian philosophy of “Facts” and “Figures.”

In conclusion, we can say that in *Hard Times* Dickens ascertains the importance of a harmonious balance between body and mind, and between head and heart. In this sense, Dickens aims at education for a well-rounded person, that is to say, means of the integration of intellectual, moral, and physical education. This concept of education is far from old-fashioned at all, but a fundamental and universal ideal which we should make great efforts to attain in our times. As a novel about education, *Hard Times* is even now worth reading and studying, since it is filled with useful and profound suggestions for approaching fundamental and essential problems of education.
Acknowledgement

I would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge and express my appreciation to those who have helped and supported me to complete this thesis.

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Abstract

*Hard Times* (1854) includes no detailed description of the structure of Gradgrind’s school building, but we can sketch some features of that building. It contains a gallery and a floor, but it seems to have no classroom. The presence of a gallery indicates that simultaneous instruction was given there.

A schoolroom with a gallery and simultaneous instruction were of a modern and reformed type in the 1850’s. Dickens seems to express no criticism against the school building and the teaching method of simultaneous instruction. It is the schoolmaster M’Choakumchild and his lessons that Dickens criticizes sharply.

M’Choakumchild is described as the new type of schoolmaster that appeared in the mid-19th century. He was one of the first schoolmasters who was admitted to one of the newly built training schools in 1851, graduating from it in 1853. We can say that he was a product of the educational reform in the 1840’s and the 1850’s in England. Obviously, Dickens was aware of some educational problems associated with the training schools.

M’Choakumchild’s teaching relied too much upon figures. His teaching at Gradgrind’s school is as “overdone” as his learning at the training school. In other words, his teaching
and learning are one-sided; they are lacking in achieving Pestalozzian practical skills and activities.

Bitzer is an excellent pupil at Gradgrind’s school. Crammed with “cold abstraction or generalization,” his heart is thoroughly cold. His unwholesome body indicates that at Gradgrind’s school M’Choakumchild does not adopt “physical exercise” or “field trips” which Pestalozzi’s curriculum emphasized. Bitzer’s body is no more sound than his mind. In this sense, Bitzer is regarded as the antithesis of a mid-Victorian ideal, “A sound mind in a sound body.”

Bitzer is a product, or a victim, of the unbalanced education which M’Choakumchild has given. As his name suggests appropriately, M’Choakumchild is a “child’s spirit-chocker.” In a sense, however, he himself is a product, or a victim, of the one-sided curriculum of the training school. The training school’s unbalanced curriculum produces such a schoolmaster as M’Choakumchild, and he in turn produces such an unwholesome boy as Bitzer.

The fundamental source of the problem lies in the training school curriculum. In *Hard Times* Dickens points out that the training school’s unbalanced curriculum is a fatal flaw in the contemporary reformed educational system. As far as his view of the school curriculum is concerned, we can say that Dickens maintains the Pestalozzian policy of education, which Kay-Shuttleworth already incorporated into the original daily
The problem with the training school's unbalanced curriculum is closely connected with Gradgrind's philosophy. Gradgrind eventually undergoes a conversion from a keen advocate of "a wisdom of the Head" to a supporter of harmony between "a wisdom of the Head" and "a wisdom of the Heart." In other words, he humanizes his former utilitarian philosophy of "Facts" and "Figures."

In conclusion, we can say that in *Hard Times* Dickens ascertains the importance of a harmonious balance between body and mind, and between head and heart. Dickens aims at education for a well-rounded person, that is to say, the integration of intellectual, moral, and physical education. This concept of education is far from old-fashioned, but a fundamental and universal ideal which we should still make great efforts to attain in our times. As a novel about education, *Hard Times* is even now worth reading and studying, since it is filled with useful and profound suggestions for approaching fundamental and essential problems of education.
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Introduction

Charles Dickens (1812-70) was not only a great novelist, but also a great social critic and reformer in the Victorian period. He often spoke out on public affairs and became involved with a variety of causes such as prison reform and the abolition of the death penalty. In his major industrial novel, *Hard Times* (1854), Dickens dealt with class conflict and described a strike which he observed at Preston. Although a struggle between capital and labour occupies the center of this novel, *Hard Times* includes another major social problem in mid-Victorian England. That problem is the education of the poor, and particularly of children. Elementary education was one of the major public affairs that the social critic Dickens was greatly interested in.

In the Victorian period, the critical reception of *Hard Times* was mixed. Harriet Martineau (1802-76) observed, "master and man are as unlike life in England, at present, as Ogre and Tom Thumb." But John Ruskin (1810-1900), a great Victorian art and social critic, thought *Hard Times* the greatest of Dickens's works, and contended that it "should be studied with close and earnest care by persons interested in social questions."

In the twentieth century, Frank Raymond Leavis's (1895-1978) criticism marked a new epoch in the critical history of
*Hard Times.* He considered it as a moral fable, and regarded it highly:

... if I am right, of all Dickens's works it is the one that has all the strength of his genius, together with a strength no other of them can show — that of a completely serious work of art.

