John Viriamu Jones and Welsh Idealism

A thesis submitted to Cardiff University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

By

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Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος

λόγος: I) the word by which the inward thought is expressed: also II) the inward thought or reason itself […] III) in N. T., the LOGOS or WORD, comprising both senses of *Word* and *Reason* . (Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*)

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Contents

Abstract

The formation of the University of Wales was contemporary with the establishment and increased popularity of the philosophical school of British Idealism. Each of the University's founding Colleges (in Aberystwyth, Bangor, and Cardiff) contained Idealist philosophers and scholars who either led or oversaw their development. The role British Idealism played in establishing a national higher education in Wales has been neglected and is an area of sparse research. This thesis redresses this absence by providing a detailed consideration of how Idealism related to Welsh educational reform. It does this by considering the life and career of John Viriamu Jones, the first Principal of the University College of Wales, Cardiff, and a key figure in the development of the University of Wales Charter. John Viriamu Jones, the son of a Welsh collier, went to Balliol College, Oxford, where he was educated by English Idealist thinkers such as T.H. Green, Benjamin Jowett, and Frederick Temple. Inspired by the teaching he received, Viriamu Jones brought this Idealist philosophy back to his homeland and put it into practice. By considering the life of this individual, and the role Idealism played in his educational ambitions, this thesis is a history of Idealism in action.

Introduction

The 1860s-80s witnessed a new school of philosophy flourish within Oxford University, bringing with it a new vitality. Its key early proponents, Benjamin Jowett and T.H. Green, claimed that this philosophy rejuvenated a stale and moribund educational system.[1] Its emphasis was on widening one's outlook on life and appreciating the interconnectedness of all knowledge. Rather than teaching by rote and taxing students' memories, this philosophy stated that the true object of education was to induce speculative thought and self-reflection. Such introspection, it was thought, would produce well-rounded and ethical citizens. This was the philosophy of Idealism.

Scholarship so far on British Idealism has been weighted towards England, with some research branching into its Scottish manifestation.[2] Its expression in Wales, however, has been almost entirely overlooked, with the exception of H.G. Williams's essay in *Welsh History Review* which explores the Idealist philosophy behind the political Liberalism of Arthur Acland and Thomas Edward Ellis.[3] Previous literature has also adequately demonstrated how Idealism led to the establishment of a national education in England through men like Benjamin Jowett, Frederick Temple, and Arthur Stanley. It has also been demonstrated how Idealism helped organise the disparate educational institutions into a single unified system, within which elementary, intermediate, and university education were all connected.[4] However, it has not been demonstrated how,

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[1] Benjamin Jowett, *College Sermons* (London: John Murray, 1895), p. 57.
[2] David Boucher & Andrew Vincent, *British Idealism: A Guide for the Perplexed* (London: Continuum, 2011); Matt Carter, *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism* (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2003); Stefan Collini, 'Sociology and Idealism in Britain 1880-1920', *Archives européennes de sociologie*, 19 (1978), pp. 3-50; P. Gordon & J. White, *Philosophers as educational reformers: The influence of idealism on British educational thought and practice* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979); David Boucher, *The Scottish Idealists: Selected Philosophical Writings*, ed. David Boucher (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2004).
[3] H.G. Williams (1995). 'Arthur Acland, Tom Ellis and Welsh Education: A Study in the Politics of Idealism', *Welsh History Review*, Vol. 17, No. 2, pp. 387-410.
[4] Peter Gordon & John White, *Philosophers as educational reformers: The influence of idealism on British educational thought and practice* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979).

or even proposed that, these ideas entered Wales several decades later, leading to the establishment of a functioning Welsh national education in the 1870s-90s. There were notable differences between the process in England and Wales. Wales represented an educational blank slate in the absence of established universities, and a mature testing ground for Idealist principles with the emergence of a fledgling national identity. Protagonists of Idealism, such as Arthur Acland, Tom Ellis, and John Viriamu Jones in the 1880's, 'came to regard Wales as particularly ripe for the Idealist enterprise'.[5]

This thesis explores the effect of Idealism upon Welsh education through the life and career of John Viriamu Jones and his fellow Oxford-educated Welsh educationalists. The son of a notable Welsh nonconformist minister, Viriamu Jones went to Balliol College, Oxford, and was educated by the English Idealist thinkers T.H. Green and Benjamin Jowett. Inspired by the teaching he received, Viriamu Jones grafted the flowering Oxford Idealist philosophy into his homeland and sought to put it into practice. Through his educational administrative work Viriamu Jones put in place the machinery and policies which acted as a bridge for the implementation of Oxford Idealism in Wales, culminating in the establishment of the University of Wales in 1893. Viriamu Jones communicated Idealism at a crucial moment in Welsh history, a moment of national self-awareness when institutions were being established. He had close friendships with nationalist figures such as T.E. Ellis and O.M. Edwards. Viriamu Jones did not bring British Idealism into a cultural desert but grafted it onto the vigorous rootstock of developing Welsh national identity. Viriamu Jones and friends sought to forge a new image of Welshness and to establish a reborn Wales which could look the world in the eye as equals.

The importance of Viriamu Jones' educational administration and organisation was highlighted by J.S. Mackenzie, professor of philosophy at Cardiff from 1895 to 1915, in his autobiography:

> Principal Viriamu Jones […] had a marvellous power for work. He not only built up Cardiff College, but was the real organizer of the University itself. He was a marvel of tact, and, helped by his charming wife, carried on work under circumstances which were

[5] Williams, 'A Study in the Politics of Idealism', p.392.

> unavoidably difficult. He was essentially a pioneer, and in him we found support in all new ventures designed to benefit Wales…. [6]

Before Jones' administrative efforts, educational institutions in Wales were largely dispersed and unorganised. Jones threw himself into the task of bringing these disparate efforts together into a single coherent national system of education within Wales. Jones was the key agent through whom Wales began to adopt the centralising administrative tendencies in education which were already in effect in England, largely due to the influences of British Idealist thought. This thesis therefore seeks to relate the scholarship on British Idealism and the historiography on the history of education in Wales, focusing on John Viriamu Jones whose life and career joins them together.

This thesis has three overarching aims. First, to bridge the gap between scholarship on British Idealism and Welsh education; second, to explore the life and legacy of John Viriamu Jones, as a window onto contemporary movements in Welsh education; third, to argue that, largely under the influence of Viriamu Jones and his associates, a previously unrecognised Welsh Idealism emerged, briefly flourished, and disintegrated, and that this Welsh Idealism was instrumental in bringing about the foundation of the University of Wales.

Thus far most studies on British Idealism have been concerned with its abstract philosophical system. A broad and comprehensive intellectual history of British Idealism has been provided by W.J. Mander. This book, however, largely omits the practical outworking of Idealism, treating it rather as an intellectual curiosity to be examined and analysed. As Mander himself acknowledges in his introduction, the book's 'concern is with ideas themselves, not their role in history'.[7] This detached approach is typical of the literature on British Idealism. For instance, Geoffrey Thomas has written on the philosophical implications of British Idealism for ethics, moral philosophy, and political philosophy.[8] By considering the life of John Viriamu Jones and the role Idealism played in

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[6] J.S. Mackenzie, Millicent Mackenzie, *John Stuart Mackenzie: His Life and Work*, ed. W. Tudor Jones (London: Williams & Norgate, 1936), p. 83.
[7] W.J. Mander, *British Idealism: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 11.
[8] Geoffrey Thomas, *The Moral Philosophy of T.H. Green* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

his educational ambitions, this thesis is a history of *Idealism in action*. A similar approach has been adopted by David Boucher and Andrew Vincent in their study of another Welsh Victorian adherent to British Idealism, Sir Henry Jones.[9] In this work Boucher and Vincent 'tried to adopt an approach […] which uses Sir Henry Jones as an intellectual catalyst for introducing and discussing many of the major issues of late Victorian and Edwardian culture, and which at the same time allows us to articulate his specific and important contributions'.[10] Similarly, this thesis uses Viriamu Jones as an intellectual catalyst to explore the impact of Idealist thought on the major issues of late Victorian and Edwardian *Welsh* culture, particularly that of education and how this related to ideas of Welsh history and nationhood.

The history of education in Wales has been told and retold in a plethora of books and reports. These texts can be divided into four groups. The first group of texts on education in Wales are reports written by various educational committees surveying the educational needs within Wales.[11] Each of these reports opens with an introductory historical survey of education within Wales. These reports follow the same basic pattern. They retell again and again the tale of earnest poor Welsh folk eagerly seeking the light of learning. For instance, the 'Historical Background' in the *County College* (1951) Report recounts the 'well established tradition of Further Education' in Wales, running through Griffith Jones' Circulating Schools, Rev. Thomas Charles's Sunday Schools, the Nonconformist Academies, the issue of Denominational sectarianism, and so on.[12] This standard account is reused throughout the Reports and is tinged with a Romantic Nationalism which sees a grand continuous struggle towards enlightenment against adverse circumstances. It views Wales's educational institutions as the natural development of an indigenous desire.

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[9] David Boucher & Andrew Vincent, *A Radical Hegelian: The Political and Social Philosophy of Henry Jones* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993).
[10] Boucher & Vincent, *A Radical Hegelian*, p. 1.
[11] A small selection includes *Today and Tomorrow in Welsh Education* by the Central Welsh Board (Cardiff: Central Welsh Board, 1916); *Technical Education in Wales: Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1961); and *The County College in Wales* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1951).
[12] Ministry of Education, *The County College in Wales* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1951), pp. 2-6.

The second group of texts are popular accounts of the development of education in Wales.[13] These were, in essence, expansions of the Romantic retellings as found in the reports. Included amongst these are popular biographies of Welsh educationalists.[14]

In the third group are the histories and anniversary celebrations of the University of Wales and the formation of its constituent colleges. The earliest, *The University of Wales and its Constituent Colleges* (1905), presents the University of Wales as 'but a symbol and a manifestation' of the 'ancient literary and intellectual traditions' of the Welsh nation.[15] The University of Wales is seen as the fulfilment of a continuous process which had its origins in Druidic education.[16] T. Gwynn Jones' opening essay to the volume *The College by the Sea* (1928), a celebration of the Aberystwyth College's 56th anniversary, again peers back into the misty origins of Welsh education, tracing the faint lineage from the Court Bards, to the monasteries, to the Tudors, Owain Glyn Dwr, Richard Baxter, the denominational academies, up to the moment where 'the movement was started which resulted in the establishment of Aberystwyth College'.[17] T.I. Ellis's 1935 history follows in the same vein by seeing the University of Wales as the fullest realisation of the educational ambitions of centuries of 'national leaders who have seen visions and dreamt dreams, […] [who] beheld the land that is far off…'.[18]

Within this third group of texts, however, there came a departure from the Romantic Nationalist mode. This change in the historiographical style came in 1953 with

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[13] John Hughes, *Education in a Changing Wales* (Llandysul: Lewis, 1932); E.K. Jones, *The Story of Education in a Welsh Border Parish* (Alfred Smith, 1933).
[14] David Jones, *Life and Times of Griffith Jones of Llanddowror* (London: SPCK, 1902); W. Moses Williams, *The Friends of Griffith Jones: A Study in Educational Philanthropy* (London: The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1939); Abel J. Jones, *John Morgan, M.A.: First Headmaster of Narberth County School* (Llandysul : Gomerian Press, 1939); R. T. Jenkins, *Gruffydd Jones Llanddowror 1683-1761* (Caerdydd : Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1930); F.A. Cavenagh, *The Life and Work of Griffith Jones* (Cardiff : University of Wales Press Board, 1930).
[15] W. Cadwaladr Davies and W. Lewis Jones, *The University of Wales and its Constituent Colleges* (London: F. E. Robinson & Co., 1905), p. xi.
[16] *The University of Wales and its Constituent Colleges*, p. 4.
[17] T. Gwynn Jones, "Earlier Educational Attempts" in *The College by the Sea*, ed. Iwan Morgan (Aberystwyth: The Students' Representative Council in Collaboration with the College Council), pp. 1-5.
[18] T.I. Ellis, *The Development of Higher Education in Wales* (Wrexham: Hughes & Son, 1935), p. 9.

D. Emrys Evans' *The University of Wales: A Historical Sketch*. In the introduction Evans referred 'to the few instances of schemes, projected but not realized, and of ideas, advanced only to be forgotten, which have some direct relevance to our subject',[19] upon which he provided the same potted history referred to above. However, unlike the previous histories, Evans saw the true beginnings of the ideas behind the University of Wales as coming from 'the decade from 1826 to 1836' which 'witnessed considerable activity in university education in Britain'.[20] Breaking from the Romantic Nationalist tradition which saw the University of Wales as the culmination of indigenous educational efforts hailing back to the Druids, Evans saw its true roots in the 'influence of Jeremy Bentham and his school and the Anglican reaction it provoked' which witnessed 'the foundation of University College, London, in 1826 and of King's College, London, in 1829'.[21] In the decades that followed, Royal Commissions and Reports critiqued the educational structures of Oxford and Cambridge, and University Colleges were set up in Ireland, Durham, and Manchester in the 1840s and '50s.[22] Evans noted that 'none of these recent movements was without some influence in preparing the way for a more precise approach than anything that had gone before to obtaining for Wales her own University'.[23] For Evans, the University of Wales was the culmination of the nineteenth century 'Great Reform Bill' tradition, and not the realisation of ancient Welsh folk dreams and visions.

The same historiographical approach was taken by S.B. Chrimes in his 1983 unpublished manuscript, *University College Cardiff: A Centenary History 1883-1983*. In it he noted that, apart from Oxford and Cambridge in England, St. Andrews (1411), Glasgow (1451), and Aberdeen (1494) in Scotland, and Trinity College, Dublin (1591) in Ireland, 'all the universities in the British Isles have been the creation of the nineteenth

[19] D. Emrys Evans, *The University of Wales: A Historical Survey* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1953), p. 1.
[20] Evans, *University of Wales*, p. 9.
[21] Evans, *University of Wales*, p. 9.
[22] Evans, *University of Wales*, pp. 9, 10.
[23] Evans, *University of Wales*, p. 10.

and twentieth centuries'.[24] The proliferation of university institutions throughout Britain at this period were due to what Chrimes identified as the 'broader and more secular motives' which 'were manifested in the influential movement that resulted in the establishment of the non-sectarian College, which later became known as University College, London (1827), followed a year later by that of the rival King's College, London'.[25] These two Colleges then merged to become the University of London, which gained its royal Charter on 28th November, 1836. Chrimes argued that the establishment of the University of London was of great significance because it established the 'principle that University education need no longer be tied up with religious intolerance and sectarian jealousies'.[26] This, then, was the principle upon which university education could develop throughout Britain, and was the one upon which the University of Wales would be built. Like Evans, Chrimes demonstrated that the University of Wales was firmly rooted in nineteenth century reformist aspirations as originally articulated in England.[27]

Similar conclusions were emphasised by J. Gwynn Williams in his three volumes of the history of the University of Wales and its Colleges. 'Delectable myths,' he wrote, 'die hard'.[28] Drawing from the Romantic fables fabricated by Iolo Morganwg, many of the nineteenth century Welsh educationalists 'did not hesitate to appeal to a distant past', thus providing the illusion of ancient educational continuities.[29] 'It was not long,' Williams concluded, 'before necessary myths were exposed to necessary scholarship at the national colleges. The consequences were not always welcomed'.[30] All these texts demonstrate a departure from the Romantic Nationalist retellings of earlier historians of Welsh education.

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[24] Glamorgan Archive, D/DUCAH/27. S.B. Chrimes, *University College, Cardiff: A Centenary History, 1883-1983*. An unpublished manuscript., p. 1.
[24] Chrimes, *University College, Cardiff*, p. 1.
[25] Chrimes, *University College, Cardiff*, p. 1.
[26] Chrimes, *University College, Cardiff*, p. 1.
[27] Chrimes, *University College, Cardiff*, p. 3.
[28] J. Gwynn Williams, *The University Movement in Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993), p. 5.
[29] Williams, *University Movement in Wales*, p. 5.
[30] Williams, *University Movement in Wales*, p. 5.

This general trend, however, was not followed in David Roberts' 2009 *Bangor University 1884-2009*, which is the latest addition to this third group of texts. Indeed, in many ways Roberts' book is a striking return to the Romantic Nationalist historical mode. This may be due to the fact that Roberts' history is a highly personal one: 'I have not aimed to produce a comprehensive history of all the departments of the University. […] I have included what appear to me interesting and important episodes and developments. "History", as A.J.P. Taylor once remarked "is a version of events". This is my version'.[31] According, then, to Roberts' version of events, 'The drive for university education in Wales has always been bound up with campaigns for Welsh nationhood'.[32] Roberts supports this contention by drawing a historical parallel with Owain Glyndwr's 'visionary plan for higher education', and speculates whether, had his uprising triumphed, it 'might have seen a university established in Bangor before St Andrews (1412), Glasgow (1451) or Trinity College, Dublin (1591)'.[33] Be that as it may, the failure of Glyndwr's uprising saw Welsh education languish for several centuries. 'However', continues Roberts, 'as national sentiment in Wales stirred in the mid-nineteenth-century, so too a new movement to establish a Welsh university began to gain ground'.[34] Thus, for Roberts, his contention for the connection between a drive for university education in Wales and campaigns for Welsh nationhood has been maintained. One is tempted with this work to simply accept it for what the author says it is, his version of events, and to leave it there. No doubt the necessary myth serves its national and political purpose; but it should not, for that reason, resent the necessary scholarship.

The writings of D. Emrys Evans, S.B. Chrimes and J. Gwynn Williams informed the fourth group of texts in the literature on the educational movement in Wales. These texts provided a much broader survey and contextualised the movement in an attempt

[31] David Roberts, *Bangor University 1884-2009* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2009), p. xvii.
[32] Roberts, *Bangor University 1884-2009*, p. 1.
[33] Roberts, *Bangor University 1884-2009*, p. 2.
[34] Roberts, *Bangor University 1884-2009*, p. 2.

to distance the story from the Romantic retellings.[35] A striking feature of this literature is that it went some way in challenging the Romantic assumption that the educational institutions in Wales naturally sprang from native initiatives. This is particularly the case with Richard Lewis' research, where much emphasis is placed on the wider educational context throughout the United Kingdom, and how many of the methods used by Welsh educationalist were in fact adapted from those used in England. In his own words, his research sought to 'puncture the illusion of the intrinsically Welsh roots' of educational institutional models in Wales.[36]

This thesis contributes to this fourth group of texts by suggesting that the necessary intellectual infrastructure for a national system of education in Wales was provided by the British Idealist movement, particularly as expressed in Balliol College, Oxford, which was engrafted into Wales primarily by the administrative work of John Viriamu Jones and his friends. It also explains why these foreign intellectual roots have been buried in a myth of indigenous educational efforts. This is because those who were active in applying Idealism to Wales presented it *as an indigenous Welsh entity*.

For instance, John Viriamu Jones contributed to the first group of texts in his speeches and addresses. He propagated the Romantic retelling of the poor Welsh folk's struggle for learning. Speaking on the growing educational desires of the Welsh in an 1896 address Viriamu Jones said:

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[35] Leslie Wynne Evans, *Education in Industrial Wales 1700-1900* (Cardiff: Avalon Books, 1971); *Studies in Welsh Education* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1974); E.L. Ellis, *The University College of Wales, Aberystwyth 1872-1972* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1972); J. Gwynn Williams, *The University College of North Wales: Foundations 1884-1927* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1985); *The University Movement in Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993); W. Gareth Evans, *Educational Development in a Victorian Community* (Aberystwyth: Centre for Educational Studies, 1990); Wynford Davies, *The Curriculum & Organization of the County Intermediate Schools 1880-1926* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1989); Richard Lewis, *Leaders and Teachers: Adult Education and the Challenge of Labour in South Wales, 1906-1940* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993); *A Community and its University*, ed. Dai Smith & Meic Stephens (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003).

[36] Richard Lewis, *Leaders and Teachers: Adult Education and the Challenge of Labour in South Wales, 1906-1940* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993), p. 2.

> in Wales there have been, I think, certain special causes contributing to a warmer glow of educational aspiration. The religious revival of a hundred years ago was an awakening of national life. It developed a spiritual life that found a natural outcome in a real reverence for knowledge, a reverence that penetrated to the humblest homes; and many and pathetic are the records of noble self-sacrifice on the part of Welsh parents to secure for their sons this gift of knowledge at a time when it was hard to reach, by reason of the absence of educational opportunity in their country.[37]

Viriamu Jones' memorialists later enshrined him within the second group of texts, expanding these retellings into a coherent account and placing him firmly within the traditional (and mythical) tale of the struggle for education in Wales.

A brief outline of Viriamu Jones' life was written by T.R. Roberts in 1908 in his biographical dictionary *Eminent Welshmen*. Viriamu Jones' inclusion shows the high esteem he was held in by Welsh nationalists shortly after his death in 1901. The entrance deserves quoting in full as it records the key events of Viriamu Jones' life which will later be carefully analysed:

> **Jones, John Viriamu,** 1856-1901, principal of Cardiff University College, was the son of Thomas Jones, the poet-preacher (1819-1882 […]), and at the early age of 16 matriculated at the University of London, being placed first in the honours division. In 1873, he won the highest medal in chemistry and zoology at the London University, and the Andrew's Prize, awarded to "the most distinguished student of the year." Gaining the Brackenbury Scholarship in natural sciences, he proceeded to Oxford, where he had a brilliant career, being placed in the first class in the honours school in mathematics and natural science. In 1881, he was appointed principal of Firth College, Sheffield, where, in a few months, the number of students was nearly quadrupled. In 1883, he was elected principal of the University College at Cardiff, and under his wise guidance the college speedily developed into one of the leading and most successful educational institutions

[37] Katharine Viriamu Jones, *Life of John Viriamu Jones*, (London: John Murray, 1921), p. 374.

> in the kingdom. Entering into an alliance with Sir Isambard Owen and other patriotic Welshmen, he gave definite shape and form and energy to demand for a Welsh National University, and as the result of their wise advocacy and diplomacy Wales is in possession of a University which is symbolical of its distinctive features.[38]

The themes of academic excellence, administrative skill, and national patriotism were to appear and reappear in subsequent accounts of his life.

A longer biographical sketch was written in 1908 by Rev. D. Tyssil Evans (Professor of Semitic Languages at the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire) as a contributary essay for J. Vyrnwy Morgan's book *Welsh Political and Educational Leaders in the Victorian Era*. In typical hagiographical format Evans' sketch outlines the 'plan of Providence' which directed Viriamu Jones' life and career.[39] Viriamu Jones is presented as a remarkable man who was born to complete a seemingly insurmountable task, and, in a typically Romantic Heroic fashion, died in the quest. Here Evans invokes the image of Viriamu Jones as martyr. This image was frequently used in biographies of notable public figures who died relatively young, and it was to be the image all future biographies of Viriamu Jones presented. Evans' account gave little concrete assessment of Viriamu Jones' educational ambitions and gives scant details of the content of his educational vision. Furthermore, Evans does not elaborate on the effects of British Idealism on Viriamu Jones. This was most likely because these aspects of Viriamu's vision were English in origin and thus did not fit into the narrative of Viriamu Jones bringing the native effort for a Welsh University to fulfilment.

The first full biography, *John Viriamu Jones and Other Oxford Memories*, was written by Viriamu Jones' Oxford friend, Edward Bagnall Poulton, printed in 1911.[40] The book is one of personal anecdotes and recollections, and the author says nothing of his fruitful career as a Welsh educationalist. Poulton regrets this absence, noting that Jones played an 'absolutely essential part […] in the foundation, and in guidance during the

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[38] T.R. Roberts, *Eminent Welshmen: A Short Biographical Dictionary of Welshmen*, Vol. I (Cardiff & Merthyr Tydfil: The Educational Publishing Company Ltd., 1908), p. 258.
[39] J. Vyrnwy Morgan, *Welsh Political and Educational Leaders in the Victorian Era* (London: James Nisbet & Co., Limited, 1908), p. 304.
[40] Edward Bagnall Poulton, *John Viriamu Jones and Other Oxford Memories* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1911).

earliest years, of the University of Wales'.[41] To make up for this absence a ten-page appendix by Sir Isambard Owen was inserted, briefly outlining his role in establishing the University of Wales.

A substantial portion of Poulton's book relied upon the recollections and recommended revisions of Viriamu Jones' close friends and relatives.[42] He further noted that the 'first half of the book has been submitted to four of Viriamu's most intimate Balliol friends, Professor C.H. Firth, Professor W.P. Ker, Sir Harry Reichel and Professor C.E. Vaughan'.[43] The biography was therefore a carefully curated memorialisation of Viriamu Jones, presenting the man as remembered by Balliol student friends and close relatives.

Katharine Viriamu Jones' biography, printed in 1915,[44] with a second 'Cheaper' edition printed August 1921,[45] explored her late husband's educational impact in detail, consulting Viriamu Jones' diary entries, letters, and educational documents. However, from the outset the book's intended audience was restricted to those who knew Viriamu Jones personally.[46] Viriamu Jones' time at Balliol College, Oxford, and the influence this had upon him, is therefore mediated to the reader through the recollections of his close friends at the College. [47] This is particularly significant when considering the influence of Oxford Idealism upon Viriamu Jones, as the information comes from those who attended Balliol College at the height of philosophical Idealism's influence upon the teaching staff.

The result of these two biographical accounts are books whose subject, author, and intended audience all shared the same ideological assumptions and outlook and were naturally all agreed on the value of Viriamu Jones' educational project. Since these educational values were shared and presumed, the *nature* of Viriamu Jones' educational legacy and philosophy are not explicitly stated. Katharine Jones briefly hinted that 'It is

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[41] Poulton, *Viriamu Jones and Other Oxford Memories*, pp. vii, viii.
[42] Poulton, *Viriamu Jones and Other Oxford Memories*, p. vi.
[43] Poulton, *Viriamu Jones and Other Oxford Memories*, p. vii.
[44] Katharine Viriamu Jones, *Life of John Viriamu Jones* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1915)
[45] Katharine Viriamu Jones, *Life of John Viriamu Jones* (London: John Murray, 1921).
[46] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. v.
[47] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. vi.

probable that he [Jones] was influenced by the ideas of Professor T.H. Green and by the movement for the diffusion of higher education discussed and approved by him, by Jowett, and other leading men at Oxford'.[48] This hint, however, is not developed further. This is most likely because, as noted, the influence of Green and Jowett's Idealism was so pervasive at that time within Balliol College that it was not necessary to mention in detail.

There is an alternative explanation why Viriamu's associates were not forthcoming about his Idealism. Given the prevailing narrative of an indigenous, home-grown educational movement in Wales, it may not have been desirable to labour the influence of ideas imported from England (and ultimately Germany). The two explanations are, in fact, not mutually exclusive. The narrative of progressive enlightenment, a national spirit driving through successive embodiments, is itself very Idealist. There may not have been a deliberate intention to conceal this influence, but rather an earnest reading of Welsh history through an Idealist lens – and the one thing that no lens can see is itself. Support for this interpretation may be found in O.M. Edwards' comment that 'Paul and Shakespeare and Goethe and Wordsworth and Caird and the Welsh verses have exactly the same idea of life'.[49] Edwards was a Welsh historian, who came to this 'realisation' of Wales's place in the intellectual heritage of the world through the teaching of the Oxford Idealist Caird.

Viriamu Jones later received a brief biographical sketch in Sir Thomas Hughes's 1931 *Great Welshmen of Modern Days*.[50] Much like Rev. D. Tyssil Evans's 1908 sketch, Hughes paints Viriamu Jones as the Romantic Hero who overcame seemingly insurmountable obstacles. However, a review of the book by the *Western Mail* hinted that this portrayal was falling out of favour with the reading public.[51] The sketch was written in a style that was fast becoming politically antiquated. In the 1930s the Welsh Liberalism of Henry Richard, Tom Ellis, O.M. Edwards, and Viriamu Jones (all of whom find a place in Hughes's book), which espoused the ideals of self-sacrifice, fierce self-

[48] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 277.
[49] Hazel Walford Davies, *Syr O.M. Edwards* (Cyngor Celfyddyau Cymru, 1988), p. 38.
[50] Sir Thomas Hughes, *Great Welshmen of Modern Days* (Cardiff: Western Mail, 1931), pp. 100-6.
[51] "Great Welshmen. Record of Romantic Lives", *Western Mail*, 18 June 1931.

reliance, and service to the State, had all but collapsed. The book's adherence to a then outdated political ideology is seen in the fact that the foreword was written by the Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd George, the last Liberal to hold the office of Prime Minister. This shift in Welsh political outlook goes some way to explaining why Viriamu Jones' career has been understudied and neglected, as he was in many ways the embodiment of Liberalism.