I need say no more by way of defining the moral fable than that in it the intention is peculiarly insistent, so that the representative significance of everything in the fable — character, episode, and so on — is immediately apparent as we read. Intention might seem to be insistent enough in the opening of *Hard Times,* in that scene in Mr. Gradgrind's school.... Actually, the Dickensian vitality is there, in its varied characteristic modes, which have the more force because they are free of redundancy: the creative exuberance is controlled by a profound inspiration.4

Since Leavis's critical essay was published, *Hard Times* has been studied mainly from the standpoint of a clever moral fable, including a critique of mid-Victorian industrial society dominated by utilitarianism.5 But only a few attempts have so far been made at a close examination of the relationship between mid-Victorian society and education in *Hard Times.*
The purpose of this paper is to analyze the descriptions of education in *Hard Times* with special reference to the educational tendencies of mid-Victorian England. Dickens's views on education will be clarified through the analyses of the scenes at the schoolroom of Gradgrind's school.
Chapter I

A Brief Historical Survey of Elementary Education

*Hard Times* was published in 1854. The setting of *Hard Times* is not shown clearly, but a clue is described in it. In chapter 12 of book 1, Bounderby’s mother remarks:

I came from forty miles by Parliamentary this morning, and I’m going back the same forty miles this afternoon. (63)¹

The Gladstone Act of 1844 required companies to run one such “Parliamentary” train, every day, on all their principal lines. Therefore, we can suppose that *Hard Times* has its setting between 1844 and 1854.

In mid-19th century England, radical educational reforms were being carried out. Before we examine educational problems in *Hard Times*, it is necessary that we should take a brief survey of the educational reforms in the preceding years.

In England, the rapid industrialization from the mid-18th century onwards, combined with the dislike of state control, prompted the Church of England and other religious bodies to establish a system of voluntary elementary education.² In these voluntary or sectarian schools, the teaching method was individual instruction³ and the schoolroom was
Noisy because the schoolmaster was busy in giving individual instruction, and it was rather difficult for the schoolmaster to keep children quiet. Besides, the number of the children that received elementary education got larger and larger, due to an expanding population, but schoolmasters were woefully insufficient. Schoolmasters were too busy to scold them.

A monitorial system was thought to be able to solve the schoolmaster shortage. It is said that Andrew Bell (1753-1832) and Joseph Lancaster (1778-1838) each claimed to have invented this method. By this method one schoolmaster could supervise the teaching of hundreds of children. He gave each lesson to a group of older children – the monitors – and, in turn, they passed it on to the juniors by individual instruction. The lessons were given on the large floor of the schoolroom. (See Figure 1.)

Two church societies were founded to run schools in the same way. In 1811 Bell established the Church of England National Society for the education of the poor and in 1814 Lancaster's Nonconformist's supporters organized the British and Foreign Schools Society. The fault of the system was that instruction was left entirely to monitors who were still children, and therefore they could not teach their pupils well. Besides, pupils were mainly taught by individual instruction as before, so the schoolroom remained noisy.

In the 1830's progressive elementary education came to
take the form of the gallery lesson. It is said that Samuel Wilderspin (1791-1866) devised a gallery and started gallery lessons in the 1820's. He let fifty to eighty children sit at a gallery. David Stow (1793-1864) followed the system and it became widespread in the 1830's. The earliest simultaneous instruction typically took the form of a gallery lesson with a relatively large number of pupils. Simultaneous instruction means that one schoolmaster gives the same educational contents in the same schoolroom or place at the same time. By adhering to this method, schools did not need to increase the number of schoolmasters and many children could be educated. When children sat at the gallery, they could see the schoolmaster and listened to him better. Thanks to
simultaneous instruction the schoolroom was quieter.\textsuperscript{6}

A gallery was set up, contiguous to the floor, inside the schoolroom; the floor was left in the schoolroom. (See Figures 2, 3, and 4.) Therefore gallery lessons and individual instruction could be done simultaneously in the schoolroom. A classroom was not widespread in the 1830's; it was used to teach a small number of children by individual instruction.\textsuperscript{7} Although gallery lessons could be regarded as an early form of "class teaching," they were not associated with classrooms:

Indeed, it was not until the 1860's and the 1870's that teachers, rooms, and classes began to converge into a one-to-one relationship. Equally it was not until this later period that 'class teaching' began to take on its twenty-century connotations.\textsuperscript{8}

In 1839 the Committee of the Privy Council on Education was established. It marked a new stage in the history of the educational reforms. James Kay-Shuttleworth (1804-77) became the Secretary of the Committee. He noticed that few schoolmasters retained the teaching skills required by schoolroom practices. He tried to increase the number of good schoolmasters and also to improve their quality.

A middle system between elementary schools and training schools was completely lacking; it was necessary to prepare a recruitment scheme. An attempted solution was
Figure 2. A schoolroom in the 1836 edition of David Stow's *The Training System*.9

Figure 3. A schoolroom prepared by Samuel Wilderspin for *A System For the Education of the Young*, 1840.10
Figure 4. A schoolroom in the 1850 edition of David Stow's *The Training System*.\textsuperscript{11}

what we call the pupil-teacher system. In those days a public school was one thing and an elementary school was entirely another. Training schools had no choice but to collect applicants in elementary schools, and what was more, it was a common practice for pupils over thirteen years old to leave school. A mediation between elementary schools and training schools was indispensable.

The pupil-teacher system came from the Minutes of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education in 1846. Pupil teachers were outstanding pupils who were thirteen years old and were selected in elementary schools. Directors of
schools made a five-year apprentice contract with the pupils. Thus the pupils continued to stay at the same school continuously, and worked there as assistants—that is, pupil teachers. Pupil teachers were paid a little for their work and after school they attended lessons for one and a half hours five days a week.

Her Majesty's Inspectors also paid pupil teachers a little in exchange for their work. When directors of schools wanted to employ pupil teachers, it was indispensable for their schools to be inspected by Her Majesty's Inspectors in respect of the condition of administration of the schools, the facilities and the equipment, and the schoolmasters' ability in training pupil teachers.

The school that employed pupil teachers was provided with a grant-in-aid in relation to the number of pupil teachers. The schoolmaster was provided with extra pay through the guidance of the pupil teachers. Pupil teachers themselves were provided with grants-in-aid whenever they passed annual examinations. Pupil teachers who finished their apprenticeship with excellent results were provided with the expenses for entrance into a training school. Moreover, such pupil teachers could become Queen's Scholars. A training school was provided with grants-in-aid in relation to the number of Queen's Scholars.¹²

It was not until such favorable steps were taken that
"new schoolmasters" were produced. In training schools students were trained for three years. In 1853, just one year before the publication of *Hard Times* the first graduates were produced.

Interestingly, M'Choakumchild, the schoolmaster of Gradgrind's school in *Hard Times* is described as one of those first graduates that have just qualified from one of newly built training schools. While Dickens was writing *Hard Times*, he bore the current reform of elementary education in his mind.
Chapter II

Gradgrind's School: Schoolroom and Instruction

*Hard Times* includes no detailed description of the structure of Gradgrind's school building, but we can sketch some features of the building. The building has "a plain, bare, monotonous vault of a schoolroom," (5) and includes "the inclined plane," (5) which means a gallery. There is no referring to a classroom. Perhaps Gradgrind's school contains a gallery and a floor, but it seems to have no classroom. As we have seen in the preceding chapter, it was not until the 1860's and the 1870's that classrooms began to appear.

Anyway a schoolroom with a gallery was still a modern type of schoolroom in the 1850's. Needless to say, the presence of a gallery indicates that simultaneous instruction was given at Gradgrind's school; this method of instruction was as modern as the gallery lesson. Judging from the setting of *Hard Times*, the schoolroom of Gradgrind's school seems to be similar to that of Figure 4 in the preceding chapter.

To sum up we can say that the schoolroom and the teaching method of simultaneous instruction at Gradgrind's school were of a modern and reformed type in those days. Concerning these points, we can find no criticism from Dickens's de-
scriptions. But it is the schoolmaster, M'Choakumchild, and his lessons that Dickens criticizes some educational points.

M'Choakumchild is described as the new type of schoolmaster that appeared in the mid-19th century. He was admitted to one of the first schoolmasters who entered one of the newly built training schools in 1851, graduating from it in 1853. We can say that he was a product of the educational reform in the 1840's and the 1850's in England. Obviously, Dickens was aware of some educational problems associated with the training schools.

Kay-Shuttleworth, the Secretary of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, tried to increase the number of able schoolmasters, as we have pointed out in Chapter I. Right after his project for the establishment of national training schools miscarried, Kay-Shuttleworth established Battersea Training School at his own expense. His experiment of the private training school enjoyed a great deal of success. It produced distinguished schoolmasters. The Duke of Sutherland employed three schoolmasters from Battersea Training School. He appreciated their excellence.¹ The number of visitors to the training school increased day by day, and a number of training schools imitating Battersea Training School were soon established. The routine at Battersea Training School could be a model for the newly established training schools.²
Following the onset of financial difficulties, and Kay-Shuttleworth's need to devote himself to the duty as the First Secretary of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, he made up his mind to hand over Battersea Training School to the National Society. This devolution was completed in 1843.3

Consequently part of the daily routine at Battersea Training School was changed. Let us compare the routine of 1841 and that of 1845. (See Tables 1 and 2.) Of all the subjects and activities in the routine of 1841, the following subjects and activities are omitted in 1845: "Object lesson," "How to feed pigs, poultry, and milk cows," "Committing to memory," and "Natural history of birds." With the exceptions of "Committing to memory" and "Natural history of birds," the other subjects and activities are mainly concerned with practical skills and actual experiences. On the other hand, the following are subjects that were added to the 1845 routine: "Natural philosophy," "Penmanship," "Problems of work," "Chemistry," "English composition," "Dictation," and "Principal (Liturgy)." About half of them seem to be non-practical skills. Clearly, based upon the routine of Battersea Training School which was a model to other training schools, Dickens lists what M'Choakumchild studied at the training school:

He [M'Choakumchild] and some one hun-
Table 1. Daily Routine at Battersea Training School in 1841.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Halfpast 5</td>
<td>Rise, wash, dress, and make beds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quarter to 6</td>
<td>Household work, viz., scouring and sweeping floors, cleaning grates, shoes, knives, &amp;c., pumping water and preparing vegetables.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quarter to 7</td>
<td>March into garden and commence garden work, feed pigs, poultry, and milk cows.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quarter to 8</td>
<td>March from garden, deposit tools, and wash.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Reading of Scriptures and prayer. (In the spring half an hour was commonly occupied in a familiar exposition of the passage of Scripture read.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After prayer</td>
<td>Superintendents present reports.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halfpast 8</td>
<td>Breakfast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 to half past 9</td>
<td>Classes united. Reading in the Bible and religious instruction. Old Testament history.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halfpast 9 to half past 10</td>
<td>First class. Mechanics. Arithmetic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halfpast 10 to 11</td>
<td>Second class. Arithmetic. Etymology.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 to 1</td>
<td>Garden work, feeding the animals, &amp;c., March to the house at 1, wash, and prepare for dinner.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quarter past 1</td>
<td>Dinner.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 to 3</td>
<td>Classes united. Mechanical drawing. Map drawing. Mechanical drawing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Source: [Battersea Training School, 1841](http://example.com)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 3 to 4 | First class.  
Second class.  

Algebra.  
Grammar.  
Natural history of birds.  
Ditto.  

Use of the globes.  
Geometry.  
Mechanical drawing.  
Use of globes.  
Algebra.  
Ditto. |
| 4 to 5 | First class.  
Second class.  

Algebra.  
Grammar.  
Natural history of birds.  
Ditto.  

Use of the globes.  
Geometry.  
Mechanical drawing.  
Use of globes.  
Algebra.  
Ditto. |
| 5 | March to garden work, feed pigs, poultry, &c., and milk cows.  
March from garden, wash, and prepare for supper.  
Supper.  
Drill and gymnastic exercises.  
Copying music or notes on geography, or mechanical formulae, in the upper class room. During this period the History of England is read aloud.  
Another class practicing singing in the lower class room.  
Reading of Scriptures and prayer.  
Retire to rest. |
| 6 |  
Quarter past 6  
7  
8  
9  
20 minutes past 9 |  
SUNDAY  
After divine service one of the sermons of the day is written from memory. In the evening the compositions are read and commented upon, and the Catechism or some other portion of the formularies of the Church is repeated, with texts of Scripture illustrating it.  
Some of the elder students teach in the village Sunday school. |
### Table 2. Daily Routine at Battersea Training School in 1845.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5 a.m.</th>
<th>Rise, Wash, Dress, and Make Beds.</th>
<th>1 1/2 p.m.</th>
<th>Dinner.</th>
<th>6 1/2 p.m.</th>
<th>Supper.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6 a.m.</td>
<td>Prayers.</td>
<td>2 p.m.</td>
<td>Second Division of Teachers go to the Village School.</td>
<td>9 p.m.</td>
<td>Prayers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 a.m.</td>
<td>Breakfast.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10 p.m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 a.m.</td>
<td>First division of Teachers go to the Village School.</td>
<td>4 or 5 p.m.</td>
<td>Ditto ditto return from Village School.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Noon</td>
<td>Ditto ditto return from Village School.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monday</th>
<th>Tuesday</th>
<th>Wednesday</th>
<th>Thursday</th>
<th>Friday</th>
<th>Saturday</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Garden</td>
<td>Garden</td>
<td>Garden</td>
<td>Garden</td>
<td>Garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1 First principle of Arithmetic</td>
<td>1 First principle of Arithmetic</td>
<td>Private Study of Ecclesiastical History</td>
<td>Principal (Liturgy)</td>
<td>Leisure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>English Composition</td>
<td>English Composition</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1 Descriptive Mechanics</td>
<td>Drill</td>
<td>Garden</td>
<td>English History</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1 Mr. M'Leod</td>
<td>Mr. M'Leod</td>
<td>Mensuration</td>
<td>Mr. M'Leod</td>
<td>Examination Papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Scripture</td>
<td>Scripture</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Elementary Music</td>
<td>10 1/2 to 11 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Garden</td>
<td>Garden</td>
<td>Natural Philosophy</td>
<td>Grammar</td>
<td>Garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Derivation</td>
<td>Mental Arithmetic</td>
<td>Algebra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1 Chemistry</td>
<td>Mathematical Geography</td>
<td>Scriptu</td>
<td>Mensuration and Geometry</td>
<td>English History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Descriptive Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1 Leisure</td>
<td>Derivation</td>
<td>Principle</td>
<td>Grammar</td>
<td>Historical Geography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1 Grammar</td>
<td>Mechanics</td>
<td>Practice of Chanting</td>
<td>Grammar &amp; Derivation</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td>Music</td>
<td>Problems on Work</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1 Algebra</td>
<td>Music</td>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td>Scripture</td>
<td>Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1 Mr. M'Leod</td>
<td>Scripture</td>
<td>Leisure</td>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Grammar</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>1 Penmanship</td>
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<td>Drawing</td>
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<td>Do.</td>
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5. Table adapted from "The History of Education in Battersea Training School, 1845-1945," no pagination.
dred and forty other schoolmasters, had been lately turned at the same time, in the time, in the same factory, on the same principles, like so many pianoforte legs. He had been put through an immense variety of paces, and had answered volumes of head-breaking questions. Orthography, etymology, syntax, and prosody, biography, astronomy, geography, and general cosmography, the sciences of compound proportion, algebra, landsurveying and levelling, vocal music, and drawing from models, were all at the ends of his ten chilled fingers. He had worked his stoney way into Her Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council's Schedule B, and had taken the bloom off the higher branches of mathematics and physical science, French, German, Latin, and Greek. He knew all about all the Water Sheds of all the world (whatever they are), and all the histories of all the peoples, and all the names of all the rivers and mountains, and all the productions, manners, and customs of all the countries, and all their boundaries and bearings on the two and thirty points of the compass. Ah, rather overdone, M'Choakumchild. If he had only learnt a little less, how infinitely better he might have taught
Here we notice that Dickens exaggerates a tendency toward the underestimation of practical skills which are found in the difference between the routine of 1841 and that of 1845. Dickens omits practical subjects and activities such as "Household work," "Drill," and "Garden" in the 1845 routine. At the same time, he adds such subjects as "Latin," "Greek," "French," "German," "Prosody," "Astronomy," "Biography," and "General cosmography." More than half of them seem to be far from practical skills.