After a further 26 years of silence, more biographical attention on Viriamu Jones came from Neville Masterman's 1957 centenary lecture on Jones, which briefly explored something of Viriamu Jones' educational legacy, naming him as the 'Pioneer of the Modern University'. This further confirmed Viriamu Jones' historiographical connection with an antiquated form of politics, as Neville Masterman was the son of the archetypal Liberal intellectual Charles Masterman.[52] The lecture is inevitably slim, appreciative, and ideologically closely associated with Viriamu Jones' Liberalism. In it, Masterman again only hints at the influence Oxford men such as T.H. Green had upon Viriamu Jones' later educational ideals and career.[53]

Two years after Masterman's centenary lecture, a biographical entry on Viriamu Jones was contributed by Edgar William Jones to the 1959 *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*.[54] As with the other biographers, Edgar William Jones had personal and ideological connections with Viriamu Jones. Both men were part of the Central Welsh Board of Education at its establishment in 1896 and sought to implement similar educational ideals within Wales.[55] In the entry Edgar Jones briefly outlined what the educational ideals were: 'Viriamu Jones early realized two great needs of Wales – a Welsh university and a system of secondary education – and for both ideals he worked indomitably'. He also noted that Viriamu Jones had 'a large share in the framing of the

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[52] C.F.G. Masterman, *The Condition of England*, ed. J.T. Boulton (London: Methuen & Co., 1960).
[53] Neville Masterman, *J. Viriamu Jones 1856-1901: Pioneer of the Modern University* (Llandybie: Christopher Davies, Publishers, 1957), p. 14.
[54] E.W. Jones, (1959). JONES, JOHN VIRIAMU (1856-1901). *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. Retrieved 15 May 2023, from https://biography.wales/article/s-JONE-VIR-1856.
[55] J.H. Habakkuk, (2001). JONES, EDGAR WILLIAM (1868 - 1953), educationalist and broadcaster. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. Retrieved 5 May 2023, from https://biography.wales/article/s2-JONE-WIL-1868.

charter of the university'. It is once again observed that Viriamu Jones 'became very friendly with Benjamin Jowett' during his time at Oxford, but the nature of this friendship and the influence it had upon his later educational career is not stated.

The literature on Viriamu Jones has so far remained closely guarded by the recollections of friends, family, and ideological allies. His memory has been curated by a closed group who all shared the same Liberal ideological commitments and had similar educational ideals. There has not yet been any attempt to examine Viriamu Jones outside of these close circles, and to place him within a broader narrative beyond the assumptions of political Liberalism and philosophical Idealism. There has also been no examination of how these assumptions shaped Viriamu Jones' career as they have been regarded as too obvious to mention. The overarching unsaid commonality is the influence of British Idealism. Thus far there has been no critical and scholarly assessment of Viriamu Jones' life and work that would fall within the fourth group of texts defined earlier in this section. This thesis aims to redress this omission by revising our understanding of the intellectual context within which Viriamu Jones worked.

The key work of revision in this work is its emphasis on the role Idealism played in Viriamu Jones' life and career. It proposes that Viriamu Jones' Idealism was the underlying principle upon which he erected both his private and public life. His Idealism informed his educational system-building in Wales as well as his personal literary taste; it informed his civic engagements as well as his private religious convictions. His dedication to this philosophic system recalls the words of the Idealist R.L. Nettleship, 'If one could literally live one's theories and beliefs, it would be something greater than any book one would be likely to write'.[56]

By closely scrutinising the life of Viriamu Jones, a different man appears than the one presented in previous biographies and life sketches. In these Viriamu Jones is presented solely as a man of an even temperament and broadminded views. The Rev. D. Tyssil Evans wrote, 'He was a man of broad ideas and wide sympathies. […] [inheriting]

[56] Helen Bosanquet, *Bernard Bosanquet: A Short Account of His Life* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1924), p. v.

his father's breadth of view and warmth of sympathy'.[57] Edward Poulton noted that his mind and temperament was 'broad and many-sided, embracing the gaiety and recreative brightness that may be found on the surface of life, as well as the deeper thoughts and feelings'.[58] So too Neville Masterman wrote that he was 'entirely free of a limited narrow dogmatism,' and that 'his views cut across contrasting creeds and parties'.[59] More recently S.B. Chrimes wrote of 'the magnetism of his personality, combining as he did deep religious and moral feeling with broad human sympathies,' which allowed him to form friendships with people from 'many different walks of life'.[60] However, on closer inspection a much more abrasive, conflicted, and dogmatic side to his character emerges. The character which emerges is of a man who struggled to cope with disorder and ambiguity, and who subsequently strove to harmonise radical dissimilarities and silence dissenting voices. It will be argued that this underlying *dogmatism* was typical of the Idealist philosophy he endeavoured to maintain.

In uncovering this hidden aspect of Viriamu Jones, a close analysis was made of his unprinted personal letters, notes, and diary entries. These are found in the National Library of Wales, the Glamorgan Archives, and the Cardiff University Special Collections. These materials are supplemented with contemporary newspaper reports, transcripts of speeches and committee meeting minutes, as well as the biographies already written. This thesis will necessarily have to rely rather heavily on the previous biographies, particularly Katharine Viriamu Jones'. This is due to the relative scarcity of John Viriamu Jones' own literary remains. He never wrote a book, nor were his writings collated together in book form during his lifetime. Most of his letters, notebooks, and speech transcripts were gathered by his widow, Katharine Jones, and published in her biography. Since the couple had no children, the original papers and manuscripts seem to be lost to time. Katharine Jones' reprinting of primary materials therefore needed to be frequently drawn upon, supplementing these with the previously unmined scraps

[57] Rev. D. Tyssil Evans, 'Principal John Viriamu Jones', in *Welsh Political and Educational Leaders in the Victorian Era*, ed. J. Vyrnwy Morgan (London: J. Nisbet, 1908), pp. 303-352.
[58] Poulton, *John Viriamu Jones and Other Oxford Memories*, p. 20.
[59] Neville Masterman, *J. Viriamu Jones 1856-1901: Pioneer of the Modern University*, pp. 13, 15.
[60] Chrimes, *University College, Cardiff*, p. 37

found in various archives throughout the country. There is an awareness of the inherent difficulties with this approach, recognising that these are a highly selective and carefully collated sample of Viriamu Jones' manuscripts.

By drawing all these materials together, a fresh picture of Viriamu Jones' public and private life emerges, as well as the public image he wished to display. The various similarities and disparities between these two identities is suggestive and is indicative of the tensions found within the Idealist philosophy itself. Idealism is usually presented as a stable all-encompassing philosophy. By closely examining the life of one who tried to live by Idealism the cracks within Idealist philosophy itself begin to show.

By emphasising the role Idealism played in Viriamu Jones' life and career, this thesis takes on a biographical style reminiscent of that deployed by Geoffrey Cantor in his study of another prominent Victorian figure, Michael Faraday.[61] In it, Cantor argued that the life and science of Faraday could best be understood when interpreted through his deep religious beliefs and his strict adherence to the small religious sect of the Sandemanians. Cantor began his study of Faraday 'from the premise that Sandemanianism provided the central strand in his life to which other aspects, including his science, were directly related'.[62] Similarly, this work of biography works on the premise that Idealism was the central strand upon which Viriamu Jones' life and career was constructed.

In utilising biography this thesis contributes to the recent "biographical turn" in humanities research.[63] In 2009 the journal *New Formations* released a special issue addressing 'the rise and rise of biography, autobiography and memoir in recent decades,' referring to the development as a 'popular explosion'.[64] The recent desire to re-emphasise the position of human agency in historical investigation chimes with the principal concern of this thesis, which is to explore the role personal beliefs and

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[61] Geoffrey Cantor, *Michael Faraday: Sandemanian and Scientist* (London: The MacMillan Press Ltd., 1991).
[62] Cantor, *Michael Faraday*, p. 10.
[63] Hans Renders, Binne de Haan and Jonne Harmsma, 'The Biographical Turn: Biography as critical method in the humanities and in society', in *The Biographical Turn: Lives in History* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 3-11.
[64] Cora Kaplan and Jenny Bourne Taylor (2009). 'Editorial', *New Foundations*, No. 67, pp. 7-9.

convictions play in the lives of individuals, communities, and institutions. With these aims in mind the thesis takes the following a structure:

Chapter One explores the general history and tenor of Idealist philosophy, later outlining its British manifestation and how this was applied to education in England from the 1860s-70s. A brief survey is then made of the educational situation in Wales at that time, and how efforts toward a national education came to an impasse due to religious denominational rivalry. It is suggested that Idealism was presented by its advocates in Wales as the "neutral" ground upon which a truly national education could be built. This chapter thus brings together the scholarship on British Idealism and Welsh education.

Chapter Two introduces John Viriamu Jones and follows his formative years from Wales to London. In these early years, special emphasis is placed upon the influence of Viriamu Jones' father, the Rev. Thomas Jones (1819-1882), whose upward social ambitions and anglophile sentiments proved to be a major driving force behind Viriamu Jones' later cultural, educational, and social aspirations. The chapter then follows Jones' educational journey up to his time at Oxford University when he was formally introduced to British Idealism. It then follows Viriamu Jones' career as an educationalist, beginning in 1881 as Principal of Firth College, Sheffield, and finally his return to Wales in 1883 becoming Principal of the newly established University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire. It demonstrates how Viriamu Jones applied the Idealism he learned at Oxford to his role as educational administrator.

Chapter Three explores how philosophical Idealism impacted Viriamu Jones' public and private life. It is argued that Idealism sought to collapse the public/private dichotomy by emphasizing the coherent unity of the individual. Idealism informed every aspect of its adherents' lives, which, for Viriamu Jones, included his domestic sphere, friendship circles, literary tastes, and scientific pursuits, as well as matters public educational policy. This chapter also explores an area where Viriamu Jones diverged from Oxford Idealist orthodoxy, that of women's higher education. It is argued that this divergence stemmed from his relationship with his wife Katharine Jones (née Wills), whose Unitarian upbringing informed the couple's attitude to women in education and society.

Chapter Four explores how Viriamu Jones applied the principles of Idealism in educational policymaking. Two case studies will be considered: the role he envisioned

for the University as providing coherence to Primary and Intermediate education in Wales, and the federal collegiate model for the University of Wales Charter. In both these examples there is a strong emphasis on the need for an underlying unity joining together disparate entities, a core tenet of Idealism. It is thus demonstrated that philosophical Idealism was a crucial founding stone upon which both the University of Wales and Welsh national education was constructed. The formation of a national institution upon Idealist principles paved the way for the formation of a "Welsh Idealism".

Chapter Five explores how Viriamu Jones applied Idealism beyond the limits of the University. It considers four expanding spheres of influence: the public lecture for the artisan and lower-middle classes; the university settlement movement for dedicated learners; the provision of technical education to produce an "intelligent" workforce; and in efforts to establish Wales's cultural claims to nationhood, working alongside the then popular *Cymru Fydd* movement with T.E. Ellis and O.M. Edwards, thus confirming the higher intellectual status of the "Welsh people" as a whole.

Chapter Six explores the development and gradual decline of Idealism in Wales after Viriamu Jones' death in 1901. It considers how fellow Welsh Idealists memorialized Viriamu Jones and how his vision was carried forwards by John Stuart and Millicent Mackenzie and their students, and how this vision was subsequently challenged and superseded by the Labour movement, Marxism, and philosophical Realism.

Chapter I: Idealism and Education

The British Idealists, such as Benjamin Jowett[1], T.H. Green[2], and Frederick Temple[3], played an essential role in the formation of a national educational system in Britain.[4] There is, however, a striking gap in this research, which is particularly evident in Gordon and White's monograph *Philosophers as Educational Reformers*. In a book which seeks to uncover 'The influence of idealism on British educational thought and practice', only

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[1] Born in 1817 to a downwardly mobile middle-class family, Benjamin Jowett studied at St Paul's School and gained a scholarship to Balliol College. Intellectually within the Broad Church tradition, he challenged Anglican orthodoxy, notoriously stating in 1855 that the Bible should be read like any other book. He became an expert in Plato and later became master of Balliol College. As master, he made substantial educational reforms, training young men to take on important political and clerical positions. He died in 1893. (Dinah Birch, "Jowett, Benjamin." *The Oxford Companion to English Literature.* Ed. Birch, Dinah. : Oxford University Press, . *Oxford Reference*. [Date Accessed 12 Aug. 2022], https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780192806871.001.0001/acref-9780192806871-e-4087)

[2] Thomas Hill Green was born to a Yorkshire family in 1836. He became one of the key expositors of Idealist philosophy at Oxford. His *Essays on Hume and Locke* undercut the foundations of English empiricism, thus opening the field for Hegelianism. He put his philosophy to practical use, becoming a member of the city council at Oxford and contributing to a royal commission on education. He died in 1882. (Tim S. Gray, "Green, Thomas Hill." *The Oxford Companion to British History*. : Oxford University Press, . *Oxford Reference*. [Date Accessed 12 Aug. 2022], https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199677832.001.0001/acref-9780199677832-e-1918)

[3] Frederick Temple was born in 1821 and attended Balliol College on a scholarship. In the same theological tradition as Jowett, he contributed the opening essay to the controversial *Essays and Reviews* in 1855. Though he tried to distance himself from the theological controversies that followed, there were protests at his consecration to the See of Exeter in 1869. Along with Jowett, he sought to implement educational reforms at the University. (H. M. Spooner, and Mark D. Chapman. "Temple, Frederick (1821–1902), archbishop of Canterbury." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 03. Oxford University Press. [Date of access 12 Aug. 2022], https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-36451).

[4] This well-established point is effectively argued by Gordon and White in their 1979 book *Philosophers as educational reformers*, Peter Hinchliff in his 1987 monograph *Benjamin Jowett and the Christian Religion*, and Phillip Tapper in his 1979 thesis *Frederick Temple and the Development of State Education After 1857*.

four pages deal with Welsh educational reform.[5] This absence of Welsh context marks a common theme in the historiography of British Idealism and educational reform. This thesis demonstrates that Viriamu Jones was a key agent in implementing the largely Oxford-based philosophical system of Idealism within Wales.

What is Idealism?

Idealism has taken many various forms since it was expounded by Plato. In demonstrating Idealism's longevity and variability, its Victorian exponent Benjamin Jowett, Master of Balliol College, stated:

> idealism, […] has had many names and taken many forms, and has in a measure influenced those who seemed to be most averse to it. It has often been charged with inconsistency and fancifulness, and yet has had an elevating effect on human nature, and has exercised a wonderful charm and interest over a few spirits who have been lost in the thought of it. It has been banished again and again, but has always returned. It has attempted to leave the earth and soar heavenwards, but soon has found that only in experience could any solid foundation of knowledge be laid. It has degenerated into pantheism, but has again emerged. No other knowledge has given an equal stimulus to the mind. It is the science of sciences, which are also ideas, and under either aspect require to be defined.[6]

Idealism has had a particularly strong influence over Modern Western philosophy, its key exponents ranging from Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677) and George Berkley (1685-1753) to Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) and Georg W. F. Hegel (1770-1831).

The philosopher Stephen Law demonstrates that since Plato, Idealist philosophers have consistently held to the belief in 'a domain more real than that revealed by our senses', i.e., a spiritual realm.[7] For Plato, all true knowledge resided in

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[5] Gordon and White, *Philosophers as educational reformers: The influence of idealism on British educational thought and practice* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979).
[6] Benjamin Jowett, *The Dialogues of Plato: Translated into English with Analyses and Introductions*, Vol. I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), p. 259.
[7] Stephen Law, *The Great Philosophers* (London: Quercus, 2007), p. 29.

the hidden and eternal realm of Forms, and that it was from this transcendent realm that the things of this world derive their existence.[8] Law displays how Plato's Idealist convictions were passed onto Augustine in the fourth century, through whom these ideas have had a lasting impact on Western culture, informing later philosophers such as Descartes, Spinoza, Berkeley, Kant, and Hegel.[9] Friedrich Nietzsche similarly defines Idealism as the philosophical conviction that concepts such as Good and Evil are eternal, and that the ultimate source of morality is to be found '*behind* the world' (i.e. in a transcendent realm).[10] Alister McGrath further elucidates this perspective when he writes of the first time he read Plato's Republic:

> As I read Plato's analogy [of the cave], the hard-nosed rationalist within me smiled condescendingly. Typical escapist superstition! What you see is what you get, and that's the end of the matter. But a still, small voice whispered words of doubt. What if this world is only part of the picture? What if this world is only a shadow land? What if there is something more wonderful beyond it?[11]

The searching question of whether this world 'is only a shadow land' is distinctive of Idealist philosophy, as is the conviction that 'there is something more wonderful beyond it'. As the Idealist philosopher Hegel himself writes, 'Philosophy is not a wisdom of the world, but cognition of the non-worldly: not a cognition of the external mass of empirical existence and life, but cognition of what is eternal…'[12] In other words, Idealist philosophy does not primarily concern itself with the temporal world of empirical existence, but instead attempts to fix its gaze on that which is eternal and spiritual.

Another prominent feature of Idealist philosophy is its emphasis on systematic unity. Stemming from the axiom that reality exists as 'a single all-inclusive system of relations', Idealists sought to construct an all-embracing system.[13] This is seen in the

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[8] Law, *The Great Philosophers*, p. 28.
[9] Law, *The Great Philosophers*, p. 35.
[10] Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 5.
[11] Alister McGrath, *Faith and the Creeds* (London: SPCK, 2013), p. 23.
[12] William Wallace, *The Logic of Hegel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894), p. 34.
[13] T.H. Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics* (Memphis: General Books LLC, 2012), p. 12.

philosophies of Plato, Plotinus, Augustine, Spinoza, Kant, Schelling, and Hegel. The British Idealists continued within this tradition, as W.J. Mander notes:

> The [British] Idealists had a distinctive conception of the world of knowledge, and of the place of philosophy within it. They insisted on its essential underlying *unity*, arguing that all ideas were systematically linked together into one whole with no fundamental divisions between the different departments of learning, the concepts and principles of one leading into those of another.[14]

Idealists derived their ethics and politics from axiomatic principles as opposed to forming conclusions from empirical observation. This systematic approach is elaborated by Gordon Clark:

> Instead of a series of disconnected propositions, truth will be a rational system, a logically ordered series, somewhat like geometry with its theorems and axioms, its implications and presuppositions. And each part will derive its significance from the whole.[15]

Having attempted to present a loose definition of a fluctuating philosophy, there are two key forms of Idealism to emphasise which do not fit comfortably under a single heading. The one form affirms an unknowable transcendent realm, independent of our thoughts. Within this category are philosophers like Immanuel Kant. As A.C. Grayling explains, for Kant 'the phenomena constituting the world as it appears to us are the result of the way our minds organize the data of sensory experience; he did not hold that mind is the basis of reality as it is in itself'.[16] This form of Idealism is therefore a type of metaphysical dualism.

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[14] W.J. Mander, *British Idealism: A History*, p. 3.
[15] Gordon H. Clark, *A Christian View of Men and Things* (Jefferson: The Trinity Foundation, 1991), pp. 24-25.
[16] A.C. Grayling, *The History of Philosophy* (London: Penguin Books, 2019), p. 321n.

The other form of Idealism affirms that the hidden realm is an immanent law within the created order, and that this realm is spiritual or mental. This type is labelled by recent scholars as 'a one-world inflationary idealism'.[17] Again, Grayling explains that, according to this view, 'the fundamental nature of reality is mental, that is, is *mind* or *consciousness*'.[18] It is within the latter category that the German Idealists, British Idealists, and the educationalists in this study belong.

A key characteristic of one-world inflationary Idealism is that it sought to *unify and conflate* the spiritual and the natural realms, the spiritual signifying the immanent law within nature. This idea is encapsulated by the British Idealist Millicent Mackenzie, who wrote that 'the *natural* and the *spiritual* [are but] different parts of the same process'. This process, she explained, 'regards spirit as revealing itself unconsciously in the mineral world, rising through the vegetable to consciousness in the animal world and then attaining self-consciousness in humanity'.[19] To Idealists such as Mackenzie, the material world was an expression of spirit.[20]

This type of philosophical Idealism is a form of monism. Whereas a materialistic monism claims that all reality is reducible to matter, an Idealistic monism asserts that reality is reducible to mind or spirit. According to Alister McGrath, Idealistic monism therefore perceives God as a pervasive Spirit which is 'located within the flow of the natural,' and 'part of the natural process'.[21] This concept of God differs from traditional theism, which understands God as external to, and thus separate from, the cosmos. British Idealism can therefore be classified as a form of pantheism, where God is inextricably linked with, or identical to, the natural order.

Following from this, a predominant characteristic of monistic Idealism is that it assumes that all particulars within the physical realm are governed by an incorporeal unifying Idea. This Idea instils a fixed order into the visible realm. Ideologically, this

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[17] Jeremy Dunham, Iain Hamilton and Sean Watson, *Idealism: The History of a Philosophy* (Durham: Acumen, 2011), p. 6.
[18] Grayling, *The History of Philosophy*, p. 321.
[19] Millicent Mackenzie, *Hegel's Educational Theory and Practice* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd., 1909), p. 57.
[20] Millicent Mackenzie joined the staff of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire in 1891. She worked closely with Viriamu Jones and his wife Katharine Viriamu Jones, particularly in women's education. This shall be explored in Chapter 3.
[21] Alister McGrath, *The Landscape of Faith* (London: SPCK, 2018), p. 195.

belief results in a strong desire to see coherence where there is seeming discord, system where there is apparent disparity, and order in amongst perceived chaos. In a word, monistic Idealism believes *systematic unity* to be a fundamental fact of reality, and all discord and confusion to be ultimately superficial. Illustrating this tendency, Plato believed the visible realm was governed by the supersensual World of Forms; Spinoza believed all reality consisted of a single substance; Hegel believed that all human thought was governed by a single Architect; and the British Idealists believed all reality existed within 'a single all-inclusive system of relations'.[22]

To recapitulate, the core doctrines of British Idealism, inspired by the philosophy of Hegel, held that all reality was penetrable and accessible to, and even *dependent upon*, the human mind and reason, and that all knowledge necessarily existed within 'a single all-inclusive system of relations'.[23] The Idealist Sir Henry Jones aptly encapsulated this belief when he said that reality was 'essentially related to mind'.[24] To the Idealists there was *no transcendent realm beyond Nature, and nothing inaccessible to human thought and Reason*. This belief, however, did not exclude the existence of God, but rather considered God (i.e. the Absolute Mind) to be the living principle by which reality is interpreted.[25] This concept of God is neatly explained by the Oxford Idealist William Wallace who wrote that the task of this philosophy was 'the explication of God; but of God in the actuality and plenitude of the world, and not as a transcendent Being, such as an over-reverent philosophy has sometimes supposed him, in the solitude of a world beyond'.[26] Indeed, the Idealists insisted that their philosophy was essentially a *Christian philosophy*, which had purified Christianity of all supernatural dogma.

These monistic Idealists regarded their theory as superior to materialism, as this latter view of reality shackled men and women to the immediate and temporal realm with no larger view; however, it also offered an alternative to a two-world dualistic

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[22] G.W.F. Hegel, *Hegel's Logic: Being Part One of the Encyclopaedia of the Philosophical Sciences*, trans. William Wallace (England: Digireads, 2013), p. 24; T.H. Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics* (Memphis: General Books LLC, 2012), p. 12.
[23] T.H. Green, *Prolegomena*, p. 12.
[24] Sir Henry Jones, *Browning as a Philosophical Teacher* (Glasgow: Maclehose, 1891), p. 174.
[25] Edward Caird, *Evolution of Religion*, vol. ii (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1893), p. 246.
[26] Wallace, *The Logic of Hegel*, p. 32.

Idealism in which the perfect realm and its objects remains unknown to us. Instead, they provided a worldview which *idealised the present*, and allowed one to work out the implicit immanent law within into 'the actuality and plenitude of the world'.[27] The present world therefore became the platform for great spiritual forces and realities, which manifested themselves in 'the laws, institutions, mores and conventions of a specific culture,' and had a role to play 'in the actions of individual members of the community'.[28] Each individual therefore had the responsibility to develop these spiritual realities, and to see them manifested more and more within themselves and their own society.

An Idealist Education?

Having established a working definition of Idealism, the next question to ask is *why did this philosophy encourage educational reform*? To answer this question, one must take two steps back and consider first the intellectual setting of Britain in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, and then move on to the general effects of the newly imported philosophy, in order to understand why this was specifically manifest in the area of education.

In the early-to-mid nineteenth century British philosophy was stagnating. W.J. Mander writes that the philosophical debates had become polarized between metaphysical skepticism and common-sense empiricism. The opposing groups had become gridlocked; the state of philosophical discussion had reached a fruitless impasse on matters such as the nature of the physical world and moral duty. The one proposed solipsism and conservative ethics, while the other offered a naïve certainty and hedonistic utilitarianism.[29] Britain was therefore in an intellectual vacuum, and, as

[27] Wallace, *The Logic of Hegel*, p. 32.
[28] David Rose, *Hegel's* Philosophy of Right: *A Reader's Guide* (London: Continuum, 2007), p. 19.
[29] W.J. Mander, *British Idealism: A History*, pp. 14,15.

Alister McGrath notes, where there are vacuums, they tend to be filled.[30] This intellectual vacuum coincided with a growing concern among the Whig-liberals that an agnostic mechanistic view of life would inevitably result in a nation-wide moral chaos, where each individual seeks to 'indulge his selfish interests'.[31] These fears were fuelled by cultural memories of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars, which, according to political commentators like Edmund Burke, stemmed from French materialism and republicanism of writers like Rousseau and Voltaire. These anxieties fuelled the desire for a fresh approach in British philosophy and politics.

In Oxford University, this vacuum of agnosticism and mechanical utility was filled by Idealism and Romanticism, which were imported from Germany by the University's scholars. This was vividly described by Scott Holland, a Balliol student and later a clergyman, in 1895:

> Oxford lay abjectly imprisoned within the rigid limitations of Mill's Logic. Individualistic Sensationalism held the field. Life was reduced to mechanical terms. Scientific Analysis held the key to the universe. Under this intellectual dominion we had lost all touch with the Ideals of life in Community. There was a dryness in the Oxford air, and there was singularly little inspiration to be felt abroad. We were frightened; we saw everything passing into the tyranny of rational abstract mechanism…. Then at last, the walls began to break. A world of novel influences began to open to us. Philosophically the change in Oxford thought and temper came mainly through the overpowering influence of T.H. Green. He broke for us the sway of individualistic Sensationalism. He released us from the fear of agnostic mechanism. He gave us back the language of self-sacrifice, and taught us how we belonged to one another in the one life of high idealism. We took life from him at its spiritual value. And then we were startled and kindled by seeing this great intellectual teacher give himself to civic duties, and take up personally the obligations of citizenship, and work for the poor despised Oxford city. This had an immense practical effect on us.[32]

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[30] Alister McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Inc, 1999), p. 32.
[31] J.P. Parry, *Democracy & Religion: Gladstone and the Liberal Party 1867-1875* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 57.
[32] Quotation taken from S.C. Carpenter, *The Church and People 1789-1889: Part Three* (London: S.P.C.K, 1959), pp. 483-4.

Although the arrival of Idealism in Oxford is attributed here to T.H. Green, it is important to note that he learnt these idealistic principles from his tutor, Benjamin Jowett, who was the pioneer of these ideas in British intellectual circles. Mander writes that Jowett's great significance to the story of Idealism in Britain lay in 'the fact that as fellow and then Master of Balliol College until his death in 1893 he passed his interest in Hegel on to Green, Caird, Bosanquet, Ritchie, Wallace, and Arnold Toynbee, all of whom were Balliol students'.[33] Mander even states that Jowett was 'the route by which Hegel finally came into Oxford'.[34]

The core Oxford group of Idealism, centred within Balliol College, all shared similar social backgrounds. They were divided between those from an impoverished middle-class upbringing with upward social aspirations and mobility, and those who had historically enjoyed social prestige but whose families were now gently descending to a refined but strained middle-middle class existence. Either way, their early family homes were often under the shadow of what was euphemistically called 'strained circumstances'.[35] Though others, such as Arnold Toynbee and C.E. Vaughan, had a family history of fairer circumstances, there was still a need for 'real carefulness' with finances.[36] Due to these circumstances, they entered one of the ancient universities (Oxford and Cambridge) by competing in and winning Exhibitions and Scholarships. As with Jowett himself, for these young men, 'a Scholarship or some extraneous help was absolutely necessary' if they ever dreamed of entering one of the universities.[37] They therefore did not inherit the academic life, but rather fought their respective ways upwards. This shared background explains the group's common concern that upward social mobility should be within the reach of all who wished to take advantage of it. As shall be seen below, Viriamu Jones shared all these social characteristics.