It is through this Dickensian caricature that Dickens criticizes the contemporary educational tendency toward the underestimation of practical skills and actual activities and the cramming of too many subjects and too much information into the newly devised training school curriculum.

The schoolmaster M'Choakumchild, as I said earlier, has just qualified from such a training school. Sissy informs Louisa of his way of lessons:

"And he [M'Choakumchild] said, Now, this schoolroom is a Nation. And this nation, there are fifty millions of money. Isn't this a prosperous nation? Girl number twenty." (47)

He uses a figure even when he calls Sissy. After this question he asks her two more questions with figures, such as "fifty millions of money," "a million of inhabitants," and "a
hundred thousand persons." (47) M'Choakumchild's ques-
tions are filled with figures. Figures are no more than
figures: they often stand for abstract conception, far from
individual reality, so it is hard for Sissy to follow his lessons,
because Sissy has a warm heart that rejects cold abstraction
or generalization.

M'Choakumchild's teaching relies too much upon figures. His teaching is as "overdone" as his learning at the training
school. In other words, his teaching and learning are one-
sided; they are lacking in Pestalozzian practical skills and
activities.

Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827), a Swiss advo-
cator for education of the poor, insisted upon "teaching meth-
ods designed to strengthen the student's own abilities":

Pestalozzi's pedagogical doctrines stressed that
instructions should proceed from the familiar to
the new, incorporate the performance of concrete
arts and the experience of actual emotional res-
ponses, and be paced to follow the gradual un-
folding of the child's development.

Pestalozzi's curriculum, which was modeled
after Jean Jacques Rousseau's (1712-78) plan in
Emile (1762), emphasized group rather than in-
dividual recitation and focused on such participa-
tory activities as drawing, writing, singing, phys-
ical exercise, model making, collecting, map making, and field trips.\(^6\)

Above all, "Object lesson" was advocated by Pestalozzi. Interestingly it was introduced into England as early as the 1820's, but was not widespread.

Kay-Shuttleworth tried to devote himself to the Pestalozzian policy of education and adopted "Object lesson" into the original daily routine of Battersea Training School in 1841. As we have mentioned in the comparison between the 1841 routine and the 1845 routine, "Object lesson" was omitted in the 1845 routine after the training school was handed over to the National Society. In the same way, "Object lesson" was not included in the training school curriculum of *Hard Times*.

M'Choakumchild did not study "Object lesson." Also, he did not cultivate or experience "the performance of concrete arts and the experience of actual emotional responses," such as "How to feed pigs, poultry, and milk cows," "physical exercise," and "field trips." Since M'Choakumchild did not learn practical skills or experience such as participatory activities, his teaching might well rely upon figures and fall into "cold abstraction or generalization" which Sissy's warm heart rejected.

Bitzer is an excellent pupil at Gradgrind's school. Crammed with "cold abstraction or generalization," his heart
is thoroughly cold. In the opening schoolroom scene, when Bitzer was told to define a horse, he answered:

"Quadruped. Graminivorous. Forty teeth, namely twenty-four grinders, four eye-teeth, and twelve incisive. Sheds coat in the spring; in marshy countries, sheds hoofs, too. Hoofs hard, but requiring to be shod with iron. Age known by marks in mouth." Thus (and much more) Bitzer. (7)

Truly he could give many facts about a horse. His definition is not wrong at all. However, he only he knows many facts about a horse in one-sided way. For example, his definition does not include a horse's warmth, smells, movements, and so on, which ordinary children would feel. His definition is concerned with just one aspect of a horse. He merely learns many facts and much information by heart. In a sense, therefore, his head is over-developed, while his heart remains undeveloped. Bitzer's underdeveloped mind is wholly unbalanced.

Bitzer's body is noteworthy as well. His body is exceedingly unwholesome and unanimated:

The boy [Bitzer] was so light-eyed and light-haired that the self-same rays appeared to draw out of him what color he ever possessed. His cold eyes would hardly have been eyes, but for the short ends
of lashes which, by bringing them into immediate contrast with something paler than themselves, expressed their form. His short-cropped hair might have been a mere continuation of the sandy freckles on his forehead and face. His skin was so unwholesomely deficient in the natural tinge, that he looked as though, if he were cut, he would bleed white. (7)

Bitzer's unwholesome body indicates that at Gradgrind's school M'Choakumchild does not adopt "physical exercise" or "field trips" which Pestalozzi's curriculum emphasized. Bitzer is no more sound in his body than in his mind. In this sense, Bitzer is regarded as the antithesis of a mid-Victorian ideal, "A sound mind in a sound body."

Bitzer is regarded as a product or a victim of the unbalanced education which M'Choakumchild gives. As his name suggests appropriately, M'Choakumchild is a "child's spirit-choaker." However, in a sense he is a product or a victim of the unbalanced curriculum of the training school. The training school's unbalanced curriculum produce such a schoolmaster as M'Choakumchild, and he, in turn, produces such an unwholesome boy as Bitzer.

The fundamental problem lies in the training school curriculum. In *Hard Times* Dickens points out that the training school's unbalanced curriculum is a fatal flaw in the then
current reformed educational system in the mid-19th century. As far as his view of the school curriculum is concerned, we can say that Dickens maintains the Pestalozzian policy of education, which Kay-Shuttleworth already adopted into the original daily routine of Battersea Training School in 1841.

Four years after the publication of *Hard Times*, the Newcastle Commission criticized the training school principle and observed that the course in training schools tended to impart information rather than to develop the faculties and to discipline the mind; the great feature of the course of study pursued in training schools was to cram.\(^8\)

Graduates from Battersea Training School seemed to have a good reputation till Kay-Shuttleworth handed it over to the National Society, but after that, those graduates came to be regarded as full of knowledge "comparatively languid and unbraced."\(^9\)

In the Newcastle Commission one inspector suggested that it would be far better if they could get schoolmasters with less knowledge and more education and that qualified schoolmasters tended to prefer to be in charge of higher levelled subjects in higher grades leaving lower grades in pupil teachers' hands.\(^10\)

Interestingly this inspector's suggestion reminds us of Dickens's critical remark that M'Choakumchild was "overdone" and also of Sissy's feeling, "perhaps I tried to learn too
much, and ... if I asked to be allowed to try a little less, I might have." (72)

Dickens's criticism on the training schools and qualified schoolmasters in *Hard Times* was much to the point and anticipated the investigation report of the Newcastle Commission.
Chapter III

"Another Thing Needful" in Education

The problem of the training school's unbalanced curriculum is closely connected with Gradgrind's philosophy. Gradgrind declares his philosophy, or policy of education to his children in the schoolroom at the beginning of Hard Times:

"Now, what I want is, Facts. Teach these boys and girls nothing but Facts. Facts alone are wanted in life. Plant nothing else, and root out everything else. You can only form the minds of reasoning animals upon Facts: nothing else will ever be of any service to them. This is the principle on which I bring up my own children, and this is the principle on which I bring up these children. Stick to Facts, sir!" (5)

For Gradgrind, 'Facts' is "The One Thing Needful" (the title of chapter 1 of book 1). He wants to teach the children nothing but facts. He wants them to stick to facts. He uses the word of 'Facts' as many as five times in the short speech; he intends to emphasize the importance of "Facts" through frequent repetition, but too much repetition produces a contrary effect. We can say, "Ah, rather overdone, Gradgrind,"
after the example of Dickens's critical remark about M'Choakumchild.

In the same way, the gentleman, who is regarded as an inspector, as well as Gradgrind emphasizes "fact" and decidedly rejects "fancy":

"But you mustn't fancy," cried the gentleman, quite elated by coming so happily to his point. "That's it! You are never to fancy."

"You are not, Cecilia Jupe," Thomas Gradgrind solemnly repeated, "to do anything of that kind."

"Fact, fact, fact!" said the gentleman. And "Fact, fact, fact!" repeated Thomas Gradgrind. (9)

Here we can find the dichotomy between "fact" and "fancy." This dichotomy is the fundamental structure of Hard Times. All the elements of this novel are grouped into either of them, and the story is developed into the sublation of this dichotomy — that is, Gradgrind's philosophical conversion. It is not until he finds the products of his educational philosophy that he learns "Another Thing Needful."