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[33] W.J. Mander, *British Idealism: A History*, p. 31.
[34] *British Idealism: A History*, p. 31.
[35] Evelyn Abbott & Lewis Campbell, *The Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett*, i, (London: John Murray, 1897), p. 16.
[36] A.G. Little, 'Memoir of C. E. Vaughan', in *Studies in the History of Political Philosophy Before and After Rousseau*, ed. A. G. Little (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1939), p. x.
[37] Abbott & Campbell, *Life of Jowett*, i, p. 18.

The leader of this group, Benjamin Jowett, first encountered German Idealism in his travels to Germany in 1844 and 1845 with Arthur Stanley, in order to meet 'the many distinguished men, especially the theologians and scholars,' including Heinrich Ewald, Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette, Leopold von Ranke, and Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling.[38] It was during this trip that Jowett and Stanley became enthralled by the works of Hegel, Jowett relating that he 'once stood on a bridge at Mainz absorbed in Hegel's Preface to the *Encyclopadie*'.[39] The deep impression of these visits is evident in a letter Jowett wrote to an Oxford friend on August 21, 1847:

> I have got so transcendentalized lately with reading Schelling's *Systems of Nature* that it is quite a blessing to get back again to the outward world. I confess I begin to look upon metaphysics rather as a necessity than as a great good – the air is too rarefied to breathe long, and like a balloon, a good deal at the mercy of the currents.[40]

The analogy of being in a balloon in rarefied air, being subject to the turbulent currents, will be familiar to all those who have delved into German idealism. As the scholar Lloyd Spencer comments, 'Reading Hegel gives one a sense that the movement of thought will coincide with a vision of harmony that awaits us at the end of the whole process. Every serious reader of Hegel can bear witness to the intoxication of such moments'.[41]

Jowett, Stanley, and Temple's reading of Hegel caused them to question Anglican orthodoxy at the University. Two decades earlier, the Tractarian Movement (also known as the Oxford Movement), led by John Henry Newman in the 1830s-40s, brought into question the consistency of the Church's interpretations of the Thirty-Nine Articles, the founding confession of the Established Church, and in turn questioned many key statements of the Reformation. In his controversial Tract XC, Newman concluded that 'In giving the Articles a Catholic interpretation, we bring them into harmony with the Book of Common Prayer', and boldly proclaims, 'The Protestant Confession was drawn up

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[38] Benjamin Jowett, *Sermons Biographical and Miscellaneous* (London: John Murray, 1899), p. 142.
[39] Abbott & Campbell, *Life of Jowett*, i, p. 91n.
[40] Abbott & Campbell, *Life of Jowett*, i, p. 160.
[41] Lloyd Spencer, Andrzej Krauze, *Introducing: Hegel* (London: Icon Books, 1999), p. 88.

with the purpose of including Catholics; and Catholics will now not be excluded'.[42] This was a seismic shock to the unquestionable authority of the Anglican church. Benjamin Jowett, a student at this time, recalled this turbulent period in a sermon:

> There has never been a time in Oxford when so many ideas were floating in the air. From being the Palladium of orthodoxy, the University began to be a focus of innovation. It was very surprising to some of us, coming from quiet country homes, to hear the Reformers denounced; the doctrine of the Real Presence maintained; the use of prayers for the dead advocated; the duty of confession insisted upon….[43]

Such was the magnitude of these theological controversies that the next generation of Oxford scholars (including Jowett) concluded that the old Reformation principles required major revisions and alterations. In a letter dated August 21, 1847, Jowett writes, 'Looking at the progress of criticism and of the physical science, and the plasters we have been applying to theology, I fancy that a second Reformation is not impossible even in our time'.[44] Other Oxford scholars disparaged the Reformation altogether, and instead returned to the Roman Church.

It is from the soil of these theological controversies, mixed in with Jowett's importation of German philosophy and theology, that the school of Idealism took root in Oxford. Giles Whiteley avers that Oxford 'needed the […] controversies of the Tractarian movement […] to help the cause of new liberal thinkers such as Jowett and Stanley'.[45] At a time when religious certainties were being questioned, men Jowett and Stanley sought to build 'new foundations of truth, new motives of life and action, new anchors in the flux and reflux of thought which was going on around them'.[46] The Idealists therefore sought to place Christianity into a realm of faith which was beyond the reach of historical criticism and verification. Fittingly, these religious upheavals at Oxford can be

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[42] John Henry Newman, *Tract XC: On certain passages in the XXXIX Articles* (Oxford: John Henry and James Parker, [1841] 1866), pp. 83, 86.
[43] Jowett, *Sermons: Biographical and Miscellaneous*, pp. 181-2.
[44] Abbott & Campbell, *Life of Jowett*, i, p. 160.
[45] Giles Whiteley, *Schelling's Reception in Nineteenth-Century British Literature* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), p. 243.
[46] Jowett, *Sermons: Biographical and Miscellaneous*, p. 219.

displayed in the terms of Hegel's triad of Thesis-Antithesis-Synthesis: Anglican orthodoxy was confronted by the ritualism of Tractarianism, and finally overcome by the rationalism of Idealism.

The Idealists' interrogation of Anglican orthodoxy was consistent with their enthusiasm for the philosophy of Hegel, as Hegel himself wrote in his *Logic*:

> It is the commonest way of deceiving ourselves, or others, in regard to cognitive knowledge, to assume acquaintance with something and accept it on that account. For all the talk that may accompany it, such knowledge, not knowing how or why it knows, gets nowhere. Subject and object, God, nature, the understanding, the sensible realm, and so on are uncritically made the foundation with which we are acquainted and something valid, and constitute fixed points from which to set out and return. While they remain unmoved, the movement goes to and fro between them, and so proceeds only on their surface.[47]

For the Hegelian, truth was not a set of fixed points which remain unmoved, with which one merely became acquainted. Instead, the very foundations of knowledge were in continual flux and evolution, thus making the search for truth a matter of perpetual testing and unravelling. This Hegelian method of interrogating the foundations of truth was used by the Oxford Idealists to question the legitimacy of fixed creeds and propositions, as can be seen in William Wallace's *The Logic of Hegel*, a book dedicated to Jowett:

> Men seek to formulate their feelings, faith, and conduct: but the *rationale* of their inmost belief, - their creed, - is generally narrower than it might be. […] Hence when the narrow outlines of their creed are submitted to dialectic, - when the inlaying contradictions are exposed, men feel as if the system of the world had sunk beneath them. […] Not an alien force, but the inherent power of thought, destroys the temporary constructions of the understanding. The infinite comes to show the inadequacy of the finite which it has made.[48]

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[47] G.W.F. Hegel, *Hegel: Theologian of the spirit*, ed. & trans. Peter C. Hodgson (London: T&T Clark International, 1999), p. 100.
[48] Wallace, *The Logic of Hegel*, pp. 355-6.

It is probable that narrow creed with inlaying contradictions to which Wallace refers are the Thirty-Nine Articles, which many Idealists regarded as a symbol of the backwardness and narrow-mindedness of 'the old high and dry *regime*' in Oxford.[49] The Articles were the summation of the very heart of Anglican orthodoxy, the upholding of which was essential for all those who taught at Oxford and Cambridge. Jowett, along with other Idealists, regarded the Articles as 'a sort of movable fence which may be shifted as far as you please – the restraint they impose is purely imaginary'.[50] Jowett's biographers, Evelyn Abbott and Lewis Campbell, noted that 'Traditional orthodoxy [i.e., the Articles] is sublimated and held in solution by an application of the Hegelian method'.[51] The subversiveness of this sentiment sent shockwaves across the academic establishment and almost cost Jowett his career.

The import of German Idealism instilled British intellectuals and scholars with a bright optimism and a new sense of high purpose. Rather than being constrained to a dreary agnostic mechanism, these men saw the entire world filled with a spiritual value. The Idealism of men like Green sounded 'a note of opposition to the prevailing tendencies of the age, to the exaltation of physical science over mental, of the material and visible over the eternal and unseen'.[52] As a later Welsh convert to Idealist philosophy, William Tudor Jones,[53] recorded, 'A new world opened upon him; life brought its myriad meanings; the thrill and joy of living came back…. everything in the world became sacred; the equipoise of mind and spirit was felt as never before'.[54]

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[49] Abbott & Campbell, *Life of Jowett*, i, p. 177.
[50] Abbott & Campbell, *Life of Jowett*, i, p. 75.
[51] Abbott & Campbell*, Life of Jowett*, i, p. 137.
[52] Benjamin Jowett, *Sermons Biographical and Miscellaneous* (London: John Murray, 1899), p. 217.
[53] Born in Pontrhydfendigaid, Cardiganshire on September 8, 1865, William Tudor Jones from a young age preached at the Calvinistic Methodists churches. After ordination, Tudor Jones studied philosophy from 1896 to 1899 at University College, Cardiff, under J.S. Mackenzie. As a result, he became enraptured by philosophical Idealism and changed the course of his career. Over the subsequent decades Tudor Jones published several popular expositions of Idealism for the Welsh press. [Alan Ruston, 'William Tudor Jones (1865-1946)' in *Dictionary of Twentieth-Century British Philosophers*, Vol. 1 (Bristol: Thoemmes Continuum, 2005), p. 496.].
[54] William Tudor Jones, *Religious Free Thought in Swansea* (Swansea: 1900), p. 101.

Similarly the Oxford scholar William Wallace saw Idealism as 'the protest against confining man and nature to the dull round of uniformities which custom and experience have imprisoned them in'. It sought to understand the 'Boundless life, infinite spontaneity [which] is surging within us and the world, ready to break down the dams convention and inertia have established'.[55]

This lively optimism brought with it fresh ethical and moral considerations. One resounding clarion call throughout Hegel's writings was the demand for ethical citizenship. Hegel taught that it was only within the state that each individual citizen went through the 'organic development' of their 'substantive knowing and willing'.[56] In other words, citizens only gained full individuality as members of a whole (i.e., the State). To keep civic life in order, Hegel envisioned an elite group of heroes 'whose will to personal liberty is consonant with the larger historical movements of the time and who has a sense of how to act in the political arena'.[57] These heroes would ensure that the state acted in a way which would allow every individual to find fulfilment within it. They would ward off the moral chaos which a mechanistic outlook would bring to a society.

This idea of the conquering and ordering hero captivated Benjamin Jowett, who in turn sought to instil this same heroic spirit into the students at Balliol College. He wanted to create an elite group of 'Philosopher-saints': a group of young men who were freed from the drudgery of daily life and were able to rise 'above them into a clearer and purer region'.[58] These young men would also oversee the running of civic life and work for the greater good of the community. The Idealists, through Jowett, sought to train middle class men to be the Platonic Guardians of society. The middle classes were uniquely suited to this role, as the upper classes were too detached, and the lower classes were too unenlightened. The middle classes, rightly trained, would correctly guide, and control, the development of society. As a later Idealist R.B. Haldane

[55] Wallace, *The Logic of Hegel*, p. 51.
[56] G.W.F. Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, trans. T. M. Knox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), P, 223.
[57] Diane Collinson, *Fifty Major Philosophers* (London: Routledge, 1988), p. 97.
[58] Collinson, *Fifty Major Philosophers*, p. 98.

explained, the goal of education was to infuse 'a large outlook and understanding' into 'our middle and governing classes'.[59]

In his college lay-sermons, Benjamin Jowett regularly preached that a man's moral duty was universal and all-encompassing, covering the entirety of humanity. He taught that the test of a true Christian man was not to be found in his theology, but in his actions and works:

> … there is another simple test of the true life both of individuals and Churches: 'What are we doing for others?' 'What efforts are being made by us for the good of mankind?' In this great progress of civilization, in this corresponding want and misery of large masses of mankind (when the need perhaps is greater than ever before, and the means of help are also greater), are we fulfilling our part, uniting in common efforts to help those who cannot help themselves, to raise the degraded and outcast portion of the population; or are we hindered by our prejudices and divisions [..]?[60]

Typical of nineteenth century Idealist thought, Jowett taught that the individual's duty was towards the large masses of mankind who cannot help themselves, and to seek their good. This acute sympathy for suffering humanity became common currency in Victorian society, in a time when the working conditions of industrial workers had been widely reported. For Jowett, the first step toward alleviating human misery was in realising that 'God is not sitting, as He is represented in some pictures, on the circle of the heavens, but that His temple is the heart of man,' and to know that 'He is not the God of one nation only, but of all mankind'.[61]

In saying God's temple is the heart of man, Jowett was expounding a pantheistic Idealism, which states that all human endeavour is an expression of the divine will. Jowett's pantheistic sentiments gained him notoriety from other theologians, such as William John Conybeare, who in his critique of Jowett's essays states that his pantheism

[59] R.B. Haldane, *Education and Empire* (London: John Murray, 1902), pp. 5, 6.
[60] Benjamin Jowett, *Sermons: Biographical and Miscellaneous* (London: John Murray, 1899), p. 266.
[61] Benjamin Jowett, *College Sermons* (London: John Murray, 1895), p. 43.

was to be traced from 'his devotion, namely, to the transcendental idealism of Hegel'.[62] These pantheistic ideas were also expounded by T.H. Green (a student of Jowett and champion of the school which became British Idealism) in a lay sermon to Balliol students. In it he says:

> God is for ever reason; and His communication, His revelation, is reason: not, however, abstract reason, but reason taking a body from, and giving life to, the whole history of experience which makes the history of man. The revelation, therefore, is not made in a day, or a generation, or a century. The divine mind touches, modifies, becomes the mind of man, through a process of which mere intellectual conception is only the beginning, but of which the gradual complement is an unexhausted series of spiritual discipline through all the agencies of social life.[63]

Green here equates the divine mind to the mind of man, therein equating God to Nature. God's will emerged through the history of man, and His ultimate revelations are to be found in 'the agencies of social life' (i.e. institutions such as universities and the State). According to this interpretation God appears to be, in the words of the theologian Graham W.P. McFarlane, 'another word for human history or culture'.[64] This idea is prominent in Hegelian Idealism, which states that the *Geist* (the immaterial Spirit, Mind, or God), thinks its thoughts through human minds over millennia.

The human mind was therefore the vehicle or expression of this living Mind, the *Geist*. Stephen Law aptly summarises this concept in describing the *Geist* as an 'overarching mind of which everything that exists is a manifestation'.[65] These sentiments are evident in Jowett's college sermons, in which he preached that the laws of nature are the *essential* outworking of God's will:

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[62] William John Conybeare, 'The Neology of the Cloister' in *Early Responses to British Idealism*, i (Bristol: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004), p. 11.
[63] T.H. Green, *The Witness of God and Faith: Two Lay Sermons*, ed. Arnold Toynbee (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1889), pp. 22-3.
[64] Graham W.P. McFarlane, *Edward Irving: The Trinitarian Face of God* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1996), p. 12.
[65] Law, *The Great Philosophers*, p. 198.

> We must change the word necessity, and think only of regularity instead. So may we pass onward from the lowest things on earth to the highest things in heaven, by many stages, through many gradations, neither denying any nor inverting the order, but acknowledging that the lower, as they are the condition of the higher, so also are the means to them; and that the moral and social world, no less than the frame of nature itself, is but a crust in which the presence of God, like some inward fire, is hidden and encircled.[66]

Here Jowett explicitly displays his Hegelian-inspired pantheistic doctrines. The very presence of God was hidden and encircled within the moral and social world and within the frame of nature itself, just as for the Hegelian the *Geist* is manifested in everything. This passage also explains why British Idealism had a strong emphasis on working for the good of society. In holding the belief that the lowest things on earth were inseparably connected with the highest things in heaven, the Idealists were convinced that improving one's environment and social condition would inevitably result in the development of the soul. Since both heaven and earth were subject to the same regularity, one's spiritual life must go through many stages, with the lower things of earth (such as 'the air which he breathed, …the water which he drank, …the house in which he abode, …the employment in which his life passed') being the means to the higher things.[67] This philosophy motivated Idealists like T.H. Green to dedicate themselves to civic duties, taking on issues of educational reform within the town of Oxford itself. Jowett later spoke of Green that he 'broke down the ancient foolish jealousy of town and gown, and won a place in the hearts of the citizens', and that the people living in Oxford 'heard his voice raised always on behalf of education (the best of liberal causes), and on the side of improvement and public spirit'.[68] These Oxford Idealists therefore believed that secular tasks (such as education and civil service) were the fulfilments of God's divine will on earth.

This belief in the sacred nature of civil duty motivated educational reforms within Oxford, and gradually influenced national educational reform. For Jowett, Green,

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[66] Benjamin Jowett, *Sermons: Biographical and Miscellaneous* (London: John Murray, 1899), p. 244.
[67] Benjamin Jowett, *College Sermons*, p. 111.
[68]Benjamin Jowett, *Sermons Biographical*, p. 220.

and the Idealists, education was far more than the acquisition of information; they taught that the benefits gained by education were ethical, intellectual, moral, and spiritual. An Idealist education sought to train young men (particularly from an impoverished middle-class background) to attain a high standard of character and manners as opposed to a list of facts. This was done by setting high moral ideals before the students, who would then naturally strive to put these ideals into practice, as Jowett says in his commentary on Plato's Republic:

> Human life and conduct are affected by ideals in the same way that they are affected by the examples of eminent men. Neither the one nor the other are immediately applicable to practice, but there is a virtue flowing from them which tends to raise individuals above the common routine of society or trade, and to elevate States above the mere interests of commerce or the necessities of self-defence.[69]

For the Idealists, education sought to raise the minds of individuals 'above the common routine of society or trade' to higher altruistic ideals. W.J. Mander notes that the Idealists envisioned education as a training in citizenship.[70]

The Idealists' educational reforms began within Oxford University, overseen by the scholars Benjamin Jowett, Arthur Stanley, and Frederick Temple, close friends who shared a 'lower middle-class background, somewhat impoverished circumstances, an interest in the education of the underprivileged, an enthusiasm for the philosophy of Hegel and a willingness to explore new theological ideas'.[71] Dissatisfied with the medieval structures of education, these men sought to rejuvenate the University after what they perceived to be 'more than two centuries of obscurity and decay'.[72] Their top priority was to open up the University to poorer students of lower middle-class backgrounds, in order to effectively spread the positive influence of education, and thus bring more people within the will of God. In a letter to Arthur Stanley during these

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[69] Benjamin Jowett, *The Republic of Plato* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888), p. ccxxix.
[70] W.J. Mander, 'British Idealism and Education for Citizenship', in *Ethical Citizenship. Palgrave Studies in Ethics and Public Policy* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
[71] Peter Hinchliff, *Benjamin Jowett and the Christian Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 36.
[72] Benjamin Jowett, *College Sermons*, p. 57.

reforms Jowett writes, 'the University educates 1,500, why not 3,000? Is it a sufficient [*raison d'etre*] of a national institution that in the nineteenth century it educates 1,500, two-thirds of whom are the sons of country gentlemen and clergymen?'[73] Later in life Jowett recalls that the reforms were 'a revolt against the old high and dry *regime*,' seeking to 'cut active minds loose from their traditional moorings and [launch] them on a sea of speculation'.[74] These reforms had a far reaching impact both in Oxford and beyond.[75] Idealism offered the intellectual framework to galvanise a reforming movement among the educated middle-classes. It sought to remove outdated social barriers to higher education. On the Continent Hegel was seeking to reform governmental and institutional structures upon rational rather than conventional grounds.[76]

Peter Hinchliff records that the reforms these men sought to bring Oxford included the abolition of 'religious tests […] so far as matriculation and the taking of degrees was concerned, so that dissenters might become members of the university'.[77] At this time, the two ancient universities (Oxford and Cambridge) were only open to those who subscribed to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England, and who sought to take Holy Orders, thus excluding non-Anglicans from obtaining Degrees. As well as dissenters (or nonconformists), these rules also excluded atheists, agnostics, Catholics, and pantheists from taking Degrees. The Oxford scholar and poet Arthur Hugh Clough discovered this by experience, as he was forced to resign his post at the university in 1848 for his agnosticism.[78]

Clough's resignation would have hit a nerve for Jowett and Temple, as he was a close companion who shared their enthusiasm of German philosophy and theology. Through the writings of theologians like D.F. Strauss, Clough came to doubt the

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[73] Abbott & Campbell, *Life of Jowett*, i, p. 183.
[74] Abbott & Campbell, *Life of Jowett*, i, p. 177.
[75] Philip Tapper, *Frederick Temple and the Development of State Education After 1857*. Dissertation. (Cardiff, 1979), p. 22.
[76] Brady Bowman and Allen Speight, 'Introduction', in *Heidelberg Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. xxi.
[77] Hinchliff, *Benjamin Jowett and the Christian Religion*, p. 30.
[78] Arthur Hugh Clough, *Selected Poems*, ed. Jim McCue (London: Penguin Books, 1991), p. xx.

historicity of the Gospel accounts and of the divinity of Christ.[79] Jowett's position at Oxford would also have been in the balance, as he too was a dedicated reader of Strauss, and was sympathetic to his theological investigations.[80] It therefore makes sense that Jowett and those supportive of theological investigations in Oxford would support the removal of religious tests and subscription to creeds, as this would protect them from a similar fate to Clough's. It is certainly true that Jowett and Stanley objected to doctrinal tests because they believed that 'religious truth was to be discovered and tested rather than accepted and learnt'.[81]

The reform to abolish religious tests and subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles was officially brought to the University in 1871, thus allowing people of any religious persuasion to enter. Other reforms included 'multiplying scholarships', thus 'increasing student numbers and making it easier for poorer men to come to the university'.[82] In doing all this, the Idealists sought to 'Recruit by ability. Train character [… and] then launch your students upon the world'.[83] The main ambition of these reforms was to open up university education to those of an impoverished middle-class background (like Jowett), to create a cultivated and refined group of young men to govern civil life and national affairs. These educational reforms were part of the wider reforms of the 'whig-liberals'. These reforms saw a shift away from the old liberal values, which emphasised minimal state intervention, to a more hands-on approach where the government increased its presence in public life, providing the administrative framework to assist in social projects. These reforms were particularly beneficial to the middling classes, as they provided the beginnings of government support towards efforts towards self-betterment, such as opening further educational opportunities. Benjamin Jowett, and other 'academic liberals', were favourable towards these reforms, believing that such state interference 'was necessary in order to help men to help themselves, and in order

[79] Clough, *Selected Poems*, p. 230.
[80] Abbott & Campbell, *Life of Jowett*, i, p. 78.
[81] Abbott & Campbell, *Life of Jowett*, i, p. 32.
[82] Hinchliff, *Benjamin Jowett and the Christian Religion*, pp. 37, 38.
[83] Peter Hinchliff and John Prest, 'Benjamin Jowett', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 30 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 761.

to repress manifestations of evil'.[84] The Idealists were therefore in close political alliance with the reforms of the whig-liberals.

The reforms at Oxford allowed people of all theological persuasions to apply and gain a degree. Among the first to take advantage of this opportunity was John Viriamu Jones, the son of a nonconformist minister, in 1874. During his time at Balliol College Viriamu Jones was under the watchful eye of the Master Benjamin Jowett and taught by Idealist Fellows such as Richard Lewis Nettleship (Classical Tutor and Junior Dean), Thomas Hill Green (Classical Tutor), and Andrew Cecil Bradley (Lecturer).[85] The next chapter explores Viriamu Jones' formative years and intellectual development, and how his upbringing made him especially receptive to the Idealist teaching he later received at Oxford.

Desire for National Education in Wales

These reforms within Oxford University coincided with a strong public desire for a national education within Wales. To fully understand how Idealism interacted with the educational needs of Wales, a brief look at the history of education within Wales is required. The history of education in Wales is long, convoluted, and complex, filled with false starts, wrong turns, and dead ends. The story is filled with discontinuities, as differing individuals, and institutions, both religious and secular, sought to establish diverging educational institutions which were based on competing, and mutually exclusive, models.

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth century saw the rise of the Circulatory Schools and Sunday Schools in Wales, a native initiative to provide a basic education for the poorer classes.[86] These grassroot institutions were inevitably limited in the level of

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[84] J.P. Parry, *Democracy and Religion: Gladstone and the Liberal Party 1867-1875* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 114.
[85] *Oxford University Calendar 1877* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1877), p. 229.
[86] F. A. Cavenagh, *The Life and Work of Griffith Jones* (Cardiff : University of Wales Press Board, 1930); R. T. Jenkins, *Gruffydd Jones Llanddowror 1683-1761* (Caerdydd : Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1930); David Jones, *Life and Times of Griffith Jones of Llanddowror* (London: SPCK, 1902); R. Brinley Jones, *'Certain Scholars of Wales': The Welsh*

learning they communicated, and in their organisation. Many of the itinerant schoolmasters were self-taught men, some of whose knowledge barely exceeded those they taught. These institutions therefore could not adequately provide a national education for Wales. Alongside with the Sunday and Circulatory Schools were various nonconformist Academies in Wales, which provided higher education where the schools provided elementary education. Gradually each nonconformist body opened their own academy in Wales, including Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Unitarians. These Colleges were all self-contained and apprehensive of one another. E.L. Ellis records that suggestions that the 'dissenting colleges should unite together and overcome their individual weaknesses' were soon extinguished by mutual suspicions 'that all too often erupted into open hostility'.[87] The viciousness of this open hostility between religious sects is vividly caricatured by the J. Vyrnwy Morgan, who notes that the advocates of each sect would:

> even tear off the moss from the graves of the mighty dead who did not look at truth and life from the same angle as themselves. They are ever ready with their bayonet to pierce anybody who may differ from them in mode of thought and worship.[88]

Due to their exclusive natures, the nonconformist Academies were also inadequate to meet the national educational needs of Wales.

The predominant model of nonconformist education was voluntaryism, which held that the institutions should be funded via the voluntary donations of interested benefactors and the public, and not rely on Government grants or funding. The Baptist preacher Thomas Thomas, who established a Baptist College in Pontypool in 1836, was convinced that 'nonconformists should finance their own schools in the same way that they provided chapels or theological colleges. State churchism should not be let in

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Experience in Education (Dyfed: The Drovers Press, 1986); R. M. Jones & Gwyn Davies, *The Christian Heritage of Welsh Education* (Bryntirion: Evangelical Press of Wales, 1986).

[87] Ellis, *The University College of Wales, Aberystwyth 1872-1972*, p. 7.

[88] J. Vyrnwy Morgan, *Welsh Religious Leaders in the Victorian Era* (London: James Nisbet & Co. Ltd., 1905), p. ix.

through government grants'.[89] Those who espoused Voluntaryism were suspicious of any government aid, as they believed such aid would leave nonconformists susceptible to ulterior government motives, such as secularism or churchism (imposing Established Church creeds in the curriculum). Such an example was Samuel Roberts of Llanbrynmair, a Radical Nonconformist and essayist born in 1800 who wrote prolifically for early Welsh periodicals such as *Seren Gomer* and *Y Dysgedydd*.[90] Glanmor Williams records, 'What he feared was that the government, under cloak of its financial help, would seek to introduce Anglican religious education so as to win over the children of nonconformists'.[91]

The voluntaryist model suffered a huge blow in Wales after the Report of the Commissioners in 1847 (also known as the infamous Blue Books), which criticised what it considered to be the substandard level of learning among the teachers and the general ignorance of the pupils.[92] Gwyneth Tyson Roberts notes that the appointed Commissioners were 'men of their time and class', that is, they 'were all men, all English, all lawyers, all Anglicans, and members of the upper middle class'.[93] One of these Commissioners was Ralph Robert Wheeler Lingen (1819-1905). The only son of Thomas Lingen of an old Herefordshire family, Ralph Lingen went to Bridgenorth Grammar School in 1831, then won a Scholarship to Trinity College, Oxford in 1837. He achieved a distinguished academic record, winning various prizes and Scholarships, and later

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[89] Arthur J. Edwards, *Thomas Thomas of Pontypool: Radical Puritan* (Caerleon: APECS Press, 2009), p. 42.
[90] Glanmor Williams, *Samuel Roberts Llanbrynmair* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1950), pp. 7, 15, 31.
[91] Glanmor Williams, *Samuel Roberts Llanbrynmair*, p. 45.
[92] W. Gareth Evans (1997). '"A barrier to moral progress and commercial prosperity": 150th anniversary of the Blue Books', *Planet*, No. 123, 88-93; Frank Price Jones, 'The Blue Books of 1847', in Jac L. Williams and Gwilym, Rees Hughes, eds, *The History of Education in Wales* (Swansea: C. Davies, 1978), 127-44; Prys Morgan, 'From long knives to Blue Books', in R. R. Davies, Ralph A. Griffiths, Ieuan Gwynedd Jones and Kenneth O. Morgan, eds, *Welsh society and nationhood: historical essays presented to Glanmor Williams* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1984), 199-215.
[93] Gwyneth Tyson Roberts, *The Language of the Blue Books: The Perfect Instrument of Empire* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998), pp. 9, 75.

becoming a Fellow at Balliol in 1841.[94] While at Balliol and studying for the Bar, Lingen became friends with Benjamin Jowett.[95] The pair maintained a regular letter correspondence from 1846-1850, during which Jowett was deepening his interest in German Idealism and Lingen was carrying out his role as Commissioner for the 1847 Report.[96] According to Abbott and Campbell, Jowett 'was keenly interested in Lingen's Report as Commissioner on Education in Wales in the autumn of 1847,' and it seems likely that Lingen was influenced by Jowett's delving into German Idealism and its bearing on the issue of education.[97] As seen above, the educational ideals advocated by Jowett's Idealism was that of carefully cultivating young men from the middling-classes to become ethical citizens, encouraging them to think beyond rigid religious orthodoxies, and to go beyond teaching by rote and taxing student's memories, and instead to encourage self-reflection. Gwyneth Tyson Roberts has shown that Lingen applied very similar educational standards to the schools in Wales.[98] With these standards in mind, it is little wonder that Welsh schools came under intense scrutiny. In his 'Report on Carmarthen, Glamorgan, and Pembroke', Lingen particularly criticized the nonconformist Sunday Schools, where learning had the 'unsatisfactory character of mere oral information,' and were led by 'a class of persons' who had insufficient 'habits of mind'.[99] He criticized the 'rabbinical sort of learning' in the classes where men and women were made to memorise long passages of Scripture and 'abstruse parts of Divinity'.[100] In short, the Welsh Sunday Schools were the embodiment of everything to which an Idealist-informed educationalist was opposed.

The Report was seen by many nonconformists as a diatribe against their religious convictions. Yet, despite these protestations, even the Welsh schools' advocates such as

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[94] Charles Prestwood Lucas, 'Lingen, Ralph Robert Wheeler', in *Dictionary of National Biography, 1912 supplement*, vol. 2. Online access: https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Dictionary_of_National_Biography,_1912_supplement/Lingen,_Ralph_Robert_Wheeler [Accessed 29/11/2022].
[95] Abbott & Campbell, *Life of Jowett*, i, p. 129.
[96] Abbott & Campbell, *Life of Jowett*, i, pp. 148-166.
[97] Abbott & Campbell, *Life of Jowett*, i, p. 129.
[98] Gwyneth Tyson Roberts, *The Language of the Blue Books: The Perfect Instrument of Empire* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998), pp. 105-114.
[99] *Reports of the Commissioners of the Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales* (London: William Clowes & Sons, 1848), p. 2.
[100] *Reports of the Commissioners of the Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales*, p. 8.

Samuel Roberts were 'willing to admit that educational facilities were not as good as he might have wished'.[101] J. Stuart Maclure writes, 'The interest in education aroused by the Welsh Report, notwithstanding its offensive tone, was maintained'.[102] So too E. L. Ellis, 'interested calumnies aside, the 1847 *Report* did catalogue in undeniable detail the appalling contemporary state of Welsh education generally, and stimulated a considerable interest in the subject at all levels among Welshmen of all religious persuasions'.[103] After the Report the growing consensus within Wales was that education should be financially supported by the government, which in turn would raise the standard of teaching. The final blow to the voluntaryist model came with the Liberal government's Elementary Education Act in 1870.[104] Against this tide of opinion and official policy even the staunchest of voluntaryists reluctantly conceded defeat. The 1847 Report therefore changed the direction of popular education in Wales. Despite wide condemnation of its xenophobic characterisations of the Welsh people, the Report nevertheless persuaded the majority that education in Wales should move away from the independent model of the Sunday Schools and nonconformist Academies to that of State-sponsored, non-sectarian learning. Before this fatal blow to voluntaryism in Wales, there were already societies which accepted government aid. The dawn of the nineteenth century witnessed the establishment of two societies which, with the support of government grants, set out to establish numerous new schools in Wales. These societies were the British and Foreign Schools Society (1808), and the National Society (1811). The first established schools on unsectarian and nonconformist principles, the latter on Established Church principles. The difference in religious values inevitably led to a bitter rivalry for Government funding.

At the same time, there was a growing desire for Wales to have its own centre for higher education, rather than relying on sending students to England to gain degrees. However, with a sectarian battle raging over Welsh schools, it became

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[101] Williams, *Samuel Roberts Llanbrynmair*, p. 47.
[102] J. Stuart Maclure, *Educational Documents: England & Wales* (London: Methuen Education Ltd, 1971), p. 57.
[103] Ellis, *The University College of Wales, Aberystwyth 1872-1972*, (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1972), p. 8.
[104] Robert Smith, *Schools, Politics and Society : Elementary Education in Wales, 1870-1902* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999).

apparent to many that 'any Welsh university must necessarily be unsectarian'.[105] Wales therefore contained a multitude of mutually exclusive educational bodies, each of which functioned upon radically different religious and philosophical foundations. It became apparent in the nineteenth century that any cohesive national educational system in Wales would have to be State-funded and non-sectarian.

This tension of demands was extremely difficult for Gladstone's Liberal Government to navigate. It had to be unsectarian in nature, belonging to no particular religious denomination, and yet it could not to be utterly "secular" and "godless". This was an almost impossible balancing act, as Gladstone expressed in a letter on May 24, 1870:

> You ask me […] to solve the problem in the words "to include religion, and to exclude dogma," which, as far as I know, though it admits of a sufficient practical handling by individuals acting for themselves, has not yet been solved by any state or parliament.[106]

It was precisely within this dilemma that the educational reforms of the Idealists came into their element. The Oxford Idealists offered a State-funded unsectarian form of education which did indeed include religion and exclude dogma. This fitted perfectly into a situation where differing religious truths were battling for dominance in the schools and Colleges.[107] This attitude towards Christian creeds is aptly encapsulated by the Welsh Idealist Sir Henry Jones, who wrote, 'I wanted to shorten the creed so that it should consist of one article only: "I believe in a God who is omnipotent love, and I dedicate myself to His service."'[108]

Advocates for Idealism, such as Tom Ellis, subtly presented it as providing an adequate ideological base upon which a truly national educational institution could be

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[105] E. L. Ellis, *The University College of Wales, Aberystwyth 1872-1972*, p. 14.
[106] John Morley, *The Life of William Ewart Gladstone*, vol. II (London: MacMillan & Co., 1903), p. 304.
[107] Ellis, *The University College of Wales, Aberystwyth 1872-1972*, p. 14.
[108] Sir Henry Jones, *Old Memories*, ed. Thomas Jones (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1922), p. 135.

constructed.[109] Tom Ellis, who was pivotal in the passing of the Welsh Intermediate and Technical Education Bill in May 1889, acquired his Idealist sympathies while studying at New College, Oxford, where he became friendly with Arthur Acland. This friendship led to a 'considerable fascination with the Idealist philosophical ideas of T.H. Green'. Throughout his political career as a Liberal MP for Wales, Ellis noted 'the key role of the state in educating its citizens,' and the need for the state to establish 'a coherent educational system' within Wales.[110]

Previous institutions in Wales, due to their denominational commitments, were inevitably limited in their scope. The Idealists' concept of a creedless and all-inclusive Christianity, it was suggested, provided the necessary intellectual and ideological breadth for a national institution in a theologically fragmented nation. One such advocate for an Idealist foundation for Welsh education was Rev. David Adams (1845-1922), who entered University College, Aberystwyth in the mid-1870s and graduated in 1877.[111] He wrote an essay for the first volume of *The University College of Wales Magazine* in 1878 entitled "Creed and Character" which was full of Idealist doctrines: 'We sincerely hope that the persecuting, sectarian Spirit, which branded as "dangerous" all who differed from the tradition of the fathers […] will soon disappear from among us. We look forward to the healthful influence of such undenominational institutions as the University College of Wales and others, to inaugurate a new era in the history of religious thought in Wales'.[112] However, as shall be seen below, the concept of a creedless Christianity was not accepted unproblematically, with some in the Welsh Press accusing the University Colleges of using '*ansectarol*' [unsectarian] principles as an excuse for '*ymosdiadau ar y grefydd Gristionogol*' [attacks on the Christian religion].[113]

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[109] W.G. Evans (1999). ''Organise The Training of Welsh Teachers and Liberalise Their Education': Tom Ellis and the Reform of Teaching.' *Welsh History Review,* Vol. 19, No. 4, pp. 713-739.
[110] W.G. Evans, 'Tom Ellis and the Reform of Teaching', p. 715.
[111] J. O. Stephens, (1959). ADAMS, DAVID (1845-1922), Congregationalist divine. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. [Retrieved 4 Feb 2022, from https://biography.wales/article/s-ADAM-DAV-1845].
[112] D. Adams (1878). 'Creed and Character', *University College of Wales Magazine,* Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 27-31.
[113] *Y Llan*, 8th February 1884.

Liberalism in Wales

When looking at the history of education in Wales, it is clear that there were vast developments in the first half of the nineteenth century. This was due to the various political upheavals and awakenings that happened during this time which led to the rise of Liberalism in Wales. The story of the rise of Liberalism in nineteenth century Wales is one of historical accident, circumstance, expedience, and conflict. The circumstances were hundreds of years in the making, while the fruition came suddenly, all within a space of a decade. To use a Hegelian analogy, the slow workings of unseen, quantitative alterations suddenly brought about a qualitative societal transformation.

The Wales of 1800 was the product of Henry VIII's Act of Union in 1536. According to the Act, Wales was to be united with, and assimilated into, England.[114] Over the ensuing centuries the Act gradually brought about the creation of two distinct groups in Wales. The one, the landowners and gentry, were increasingly anglicized. As Kenneth O. Morgan wrote:

> Since the later Middle Ages [particularly from the Act onwards] they had become English in tongue and education, often English by intermarriage and custom, dependent upon English land law of entail and primogeniture for the building up of their estates.[115]

The other, lower, group was that of the tenant farmers and workers. While the gentry and landowners adopted English customs and acquired its wealth, the peasantry 'remained as the sole vehicle of the Welsh culture'.[116] As the years progressed the gulf

[114] John Rhys and David Brynmor Jones, *The Welsh People* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1900), p. 369.
[115] Kenneth O. Morgan, *Wales in British Politics, 1868-1922* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1963), p. 5.
[116] T. D. Combs Jr., *The Party of Wales, Plaid Cymru* [Ph.D. dissertation] (University of Connecticut, 1977), p. 41.

between the two groups widened until by the nineteenth century the separation was complete. By then, the gentry had a near total economic and political monopoly.[117]

Up to the mid nineteenth century political candidates were either chosen out from, or specially patronised by, the ruling families in the Welsh counties. For instance, in the Radnor Borough Seat, Richard Price (1773-1861), whose family had a marked presence in the county since the sixteenth century, remained MP for the county from 1799-1847.[118] Over this time the electorate in the Radnor Borough remained small, remaining under 500 until 1868. Of those able to vote, the gentry had the power to ensure that those who voted supported their chosen candidate.[119] The gentry settled into an isolated play den of politics, where the only challenges faced were those of rival families. In all this the politics had nothing to do with the general populace.

A response to this self-perpetuating political oligarchy was the rise of radical groups such as Chartism and Rebeccism in the 1830s-40s. These were popular expressions of a general discontent at social and economic conditions, which then formalised into a culture of radicalism directed against the gentry. [120] The movements caused such disruption that Westminster took note, leading to official inquiries into the state of Wales and its grievances. As the century progressed, the gentry's political dominance was corroded away as enfranchisement was extended. A key turning point was Disraeli's Reform Act of 1867, which saw the enfranchising of 'all male householders and lodgers paying £10 a year in rent'.[121] In urban areas such as Merthyr Tydfil the electorate saw a massive increase from 1,387 to 14,577.[122] The increase in the electorate meant that the gentry could no longer maintain the political control they once possessed. Those who had now gained the vote backed the reformist programme of the Liberal Party, as it offered policies such as political equality, land reform, and free trade, all of which would undermine the practical monopoly of power the gentry

[117] Morgan, *Wales in British Politics*, p. 5.
[118] Keith Parker, *Parties, Polls and Riots: Politics in nineteenth-century Radnorshire* (Herefordshire: Logaston Press, 2009), p. 7.
[119] Parker, *Parties, Polls and Riots*, p. 1.
[120] T. D. Combs Jr., *The Party of Wales*, p. 49-50.
[121] Parker, *Parties, Polls and Riots*, p. 6.
[122] Morgan, *Wales in British Politics*, p. 22.

possessed.[123] This then led to the Liberal Party gaining ascendency in Wales in the 1868 elections.[124]

Another aspect which bolstered the rise of Liberalism in Wales was that of religion. Within Wales, most ruling families, gentry, and landowners were supporters of the Established Church, while most of the tenants and workers were nonconformist.[125] Nonconformity in Wales saw a huge increase towards the end of the eighteenth century due to the rise of Welsh Methodism, led by men such as Howell Harris (1714-1773), Daniel Rowland (1713-1790), William Williams (1717-1791), and Thomas Charles (1755-1814).[126] The movement gained enormous converts among the tenant farmers and the poor of Wales, while the landowners and gentry remained with the Established Church. Though originally linked to the Established Church, the Welsh Methodists officially became their own separate denomination through the organisation of Thomas Charles in 1810.[127] The numbers of nonconformists in Wales continued to grow rapidly as the century progressed, the Religious Census of 1851 suggesting that as many as 80 percent of those who attended a place of worship in Wales attended a nonconformist congregation.[128]

This situation led to a conflation of political and religious principles, the nonconformist chapels espousing Liberalism.[129] As political enfranchisement in Wales grew, a vote for the Liberal party was increasingly seen as a vote against Anglican rule in

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[123] T. D. Combs Jr., *The Party of Wales*, p. 68.
[124] Kenneth O. Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation: A History of Modern Wales* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [1981] 1998), p. 26.
[125] E. T. Davies, *Religion and Society in the Nineteenth Century* (Dyfed: Christopher Davies (Publishers) Ltd, 1981), p. 17.
[126] Edward Griffiths, *The Presbyterian Church of Wales (Calvinistic Methodist) Historical Handbook 1735-1905* (Wrexham: Hughes & Sons, Printers, 1905); John Morgan Jones; William Morgan, *Y Tadau Methodistaidd*, Cyfrol I (Abertawe: Argraffwyd Gan Lewis Evans, 1895); J. R. Broome, *Some Welsh Ministers: From Howell Harris to Christmas Evans* (Harpenden: Gospel Standard Trust Publications, 2012).
[127] A. J. Johns, *On the Causes which have Produced Dissent from the Established Church in the Principality of Wales* (London: Houlston and Sons, 1870), p. 48.
[128] I. G. Jones and D. Williams (eds.), *The Religious Census of 1851: A Calendar of the Returns Relating to Wales*, 2 vols. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1976).
[129] Matthew Cragoe, 'The Problem of Preacher Influence: Chapel Politics', in *Culture, Politics, and National Identity in Wales 1832-1886* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 173-205.

Wales, one of the major policies in Welsh Liberalism in the last quarter of the nineteenth century being the Disestablishment of the Church within Wales.[130] This political and religious divide grew as the century progressed, until in the latter half of nineteenth century, Anglicanism in Wales was virtually equated with Conservatism, and nonconformity with Liberalism.[131]

Outside of this Welsh context, the (largely Anglican) Oxford Idealists were universally of the Liberal reformist tradition. Their nominal, creedless Anglicanism had no problems aligning itself with nonconformity. As the Liberal Party gained the ascendency in Wales, so too the conditions were ripened for the introduction of Idealism.[132] Indeed, as H. G. Williams notes, it was the prominence of Liberalism which made Arthur Acland 'regard Wales as particularly ripe for the Idealist enterprise'.[133] The establishment of a stable political identity in Wales gave the impetus to efforts towards forging a unique national identity. In these efforts philosophical Idealism proved to be a crucial component. One key Liberal politician in Wales was Tom Ellis. Kenneth O. Morgan noted that Ellis:

> blended the traditions of Bala and Aberystwyth College with the surge of ideas from Jowett's Oxford, the sensitive appreciation of Celtic culture with the organic folk-state as conceived by T.H. Green and the Idealists, the sense of imperial mission as preached by Ruskin, and the 'constructive' programme of social and political reform as outlined by Toynbee and the Fabians.[134]

Here the intersection of Liberal politics, Idealist philosophy, and Welsh identity is clear. Other prominent Welsh figures who emerged from this blend of ideologies were Arthur

[130] E. T. Davies, *Religion and Society in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 85.
[131] Gerard Charmley (2012). 'Nonconformity and Liberalism: The Ministerial Careers of Josiah Towyn Jones (1858-1925)', *Welsh History Review*, Vol.26, No. 2, p.246-270.
[132] Morgan, *Wales in British Politics*, p. 28.
[133] Williams, 'A Study in the Politics of Idealism', p. 392.
[134] Morgan, *Wales in British Politics*, p. 70.

Acland, O.M. Edwards, and Henry Jones. It is within this milieu that John Viriamu Jones' educational, political, and philosophical convictions are to be situated.

Chapter II: The Journey from Wales to London, Oxford, and back to Wales

The Making of an Idealist

This chapter introduces John Viriamu Jones, following him through his formative years. These years were a battleground of competing worldviews, including Romanticism, Materialism, and Idealism. It was during his time at Balliol College, Oxford, that Viriamu Jones' Idealist worldview was solidified.

John Viriamu[1] Jones, second son of the Rev. Thomas Jones, was born at Pentrepoeth, near Swansea, on January 2, 1856.[2] From a very early age the importance of education was impressed upon him by his father, Thomas Jones. Thomas Jones received little formal education as a child. He attended the village school at Rhayader, Radnorshire, before being apprenticed in 1831 to a flannel manufacturer when he was around 12 years of age.[3] As a young man Thomas Jones worked as a collier in the coalmining district of Monmouthshire before entering the ministry as a Calvinistic Methodist preacher in 1839, then, due to theological controversies, as an Independent preacher in 1841.[4] Thomas Jones spent his earnings on buying books and began to teach himself.[5] After joining the Independents in 1841 he spent three or four years at a private school at Llanelly, after which became pastor of Bryn Chapel, near Llanelly, in July 1844, and then in 1845 became pastor of Hermon Tabor, near Llandilo.[6] By the time Viriamu Jones was born he was the established pastor of Libanus Church, Morriston, near Swansea.[7] Under his ministry Libanus gained a national reputation and a grand new

[1] The unusual name of "Viriamu" raised speculation in the Welsh Press. A letter to the Editor of the Western Mail, October 29, 1883, read: "What is the significance or derivation of the Christian name of the principal Viriamu?" The Editor replied: '"Viriamu" was the attempted pronunciation by the natives of Erromanga of the surname of their missionary, John Williams, who was an intimate friend of the Rev. Thomas Jones, of Swansea, the father of the principal."
[2] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 12.
[3] *National Dictionary of Biography* (Volume 10), p. 1058.
[4] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 3.
[5] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 3.
[6] *National Dictionary of Biography* (Volume 10), p. 1058.
[7] *National Dictionary of Biography* (Volume 10), p. 1058.

building was erected in 1857, seating up to 700.[8] The chapel building was designed and constructed by the architect John Humphrey, a native of Morriston.[9] Humphrey notably went on in 1873 to design and construct Tabernacl in Morriston, a grand building which became known as the 'Cathedral of Welsh Nonconformity'.[10]

A lifelong autodidact, Thomas Jones regularly espoused the benefits of wide reading and learning to his family and congregation. As the following sermon extract shows, Thomas Jones had sharp words to say against those who had no desire to increase their learning and understanding:

> The man to whom knowledge, intelligence, and learning have no charm is intellectually dead. He can look upon the books which have been written, concerning nature, man, and the history of nations, without a desire to know what they teach; he thus dwells in great darkness.[11]

Here we can trace the beginnings of Viriamu Jones' reverence towards all knowledge and learning, and his conviction that one's life is impoverished without it. In 1858, when John Viriamu Jones was less than two years of age, his father Thomas Jones became the pastor of the English Congregational Church at Albany Chapel, Frederick Street, London.[12] As a result the Jones family left their home 'in the small but colliery district of Morriston' near Swansea to live in the north of London at Albert Street, Regent's Park in Camden Town.[13]

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[8] Libanus Church, *A History of Libanus Church, Morriston 1782-2007* [online access]. https://be820384-584e-430a-bd91-701083cdbf4e.filesusr.com/ugd/921456_492c9205f2a84d1c8452bea2eb25f766.pdf

[9] John Newman, *The Buildings of Wales: Glamorgan* (London: Penguin Books, 1995), p. 624.

[10] Quotation taken from David Farmer, *The Remarkable Life of John Humphrey: God's Own Architect* (The Royal Institute of Wales, 1997), p. 32.

[11] Thomas Jones, *Lyric Thoughts of the Late Thomas Jones, the Poet Preacher* (London: James Clarke & Co., 1886) p. 94.

[12] Thomas Jones, *The Divine Order and Other Sermons and Addresses* (London: WM. Isbister Limited, 1884), p. vi.

[13] Katharine Jones, *Life*, pp. 12, 13.

The Jones' migration from a small district town in Wales to the great English metropolis was typical of many determined Welsh families at this time who sought to climb the social latter, Emrys Jones noting that 'the second half of the nineteenth century saw the Welsh community in London reach a peak'. With the high presence of Welshmen in London, the Welsh congregations attracted many native Welsh preachers, of whom Thomas Jones was one.[14]

The increased presence of the Welsh in London was a significant factor in bringing about the renaissance of Welsh culture and nationalism in the nineteenth century. W. Owen Pughe, the author of the 1803 Welsh-English Dictionary and an early advocate for the study and propagation of Welsh culture, noted that it was during his stay in London in the late-1700s that he encountered other Welshmen who had an interest in the Welsh language and its literature. He was then introduced to the founders of the Gwyneddigion Society, a literary society established by the London-Welsh in 1770 for the very purpose he was set upon: the propagation of Welsh culture.[15] According to Emrys Jones, the group within this Society 'revelled in their peasant origins' and sought to revive rustic traditions and practices such as harp music and penillion-singing.[16] The Society was filled with distinguished Welsh antiquarians, grammarians, and poets such as Iolo Morganw ('Edward Williams, the bard of Glamorgan'), Robin Ddu o Fôn, and Siôn Ceiriog. [17] A mix of freethinkers, Radicals, French Revolution sympathisers, and Unitarians, the group were all fiercely patriotic and nationalistic, and sought to uncover and revive the ancient traditions of Wales, which they believed dated back to the days of the Britons, Celts, and Druids.[18] The opening

[14] Emrys Jones, 'Victorian Heyday' in *The Welsh in London 1500-2000*, ed. Emrys Jones (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001), pp. 114, 115.
[15] W. Owen Pughe, *A National Dictionary of the Welsh Language with English and Welsh Equivalents*, ed. Robert John Pryse (Denbigh: Thomas Gee, 1866), p. v.
[16] Emrys Jones, 'The Age of Societies' in *The Welsh in London 1500-2000* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001), p. 75.
[17] Pughe, *National Dictionary of the Welsh Language*, p. v.
[18] Marion Löffler, *Welsh Responses to the French Revolution: Press and Public Discourse, 1789-1802* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012); Ffion Mair Jones, *Welsh Correspondence of the French Revolution, 1789-1802* (Aberystwyth: University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, 2018).

remarks of W. Owen Pughe's Dictionary outline the motivations behind the resurgence of Welsh scholarship among these London-Welsh:

> Every one feels that partiality for his native country so distinctly working in his breast, as to require no kind of argument for its existence; but it probably assumes a more active sway over the mind of a people, whom the revolutions of the world have deprived of independency, and whose name appears on the verge of oblivion among the nations, who, in their turn, are rising to pre-eminence.[19]

This statement places Pughe's work (and other Welsh scholars within the Gwyneddigion Society) within the broad movement of Romantic Nationalist scholarship, which sought to delve into the depths of a nation's history in order to uncover its dramatic coming-of-age struggle.

As seen from opening remarks of Pughe's Dictionary, the London-Welsh antiquarians, grammarians, and poets worked during a time of political and international unrest, where nation was rising against nation, and revolutions were frequently altering European boundaries. The turbulent times witnessed the increase of Romanticism and nationalism across the fractured Continent, movements which forged various historicist accounts of nations.[20] These historicist views constructed stylised narratives of the past, and by constructing such histories, Romantic scholars attempted to establish their own national identities and heritages, thus securing them from oblivion among the nations.

Another major Society, driven by similar ideologies and national anxieties, was the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, which, through the efforts and advocacy of Hugh Owen, a native of Anglesey and early pioneer of Welsh higher education, helped establish the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth in 1872.[21] It is significant that Viriamu Jones grew up in London within this context, as he became a significant figure in Welsh education and nationalism and would later give various addresses to the

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[19] Pughe, *National Dictionary of the Welsh Language*, p. iii.
[20] Marion Löffler, *The Literary and Historical Legacy of Iolo Morganwg 1826-1926* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007), p. 1.
[21] R.T. Jenkins and Helen M. Ramage, *A History of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion (1751-1951)* (London: The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1951), p. 174.

Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion in London, speaking on these very themes. His speeches would also capture many of the aspirations of Romantic Nationalism, holding that through national education Wales would finally achieve full-blown maturity. In his speech "The Future Development of the Welsh Educational System," delivered before the Cymmrodorion Society during the National Eisteddfod of 1887, Viriamu Jones stated:

> … Cambria may be old, but her face is not wrinkled, neither is her eye dimmed. The truth is, she has been slumbering through the centuries preserving her youth, and the zenith of her intellectual maturity belongs to the future.[22]

Here the Romantic Nationalist traits of achieving intellectual maturity are plain, as well as the desire to preserve a nation's separate characteristics from being lost into the dustbin of history.

At the time the Jones family moved to London, Camden Town was a middle-class, well-to-do location; however, with increased urbanisation, an influx of a working-class population, the construction of railways, and a subsequent problem of overcrowding, there were signs that the area was changing in its socio-economic make-up.[23] By the 1860s-70s Camden began to lose its well-to-do status, gradually becoming a location of ill-repute, with a brothel built in Union Terrace and prostitution entering 'the leafy Camden Square'.[24] In later life, Viriamu Jones would seek to bring the light of education within this demographic, thus instilling the 'diviner life' into its inhabitants.[25] His goal was to make education more readily available to those, like himself, of the lower middle-class in impoverished circumstances. In his final public address before the Council of the County Borough of Cardiff on October 31, 1900, Viriamu Jones affirmed

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[22] Cardiff University Special Collections, GB 1239 101/9/1/1. UCC/P/L&P/31. John Viriamu Jones, 'The Future Development of the Welsh Educational System', Viriamu Jones papers re. Welsh language, 1885-1901, p. 5.
[23] David Hayes, 'A History of Camden Town 1895–1914', in Helena Bonett, Ysanne Holt, Jennifer Mundy (eds.), *The Camden Town Group in Context*, Tate Research Publication, May 2012, https://www.tate.org.uk/art/research-publications/camden-town-group/david-hayes-a-history-of-camden-town-1895-1914-r1104374, accessed 20 March 2019.
[24] David Hayes, 'A History of Camden Town 1895–1914'.
[25] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 284.

that the University College of Wales, Cardiff, of which he was then Principal, had benefitted the town's inhabitants 'On every ground – intellectual, moral, and material'.[26] This implicit faith in the inherent good of education to both individuals and society would be the keynote of Viriamu Jones' career.

While living here the family were neighbours with the notable Scottish author, Bedford College Professor, and Romantic theologian, George MacDonald.[27] Friend of Lewis Carroll, John Ruskin, Robert Browning, and other distinguished writers,[28] and himself the author of several fantasy novels and heterodox collections of sermons, George MacDonald had a considerable influence upon Thomas Jones' preaching, as shall be explored further below. After three years of successful ministry at Albany Chapel, Thomas Jones 'removed to the larger and more commodious church called Bedford Chapel, at Charrington Street, N. W.' where the family would remain until 1869.[29] Over the time of his ministry Thomas Jones made the decision to relinquish the Welsh language. J. Vyrnwy Morgan notes that Thomas Jones:

> was greater in English than he ever was in Welsh, and that partly owing to the fact that he had broken with the vernacular. When asked to explain why he was no longer as effective in Welsh as he used to be, he replied that he had come to the conclusion that he could not retain his power in the English pulpit if he continued to preach also in Welsh. He then decided to abandon Welsh entirely.[30]

Thomas Jones' decision was not unusual among Welsh preachers at this time, particularly those within London. It also fitted within his long-term scheme to move the family up the social ladder. To reach and converse among the culturally 'sophisticated' in

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[26] Gwyn Jones; Michael Quinn, *Fountains of Praise: University College, Cardiff 1883-1983* (Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press, 1983), p. 52.
[27] Edward Bagnall Poulton, *Viriamu Jones and Other Oxford Memories* (London: Longmans, Green, and CO., 1911), p. 16.
[28] Glenn Edward Sadler, *An Expression of Character: The Letters of George MacDonald* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1994).
[29] Thomas Jones, *The Divine Order and Other Sermons and Addresses* (London: WM. Isbister Limited, 1884), p. vi.
[30] J. Vyrnwy Morgan, *A Study in Nationality* (London: Chapman & Hall Limited, 1912), p. 323.