Since their childhood, Gradgrind's children, Louisa and Tom, have been already troubled with and complained about their father's philosophy and teaching. For example, when Louisa and Tom are taking a peep into a circus, their father scolds (14) them and says to him:
"Thomas, though I have the fact before me, I find it difficult to believe that you, with your education and resources, should have brought your sister to a scene like this." (14)

Although Gradgrind has the fact before him, he can not believe that his son and daughter are taking a peep into a circus. He can not understand the fact correctly. While they are taken to their home, Louisa appeals:

"I was tired, father. I have been tired a long time," said Louisa.

"Tired? Of what?" asked the astonished father.

"I don't know of what — of everything I think." (14)

Gradgrind can not understand her appeal. At home Tom grumbles about "all the Facts" and "all the Figures" that they are crammed with:

"I wish I could collect all the Facts we hear so much about," said Tom, spitefully setting his teeth, "and all the Figures, and all the people who found them out; and I wish I could put a thousand barrels of gunpowder under them, and blow them all up together! However, when I go to live with old Bounderby, I'll have my revenge." (43)

To sum up, Gradgrind can not discern at all what their children's speech and action meant, that is, their earnest needs
and desires.

Tom grows into "quite a young gentleman of pleasure" (74). Bitzer, who gets a job in Bounderby's bank, notices that Tom has stolen some money from the bank. When Bitzer runs Tom down, Gradgrind is completely dejected and entreats Bitzer to overlook Tom, but Bitzer rejects Gradgrind's entreaty and displays decisively the result of what he has mastered at Gradgrind's school:

"Bitzer," said Mr. Gradgrind, broken down, and miserably submissive to him, "have you a heart?"

"The circulation, sir," returned Bitzer, smiling at the oddity of the question, "couldn't be carried on without one. No man, sir, acquainted with the facts established by Harvey relating to the circulation of the blood, can doubt that I have a heart."

"Is it accessible," cried Mr. Gradgrind, "to any compassionate influence?"

"It is accessible to Reason, sir," returned the excellent young man.

"And to nothing else." (213)

Gradgrind's daughter Louisa also shocks him about his education. Louisa gets married to Bounderby unwillingly because her father recommends her to do so, so that her brother can get a job at the bank. Her married life is of course not happy. When Harthouse tempts her, she escapes from
him and returns to her father for help:

“All that I know is, your philosophy and your teaching will not save me. Now, father, you have brought me to this. Save me by some other means!”

He tightened his hold in time to prevent her sinking on the floor, but she cried out in a terrible voice, “I shall die if you hold me! Let me fall upon the ground!” And he laid her down there, and saw the pride of his heart and the triumph of his system, lying, an insensible heap, at his feet.

(165)

Once Tom, Bitzer, and Louisa have grown up, they prove that Gradgrind has been completely mistaken. Thus Gradgrind grows to realize that “a wisdom of the Heart” is what he has neglected:

“Some persons hold,” he pursued, still hesitating, “that there is a wisdom of the Head, and that there is a wisdom of the Heart. I have not supposed so; but, as I have said, I mistrust myself now. I have supposed the head to be all-sufficient. It may not be all-sufficient; how can I venture this morning to say it is! If that other kind of wisdom should be what I have neglected, and should be the instinct that is wanted, Louisa—.” (168)
Here is described the conversion of Gradgrind from a keen advocate of "a wisdom of the Head" to a supporter of harmony between "a wisdom of the Head" and "a wisdom of the Heart."

M'Choakumchild was boastful of his teaching ability:

"Bring to me, says M'Choakumchild, yonder baby just able to walk, and I will engage that it shall never wonder." (41)

The converted Gradgrind would never employ a schoolmaster like M'Choakumchild at his school. In other words, Gradgrind humanizes his former utilitarian philosophy of "Facts" and "Figure," so that he can acknowledge Slearly's philosophy:

"People mustn't be amuthed. They can't be alwayth a learning, nor yet they can't be alwayth a working, they an't made for it. You mutht have uth, Thquire. Do the with thing and the kind thing too, and make the betht of uth; not the wurht!" (218)

In Gradgrind's conversion and Slearly's philosophy we can find Dickens's enlightened and humanistic view of education. Also we can find that Dickens's criticism on the training school's unbalanced curriculum, which has been pointed out in the preceding chapter, springs from this humanistic view of education.

In conclusion, we can say that in *Hard Times* Dickens
maintains the sublation of the dichotomy between "Figures"- "Facts"-"a wisdom of the Head" and "Wonder"-"Fancy"-"a wisdom of the Heart." In plain words, he ascertains the importance of a harmonious balance between body and mind, and between head and heart. In this sense, Dickens aims at education for a well-rounded person; that is to say, the integration of intellectual, moral, and physical education. This concept of education is far from old-fashioned, but a fundamental and universal ideal which we should make greater efforts to attain in our times.
Conclusion

The schoolroom of Gradgrind's school has a gallery and simultaneous instruction is given there. The presence of a gallery and simultaneous instruction indicate that Gradgrind's school was a modern and reformed type in the 1850's. Dickens seems to have no criticism against the structure of the schoolroom and the teaching method of simultaneous instruction. It is the schoolmaster, M'Choakumchild, and his lessons that Dickens regards as a serious problem.