London, he chose to speak their language. To speak in Welsh would limit Jones' reach within London society. This decision had a major impact upon Viriamu Jones' sense of national identity, as he grew up without the ability to speak Welsh. In later life he recalled:

> During the interval of absence from Wales between the ages of three and thirteen, a great misfortune befell me. It was this: I was translated to the modern Babylon, hung up my harp in the willows, and forgot my native tongue; since returning to Wales and being present at an Eisteddfod, I came to the conclusion that of all the most benighted persons to be found, one of the worst is a Welshman who did not know his own language. Therefore I set myself to work and look forward to the time when I shall not speak in English but in Welsh.[31]

This loss of ability to speak Welsh later had serious implications in his efforts to establish a system of higher education in Wales. It also informed his particular expression of Welsh nationalistic sentiments. These themes will be explored further in a later chapter.

While preaching at Bedford Chapel it was noted that Thomas Jones' ministry had a power and influence 'over the thoughtful, the scholarly, [and] the refined':

> When he preached in London there might be seen in his congregation, as frequent if not habitual hearers, a professor well known for his erudition and critical acumen; a poet of subtle thought, opulent imagination, despotic of the English tongue; an artist whose name will rank among the masters of this century; here and there a representative of the literary and scientific classes, preachers of all denominations, mixing with those of the ordinary congregation who had less pretensions to culture or high attainments, and all made one in thought and feeling for the time by the enchantment of his words.[32]

Thomas Jones' decision to speak exclusively in English had had its desired effect, as he now had the ear of the leading lights of English culture. The family were now networking among the higher stratum of English middle-class culture, the epitome of bourgeois

[31] Katharine Jones, *Life*, pp. 297-8.
[32] 'FUNERAL OF REV. THOMAS JONES', *The Cambrian*, July 7, 1882.

sophistication. Viriamu Jones would later adopt his father's ability to network among various classes of people.

Among Thomas Jones' congregation, the 'poet subtle of thought' was Robert Browning. Browning wrote of his attendance at Bedford Chapel in the preface to a posthumous anthology of Thomas Jones' sermons, *The Divine Order*. He writes that he was impressed by the 'liberal humanity of the religionist' believing he had the characteristics of 'a younger Carlyle'.[33] Maisie Ward, a Browning biographer, makes the interesting claim that while attending Bedford Chapel 'Browning must certainly have talked over with [Thomas] Jones the ideas in *Essays and Reviews*', a controversial religious volume written by seven Anglican clergy questioning many aspects of Evangelical Christianity, and advocating the German Higher Criticism of the Bible.[34] This suggests that Bedford Chapel under Thomas Jones was a place of theological discussion and innovation, going beyond the confines of Evangelicalism.

Robert Browning also had frequent correspondence with the controversial Oxford scholar and theologian, Benjamin Jowett, a contributor to *Essays and Reviews*. The two men had a close friendship, as is evident from the following letter written by Jowett in 1865:

> I thought I was getting too old to make new friends. But I believe I have made one – Mr. Robert Browning, the poet, who has been staying with me during the last few days. It is impossible to speak without enthusiasm of his open, generous nature and his great ability and knowledge. I had no idea that there was a perfectly sensible poet in the world, entirely free from vanity, jealousy, or any other littleness, and thinking no more of himself than if he were an ordinary man. His great energy is very remarkable, and his determination to make the most of the remainder of life. Of personal objects he seems to have none except the education of his son, in which I hope in some degree to help him.[35]

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[33] Thomas Jones, *The Divine Order and Other Sermons and Addresses* (London: WM. Isbister Limited, 1884), pp. xii, xiii.
[34] Maisie Ward, *Robert Browning and His World. 2, Two Robert Brownings?* (London: Cassell, 1969), p. 18.
[35] Abbott & Campbell, *Life of Jowett*, i, pp. 400-401.

Browning would often visit Jowett in his accommodations in Balliol College, Oxford, and it is very probable that this friendship led to Browning gaining an Honorary Fellowship in Balliol in 1868.[36] This link to Balliol College and Benjamin Jowett would prove very important to Viriamu later in his life.

The fact that Browning had close links with Balliol College in the 1860s is also of great significance, as it was during this time that the philosophical school of British Idealism was forming within the College. The Idealist school in Oxford held poetry in high regard. W.J. Mander refers to the 'Literary influence on Idealism,' noting how the Idealists believed that 'the matters with which philosophy dealt with were ones which could legitimately be approached from more than one angle'.[37] The Idealists therefore took the statements of the poets very seriously, and carefully studied them in order to gain fresh philosophical insights. Therefore, Mander writes, the poetry of 'Dante, Wordsworth, Coleridge, *Browning*, and Tennyson,' was of philosophical importance to the Oxford Idealists.[38] Key Idealists like Jowett, T.H. Green, Sir Henry Jones, and J.S. Mackenzie were all admirers of the poetry of Browning, Sir Henry Jones even publishing a monograph on his ideas in 1891 entitled *Browning as a Philosophical and Religious Teacher*.[39] As the Idealists took on the insights of Browning, so too Browning's poetry incorporated the anti-utilitarian insights of the Idealists. Browning's connections with philosophical Idealism did not go unnoticed by critics and scholars during his lifetime. In 1882 John Bury of Trinity College, Dublin, noted that if Browning 'was a philosopher proper he would have been a Hegelian'.[40] Thus, during his youth Viriamu Jones was exposed to the doctrines of Idealism which would later become a defining feature of his life.

The identity of 'the professor well known for his erudition and critical acumen' is most certainly Bedford College's Professor of English Literature, George MacDonald.

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[36] Esther Phoebe Defries, *A Browning Primer* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1895) p. 4.
[37] Mander, *British Idealism: A History*, p. 24.
[38] Mander, *British Idealism: A History*, p. 24. Italics added.
[39] Henry Jones, *Browning as a Philosophical and Religious Teacher* (Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons, 1891).
[40] John Bury, 'Browning's Philosophy', in *Browning Studies, being Selected Papers by Members of the Browning Society*, ed. Edward Berdoe (London: George Allen, 1895), p. 39.

Thomas Jones and George MacDonald were close neighbours, both living on Albert Street, Regent's Park. The following incident, as recollected by Viriamu Jones' sister in later years, shows that the two households had a level of familiarity with each other:

> When we lived at Albert Street, Regent's Park, George Macdonald [sic], whose house was lower down on the other side, told my father an amusing story of Vir [Viriamu Jones]. One day he saw him, then a boy of five or six, come out of the house of the lady to whom we children went every day for a reading-lesson, then go boldly up to a man who was leading a donkey, and hold an earnest conversation with him. The next moment Vir was seated on the creature's back, riding proudly up the street. Fearing he might be stolen, Mr. Macdonald [sic] watched until Vir dismounted at his father's door. When questioned afterwards he said, 'I gave him a penny.' It was his weekly pocket-money: the days of spoiling children had not come.[41]

The two men would most probably have been drawn together by their strikingly similar intellectual and theological temperaments, regardless of the proximity of their home addresses. The two had both encountered opposition and difficulty for their unorthodox beliefs. Jones had previously been expelled from the Calvinistic Methodist congregation for questioning doctrines 'concerning the Atonement and the Work of the Spirit', and as a result was seen by some as being 'worse than an infidel'.[42] The Calvinistic Methodists had based their Confession of Faith upon the writings of the sixteenth century Reformer John Calvin,[43] one of the key aspects of Calvin's theology being "limited Atonement". This doctrine, expounded by Calvin in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, stated that the benefits of Christ's death would only be applied to a certain number of people. In rejecting this doctrine Jones' place within the denomination was untenable. After this rejection Jones joined the Congregationalist, where his more liberal views were accepted, and was later to occupy 'the chair of the Congregational Union of England and

[41] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 13.
[42] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 4.
[43] Edward Griffiths, *The Presbyterian Church of Wales (Calvinistic Methodist) Historical Handbook 1735-1905* (Wrexham: Hughes & Sons, Printers, 1905), p. 2.

Wales in 1871-72, and that of the Congregational Union in Victoria in 1877-8'.[44] Similarly MacDonald had been forced to resign his pastorate of 'a dissenting chapel in Arundel' on the suspicion that his doctrine was 'tainted with German theology'.[45]

Theologically Jones and MacDonald were universalist, believing that all humanity and creation would be redeemed by God. One woman who heard Thomas Jones preach while in Melbourne, Australia, wrote of his 'intense love for humanity', his 'broad and hopeful views on the subject of everlasting punishment', and his belief that 'somehow good will be the final goal of ill'.[46] Jones' universalism caused him to be accused of heresy by other congregations, as his wife records:

> Some people believed Mr. Jones to be rather heretical in his teaching; but those who worshipped with him knew that his Gospel was one of love, that God was love, that religion was love. This was the religion of the Bible, and met the wants and necessities of the human soul.[47]

Thomas Jones gave the following response to charges of heresy:

> I have preached to you Christ as the Son of man, as well as the Son of God, God manifested in the flesh, Christ the king of men, the Lord of the soul, the Saviour of sinners – that is the Christ which I hope will hold you and me in His loving embrace. If that is heresy, I should very much like to know what orthodoxy is![48]

Typical of universalist thought, Jones and MacDonald held little regard for formal creeds and systems, believing that the high truths of God could only be known by existential

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[44] Thomas Jones, *The Divine Order and Other Sermons and Addresses* (London: WM. Isbister Limited, 1884), p. vii.
[45] George MacDonald, *An Anthology*, ed. C. S. Lewis (London: WilliamCollins, 2016), p. xxvii.
[46] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 22.
[47] Thomas Jones, *Lyric Thoughts of the Late Thomas Jones, the Poet Preacher* (London: James Clarke & Co., 1886), p. 12.
[48] Thomas Jones, *Lyric Thoughts,* pp. 12-13.

experience and not by formal proposition.[49] Similarly, MacDonald wrote to his father that 'we are far too anxious to be definite and to have finished, well polished, sharp-edged *systems* … I am neither Arminian nor Calvinist. To no system would I subscribe'.[50] Viriamu Jones would later share in these broad theological sentiments, caring little for formal creeds and instead cultivating an attitude of general benevolence. Rev. J. Williamson, the pastor of the Congregational church in Cardiff where Viriamu Jones regularly attended, would say of him at his funeral:

> Christianity was to him not a set of propositions, but a life of love and spiritual power. He had himself looked upon the face of God and knew Him; he had learned the truth that –
>
> "God is love indeed
> And love creation's final law."[51]

These shared religious views of Jones and MacDonald place them firmly within the theological movement of Romanticism. This movement originated in German poetry in the late eighteenth century (championed by Goethe, Heine, and Novalis), and, due to improvements in the communication and transportation of ideas in the eighteenth century, was imported to Britain in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, and advocated by the British Romantics such as Samuel Taylor Coleridge, William Wordsworth, and Elizabeth Barrett Browning.[52]

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[49] Thomas Jones, *The Divine Order and Other Sermons and Addresses* (London: WM. Isbister Limited, 1884), p. 92. Jones elaborates this position in a sermon entitled "The Inspiration of Scripture": "Religious truths reduced to a system reminds us of an artificial plantation in which shrubs and trees are arranged and cut according to man's idea of order and harmony; but the Scriptures resemble a summer landscape, where you behold the swaying of the forest and the waving of corn-fields, where you hear the murmur of brooks, the bleating of flocks, the songs of birds, and the play of the wind among the leafy branches…." (p. 92).
[50] Greville MacDonald, *George MacDonald and His Wife* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1924), p. 155.
[51] Glamorgan Archive, DUCAH/32. Rev. J. Williamson, 'Memorial Service for the late Principal J. Viriamu Jones, F.R.S.' (Cardiff: Western Mail, Limited, 1901), p. 12.
[52] *Romanticism: An Anthology* [Fourth Ed.], ed. Duncan Wu (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 2012).

Romanticism rebelled against the rationalism of the previous century and appealed instead to human experience, subjectivity, and mysteries.[53] Both Thomas Jones and George MacDonald were avid readers of Romantic literature (MacDonald translated the 'Spiritual Songs of Novalis' in 1876)[54] and its influence on their preaching and theology is evident. Their sermons brim with references to Nature and *feelings* (both clear Romantic traits) steering clear of doctrinal certainty and focusing on the enigmatic and wondrous. Jones preached that the Church's desire to 'take the infinite truth of God, and divide it into a number of theological propositions' was 'just as reasonable as if you passed new measures for regulating the ocean tides, preventing atmospheric storms, guiding the lightning in its wild career, or reducing the velocity of the planets'.[55] MacDonald's writings and Robert Browning's poetry also appealed to the 'Divine mystery', advocating the belief that 'spiritual life needs uncertainty to develop it, and forbids any sense of finality'.[56]

Finally, Thomas Jones' sermons showed a Romantic attitude toward history. Above it was noted that Romantic Nationalism, then in vogue among the London-Welsh, sought to delve into the depths of a nation's history to uncover its dramatic coming-of-age struggle. This struggle was reflected on an individual, national, and global scale. History was interpreted as a single continuous story of development and progress. All these themes are evident in Thomas Jones' 1878 address to the Congregational Union and Mission of Victoria:

> The future shall be more glorious than the past. […] turn now to the future – the future, the glorious future! – to the world of prophecy, the glorious world of prophecy! Look! Ignorance, with its contracted brow, and brute unconscious gaze, is not to be seen. […] Knowledge is there, radiant with smiles of light. […] The heavens are opened, and the benedictions of the Infinite God are falling upon a reclaimed world.[57]

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[53] McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1997), p. 96.
[54] George MacDonald, *An Anthology*, p. 180.
[55] Thomas Jones, *Lyric Thoughts*, pp. 87, 88.
[56] Defries, *A Browning Primer*, p. 6.
[57] Thomas Jones, *The Divine Order*, pp. 121, 122.

In later years his son John Viriamu Jones would interpret the educational movements in Wales in similar Romantic historicist terms.

Romanticism and Idealism clearly had a strong influence in Bedford Chapel, with much theological speculation taking place. It was the goal of men like Robert Browning, Thomas Jones, and George MacDonald, as well as many others, to counteract 'the laissez-faire and simplified scientism of the time'.[58] For them spiritual realities were more real than physical realities, as the following extract from Thomas Jones' sermon shows:

> The universe is more wonderful than we think. Outside this thin coating of matter – if there be matter – beyond this veil which we call material, there is a spiritual universe […] exerting a mysterious influence upon the spirit of man.[59]

Their resistance to materialistic reductionism profoundly influenced Viriamu Jones in later life. He grew up appreciating the profound mysteries of reality, maintaining a healthy 'suspicion of clear cut solutions, often a product of over specialisation'.[60] For instance, when Jones studied at Oxford, Edward Poulton records that he had little time for the 'recent materialistic conception of the origin of life,' and recalled him saying, 'to say that jumping molecules made it – why he's a fool to say that. *Made* the flowers […] and the singing of birds and the eye. He's a fool: I say it: he's a fool'.[61] Viriamu Jones' familiarity with Romanticism and the Brownings from childhood made him particularly susceptible to the philosophical Idealism he was later to encounter at Oxford under Benjamin Jowett and T.H. Green, as Idealism shared the Romantic antipathy to materialism, reductionism, and utilitarianism.

Drawing on all his Romantic eloquence, Thomas Jones would paint vivid pastoral pictures of life in Wales. William Dorling refers to Jones' word-paintings in *Great Modern Preachers: Sketches and Criticisms*, published in 1875:

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[58] Masterman, *J. Viriamu Jones*, p. 14.
[59] Thomas Jones, *Lyric Thoughts*, p. 90.
[60] Masterman, *J. Viriamu Jones*, p. 13.
[61] Edward Bagnall Poulton, *John Viriamu Jones and Other Oxford Memories*, p. 82.

> He is possessed with a warm admiration, amounting to reverence, for his own land and its religious traditions. By these he is so strongly possessed that sometimes he soars above his own ordinary eloquence, as he recalls the memories of the great times of yore. None who heard him at Swansea, in 1871 [a Congregational Union Autumnal Meeting][62] can forget the emotion which rained down from the galleries of the chapel, and the mist of feeling which rose from the area, as he touched those tenderest chords of true popular feeling which pass through all we think and feel of home and fatherland. The walls were filled with pictures – the pulpit became a stage. The drama of Welsh life and history was played out before us.[63]

These romanticised pictures of rural life in Wales were later emulated by Viriamu Jones in his public addresses. Speaking on the growing educational desires of the Welsh in an 1896 address he said:

> in Wales there have been, I think, certain special causes contributing to a warmer glow of educational aspiration. The religious revival of a hundred years ago was an awakening of national life. It developed a spiritual life that found a natural outcome in a real reverence for knowledge, a reverence that penetrated to the humblest homes; and many and pathetic are the records of noble self-sacrifice on the part of Welsh parents to secure for their sons this gift of knowledge at a time when it was hard to reach, by reason of the absence of educational opportunity in their country.[64]

A broad variety of personalities went to Bedford Chapel, including the 'learned …, painters, artists, and sculptors', as well as poets and literary critics.[65] As one congregant notes, 'All sorts and conditions of men and women worshipped with Thomas Jones at Bedford Chapel. A great friend, and brother minister, called the church a "Noah's Ark."'[66] The comparison of the congregation to a Noah's Ark is apt, as the Chapel contained an intellectual and social cross-section of the northwest London area at the

[62] Thomas Jones, *The Divine Order*, p. 331.
[63] William Dorling, *Great Modern Preachers: Sketches and Criticisms* (London: James Clarke & Co., 1875), p. 47.
[64] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 374.
[65] Thomas Jones, *Lyric Thoughts*, p. 8.
[66] Thomas Jones, *Lyric Thoughts*, p. 6.

time. Both Browning and MacDonald interacted with incredibly varied intellectual circles within London, including such artists, authors, bohemians, poets, and theologians as Matthew Arnold, Thomas Carlyle, George Eliot, Benjamin Jowett, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, John Ruskin, Algernon Swinburne, Alfred Lord Tennyson, and Francis Turner Palgrave.[67] This group represented a variety of conflicting philosophies and opinions, including agnosticism, atheism, Pre-Raphaelitism, Romanticism, and Idealism. Through Browning and MacDonald, Thomas Jones would have been acquainted with these people, and may well have seen some of them in his Chapel.

Thomas Jones' connection with these individuals established the family's social standing among the refined and well-to-do middle-class. Thomas Jones made every effort to forge for himself a cultured and bookish identity. In the National Museum of Wales there is 70 cm marble bust of Thomas Jones by the sculptor Henry Stormonth Leifchild (another of Jones' "refined" congregants), which stylises Jones as a Greek sage.[68] News of Jones' eloquent and intellectually engaged ministry gradually spread throughout the metropolis, drawing the attention of the wider public. Before long Jones had become something of a celebrity. In 1860 he had his portrait taken by the commercial photographers Maull & Polybank, known for their *Photographic Portraits of Living Celebrities* series including notable figures such as Charles Darwin, W. E. Gladstone, and Thomas Huxley.[69]

As a young man Viriamu Jones attempted to emulate his father's bookish and broad-minded image. To achieve this he joined learned clubs and societies such as the Cardiff branch of the Browning Society (originally founded in London, 1881, in honour of the poet) which welcomed into its membership 'Christians, both Protestant and Catholic, atheists, agnostics, and indifferents'.[70] Later, as principal of the pioneering University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire in 1883, he would include in its

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[67] Gwenllian F. Palgrave, *Francis Turner Palgrave: His Journals and Memories of His Life* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1899), pp. 51, 57, 83.
[68] National Museum of Wales. Accession Number: NMW A 2989. Henry Storment [sic] Leifchild, 'Reverend Thomas Jones (1819-1882)'.
[69] National Portrait Gallery, 'Maull & Polyblank (active 1854-1865)': https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person?LinkID=mp07300&wPage=7
[70] Edward Berdoe, *Browning Studies, being Selected Papers by Members of the Browning Society* (London: George Allen, 1895), p. x.

teaching staff suffragists such as H. Millicent Hughes (later Prof Millicent Mackenzie), Theosophists such as J.S. Mackenzie, and a professor who was active member of the National Secular Society.[71] This eclectic mix of individuals within the College's teaching staff reflected Viriamu's conviction that the Institution was to be 'undenominational,' and its 'appointments made on purely academic grounds'.[72] Viriamu's ability to mix with and join people of contrasting opinions reflected his father's ability to draw together a large and varied congregation. It was this all-inclusive attitude of Viriamu Jones which proved most beneficial in his efforts to create a national education in Wales.

Reflecting this varied congregation, Thomas Jones brought up his family to think for themselves, to discuss all subjects, and to carefully consider every position. One can surmise that Jones' family library brimmed with books ranging from literature to theology (certainly including Browning and MacDonald) as is implied in the above quote and the following extract from Thomas Jones' sermon:

> I cannot live on the literature of Puritans, their simple theologic orthodoxy does not feed my soul. Books of devotion are good in their place, and I have one book of devotion which I use frequently; but only a part of that. I must read what great and learned men are saying and thinking.[73]

Access to such broad reading will have prepared Viriamu Jones' mind for his later academic career, and particularly for the Idealism he would encounter at Balliol College, Oxford. This quotation also displayed Thomas Jones' preference for the 'great and learned' English writers and theologians, such as the Matthew and Thomas Arnold, and the contributors to *Essays and Reviews* such as Benjamin Jowett and Arthur Stanley, over what he considered the 'simple theologic orthodoxy' of the Puritan inspired Welsh Methodism of Daniel Rowlands, Howell Harris, William Williams, and Christmas Evans.[74] Within Wales, particularly amongst the Calvinistic Methodists, the writings of English authors and theologians was highly suspect. It was held that English books infected

[71] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 126.
[72] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 126.
[73] Thomas Jones, *Lyric Thoughts*, p. 69.
[74] Edward Griffiths, *The Presbyterian Church of Wales (Calvinistic Methodist) Historical Handbook 1735-1905* (Wrexham: Hughes & Sons, Printers, 1905).

Welsh readers with atheism, heterodoxy, immorality, and worldliness. In their 1895 book *Y Tadau Methodistaidd* John Morgan Jones and William Morgan wrote of the following on the state of Wales before the Methodist Revivals in the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth century, '*Cymaint o lenyddiaeth yn adlewyrchu syniadau y dydd ag a ddarllenid, deuai o Loegr, ac yr oedd ei ddylanwad fel gwynt heintus yn deifio pob blodeuyn prydferth a theg yr olwg arno*'.[75] ['All the literature that was read and that reflected the thought of the age, came from England, and its influence was a diseased wind, affecting every fair and beautiful flower it touched upon'.][76]

Viriamu Jones was therefore raised upon an intellectual diet of middle-class English culture and literature, and as he grew up, he soon achieved an impressive record of academic success, particularly in Physics and Mathematics. In 1870 the Jones family moved back to Swansea, where Thomas Jones took up another pastorate at Walter-street Congregational Chapel.[77] According to the 1871 Wales census the family lived at Heathfield, and Viriamu Jones is registered as a 15-year-old Scholar.[78] According to Katharine Jones, Viriamu Jones studied 'for two years at Normal College, Swansea', where he succeeded at becoming 'the first of five hundred candidates for the London University Matriculation examination'.[79] His success was recorded in *The Cambrian* on July 19, 1872.[80] That year, aged 16, Viriamu Jones moved back to London and entered the University College of London. Again, Katharine Jones records, 'his three years' residence with his brother Brynmor in London lodgings which followed was not good for his health. Never robust, he contracted the habit of overwork which led to much physical suffering in later years'.[81] Here he specialised in natural philosophy, and was

[75] John Morgan Jones a William Morgan, *Y Tadau Methodistaidd*, Cyfrol I (Abertawe: Argraffwyd Gan Lewis Evans, 1895), p. 4.
[76] John Morgan Jones & William Morgan, *The Calvinistic Methodist Fathers of Wales*, Vol. I, trans. John Aaron (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 2008.
[77] *The Cambrian*, July 19, 1872.
[78] 'John V. Jones' (1871). *Census return for Heathfield, Swansea*. Public Record Office: RG10/5453, folio 65, p.3 (1871). Available at http://www.ancestry.co.uk (Accessed 2 July 2021).
[79] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 15.
[80] *The Cambrian*, July 19, 1872.
[81] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 15.

taught by naturalists such as 'Tyndall, Clerk Maxwell, Clifton, etc'.[82] The local Welsh newspapers made record of his academic successes at London in 1874 and 1875.[83]

The University College had been known as 'the godless institution' because of its lack of religious instruction, its secular teaching, and that its staff consisted of many professed agnostics and deists. In a letter to his sister in 1873 Jones writes:

> I have begun Zoology too, and like it exceedingly. Grant [Robert Edmond Grant] is an old man of 75 or 80; and he looks on man simply as an animal, and on his mind, as far as I can see from his lectures, simply as the result of his organization: he seems indeed to regard life altogether as simply resulting from the way in which the molecules of the elements are aggregated together in order to produce the body.[84]

Here it is evident that Jones received a predominantly *materialist* education while in London. This naturalistic education would influence his scientific career later in life, as he would go on to become President of the Cardiff Naturalists' Society in 1886, and then a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1894. This was to change drastically, however, as in 1874 he attained a Scholarship to study at Balliol College at Oxford.

This survey of Viriamu Jones' early life and education show that his family upbringing had begun on the lower rims of the middling classes, barely passing the working-class threshold. However, through his father's upward social ambitions, his eloquent preaching, and his networking among the "distinguished" and "refined" members of London society, by the time Viriamu Jones left his family home he was firmly established among the middle classes. However, the downward pull of the family's humble origins is attested to in the fact that Jones required a Scholarship to enter Balliol College. This upbringing was crucial for his time at Balliol, as it was this background which would naturally draw his attention to the burgeoning philosophical school of Idealism which consisted of men of his social makeup.

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[82] Poulton, *Viriamu Jones and Other Oxford Memories*, p. 28.
[83] *The Cambrian*, July 3, 1874; *South Wales Daily News*, December 11, 1875.
[84] Poulton, *Viriamu Jones and Other Oxford Memories*, p. 28.

Viriamu Jones and Idealism at Balliol College

When Viriamu entered Balliol College in 1874, it was the intellectual hub for German Idealism in Britain. The Oxford scholars and tutors Benjamin Jowett and Arthur Stanley had travelled over to Germany twice in the years 1844 and 1845 in order to meet the 'the many distinguished men, especially the theologians and scholars'. Jowett was dissatisfied with the condition of Established Christianity in England and was opposed to the doctrinal tests which were then set in Oxford University to maintain religious orthodoxy. Finding sympathy among other scholars in Balliol College (including Arthur Stanley and Frederick Temple) the group 'were engaged in nothing less than a reconstruction of theology'.[85] His disillusionment with many of the British clergy and theologians was in the fact that they 'appeared to think it possible to keep knowledge at one level in England, when it had reached another in Germany'.[86] One German thinker who held particular prominence among these Oxford scholars was G.W.F. Hegel.

Jowett was a commanding and formidable figure within Balliol College who easily took, and not infrequently gave, offence. In 1870 he became Master of the College, a position he held until his death in 1892. His domineering character is humorously captured in a quatrain composed by the students:

My name is Benjamin Jowett,
All that can be known, I know it;
I am the master of this College,
What I don't know isn't knowledge.[87]

As a tutor, and later as Master, of the College, Jowett introduced many students to German philosophy and Hegelian thought. He formed 'a little inner circle' of students with whom he would have a 'peculiarly intimate' relationship, training and conversing with them in a Socratic style, which to those outside was 'designated a sort of "Jowett-

[85] Hinchliff, *Benjamin Jowett and the Christian Religion*, p. 31.
[86] Abbott & Campbell, *Life of Jowett*, ii, p. 260.
[87] University College of Wales Magazine: Vol. IV, p. 81.

worship"'.[88] Among these students was T. C. Sandars,[89] who in 1855 published an essay on Hegel's *Philosophy of Right* as part of a collection entitled *Oxford Essays*.[90] This essay was, according to Peter Robbins, 'the first serious study of Hegel's political philosophy in English'.[91] It was also the first significant attempt to properly understand Hegel's wider philosophy in English, as previously Hegel's thought had been summarily dismissed by English writers like J. D. Morell and G. H. Lewes as being 'a verbal juggler' and 'totally untenable'.[92] Another student was Thomas Hill Green, whom Jowett came to regard as 'one of his best and dearest friends'.[93] Green became fascinated in German philosophy, also making his own notes and translations of Hegel's texts.[94] Green later became the Professor of Moral Philosophy in Oxford, thus further strengthening the influence of German thought in Oxford. By the 1880s German philosophy had reached its high-water mark in Oxford, as is evident in a letter from Jowett to Lord Arthur Russell, expressing gratitude for his gift of a bust of Hegel:

'*December 2, 1884.*

> 'We shall be delighted to accept your gift of Hegel. And indeed I think that the Library at Balliol is not an inappropriate place for him. It is more than forty years since I began to

[88] Abbott & Campbell, *Life of Jowett*, i, p. 126.
[89] Thomas Collett Sandars (1825-1894). "Eldest child of Samuel Sandars of Lochnere, near Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire. […] He matriculated at Balliol College, Oxford, on 30 Nov. 1843, was a scholar from 1843 to 1849, graduated B.A. in 1848 […], became fellow of Oriel in 1849, and proceeded M.A. in 1851. He was called to the bar in 1851, and was reader of constitutional law and history to the inns of court from 1865 to 1873." (William Arthur Jobson Archbold, "Sandars, Thomas Collett", *Dictionary of National Biography, 1885-1900, Volume 50*).
[90] T. C. Sandars, "Hegel's Philosophy of Right", in *Oxford Essays* (London: John W. Parker and Sons, 1855), pp. 213-250.
[91] Peter Robbins, *The British Hegelians 1875-1925* (London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1982), p. 23.
[92] Robbins, *The British Hegelians 1875-1925*, p. 21.
[93] Abbott & Campbell, *Life of Jowett*, ii, p. 192.
[94] [Balliol College Archives & Manuscripts] TH Green 2b.06. Analysis of Hegel. THG's translation of paragraphs 1-163 of Hegel's Philosophische Propädeutik. 6 pp ink with pencil corrections Table of Contents. Thereafter in separate (ink) sections: pp. 7-32; 33-47; 47-53; 53-76; 76-90; 91-120; 120-145; 146-190 (but only goes to 188); then unlabelled pages totalling 9.
TH Green 2b.07. 1 pp ink, draft of Hegel's Philosophie der Religion, paragraphs 78-80.
TH Green 2b.08. 4 pp ink, draft notes/translation of parts of Hegel.

> read his writings, and I think that in those days my mind received a greater stimulus from him than from any one. And though I see that philosophy of that kind is not destined to be permanent, I still retain a great reverence for my old teacher and master. Since those days the flame of Hegelianism has burned brightly in Oxford […], lighted up by Professor Green and Professor Caird.[95]

Jowett also wrote, with a fair amount of accuracy, that the volumes of Hegel 'have been more read in Balliol College than probably anywhere else in England'.[96] It is from Balliol College that the Hegelian school of *British Idealism* was firmly established, and from which it spread out to the other British universities.

Unsurprisingly, it was during his time in Balliol College that Viriamu Jones became influenced by formal philosophical Idealism and Hegelianism, becoming closely acquainted with the Idealist scholars Benjamin Jowett and T.H. Green. Among the Fellows at Balliol were also the Idealists Richard Lewis Nettleship and Andrew Cecil Bradley (the brother of F.H. Bradley).[97] Jones also formed strong bonds with several students who would become prominent Idealist scholars, or at least sympathetic to Idealist principles. These included: C.E. Vaughan (cousin of T.H. Green), W.P. Ker, J.H. Muirhead, D.G. Ritchie, H.R. Reichel, C.H. Firth, and Arnold Toynbee.[98] Again, this group inhabited similar social situations, which consisted either of those making their way up the social ladder to the culturally refined middling-classes, or who had descended to this level from higher social prestige. David Nicholis notes that, under Jowett, this group became 'liberal both in politics and theology,' their theology being both 'anti-dogmatic and vigorously anti-sacerdotal'.[99] Through Jowett's teaching they saw 'outward institutions as liable to divert people from the spiritual centre of religion'.[100] Together

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[95] Abbott & Campbell, *Life of Jowett*, ii, p. 249.
[96] Abbott & Campbell*, Life of Jowett*, ii, p. 250.
[97] *Oxford University Calendar 1877* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1877), p. 229.
[98] Poulton, *Viriamu Jones and Other Oxford Memories*, pp. 283, 285; *Oxford University Calendar 1877* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1877), p. 230; Katharine Jones, *Life* (1915): 'After dinner I am going to pay a call on a married friend of mine here named Arnold Toynbee – an admirable man, not strong but working up to his strength. He is a teacher of Political Economy here – and is earnest enough to try to reform the Church.' p. 43.
[99] David Nicholis, *Deity & Domination: Image of God and the State in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 75.
[100] Nicholis, *Deity & Domination*, p. 76.

these students went on hikes, discussed religion and philosophy, read poetry, attended Chapel, and climbed mountains. Something of Viriamu Jones' student life and lodgings is recounted by E.B. Poulton:

> As a B.A. Vir then lived for a year from Michaelmas Term, 1879, at 10a St. Giles'. E. S. Bird took rooms in the same house, and the two friends had meals together. Two other friends, P. E. Matheson and P. A. Barnett, lived adjoining No. 10, and D.G. Ritchie and A. V. Lazarus lodged in one of the houses for a time. […] The two houses were small and picturesque with their grey roofs of Stonefield slate and their fronts clothed with climbing plants. […] In this quiet and altogether delightful spot Vir's friends used to gather.[101]

From these men, Viriamu Jones would later recruit Vaughan, Ker, and Reichel to assist him in the task of establishing a national education in Wales. Like his father in London, Jones was networking among a particular demographic in Oxford and establishing important contacts. By making these links he was further solidifying the upward social momentum begun by his father. Idealism at Oxford was generally of a Broadchurch, Low Anglican tradition. When Viriamu Jones returned to Wales in 1883, he adapted Oxford Idealism to suit a Welsh Nonconformist setting.

While at Balliol, T.H. Green and Benjamin Jowett became Viriamu Jones' intellectual, political, and religious mentors throughout his student days. He affectionately came to know Benjamin Jowett as 'Old Jowler', and often frequented Green's home, becoming a family friend.[102] These men informed Viriamu's educational, ethical, political and theological thinking, and would have a profound impact on Jones and influence the decisions he made in both his public and personal life. The Idealists taught that the individual's duty was towards the common good of the shared community. Green taught his pupils 'both by word and example the lesson that private interests should be subordinated to public ones'.[103] Evelyn Abbot and Lewis Campbell note that 'it was Jowett's opinion that men should be prepared at a University for the

[101] Poulton, *Viriamu Jones and Other Oxford Memories,* p. 73.
[102] Katharine Jones, *Life*, pp. 20, 66.
[103] Jowett, *Sermons: Biographical and Miscellaneous*, p. 221.

public service, and he never ceased to devote his energies to this end'.[104] To this end Benjamin Jowett tried to mould the young Balliol men into future leaders of Britain and the British Empire. Jowett's rather brutal methods of doing this were recorded by Harry Reichel in his "Oxford Reminiscences":

> He saw that, as society was then organised in Great Britain, these young men were certain to play an important part in politics and diplomacy, and he determined to do what he could to secure that they should enter on these careers with a sound intellectual training and high ideals of public service.
> […]
> … he looked on the men who came under his hands in an entirely impersonal way, as pawns in some great game he was playing for the good of mankind.[105]

With this end in mind Benjamin Jowett regularly preached this dispassionate altruism in his College sermons:

> 'What are we doing for others?' 'What efforts are being made by us for the good of mankind?' In this great progress of civilization, in this corresponding want and misery of large masses of mankind (when the need perhaps is greater than ever before, and the means of help are also greater), are we fulfilling our part, uniting in common efforts to help those who cannot help themselves, to raise the degraded and outcast portion of the population; or are we hindered by our prejudices and divisions [..]?[106]

A key way the Idealists believed they could work for the good of mankind was via education. For Jowett, Green, and the Idealists, education was far more than the acquirement of information or a means towards a fruitful career. They taught that the benefits gained in education were ethical, intellectual, and spiritual. Viriamu Jones imbibed this attitude towards education, writing in a letter while at Oxford to his future

[104] Abbott & Campbell*, Life of Jowett*, ii, p. 141.
[105] Harry Reichel, 'Oxford Reminiscences', in *Sir Harry Reichel: A Memorial Volume*, ed. J.E. Lloyd (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1934), pp. 50, 51.
[106] Jowett, *Sermons: Biographical and Miscellaneous*, p. 266.

wife (and later biographer) Katharine Wills that he needed 'to be kept human and good, and prevented from becoming a one-sided vessel of facts'.[107]

Edward Poulton recalled that Jowett outlined the benefits of education in a sermon he preached in Balliol Chapel from the text 'Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word…':

> Friend sharpening the countenance of friend, the discussion of every subject in the earth and out of it, the life of the Union and of the College Societies of every kind taken seriously, the disappointments endured, the triumphs won – these give a man a broad outlook on life, discipline and control, a resolution that is born afresh from every failure, the determination to give of his best to any cause he may undertake, the power of dealing with other men, of doing great things pleasantly and without friction.[108]

University education was therefore seen as a civilizing influence. Once the students' intellect and morality were elevated and purified, this made them become good citizens. A society with such citizens would naturally and inevitably prosper, thus alleviating the sufferings of humanity.

The theme of social control running through these statements is a significant aspect of Oxford Idealism. It was previously noted that Idealists like Jowett and Arthur Stanley wanted to rid Oxford of its outdated Medieval structures, where positions were reserved for 'sons of country gentlemen and clergymen', and to so reform the University and its Colleges to open it up to a wider demographic, particularly to the impoverished middling classes.[109] It was the young men among these classes, the Idealists believed, who would contribute the most to British society and the Empire. These social guardians would be trained in ethical citizenship and would go on to take on administrative roles in education or government. They would know how to deal with a wide variety of individuals from a variety of social backgrounds and hence could establish and maintain a social cohesion and harmony. The Oxford Idealists sought to create a society and Empire run by the highly educated and culturally refined men of the middling classes.

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[107] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 36.
[108] Poulton, *Viriamu Jones and Other Oxford Memories*, p. 84.
[109] Abbott & Campbell, *Life of Jowett*, i, p. 183.

Elsewhere Jowett and Green explained that this type of education brought one into closer communion with God. Green taught that the 'divine mind touches, modifies, becomes the mind of man'.[110] It logically followed that through the study of the mind of man in education (be it in science, poetry, or philosophy), one acquires a better understanding of the divine mind which modifies it. Jowett's sermons often emphasise the role education plays in broadening and purifying one's mind, will, and character, therefore making one more fit to apprehend and to do the will of God. He states that the 'larger part' of man's nature 'is malleable and mobile, and may be moulded and fashioned by education'.[111] Therefore, through education, one can so condition a person's will that 'they know no other law or rule of life but His will'.[112] In an earlier sermon from 1852 Jowett declares, 'All power of self-improvement must proceed from self-knowledge', and such self-knowledge is only attainable through education.[113] Self-improvement was a key idea of the age with books like Samuel Smiles' *Self-Help* (1859) being the secular Bible of many individuals with upward social ambitions, which sold '20,000 copies within a year of its appearance and surpassed a quarter of a million by the time of Samuel Smiles' death forty-five years later'.[114] British Idealism capitalised on this popular idea by providing the impulse towards self-improvement with a firm philosophical foundation.

Jowett called one with this kind of education a '*philosopher-saint*'.[115] Jowett elaborates what the characteristics of the philosopher-saint were, using Pascal as his model. The philosopher-saint was one who was not trapped within the 'trammels of a conventional theology,' but was rather 'able to raise himself above them into a clearer and purer region'; he was one who 'believes with his whole soul in the unity of truth and goodness,' or in other words, the unity of knowledge and practice.[116] Elsewhere, in a sermon on Bunyan and Spinoza, he describes the philosopher-saint as one who 'would

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[110] T.H. Green, *Two Lay Sermons*, p. 23.
[111] Jowett, *Sermons: Biographical and Miscellaneous*, p. 341.
[112] Jowett, *Sermons: Biographical and Miscellaneous*, p. 338.
[113] Jowett, *Sermons: Biographical and Miscellaneous*, p. 244.
[114] Peter W. Sinnema, 'Introduction' in *Self-Help* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. vii.
[115] Jowett, *Sermons: Biographical and Miscellaneous*, p. 94. Emphasis added.
[116] Jowett*, Sermons: Biographical and Miscellaneous,* p. 98.

no longer separate the physical from the moral, or man from his circumstances,' who 'would cease this foolish antagonism of philosophy and faith, which can hardly be regarded with patience when we reflect on the condition of the suffering masses in our large towns and elsewhere'. Finally, the philosopher-saint was one who considered 'how the life of Christ in the soul may be worked out under the conditions of the nineteenth century – that is to say, how the spirit of Christ may be infused into all knowledge and experience, and include our ordinary avocations and common life'.[117] Viriamu Jones heard Jowett's sermons on the philosopher-saint, and wrote to his fiancée Katharine Wills on February 24, 1881:

> Last Sunday afternoon I heard the Master [Jowett] preach. He preached on the Saint and the Philosopher, and how far they could be combined in one life to-day. Bunyan was his type of Saint, Spinoza of Philosopher – living at the same time, you remember. There was a good deal about them, but too little about the possible combination.[118]

Jones would focus on this possible combination for the rest of his academic, personal, and professional life.

The British Idealists, through this vision of education, sought to create a *social elite* of young men. This is particularly evident in Jowett's practice of forming 'a little inner circle' of students.[119] Linda C. Dowling notes that it was Jowett's intention to train this little inner group to become 'a quasi-Platonic set of guardians'.[120] She further writes:

> Jowett's ambition for an Oxford-trained elite [did not] pause at the nation's boundaries. "I should like to govern the world through my pupils," he once jested to Florence Nightingale, (R. Symonds 24), and by the end of the century Jowett's sally was scarcely an exaggeration. From Cecil Rhodes (Oriel) and Alfred Milner (Balliol) of Africa to George

[117] Jowett*, Sermons: Biographical and Miscellaneous*, p. 59.
[118] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 46.
[119] Abbott & Campbell, *Life of Jowett*, i, p. 126.
[120] Linda C. Dowling, *Hellenism and Homosexuality in Victorian Oxford* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 72.

> Curzon (Balliol) of India and C. H. Pearson (Oriel) of Australia, men from Jowett's college and university had come to preponderate in decisive posts throughout the empire.[121]

To Dowling's list of Jowett's Oxford-trained 'quasi-Platonic set of guardians' can be added John Viriamu Jones.

Jowett and Green's educational ideals with its relations to man's spiritual life, to the common good, and to the formation of the 'philosopher-saint', had a marked influence on John Viriamu Jones. He imbibed the Idealist doctrine that a university education must be put to practical use for the common good of society, as Harry Reichel recalled, 'To him Oxford, though very charming, was not the great world, and he was always preaching that for a full life a man should leave Oxford and throw himself boldly into the larger world'.[122] Green and Jowett could not have said it better themselves.

These influences are evident in his later career as an educationalist, particularly within Wales. His wife records the fervour with which he campaigned for education in Wales:

> His speeches dealt continually with the need of education for the people: that, as individuals, they might by its means attain to their highest standards of spiritual, intellectual, and physical development, and, as members of the community, take part in the creation and realisation of the ideal Christian commonwealth. Inasmuch as education, as he conceived it, could further this end, he felt impelled to use every opportunity to stimulate the interest of his countrymen.[123]

The Idealist influence also informed the *type* of education Viriamu Jones would later espouse. Education was to be holistic and interconnected, training every aspect of the individual. An increase in knowledge resulted in better ethics, and better ethics led to responsible citizenship. Viriamu Jones presented this vision of education in a speech

[121] Dowling, *Hellenism and Homosexuality*, p. 72.
[122] Sir Harry Reichel, 'Oxford Reminiscences', p. 32.
[123] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 291.

before the Council of the County Borough of Cardiff in 1900, a year before his death.[124] In the speech he argued that education improved students and the surrounding community '[o]n every ground – intellectual, moral, and material'.[125]

Another Oxford figure who had a significant impact on Viriamu Jones' educational outlook was John Ruskin. Katharine Jones' biography made note of her husband's regular attendance at Ruskin's lectures at Balliol, reproducing a letter he wrote to his sister in April 1877:

> Have I told you that Ruskin is lecturing here three times a week? He reads most beautifully – his voice is wonderfully musical, full of tenderness, capable at times of the minor cadence of the Welsh – or something very like it.[126]

She also made note of Viriamu Jones' attendance at Ruskin's lectures on 'Landscape Painting: twelve Readings in "Modern Painters"'.[127] Viriamu Jones also wrote to his wife about his thoughts on Ruskin's *Fors Clavigera:*

> *Fors Clavigera* is a series of letters which Mr. Ruskin has been writing to the working man of Sheffield, originally, I think. They are about everything, literature and art and religion, and last but not least Mr. Ruskin himself. He is never so wild as when he writes them, except when he writes to Glasgow students, and yet here and there one comes across very beautiful things.[128]

In a similar vein to the Oxford Idealists Ruskin impressed upon students the need to be socially active and not intellectually reclusive. Ruskin's concern that teaching must have a practical application expressed itself in his concern for the "working men" of the city of London two decades earlier. In the mid-to-late 1850s he gave weekly art classes in the

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[124] Principal Viriamu Jones, 'From the Address to the Council of the County Borough of Cardiff on 31 October 1900', in *Fountains of Praise: University College, Cardiff 1883-1983*, ed. Gwyn Jones & Michael Quinn (Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press, 1983).
[125] Principal Viriamu Jones, 'From the Address to the Council of the County Borough of Cardiff', p. 52.
[126] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 26.
[127] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 38.
[128] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 43.

newly established Working Men's College, founded by the Christian Socialist Rev. F.D. Maurice in 1854, which 'aimed at bringing within the reach of the working-classes the same *kind* of education that the upper classes enjoyed'.[129] The College was situated in Red Lion Square, Camden, which was close to the home of Thomas Jones and George MacDonald.

Ruskin's art classes were applied and down-to-earth, as a former student reminisces:

> Mr Ruskin did not confine his work with the men to mere teaching. He gave the easels for them to work at, and from time to time furnished them with examples for drawing – always trying their powers at first with a round plaster ball pendent from a string, then going on to plaster casts of natural leaves (all of which were paid for by him). Also, he frequently brought drawings by various artists, belonging to him, for the purpose of showing how certain effects were got, *e.g.*, the rounding of a pear by William Hunt.[130]

Another way this applied and down-to-earth attitude manifested itself in Ruskin's teaching was in the construction of "Ruskin Road" while he was Slade Professor at Oxford University. Gathering a group of undergraduates in 1874, Professor Poulton notes that 'Ruskin pleaded for the dignity and delight of useful labour' by constructing a new road in Hincksey.[131] On this project Edward T. Cook records:

> The road which his pupils made is, he has been heard to admit, about the worst in the three kingdoms…. Nevertheless the experiment, even from the point of view of road-making, was by no means barren. An inch of practice is worth a yard of preaching; and Mr. Ruskin's road-digging at Hincksey gave a powerful stimulus to the Gospel of Labour….[132]

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[129] John Ruskin, *The Works of John Ruskin,* Vol. V, ed. E. T. Cook & Alexander Wedderburn (London: George Allen, 1908), p. xxxvii.
[130] Ruskin, *The Works of John Ruskin*, Vol. V, p. xxxix.
[131] Poulton, *Viriamu Jones and Other Oxford Memories*, p. 245.
[132] Edward T. Cook, *Studies in Ruskin* (London: George Allen, 1890), p. 44.

A prominent figure in amongst Ruskin's undergraduate road-diggers was the Balliol student, and friend of Viriamu Jones, Arnold Toynbee. Edward Cook notes Toynbee's dedication to the project, and how he 'rose by his zeal to the rank of foreman'.[133]

Arnold Toynbee was a dedicated disciple of Green and Jowett's Idealism, and was among the select Balliol students whom Jowett 'passed his interest in Hegel on to'.[134] Toynbee would later become an Idealist thinker in his own right, and followed T.H. Green's example in 'giv[ing] himself to civic duties, and tak[ing] up personally the obligations of citizenship, and work[ing] for the poor despised Oxford city'.[135] From this it is evident that the ethical stances of Ruskin and the Idealists were very similar, particularly in their convictions that an 'inch of practice is worth a yard of preaching'.[136] Another commonality between Ruskin and the Idealists was their shared disdain of materialism. Though Ruskin described himself as a student of 'Naturalism,' it is important to note that the term did not then imply a disbelief in the supernatural, but rather expressed an admiration for the natural world and the physical sciences. Ruskin, like the Idealists, rejected worldviews which reduced reality to mechanism and matter. This is evident in his contempt of Darwin's evolutionary theory, of which he writes in a letter dated May 24, 1886:

> It is mischievous, not only in looking to the past germ instead of the present creature, - but looking in the creature itself – to the Growth of the Flesh instead of the Breath of the Spirit. The loss of mere happiness, in such modes of thought, is incalculable. When I see a girl dance, I thank Heaven that made her cheerful as well as graceful; and envy neither the science nor sentiment of my Darwinian friend, who sees in her only a cross between a Dodo and a Daddy-long-legs.[137]

This sentiment is very similar to those of the Oxford Idealists, who believed that reality must be interpreted in spiritual terms as opposed to material and mechanical terms. For

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[133] Cook, *Studies in Ruskin*, p. 45.
[134] Mander, *British Idealism: A History*, p. 31.
[135] Quotation taken from S.C. Carpenter, *The Church and People 1789-1889: Part Three* (London: S.P.C.K, 1959), pp. 484.
[136] Cook, *Studies in Ruskin*, p. 45.
[137] John Ruskin, *The Works of John Ruskin,* Vol. XXXIV, ed. E. T. Cook & Alexander Wedderburn (London: George Allen, 1908), p. 596.

instance, the Idealist Edward Caird argued that, 'we must not only deny that matter can explain spirit, but we must say that even matter itself cannot be fully understood, except as an element in a spiritual world'.[138] Similarly, the Idealist and friend of Viriamu Jones D.G. Ritchie states that 'the true nature of a thing is to be found, not in its origin, but in its end'.[139] Both Ruskin and the Idealists therefore interpreted reality according, in Ruskin's own phraseology, to the 'Breath of the Spirit,' rather than the 'Growth of the Flesh'. All these ideas had a strong influence on Viriamu Jones' later life and career. When Viriamu Jones became the Principal of Firth College at Sheffield he breakfasted with Ruskin on July 20, 1882. Katharine Jones notes that 'Viriamu always spoke with great pleasure and enjoyment of this meeting'.[140]

Firth College

When Jones had completed his studies in Oxford he went on, in 1881, with the blessing and encouragement of Professors Green and Jowett, to become the Principal of Firth College, Sheffield. This marked the beginning of Viriamu's incredible public career, which would be fuelled by the liberal teachings he had received from his father in London, and the formal training at Balliol.

Firth College was a budding educational institution built with the express purpose of educating the lower classes and disseminating university education. Such endeavours in education were highly commended by the Idealists, Professor T.H. Green himself being one of the 'representatives of the University of Oxford on the Council of Firth College'.[141] A similar effort was undertaken in Sheffield by John Ruskin, who in 1875 purchased 'a small stone-built cottage situated on Bell Hagg Road in Walkley' for

[138] Edward Caird, as quoted by David Boucher & Andrew in *A Radical Hegelian: The Political and Social Philosophy of Henry Jones* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993), p. 66.
[139] D.G. Ritchie, as quoted by David Boucher & Andrew in *A Radical Hegelian: The Political and Social Philosophy of Henry Jones* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993), p. 66.
[140] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 78.
[141] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 50.

£600.[142] The cottage was transformed into the Ruskin Museum which opened its doors to the public in 1880. Ruskin explained that the Museum was built expressly for the Artisans and workers of Sheffield. It was 'not dazzling nor overwhelming, but comfortable, useful, and in such sort as smoke-cumbered skies may admit, though not on the outside otherwise decorated than with plain and easily-worked slabs of Derbyshire marble, with which I shall face the walls, making the interior a working man's Bodleian Library'.[143] The object of the museum, much like that of Firth College and other University Settlements, was to bring high culture within the reach of the working populace. These projects were laden with classist prejudice and assumptions, as seen in the phrase "working man's Bodleian Library", a prejudice which ran throughout Idealist thought and actions. The extent of the classist prejudices shall be explored below.

Firth College was established by Mark Firth (1819-80) on May 20, 1879.[144] Mark Firth was a successful manufacturer from Sheffield who bequeathed many gifts to the industrial town. These gifts included alms-houses, a large public park, and finally Firth College.[145] The College had developed out of the University Extension Movement in Sheffield which was supervised by James Stuart of Cambridge University.[146] The Deed of Settlement, signed on May 20, 1879, stated that the College was 'for the promotion of the moral, social and intellectual elevation of his [Firth's] townsmen', objectives which were very familiar to the Oxford Idealists.[147] Included amongst the College's early Members of Council were T.H. Green, who held this position from 1879 till his death in 1882; and Arnold Toynbee, who held his position from 1882 till his untimely death in 1883.[148]

Among the original teaching staff was Charles Harding Firth, nephew of Mark Firth and a friend of Viriamu Jones at Balliol. He was appointed Professor of Classics and

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[142] Janet Barnes, *Ruskin in Sheffield* (Sheffield: Sheffield Arts Department, 1985), p. 8.
[143] 'The Ruskin Museum at Sheffield', *The Aberystwyth Observer*, May 8, 1880.
[144] Arthur W. Chapman, *The Story of a Modern University: A History of the University of Sheffield* (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 13.
[145] Chapman*, Sheffield*, p. 14.
[146] Chapman, *Sheffield*, p. 14.
[147] Quotation taken from Chapman, *Sheffield*, p. 13.
[148] Chapman, *Sheffield*, p. 462.

Ancient History in 1879.[149] C.H. Firth was a meticulous historian who was part of a group including, among others, T.F. Tout and F.W. Maitland[150], which called for a "scientific" approach to historical methodology, emphasising the primary importance of archival sources for research. Following this conviction, Firth gifted much of his personal library to the College which included 'political tracts and pamphlets, cartoons and ballads' from seventeenth century Britain.[151]

Firth was friendly with Idealists such as D.G. Ritchie, C.E. Vaughan, and W.P. Ker at Balliol,[152] and his historiographical approach had echoes of the Idealism of Edward Caird, T.H. Green, and Ritchie. In his essay "The Rationality of History" (1883), D.G. Ritchie wrote, 'What the good historian does for a particular period is to arrive at the meaning, or the underlying principle, or "idea", of that period'.[153] Similarly Firth stated in his 1904 inaugural lecture at Oxford, 'Attention is directed too exclusively to politics and institutions; and the memories of candidates is filled with facts about these things, without sufficient endeavour to make them grasp the *ideas which explain the facts*'.[154] Firth therefore endorsed the British Idealist historiographical approach which emphasised the need to discover the underlying 'idea' which explains the historical actions of a given period. He also believed, with Ritchie, that a general meaning could be discerned from the whole of history, and that the historian could find this meaning.[155]All this shows that from its very inception Firth College had connections with Oxford Idealism. Thus, at the very beginning of his educationalist career, Viriamu Jones was able to actively put his Idealist principles to practical effect.

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[149] Chapman, *Sheffield*, p. 23.
[150] Admir Skodo, *The Afterlife of Idealism* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p. 40.
[151] Peter W. Carnell, *Ballads in the Charles Harding Firth Collection of the University of Sheffield: A Descriptive Catalogue with Indexes* (Sheffield: University of Sheffield Printing Unit, 1979), p. xi.
[152] Poulton, *Viriamu Jones and Other Oxford Memories*, p. 47.
[153] D.G. Ritchie, 'The Rationality of History', In *Essays in Philosophical Criticism*, ed. Andrew Seth and R.B. Haldane (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1883), p. 127.
[154] C.H. Firth, *A Plea for the Historical Teaching of History* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1904), p. 15. Emphasis added.
[155] Firth, *A Plea for the Historical Teaching of History*, p. 13.

The role of Principal of a new College was an enormous undertaking for a man of Viriamu Jones' age and experience, fresh out of university, and demonstrated his zeal to educate the masses, broaden horizons, and to labour for the common good of man. Professor Poulton outlines the extent of Jones' duties:

> He had undertaken a tremendous responsibility for a man of twenty-five. He not only became Principal of an institution which had been a failure but also accepted the Professorship of Physics and Mathematics, and promised to teach Geology as well!
>
> 'I seem scarcely to have a minute to myself. The once idle and careless Viriamu does not know himself,' he wrote to a friend in September, at the opening of his first session.