M'Choakumchild is described as a new type of schoolmaster in the mid-19th century. He is one of the first schoolmasters who was admitted to one of the newly built training schools in 1851 and graduated from it in 1853; he is a product of the educational reform of the 1840's and the 1850's in England. His teaching relies upon figures too much; his teaching at Gradgrind's school is as "overdone" as his learning at the training school. In other words, his teaching and learning are one-sided and lacking in balance.

Bitzer is an excellent pupil at Gradgrind's school. Crammed with "cold abstraction or generalization," his heart is thoroughly cold. His unwholesome body indicates that at Gradgrind's school M'Choakumchild does not adopt "physical exercise" or "field trips" which Pestalozzi's curriculum emphasized. Bitzer's body is no more sound than his mind. In
this sense, Bitzer is regarded as the antithesis of a mid-Victorian ideal, "A sound mind in a sound body."

Bitzer is a product, or a victim, of the unbalanced education which M'Choakumchild has given. As his name suggests rightly, M'Choakumchild is a "child's spirit-'choker.'" In a sense, however, he himself is a product, or a victim, of the one-sided curriculum of the training school. The training school's curriculum produces such a schoolmaster as M'Choakumchild, and he, in turn, produces such an unwholesome boy as Bitzer.

In Dickens's opinion, the fundamental source of the problem lies in the training school curriculum. The training school's unbalanced curriculum is a fatal flaw in the contemporary reformed educational system. As far as his view of the school curriculum is concerned, we can say that Dickens maintains the Pestalozzian policy of education, which Kay-Shuttleworth already incorporated into the original daily routine of Battersea Training School in 1841.

The problem of the training school's unbalanced curriculum is closely connected with Gradgrind's philosophy. Gradgrind eventually undergoes a conversion from a keen advocate of "a wisdom of the Head" to a supporter of harmony between "a wisdom of the Head" and "a wisdom of the Heart." In other words, he humanizes his former utilitarian philosophy of "Facts" and "Figures."
Thus Dickens insists upon the sublation of the dichotomy between "Figures"-"Facts"-"a wisdom of the Head," and "Wonder"-"Fancy"-"a wisdom of the Heart." He ascertains the importance of a harmonious balance between body and mind, and between head and heart. As an ideal, Dickens believes in education for a well-rounded person; that is to say, the integration of intellectual, moral, and physical education. This concept of education is far from old-fashioned, but a fundamental and universal ideal which we should still make great efforts to attain in our times. As a novel about education, *Hard Times* is even now today worth reading and studying, since it is filled with useful and profound suggestions for approaching fundamental and essential problems of education.

In this paper, I dealt with the curriculums of the training schools in the 1840's and the 1850's; it is necessary that the training school curriculums of the 1860's and the 1870's should be analyzed, of which I am going to make a further study in the future.
Notes

Introduction


Chapter I


2 Laura Novo, “Education, Elementary,” *Victorian Britain: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Sally Mitchel (New York: Gar-
3 Individual instruction means that "the dominant pedagogy comprises the 'individualized' (i.e. in turn) processing of learners" (David Hamilton, *Towards a Theory of Schooling* [London: Falmer, 1989] 109).


5 Hamilton 5.

6 Hamilton 15.

7 It is necessary to discriminate between schoolrooms and classrooms. "A schoolroom is a room in which a school is held" ("Schoolroom," *OED*). A classroom is "a room, as in a school or college, in which classes are held" ("Classroom," *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language*, unabridged ed. 1973). The date of the earliest citation of the word "classroom" in *The Oxford English Dictionary* is 1870.

8 Hamilton 104.

9 Hamilton 101.

10 Hamilton 104.

11 Hamilton 100.

12 According to the Minutes of August and December, 1846, there are descriptions about "Queen's Scholar" as follows:

...the Lord President authorized one or more of Her Majesty's Inspectors, together with the Principal of
a Normal School under inspection, to submit to his Lordship, from among the pupil teachers who had successfully terminated their apprenticeship, a certain number of those who, upon competition in a public examination, to be annually held by such Inspectors and Principal in each Inspector's district, might be found most proficient in their studies and skilful in the art of teaching, and concerning whose character and zeal for the office of teachers the Inspector of the district could give the most favourable report.

... the pupil teachers to whom such exhibitions should be awarded, should be thenceforth denominated 'Queen's Scholars.' (James Kay-Shuttleworth, *Four Periods of Public Education* [London: Routledge and Thommes, 1993] 538.)

Chapter II


8 John Manning, *Dickens on Education* (Toronto: Toronto UP, 1959) 150.


Chapter III

1 The title of chapter 1 of book 3 of *Hard Times*.

2 As Gradgrind himself recognizes, when utilitarian education is put into practice, only "a wisdom of the Head" is emphasized and "a wisdom of the Heart" is often neglected. David Lodge also remarks in his critical essay of *Hard Times* as follows: "The dominant philosophy of utilitarianism, particularly as it expresses itself in education, results in a dama-
ging impoverishment of the moral and emotional life of the individual” (Lodge 145).
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