Jones' note to a friend in this extract is of particular interest as it reveals something of his inner psychology. During his studies in Oxford, Jones had developed a hatred towards what he considered his 'idle and careless' characteristics and strove with all his might to overcome these personal failings. He continually criticised his lack of self-forgetfulness and dedicated himself more and more to broader 'impersonal' aims. His letters and personal diaries brim with these inner conflicts and self-criticisms:

> *January 31st, 1881* - … It is very hard to break away from idleness.
>
> *November 7th [1881]* - … I do now trust that, having broken through a natural lack of energy or indisposition to enter on a new thing, I may gradually mend my way and not be afraid to speak of small things, remembering that it is of such that the life men do lead is made up.[156]

Jones' self-doubts, rigid work ethic, and high ambitions for the common good all are in line with his Oxford teachings under the Idealists Jowett and Green. He held with great

[156] Katharine Jones, *Life*, pp. 45, 62.

valour to their doctrine that 'if a man puts himself in line with the Divine current, his work is accomplished without effort', which he himself phrased in the maxim 'let a man think of the good and dwell on it, and unconsciously his acts will frame themselves as they should'.[157]

These severe standards regarding one's moral duties and work ethic were common among the Idealists and may explain why a disproportionate number of them died relatively young. T.H. Green, Arnold Toynbee, R.L. Nettleship, and D.G. Ritchie all died before reaching fifty, as did Viriamu Jones. The Welsh Idealist, Sir Henry Jones, recounts Edward Caird (student of Jowett and later Master of Balliol) offering advice to him as a young academic:

> "Jones," he said, "always keep your engagements." Gentle as were his words, they were far too impressive to be forgotten; for his character was behind them. Engagements, whether great or small, acquired a new sacredness to me from that moment.[158]

This belief in the 'sacredness' of keeping engagements would also become a defining feature of Viriamu Jones' life, and a key factor in his dangerous tendency to overwork. This attitude is evident in a letter to his fiancée Katharine Wills November 7, 1881, in which he writes of 'the solemnity of small social observances' which affects 'the development of the soul of man'.[159]

Viriamu Jones' dedication to duty and service came at no small personal cost. His role in educational administration required the sacrifice of a very promising scientific career. The conflict between one's self-interests and dedication to the common good was another common dilemma of the Oxford Idealists. For Viriamu Jones, this conflict is

[157] Katharine Jones, *Life*, pp. 309, 45.
[158] Henry Jones, *Old Memories*, ed. Thomas Jones (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1922), p. 160.
[159] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 62.

clearly displayed in a letter written on February 2, 1897, to the Oxford historian O.M. Edwards:

> The real question is whether the life of the scholar or the life of the educational organiser appeals to you most. I alas! know the struggle, being dragged often in different directions of the claims of my science and the claims of organisation […]. I am afraid I have not said anything that will help you to a decision one way or the other – that would be too great a responsibility for a friend to take. And I should shrink from interfering in the internal conflict of which I have spoken.[160]

In this letter Jones describes his 'struggle' in choosing between 'the life of the scholar or the life of the educational organiser'. The life of the scholar offered Jones 'the more purely intellectual life of the […] writer or man of science', where he could satisfy all his curiosities; however, 'the life the educational organiser' afforded him a life of greater public good.[161] Perhaps throughout this struggle Jones had in mind the question T.H. Green posed in a lecture: whether it was right for a talented musician to pursue his art, or whether it was better for him to leave his music to serve the more practical needs of mankind. Green concluded, 'Has he talent to serve mankind – to contribute to the perfection of the human soul – more as a musician than in any other way? Only if he has will he be justified in making music his main pursuit'.[162] According to Green's standard, Jones had to weigh up whether he would be of more use to mankind pursuing the 'purely intellectual life' of the scientist or the more practical life of an administrator. Within these scales, Jones chose for himself the life of the administrator, thus bringing more people within the positive influences of education. The Idealist framework for ethical decisions was based on their understanding of the self in relation to the

[160] NLW, AG2/5/3. *O.M. Edwards Papers: Letters from J. Viriamu Jones, Cardiff, to O.M. Edwards*. Feb 2nd, 1897.
[161] NLW, AG2/5/3.
[162] Gordon and White, *Philosophers as Educational Reformers: The Influence of Idealism on British Educational Thought and Practice* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), p. 33.

Absolute. The finite self is but a limited expression of the Absolute; to serve the self is to (try to) live in isolation from the Absolute, thus contradicting the self's true nature.[163] As the Idealist F.H. Bradley wrote, 'The unit makes no insistence on its finite or isolatable character. It looks, as in religion, from itself and not to itself, and asks nothing better than to be lost in the whole which is at the same times its own best'.[164] Using a very similar Idealist vocabulary Viriamu Jones spoke of the need to 'carry our thoughts from our very finite aims to a great eternal purpose'.[165]

In his letter to O.M. Edwards, Viriamu Jones urged Edwards to strongly consider the role of educational organiser over that of the scholar. As shall be seen below, Viriamu Jones had his own plans for Edwards, that of becoming the first Chief Inspector of schools for the newly established Welsh Central Board. In the same letter Jones wrote:

> It will be a position of great influence and magnificent possibility – and the immediate future of Intermediate Education in Wales both in itself and its relations to Element[ary] and Higher Educ[ation] will largely depend on the rightness of the choices made by the board [Central Welsh Board] now.
>
> For these reasons I should like to see you among the candidates if after consideration the organiser emerges victorious in the conflict with the scholar and historian.[166]

Just as Viriamu Jones had devoted his life to the public good over his own scientific career, so he expected others to follow his example.

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[163] This view of the Absolute in relation to the individual was particularly expounded by Bernard Bosanquet in his *Logic*.
[164] F.H. Bradley. Quotation taken from Cornelius Van Til, *Christianity and Idealism* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1955), p. 43.
[165] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 304
[166] NLW, AG2/5/3.

The University of Wales

While Viriamu Jones was busy at Firth College Sheffield, the educational and national movement in Wales was in full flow. Efforts to establish a system of higher education in Wales had been in progress for several decades, the most significant achievement being the opening of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth in 1872. From its inception the Aberystwyth College had close connections with Oxford Idealism. The College's first Principal, Thomas Charles Edwards, was taught at Oxford, and 'became the protégé of Benjamin Jowett and Mark Pattison, and impressed T.H. Green with the quality of his mind'.[167] Before venturing out to become Principal of the new College he sought the advice of Jowett and Pattison. Edwards' father, Lewis Edwards, made the following cool remark of the Aberystwyth project in a letter to a Mrs. Davies on November 16, 1872:

> I have to thank you for your kind allusion to my son. I cannot say that I have much faith in this University for Wales; but whether it succeeds or not, it seems his duty to *try*. He went up to Oxford to lay the whole matter before Jowett and Pattison, and their answer was that it would be more honourable for him to fail than to shrink from it. […]

The reason for his father's lukewarmness to the venture becomes evident further in the letter:

> Talking of this university business, I cannot help but 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 that they were 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.

[167] Ellis, *The University College of Wales, Aberystwyth*, p. 31.

> Instead of that they have crippled it in every possible way, and the consequence is that it has been getting weaker ever since.[168]

Edwards' father espoused a modified form of denominational educational institutions for Wales. He wanted the Bala College he established in 1837 to become the centre of higher education in Wales and for admissions to be opened to students of other denominations. There seems to be a mixture of family rivalry and an underlying suspicion of a non-denominational creedless institution. The latter suspicion would be shared by many more as the University of Wales developed. This incident emphasises the issues outlined in chapter 1: denominational education was anathema to Idealists, while creedless education was anathema to denominational educators. It also highlights a generational gap: T.C. Edwards was of the younger generation who sought education on non-doctrinal grounds, while his father was still firmly committed to denominational institutions.

Among Edwards' staff was the English Literature Professor M.W. MacCallum (1879-1886) and Sir Henry Jones (1852-1922). [169] MacCallum was taught by Edward Caird during his undergraduate in Glasgow, and was noted for teaching a 'practical form of Idealism' at Aberystwyth.[170] Henry Jones was briefly appointed professor of philosophy before leaving for Bangor College several months later.[171] There grew an Idealist intellectual culture among the students as seen in *The University College of*

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[168] Thomas Charles Edwards, *Bywyd a Llythrau y Parch. Lewis Edwards* (Liverpool: Isaac Foulkes, 1901), pp. 549, 550.

[169] Sir Henry Jones was born on November 30, 1852, in rural Denbighshire, to a cobbler family. Raised to join his father's trade, Henry Jones had a sudden desire for education. Studying through the night, he gained a scholarship to Bangor Normal College where he gained a first class, then briefly became a schoolmaster. Continuing his studies, he eventually studied philosophy and religion at Edinburgh University, where he was philosophically 'born again' under the teaching of Edward Caird. From that moment on, he became a distinguished Idealist scholar, teaching briefly at Aberystwyth but finding his ultimate home back in Edinburgh. H. Jones, *Old Memories* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1922).

[170] Jennifer McDonell (2014). '"Fascination of What's Difficult": Browning and MacCallum's Classroom', *Modern Language Quarterly*, Vol. 75, No. 2, p. 200; W. Jenkyn Jones, 'Mainly About Persons', in *The College by the Sea*, ed. Iwan Morgan (Aberystwyth: Cambrian News, 1928), p. 92.

[171] Ellis, *The University College of Wales, Aberystwyth*, p. 73.

Wales Magazine, established November 1878.[172] Two notable students who contributed to the magazine were O.M. Edwards and T.E. Ellis, both of whom would later be involved in John Viriamu Jones' educational career. Another notable contribution was made by David Adams. David Adams was born August 28, 1845, at Tal-y-bont, Cardiganshire.[173] He entered University College, Aberystwyth as a mature student after winning a Scholarship in the mid-1870s and graduated in 1877.[174] His essay for the first volume of *The University College of Wales Magazine* in 1878, entitled "Creed and Character", was full of Idealist theology.[175] In 1884 he won first prize, £30 and a gold medal, in an Eisteddfod essay entitled "Anthroniaeth Hegel, a'i dylanwad ar Feddwl Ewrop".[176] The essay was adjudicated by Rev. John Morris, Prof. Henry Jones, and Rev. Principal T.C. Edwards.[177]

A culture of Idealism was therefore developing in the University College, Aberystwyth. However, from its opening in 1872 to the establishment of the Royal Charter of the University of Wales in 1893, the Aberystwyth College was an isolated, and often neglected, institution. It struggled financially over these years and at times risked closure. The Aberdare Report of 1881 rubbed salt in the wound when, in commending the establishment of University Colleges in Wales, it noted, 'The experience of the University College at Aberystwyth, where various adverse causes have operated, must not be taken to be conclusive against the success of such colleges in Wales…'.[178] When it was finally decided that two University Colleges should be established, Aberystwyth faced even greater neglect as it was decided that these colleges should be situated in Bangor and Cardiff, thus leaving the College by the sea to again fend for itself. As a result

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[172] T.I. Ellis, *Thomas Edwards Ellis Cofiant* (Liverpool: Gwasg Y Brython, 1944), p. 77.
[173] J.O. Stephens, (1959). ADAMS, DAVID (1845-1922), Congregationalist divine. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. [Retrieved 4 Feb 2022, from https://biography.wales/article/s-ADAM-DAV-1845].
[174] J.O. Stephens, (1959). ADAMS, DAVID (1845-1922).
[175] D. Adams (1878). 'Creed and Character', *University College of Wales Magazine*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 27-31.
[176] 'The Eisteddfod. Friday. The Cymmrodorion Section.' *The Weekly Mail*, September 27, 1884.
[177] *Transactions of the Royal National Eisteddfod of Wales, Liverpool, 1884* (Liverpool: Isaac Foulkes, 1885), p. 111.
[178] 'The Aberdare Report' in *Educational Documents: England and Wales 1816-1968* (London: Methuen Educational Ltd, 1971), p. 119.

of these 'various adverse causes,' the Aberystwyth College had a limited influence on the surrounding community and in the contemporary educational and political debates within Wales.

With the Aberdare Report concluding that a new University College should be established in South Wales, and Cardiff subsequently chosen as the site, a new Principal and Staff now had to be found. To make this decision a Council of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire was formed in 1883.[179] Out of this Council 'a Committee of eighteen members was elected to formulate a scheme for the establishment and administration of the proposed College'.[180] This Committee, elected August 18, consisted of:

> Lord Aberdare, Archdeacon Griffiths, Dean Vaughan, Dr. W.T. Edwards (Cardiff), the Rev. J. Cynddylan Jones, Principal Jayne (Lampeter), Principal T.C. Edwards (Aberystwyth), Professor Morgan (Carmarthen), the Rev. J.D. Watters, Mr. F. Sonley Johnstone, Principal W. Edwards (Pontypool), and the Rev. Alfred Tilly. The Honorary Secretaries (with voting power) were Mr. Lewis Williams and Mr. John Duncan. Six additional members were added three days later, viz. :- Mr. Rudler, Professor Rhys, Mr. Williams, H.M.I.S., Mr. Lascelles Carr, Bishop Hedley, and the Rev. David Edwards, Newport.[181]

By their own reckoning this Committee consisted of 'gentlemen representing all sections of the community, and every religious denomination, and every shade of politics'.[182] Scanning through the names one can see that this assessment was accurate.

Perhaps the biggest name in the list was Lord Aberdare. Henry Austin Bruce (Lord Aberdare) was born at Duffryn, Aberdare, April 16, 1815, the second son of John Bruce

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[179] Cardiff University Special Collections, UCC/Ct/M/1. 'Court of Governors' minutes', 1885-1910., p. 7.
[180] A.H. Trow and D.J.A. Brown, *A Short History of the College 1883-1933* (Cardiff: Western Mail and Echo Ltd., 1933), p. 14.
[181] Trow and Brown, , *A Short History of the College 1883-1933*, pp. 14-15.
[182] Cardiff University Special Collections, UCC/MISC/LOC/5. 'The University of South Wales and Monmouthshire: Statements of Facts on Behalf of Cardiff' [1883]. 1 Volume, p. 55.

Price.[183] His father owned large estates at Duffryn, Aberdare, from which the family acquired their wealth, and was a lifelong supporter of the Established Church.[184] Henry Bruce was called to the Bar in 1837, and in 1852 became the Liberal member of Merthyr Tydfil. He went on to become vice-president of the Committee of Council on Education in 1864 and became a strong advocate for Welsh education. His key role in the movement for Welsh education came in 1880 when he was appointed chairman of the Departmental Committee on Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales and Monmouthshire, otherwise known as the Aberdare Report.[185]

Perhaps the most striking thing about the committee was that its members were a deliberate interdenominational selection. As seen in Chapter One, education in Wales was hotly contested upon religious denominational grounds, with each denomination seeking to establish educational institutions upon their own theological lines. Therefore, the inclusion of men from such differing educational and theological backgrounds as Archdeacon Griffiths, alumnus of the Lampeter in 1838, an Established Church institution, Archdeacon of Llandaff, and Professor William Morgan, an Independent minister who in 1863 became Professor of Theology at the Presbyterian College, Carmarthen, an institution with strong Unitarian connections, was a significant statement.[186] The diversity of individuals within the committee displayed the breadth of interest the educational movement roused throughout Wales. It was a topic on the agenda of all groups and factions, though how it was to be carried out met with little universal agreement.

According to the minutes book, John Viriamu Jones was elected by the Cardiff Court of Governors to be Principal of the new College on June 18, 1883.[187] The choice of Viriamu Jones would have been made on account of his track record of academic success and, more crucially, his proven ability to oversee a young institution during his

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[183] J. F. Rees, (1959). BRUCE, HENRY AUSTIN (1815 - 1895), 1st baron Aberdare. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. Retrieved 19 Aug 2022, from https://biography.wales/article/s-BRUC-AUS-1815

[184] 'The Late Mr. John Bruce Price', *The Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian*, October 26, 1872.

[185] Rees, (1959). BRUCE, HENRY AUSTIN (1815 - 1895).

[186] 'Archdeacon Griffiths', *Evening Express*, February 12, 1896; 'The Late Professor Morgan', *South Wales Echo*, March 18, 1885.

[187] Cardiff University Special Collections, UCC/Ct/M/1. 'Court of Governors' minutes', 1885-1910, p. 8.

two years at Firth College. With his appointment at Cardiff, Viriamu Jones sent the following letter to the council of Firth College on June 25:

> Gentlemen, -In presenting the report, I beg also to tender my resignation of the office of principal of the Firth College, having been elected to a similar position at the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire. I was induced to become a candidate for the latter post in the main by a desire to work for the education of Wales, certainly not by any discontent with my position here, where the college has prospered beyond what I had hoped, and has, undoubtedly, a great future before it. I will not say that I am sorry to have been chosen to fill so important a position in the country of my birth, but I can truly say that it is with feelings of genuine sorrow that I contemplate the severance of my connection with the council of this college, from whom I have always received the greatest kindness, sympathy, and consideration. — I have the honour to be, your obedient servant, J. VIRIAMU JONES. June 25.[188]

Viriamu Jones' decision to leave Firth College and take up his new post was driven by a sense of personal responsibility. Though the prospect of leaving Firth College brought him feelings of genuine sorrow, the consideration of his greater usefulness in the cause of education in Wales, in his own words, 'induced' him to leave. Once again, the Oxford Idealist altruistic ethic of sacrificing one's own self-interests for those of the common good played a decisive role in Viriamu Jones' career.

Viriamu Jones' time at Firth College firmly established the Idealist doctrine that education was an intellectual and moral force for good, particularly within a highly industrialised centre. During his time, he sought to 'to arouse and maintain an interest in literary and scientific subjects in the community at large'.[189] Once again the Idealist classist assumption that the workers within industrial centres needed the civilizing influences of middle-class polite culture shines through. Starting his new principalship in South Wales Viriamu Jones was moving from one highly industrialised centre to another. Sharing similar socio-economic characteristics Viriamu Jones could smoothly transfer his

[188] 'The New Principal', *Weekly Mail*, June 30, 1883.
[189] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 59.

Idealist assumptions and tactics from industrial England to industrial South Wales. From the moment he arrived he set out to make South Wales a new centre for Idealism.

His ambition to make industrial South Wales a new site for Idealism can be seen in the teaching staff he employed at the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire. After being appointed Principal by the Court of Governors on June 18, Katharine Jones noted that, as Principal, Viriamu Jones had the 'great pressure' of deciding 'the teaching staff […] to be considered' and making sure the positions were 'advertised and made'.[190] The original teaching staff, including Viriamu Jones, consisted of twelve men, two of whom were Oxford Idealists whom Viriamu Jones was friends with while at Balliol.[191] These were W.P. Ker, who taught English and history, and A.S. Pringle-Pattison, who taught philosophy. Of the original teaching staff, a quarter were therefore explicitly Idealist. Idealists continuously occupied the chairs of philosophy, history and English over Viriamu Jones' principalship and for several decades after his death; the chair of philosophy was occupied by Idealists right up until the 1940s. These subjects were influential in setting the tenor for the whole institution. Over Viriamu Jones' principalship such Idealists included A. S. Pringle-Pattison, Andrew Seth, W.R. Sorley, W.P. Ker, H.J.W. Hetherington, J.S. Mackenzie and H.M. Mackenzie.[192] He also hired C. E. Vaughan, the cousin of T.H. Green, for the Chair of English Literature and History at Cardiff when W.P. Ker left Cardiff for the Quain Professorship of English Literature at University College, London in 1889.[193] As S.B. Chrimes wrote, it was no 'accident that several men who were destined to serve in the Welsh University Colleges at Cardiff or elsewhere, were friends of his [Viriamu Jones'] Oxford days'.[194] From his choice of staff it is clear that Viriamu Jones intended to establish and develop the new

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[190] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 105.
[191] The full original teaching staff is provided in Trow and Brown's *A Short History of the College 1883-1933*: Greek, F.T. Roberts; Latin, J.R. Wardale; English, W.P. Ker; Welsh, Thomas Powel; French, Paul Barbier; German, L. Muller; Philosophy, A.S. Pringle-Pattison; Music, Clement Templeton; Mathematics, H.W. Lloyd Tanner; Physics, J. Viriamu Jones; Chemistry, C. M. Thompson; Zoology, W.N. Parker.
[192] Boucher and Vincent, *The Political and Social Philosophy of Henry Jones*, p. 2.
[193] C.E. Vaughan, *Studies in the History of Political Philosophy: Volume I* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1939), p. xiv.
[194] Chrimes, *University College, Cardiff*, p. 38.

College upon Idealist principles. His principalship at a fledgling Welsh University College provided Viriamu Jones a blank canvas upon which he could enact the Idealist principles he had learnt at Oxford.

The hiring of Vaughan was particularly striking, as it is noted that he was 'induced by his friend, Principal Viriamu Jones' to apply for the position, even though 'he lacked some of the technical qualifications: as he told the Council, he had no knowledge of Anglo-Saxon'.[195] The two were close friends at Balliol, both sharing a love for Browning's poetry and Green's lectures, and an admiration for Ruskin's practical ethos.[196] They shared similar intellectual pursuits and persuasions, Vaughan recalling that they had 'many talks about philosophy and poetry'.[197] This similarity led Viriamu Jones to say, 'I never met another man who made me so uncomfortable if I differed from him on any point'.[198] This last statement is particularly important, as it suggests that Viriamu Jones was creating a cohort in the original academic staff who shared similar convictions, in this case Idealistic ones. If Vaughan's case was typical, then it suggests that the other Idealists were hired with these motivations, and inducement by Viriamu Jones. With a band of distinguished Idealist thinkers in his armoury, Viriamu Jones could set out to implement his Idealistic educational vision in Wales.

What were some of the characteristics of this Idealistic vision for Wales, particularly in relation to Welsh education? Viriamu Jones believed, like Green and Jowett, that with education came salvation. This belief in the transformative nature of a university education, both individually and nationally, is clear in his inaugural address at the newly established University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire. On an individual level he said, 'Habits of study formed during years of youth, literary interests

[195] Vaughan, *Studies in the History of Political Philosophy: Volume I*, p. xv.
[196] Vaughan had 'joined the gangs of undergraduate navvies who were set to make a road at Hinksey by Ruskin' (C.E. Vaughan, *Studies in the History of Political Philosophy*, p. xi).
[197] Poulton, *John Viriamu Jones and Other Oxford Memories*, p. 35.
[198] Vaughan, *Studies in the History of Political Philosophy: Volume I*, p. xvii.

fostered during that time will not readily desert a man in the press after life'.[199] A University education made individuals 'capable of tasting [life's riches] to the full' and filled their minds with 'noble thoughts'.[200] On a national level, Viriamu believed that the foundation of the University marked a Welsh renaissance:

> To me this development in Wales of the consciousness of its need for Higher Education is an impressive page in history. It is an old doctrine that consciousness of sin must precede spiritual regeneration; what is true in the moral is true in the intellectual world – consciousness of ignorance must precede intellectual regeneration. Realise your need, and you are not far from entering into the kingdom of knowledge.[201]

For Viriamu Jones, the University brought men and women and nations out of the dark prisons of ignorance and transformed them into sons and daughters of 'the kingdom of knowledge'. It changed people from slaves into monarchs via an 'intellectual regeneration'. It brought new life to the dead intellect and a new vibrancy to the sick land. In the case of Wales, a land once (according to the 1847 Government Commissioners) filled with theft, stupidity, and immorality, was now, thanks to the University, 'intellectually ambitious' and ready to 'reap a rich intellectual harvest'.[202] These sentiments strongly echo those of Benjamin Jowett.

Jones' Idealism regarding the spiritual benefits of education were a common feature in his public addresses. In one speech regarding the Cardiff College he said, 'though the subjects we teach have not the eternal importance of religious truths,

[199] Principal Viriamu Jones, 'Introductory Lecture: delivered at the Opening of the Session, 26 October 1883', in *Fountains of Praise: University College, Cardiff 1883-1983*, ed. Gwyn Jones & Michael Quinn (Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press, 1983), p. 23.
[200] Principal Viriamu Jones, 'Introductory Lecture', p. 24.
[201] Principal Viriamu Jones, 'Introductory Lecture', p. 21.
[202] Principal Viriamu Jones, 'Introductory Lecture', p. 21.

nevertheless they are not without spiritual influence. I maintain that all true knowledge makes for righteousness'.[203] Again in 1894 he said:

> To those of you who are students, the distinguishing work of a scholar is a reverence for all true knowledge. In so far as you have that reverence you are scholars; but more, you are partakers of the Divine nature. The thought of God is progressively manifesting itself in the advancing current of human knowledge; and if you would be scholars, sharers of the Divine nature, children of the light you must be in this living current and conscious of its flow.[204]

Viriamu believed that education brought one into contact with the thoughts of God, which bears striking similarities to the pantheistic sentiments of Jowett. Also, like Jowett, Viriamu Jones believed that such knowledge brought one into closer communion with God and His will, equating scholars to 'sharers of the Divine nature [and] children of the light'. Viriamu therefore adopted the Idealists' holistic view of education which emphasised ones 'inner self-development' as opposed to merely "cramming" 'a given set of data'.[205] Advancing education would therefore expediate God's will in the life of an individual and of the world.

This emphasis upon the *spiritual* significance of education is a common theme in British Idealism. For the Idealists, 'history is the struggle towards rational freedom'.[206] As the Oxford Idealist (and friend of Viriamu Jones) D.G. Ritchie wrote, 'in so far as each man acts more under the guidance of reason and less under that of blind, i.e. merely natural, impulse, or passion, he is more of a free agent'.[207] A nation guided by reason

[203] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 129.
[204] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 153.
[205] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 247.
[206] Ritchie, 'Rationality of History', p. 134.
[207] Ritchie, 'Rationality of History', p. 134.

was, for the Idealists, a free nation, released from 'blind' impulses and passions. Ritchie then describes the signs that an individual or nation was following the path of reason:

> in any given period, the presence of reason is most manifest in the development of those elements which are more spiritual, less in those which are more 'natural' or more dependent on matter. Thus we should look rather to the history of a people's philosophy (if they have any), religion, art, and institutions, than to their external growth, which depends more on external circumstances than to the spirit of the people themselves.[208]

The 'spiritual' elements here seem to be equated with 'high culture'. For the Idealists, therefore, the presence of refined cultural pursuits such as 'philosophy […] religion, art, and institutions' were clear signs that a nation had reached intellectual and spiritual maturity and was capable of ruling itself. Viriamu clearly acquired this attitude in relation to Wales and its University.

[208] Ritchie, 'Rationality of History', p. 153.

Chapter III: The Public and Private Idealist

According to the Collingwood and British Idealist Studies website, British Idealism was 'all encompassing in its refusal to acknowledge dualisms and divisions of any kind. Everything had to be explained and understood in relation to broader and broader contexts, and ultimately in relation to experience, or the universe, as a whole'.[1] This emphasis on unity and interconnectedness saw the collapse of the public/private in the Idealist ethos. All of life was an enactment of philosophy. This idea was encapsulated by the Idealist R.L. Nettleship, 'If one could literally live one's theories and beliefs, it would be something greater than any book one would be likely to write'.[2]

This section explores aspects of Viriamu Jones' 'private' life, demonstrating the deep Idealist influences to be found. It also takes us deeper into the inner world of the British Idealist movement by examining the interests the Idealists tended to share. These shared interests include the outdoors, mountaineering and literature. As well as being informed by Idealism, Viriamu Jones, through his relationship with Katharine Jones (née Wills), adapted Idealist thought to incorporate the place of women within education and society. Throughout this it is shown that private interests and networks led to significant public and institutional developments. Institutions are built upon the private ideas and opinions of individuals. Finally, it considers how Idealism affected Viriamu Jones' private scientific pursuits and how this sheds light on Idealism's attitudes to the natural sciences more broadly.

Alpine Climbing and the Wills Family

With the improvement of communication and transportation in mid eighteenth-century Britain, journeys across the European Continent increased in convenience and decreased in expense. This development opened continental travel to a new middle-

[1] https://sites.cardiff.ac.uk/collingwood/collingwood-and-british-idealism/ [Accessed 20/07/22].
[2] Helen Bosanquet, *Bernard Bosanquet: A Short Account of His Life* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1924), p. v.

class populace, thus establishing the phenomenon of *the walking tour* across Europe. A trip to the continent was on the agenda of many among the middle class, particularly among young scholars. By the early nineteenth century, a desire to see *picturesque* scenery, and to dabble in landscape painting, also became a middle-class cultural norm. Nicholas Penny, a museum art keeper, notes that in this period 'some sort of artistic activity, especially in the portable and unmessy medium of watercolour, with landscape as the subject, studied in the healthy outdoors, was widespread among the more affluent sections of society'.[3] Along with the increased fascination with foreign travel and the picturesque came the exciting new sport of Alpine climbing. During his time at Balliol College, Viriamu Jones became infatuated with alpine climbing. He was introduced to the pursuit through J.T. "Jack" Wills, a fellow student at Balliol who was the son of Sir Alfred Wills, one of the founders of the Alpine Club.[4] The Alpine Club was formed in London in 1857 and consisted of men of learning and science such as Sir Alfred Wills, John Tyndall, and Leslie Stephen. Alpine climbing and travelling became popular in nineteenth century Britain for the man of means and captivated the public imagination.

Viriamu Jones' first excursion among the Swiss Alps was with J.T. Wills in the summer of 1879, and during these climbs he lodged at the Wills' family chalet, the Eagle's Nest.[5] Constructed by Sir Alfred Wills in 1857, and situated 'on an isolated meadow and surrounded by luxurious forests above the village of Sixt,' the chalet was an impressive structure.[6] It had 'polished wooden ceilings and floors and a magnificent carved wooden staircase,' and included 'a dining room, drawing room and large kitchen and boiler room downstairs, with two upper floors filled with bedrooms, and a bathroom with running hot and cold water'.[7] The Wills were close-knit circle consisting of a highly hospitable large extended family and their chalet 'became a familiar

[3] Nicholas Penny, *Ruskin's drawings* (Oxford: Phaidon Christie's Limited, 1989), p. 10.
[4] Claude Wilson (1936). 'The Wills-Norton Family of the Eagle's Nest', *The Alpine Journal*, Vol. 48, No. 253, pp. 324-325.
[5] Kate Viriamu Jones, *Life of Viriamu Jones*, p. 29.
[6] Alfred Wills, *"The Eagle's Nest" in the Valley of Sixt* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1860), p. vii.
[7] Trevor Braham, *When the Alps Cast their Spell* (Glasgow: The In Pinn, 2004), pp. 43, 44.

playground for young and old'.[8] The Wills were Unitarian in their belief and through them Viriamu Jones later became connected with other Unitarian families, such as the Thompson family in Cardiff.[9]

Viriamu Jones and Jack Wills went on many Alpine excursions together. Of Jack Wills he wrote:

> Jack was not a mere climber but a true mountaineer – a good guide – quick, it is true, but most prudent and cautious and quite willing to go slowly, if asked. The mountains have been to Jack an intellectual problem – and he knows how they are made, how they are arranged, and how they are to be ascended.[10]

Viriamu Jones' observation that mountaineering was an 'intellectual problem' as well as a physical challenge is highly suggestive. It emphasises the Idealist doctrine that mind and body were not separated compartments but rather two aspects of one spiritual life. For the Idealists the physical realm was seen as symbolic of a deeper spiritual and intellectual realm. On one particular outing the pair ended up rim rocked on a 'rock gully with scanty foothold'.[11] Katharine Jones later wrote of the incident:

> they climbed, each asking of the other from time to time if he thought it 'all right,' and so complete was the confidence of each in the other's 'Yes' that no doubt was felt until they found themselves face to face with a formidable projecting rock. Descent was impossible; to ascend farther looked equally impossible: they spoke what both knew might be the last words, and then made the attempt. Their foothold, though of the smallest, was good. Jack Wills, the taller, climbing from Viriamu's shoulder and stretching over the bulging crag happily found a safe grip and pulled himself up to a ledge big enough to lie securely face downwards and reached down a hand. To this place

[8] Braham, *When the Alps Cast their Spell*, p. 44.
[9] P. Hansen, Wills, Sir Alfred (1828–1912), mountaineer and judge. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* Retrieved 19 May. 2023, from https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-52559.
[10] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 283.
[11] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 284.

> of vantage Viriamu hauled himself up, and their anxiety was over. It had been sharp, indeed; neither told of the adventure for several days.[12]

Sharing these experiences, the pair formed a strong lifelong friendship. This friendship was further solidified when Viriamu Jones met Jack Wills' cousin, his future wife, Sarah Katharine Wills. Kate was the daughter of William Ridout Wills, the brother of Sir Alfred Wills.[13] Viriamu Jones became entangled in this close-knit family community, returning to the Alps throughout his life, and even spending his last days there. He soon won the admiration of the head of the roost, Sir Alfred Wills. Katharine Jones later recorded some of Sir Wills' words of veneration, 'You know better than anyone what an interesting companion he is – and how much one learns from him daily and hourly. You know also of his unfailing good temper, courtesy, and affectionate attention, and you will not require much assurance that I feel very grateful to him for all is *[sic]* kindness to me'.[14]

Viriamu Jones' future brother-in-law, W.A. Wills, notes that from 1883 onwards, Jones 'spent several summer holidays in the Alps, generally climbing with his friend [J.T.] Wills'.[15] In 1887 Jones was elected a member of the Alpine Club.[16] Katharine Jones outlined what a day at the Eagle's Nest looked like:

> The daily occupation, in good weather, was a walk, climb, picnic, or a more serious expedition. When no expedition was made, there were athletic sports and games of physical skill in Succursale outside the chalet. In these Viriamu Jones was most successful; and for his brilliant feats in the standing long jump (though he was shorter than any of the men), he was called the 'Little Hercules.'[17]

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[12] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 284.
[13] Her father's name is recorded in her and Viriamu Jones' marriage certificate: 'Sarah Katharine Wills' (1882), *Certified copy of an Entry of marriage for Sarah Katharine Wills, 18th August 1882.* Application Number 11494852/2. General Register Office, England and Wales.
[14] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 32.
[15] Poulton, *Viriamu Jones and Other Oxford Memories,* p. 121.
[16] W.A. Wills., 'In memoriam: Principal Viriamu Jones,' *Alpine Journal*, 21 (1902), pp. 36-8.
[17] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 31.

As a group, the Oxford Idealists shared a passion for the outdoors, mountaineering, and European travel. Among Viriamu Jones' group of friends, C.E. Vaughan 'was fond of travelling, and paid many visits to Switzerland, Germany and Italy,'[18]; W.P. Ker spent his vacations mostly 'walking or climbing, boating or swimming, in Scotland, Switzerland, and elsewhere,'[19] and in 1923 died suddenly of heart failure while mountaineering in the Pennine Alps.[20] Among the older generation of Idealists Benjamin Jowett's and Frederick Temple's travel to Germany in 1844 has already been mentioned. In 1848 Jowett also travelled to France to witness the Revolution taking place in Paris.[21] T.H. Green was a keen walker and 'though he was not an adventurous mountaineer, nothing heightened his vitality so surely as mountain air'.[22] William Wallace, a 'a keen botanist, cyclist, and mountaineer,' referred to the Alps in his book *The Logic of Hegel*.[23] In it he compared the 'atmosphere of Hegelian thought' to the thin air one encounters upon the Alps.[24] Wallace's verbose comparison of Alpine climbing with Hegelian dialectics deserves to be quoted at length to show how Alpinism and German Idealism became closely entwined in the collective imagination of the Oxford Idealists:

> The traveller, as his train climbs the hights of the Alps or Apennines, occasionally, after circling in grand curve upon the mountain-side, and perhaps after having been dragged mysterious distances through the gloom of a tunnel, finds himself as it would seem back at the same place as he looked forth from some minutes before; and it is only after a brief comparison that he realises he now commands a wider view point some hundreds of feet higher. So the student of Hegel – […] as the machinery of the dialectical method, with its thesis, antithesis, and synthesis, carries him round and round from term to term

[18] A.G. Little, 'Memoir of C. E. Vaughan', in *Studies in the History of Political Philosophy Before and After Rousseau*, ed. A. G. Little (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1939), p. xiii.
[19] R.W. Cambers (2004). "Ker, William Paton (1855-1923)". *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*: https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/34298 [Retrieved 1/08/22].
[20] *The Glasgow Herald*, July 19, 1923.
[21] Abbott & Campbell, *Life of Jowett*, i, p. 133.
[22] R.L. Nettleship, *Memoir of Thomas Hill Green* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1906), p. 13.
[23] S.M. den Otter (2004). "Wallace, William (1843-1897)". *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*: https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28546 [Retrieved 1/08/22].
[24] Wallace, *The Logic of Hegel*, p. 6.

> of thought – […] begins to suffer from the dizziness at the apprehension that he has been the victim of phantasmagoria and has not really moved at all. […] It is only later – if ever – that he understands that the path of philosophy is no wandering from land to land more remote in search of a lost Absolute, a vanished God; […], but the revelation in fuller and fuller truth of the immanent reality in whom we live, and move, and have our being, - the manifestation in more closely-knit unity and more amply-detailed significance of that Infinite and Eternal, which was always present among us, though we saw but few, perhaps even no, traces of its power and glory.[25]

These passages show that for Viriamu Jones and the Oxford Idealists there was no dichotomy between the mind and body. The physical and spiritual/intellectual realms were two aspects of a single reality. For Hegel, and British Idealism generally, the thoughts of God were concretely manifested in the ordinary affairs of human life. As seen in the above quotation, for British Idealism the path of philosophy was not an aimless search for 'a lost Absolute, a vanished God,' but rather a deeper comprehension of 'the immanent reality in whom we live'. With this appreciation of the oneness of existence Viriamu Jones and the Idealists did not live compartmentalised lives, but rather saw all of life in terms of a single process of development. In later life as Principal of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire Viriamu Jones would emphasise the interconnectedness of the physical and mental in education. In 1886 he gave a speech to the College Council on the need for proper outdoor facilities for the students:

> I do not hesitate to recommend this very strongly to the Council, feeling that they will be helping forward in the truest fashion the education of our students by assisting the development of that respect and care of physical well-being and perfection that is not antagonistic to moral and intellectual elevation but rather in deepest harmony with it. An infusion of the athletic ideal of the Greeks in our Celtic character would promote mental and spiritual growth.[26]

[25] Wallace, *The Logic of Hegel*, p. 6.
[26] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 282.

Here the physical, moral, and intellectual were seen to be in 'deepest harmony' with each other and one could not neglect one aspect without impoverishing the others.

This conception of the interconnectedness of each aspect of life and the individual also collapsed the private/public divide. It was the goal of the Idealists to apply their ideas to all areas of their lives. This ideal is sketched out by R.L. Nettleship in his 1906 memoir of T.H. Green. In Green, Nettleship observed 'a life in which philosophy was reconciled with religion on the one side and with politics on the other; the life of a man to whom reason was faith made articulate, and for whom both faith and reason found their highest expression in good citizenship'.[27] Viriamu Jones attempted to apply the same integrated approach to his life. At Oxford he wrote that he wanted to 'be kept human and good and prevented from becoming a one-sided vessel of facts'.[28] He supplemented his studies with outdoor pursuits, and throughout his life maintained a love of literature.

Literary Pursuits

Katharine Jones recorded that Viriamu Jones brought his books along with him during his visits to the Eagle's Nest in the Alps, and instilled others with a love for literature and poetry:

> At other times he might be found the centre of a group, reading Rossetti's 'Staff and Scrip' or William Morris's poems aloud and infecting the most prosaic members of the party with some measure of his own appreciation of the great story of Sigurd, Gunnar, and Brünnhild.[29]

Viriamu Jones' love for literature and beauty was shared by Sir Alfred Wills. Wills' books on mountaineering brim with literary references (particularly of Wordsworth and

[27] R.L. Nettleship, *Memoir of Thomas Hill Green* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1906), p. 2.
[28] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 278.
[29] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 31.

Coleridge), and his prose sings with images of 'rare pastoral beauty'.[30] In one such rosy passage, Wills writes:

> The morning after I had visited the foot of the cascade of Nant Dant, I walked up it for two or three miles before the sun was well risen, and while the heavy dew of a clear August morning lay upon the ground, and transformed every blade of grass into a row of sparkling brilliants.[31]

With this love of literature Viriamu Jones also had a keen eye for natural beauty and the picturesque. On September 2, 1880, he wrote to his fiancée, Sarah Katharine Wills, of his delight 'for landscapes and the beauties of Nature'.[32] The next year he wrote, 'trees, even in the wet, I prefer to streets, and green pavements to rounded stones'.[33] In a letter written on November 8, 1881, he describes his preference for solitary walks surrounded by natural scenery to crowded and stuffy dancing halls:

> A 'ball' is an entertainment at which there is music of both the piano and the violin: and the young men do put their arms around the waists of the young women, each round the waist of his partner whom he hath previously solicited, and then do they move around the room, keeping time with the music with steps both pretty and various, and not to be mastered except after much teaching of an excellent sort.
>
> But to me it is a matter both strange and difficult to understand that the young people do so rejoice when they dance a measure together: but I have been told that it is a great provocation to love and marriage. For myself it is not so. Not in hot rooms […], nor amid a crowd: but in wild mountains, beneath the blue heavens where our dear mother Nature is more beautiful than she shows herself or can show herself in the crowded haunts of men, should I wish to choose my mate.[34]

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[30] Alfred Wills, *"The Eagle's Nest" in the Valley of Sixt; a Summer Home Among the Alps: Together with some Excursions Among the Great Glaciers* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1860), p. 9.
[31] Wills, *"The Eagle's Nest"*, p. 17.
[32] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 40.
[33] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 60.
[34] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 63.

This love for 'landscapes and the beauties of Nature' is heavily reminiscent of the Romanticism of Wordsworth and Coleridge, and of Viriamu Jones' father, Thomas Jones, and his congregants George MacDonald and Robert Browning.

Viriamu Jones' favourite poet was Robert Browning. His wife records that he found 'inspiration and renewal of faith' in the poetry of Robert Browning:

> As a young man he was a constant student of Browning…. [H]e was attracted by the subtle mind and of the comprehensive sympathy of the poet; and his reverent treatment of the great, human passions, his searching into life's problems, his triumphant answer to doubt and discouragement – all suited Viriamu's own ardent and religious temperament.[35]

The poetry of Browning, we are told, suited Viriamu's religious temperament. He found in Browning's poetry an answer to the doubt and discouragement which he encountered in his life and society. He often turned to the poets for hope, consolation, and inspiration. As a fresh academic, his wife records that 'he and his friends used to read poetry aloud', and 'when asked to read aloud, he generally chose either Matthew Arnold's "Tristram and Iseult," "Rugby Chapel," "Sohrab and Rustum," or one of Browning's shorter poems, as well as "Pompilia" and "Componsacchi."'.[36] Speaking of Viriamu Jones' love of poetry, his friend P. A. Barnett noted that 'he dwelt most on what I must be allowed to call the philosophical side of poetry'.[37] This recalls Green's comment on the 'excellent philosophy' in Browning, Tennyson, and Wordsworth'.[38] Viriamu Jones' friend and biographer, Edward Poulton, records, 'Whenever we met in after years Vir would always tell me of books which he had recently read'.[39] This love of literature stayed with him till the very end, as Poulton again recounts:

[35] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 307.
[36] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 308.
[37] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 306.
[38] T.H. Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics* (Memphis: General Books LLC, 2012), p. 2.
[39] Poulton, *Viriamu Jones and Oxford Memories*, p. 91.

> Vir was devoted to his books, and his sister has told me that, in the pathetic weakness of his last illness, he rubbed the leather covers of some of them and said, his eyes filling with tears, 'You see, if I cannot read them, I like to do what I can for them.'[40]

The Oxford Idealists shared similar attitudes towards and tastes in literature, particularly poetry. As mentioned previously Benjamin Jowett was a close friend of Robert Browning and saw to it that Balliol College awarded him an honorary M.A. The poetry of Browning was also adored by Idealists such as C.E. Vaughan, Henry Jones, and others. To them, all literature revealed spiritual truths and was a form of divine revelation.

The Idealists held to a universalist view of divine inspiration, believing that God universally communed with men's minds and consciences, expressing Himself in every high moral utterance, whether from the Bible, the poets, or other world religions. Jowett preached this view to the Balliol students in his Balliol College sermons. In his 1878 sermon on John vi. 63, Jowett spoke of 'the progressive revelation of God in the Old and New Testament and in the religions of the world,' as well as the 'Divine truth' revealed to men's 'own immediate consciousness'.[41] As well as revealing Himself in all moral utterances, the Idealists also believed that God revealed Himself in all of nature, history, and literature. All human history and activities were thus revelatory. This view was encapsulated by Edward Caird in his lectures on religion:

> It would be acknowledged by almost every one that we are now shut up to the alternative, *either* there is no God, and no revelation or knowledge of Him, *or* that the revelation of God must be sought in the whole process of nature and history […]. This is the God whom alone it is now considered worth while either to assert or to deny. This is "our highest faith, our deepest doubt," the faith which is supported by the most powerful utterances of modern poetry and philosophy, the doubt on which all the scepticism and agnosticism of the age are concentrated.[42]

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[40] Poulton, *Viriamu Jones and Oxford Memories*, 93.
[41] Jowett, *College Sermons*, (London: John Murray, 1895), p. 103.
[42] Edward Caird, *The Evolution of Religion: Vol. I* (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1893), p. 57.

The Idealist religion can therefore be situated within the "immanentist" movement, which held that God dwelt not in a transcendent realm, but rather within man and creation, revealing Himself in natural processes. This view is aptly summarised by Jowett who wrote that God's dwelling 'is neither in heaven nor earth, but in the heart of man'.[43] This concept of God was not the transcendent, self-existent, self-sufficient, infinite and eternal Spirit as expressed in Classical Theism; rather, in the words of A.C. Grayling, it was a 'world-mind' or 'world-spirit' in which our 'individual finite minds have a share'.[44]

Women's Rights and Education

Through the influence of Sarah Katharine Wills and family, Viriamu Jones became a supporter of women's education. Their interest in women's rights is displayed in a letter he wrote to Katharine Wills in 1880:

> I have never read 'The Subjection of Women.' You know I don't need to, because I believe they should be man's equals. You heard me even advocate giving them votes at Mrs. Paterson's, and I am of opinion that the London University is right in giving them their degrees, treating them in examination just like men.[45]

Katharine Wills probably gained her broadminded views regarding the role of women from her Unitarian upbringing, where women had a right to preach and teach in their congregations and were encouraged to participate in public affairs.

Viriamu Jones married Sarah Katharine "Kate" Wills at the Unitarian Chapel at Rosslyn Hill, Hampstead, on August 18, 1882.[46] The Chapel was probably the Wills

[43] Benjamin Jowett, *The Republic of Plato Translated into English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1888), p. ccxxxi.
[44] Grayling, *The History of Philosophy*, p. 289.
[45] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 45.
[46] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 78.

family's place of worship, as they were of Unitarian persuasion, and it was traditional for weddings to take place at the bride's place of worship. The wedding, according to the marriage certificate,[47] was led by J. Morlais Jones, another famous Welsh Congregational preacher based in London who shared Thomas Jones' broad and liberal religious convictions.[48] Viriamu Jones' relationship with Katharine broadened his educational, philosophical, and political outlook to the inclusion of women, a position which was not native to the Oxford Idealism of the time. John and Katharine Viriamu Jones set in motion a broadened Idealist movement which placed women on an equal intellectual footing with men. This became an important aspect of Viriamu Jones' career as an educationalist.

At the opening of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire in 1883 the decision was made to open applications to men and women on equal terms. Barbara How suggested that this decision was taken 'on the initiative of Mrs. Viriamu Jones and Lady Aberdare, the wives of the first Principal and first President of the College'.[49] This was a bold and unprecedented step, as no body of higher education in Wales had yet allowed both men and women to take degrees together. The University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, which was opened over a decade earlier (1872), did not admit female students until 1884, a year after the Cardiff College. Even more, the decision to accept women on the same terms educationally went beyond the practice of Oxford Idealism. Benjamin Jowett was sceptical of co-education at university level as he revealed in a letter dated 1873:

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[47] 'Sarah Katharine Wills' (1882), *Certified copy of an Entry of marriage for Sarah Katharine Wills, 18th August 1882.* Application Number 11494852/2. General Register Office, England and Wales.

[48] In a 1905 report of J. Morlais Jones' funeral it was noted that, "the English pulpit became accessible to the younger men of this generation in Wales largely through the influence of pioneers like Caleb Morris, Thomas Jones, and Morlais Jones. These men went to England, paved the way, and gained a hearing for the sons of the Principality, and the younger men of to-day had entered into their labours." (*The Pembrokeshire Herald*, 'The Late Rev. J. Morlais Jones', October 6, 1905).

[49] Barbara How, 'A Residence for Young Women,' in *Fountains of Praise: University College, Cardiff 1883-1983* (Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press, 1983), p. 43.

> I should fear that the work was too hard for them, and that they would soon be discouraged by being brought into an unequal competition with men. I should like them to have a little really hard work, such as philosophy, or mathematics, or Greek or Latin, and a great deal of lighter work.[50]

With the influx of female students coming in from near and far, it 'soon became apparent that there was need for a hostel'.[51] Mention is made of this in the Court of Governors minute book which contains the 1885 Report of the Council:

> Early in the Session a movement was set on foot for the establishment of a Ladies' Hall of residence. On the 20th October the matter was expressed to the General Purposes Committee, who called in the aid of a Committee of Ladies, with Lady Aberdare as President, and Mrs Viriamu Jones as Honorary Secretary. The Hon. Isabel Bruce has been appointed Honorary Principal. Through the liberality of private donors a Scholarship of £20, and two prizes of £12.10.0 each, tenable at the Hall, will be awarded on the results of the Entrance Examination. A convenient house in Richmond Road, with accommodation for 20 students, has been taken.[52]

As seen from the extract, from its inception Katharine Jones was heavily involved in establishing Aberdare Hall. The 1933 Jubilee Speech notes, 'Mrs. Viriamu Jones acted as Honorary Secretary, and her influence and inspiration, her daily touch with the institution for many years, are here thankfully recorded'.[53] She assumed many of the administrative and practical duties of the Hall, such as its finances and upkeep.

The first Hall was opened in 1885 on Richmond Road with nine students. By 1891, due to the increase of students, 'a scheme for the erection of a special building was set on foot'.[54] Katharine was canny in her connections and was able to find financial support from a broad range of individuals. Her diplomatic tact and passion for women's

[50] Abbott & Campbell, *Life of Jowett*, ii, pp. 158-9.
[51] Glamorgan Archive, DUCAH/32. 'Aberdare Hall: College Jubilee Year 1933'.
[52] Cardiff University Special Collections, UCC/Ct/M/1., 'Court of Governors' minutes', p. 23.
[53] Glamorgan Archive, DUCAH/32. 'Aberdare Hall: College Jubilee Year 1933'.
[54] 'Aberdare Hall: College Jubilee Year 1933'.

education is seen in the following prospective letter addressed to an unnamed man regarding funds for a new accommodation:

Oct 30. [18]93

Dear Sir,

I am writing to ask if you are able and willing to consider the enclosed appeal on behalf of the Hall of Residence for the women-students who attend the University College at Cardiff and who are admitted to the College classes on ~~equal~~ the same terms and conditions as the men students.

[…]

I am glad to be able to say that the women-students of the College of whom there are over 70 – many attending whose homes are in Cardiff – have done very well indeed in winning distinctions in the exams: of the London University for which they usually work. The new University of Wales places men and women on exactly the same footing in all its provisions – whether for examiners, or officers: but I suppose it will be some time before it is able to set to work.

I am venturing to send you the Prospectus of the College and reports of our Hall – though I feel that it is very likely that you may already help the Hall at [?] and may consider that South Wales ought to support its own institutions. My only plea is that though there are already many very generous helpers and promoters of women's education, that it is still a cause that appeals to a small minority.

Mrs. Eva McLaren, who has been visiting us, said I might tell you that she supported my writing to you.

I am

Yours faithfully,

Kate Jones

Hon. Sec.[55]

[55] Glamorgan Archive, DUCAH/20/1. Katharine Viriamu Jones, Letter October 30, 1893.

An interesting feature in this letter is that Katharine Jones crossed out the word "equal" and replaced it with "the same terms and conditions". Perhaps Katharine Jones made this alteration to emphasise to the recipient what she meant by the word *equal*. Exactly what she meant by equality between male and female students is a topic in need of further consideration.

The question of the position of female students in the early years of the University of Wales is one which has caused confusion among historians, D. Gareth Evans describing women's place in Welsh higher education at this time as ambiguous. 'Women,' Evans continues, 'seem to have been regarded as separate, but not equal, within the university'.[56] Beth Jenkins has widened our understanding of the position of women in the University of Wales in its early years, highlighting the physical segregation of men and women within the Colleges. Her work has also emphasised the use of testimonials of female students at the Colleges, thus incorporating the voices and perspectives of the women themselves.[57] Similarly, this section incorporates the writings of both female staff and students at Aberdare Hall. By examining these female perspectives directly, we gain insight into how they understood educational equality and freedom.

In later years Katharine Jones wrote that it was the conviction of Lady Aberdare and the original staff of the Hall that 'when wider opportunities of education were offered to, and gained by women, also when they decided to share in political influence and life […], [they would] gain the best experience by developing on their own lines, following and keeping their own standards…'.[58] The staff believed that keeping women students separate would ensure their ability 'to bring that individual influence of their highest human attitude of spirit and mind – attained by freedom and independence' to their scholarship'.[59] Aberdare Hall, then, was more than a women's hostel build merely

[56] D. Gareth Evans, *A History of Wales 1906-2000* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), p. 126.
[57] Beth Jenkins, *Graduate Women and Work in Wales* (Cham: Springer International Publishing AG, 2022), p. 68.
[58] Glamorgan Archives, D/DUCAH/16/12. A Letter from Kate Viriamu Jones on Aberdare Hall, July 1, 1936.
[59] Glamorgan Archives, D/DUCAH/16/12. A Letter from Kate Viriamu Jones on Aberdare Hall, July 1, 1936.

for practical purposes; rather, it embodied an entire philosophy regarding women's place and purpose, and how this could be achieved. This philosophy was not only educational, but also included politics and daily life beyond learning.

Many of the staff in Aberdare Hall were members of the Women's Liberal Association, including Katharine Viriamu Jones, who was elected president of the Cardiff branch in 1893, and Millicent Mackenzie.[60] The female emancipation espoused by the Women's Liberal Association was highly maternalistic, emphasising the softer and nurturing characteristics of women. This is evident in an 1894 speech Katharine Jones presented to the Association, in which she advocated 'the claim of women for seats on the Board of Guardians':[61]

> The Guardians dealth [*sic*] with those in the workhouse, the largest number of whom were deserving of their consideration. In dealing with infirm persons women Guardians would be invaluable for the officials at the union, however praiseworthy they might be, had to deal with these people in a routine manner and it became mostly a matter of business with them, while women guardians could introduce into the workhouse a certain amount of tenderness which would be invaluable. She then dealt with the monotony which old and sick people underwent in the workhouse, which although clean and well served was totally unfit for a sick person (hear, hear). They could not expect men to attend to these duties; it was women who had done so in the home (hear, hear). […]
>
> She then very feelingly and delicately referred to those girls who through thoughtlessness, foolishness and weakness, rather than through criminality, were delivered of their first born in the workhouse. Let them try and contrast that with what took place in a happy home and say if they did not think that a woman might there be of use to win the sympathy of one who was more alone than anyone else in the world and bring her back to the right road (hear, hear).[62]

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[60] Ursula Masson, *The Aberdare Women's Liberal Association, 1891-1910* (Cardiff: South Wales Record Society, 2005), p. 150.; Ursula Masson, *'For Women, for Wales and for Liberalism'* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010), p. 138.
[61] Masson, *The Aberdare Women's Liberal Association, 1891-1910*, p. 150.
[62] Masson, *The Aberdare Women's Liberal Association*, pp. 151, 152.

Though intellectually equal, young women, according to Katharine Jones, were more prone to moral mishaps. Such mishaps came about 'through thoughtlessness, foolishness and weakness…'. Rather like her vision of 'women Guardians' in workhouses, it was the role of the women staff within Aberdare Hall to show tenderness and to win the sympathy of the female students, so as to keep them on the right road of intellectual exploration.

The ethos of the Hall and its founders was therefore a mixture of emancipating female educational principles and a conformity to societal expectations and stereotypes. This seeming contradiction is noted by the historian Barbara How:

> Although they [Mrs. Viriamu Jones and Lady Aberdare] subscribed to the prevailing opinion that young ladies must be properly sheltered from the hazards of life in mixed company away from home, their main purpose in founding the Hall was to give equal opportunity in education to women by encouraging them to study for degrees and be providing a community life which might broaden their experience and prepare them for the professions.[63]

The tension between conformity to societal norms and emancipation was felt by the women-students. Former student Gwen Harrington writes of her experience of the Hall from 1890-1893:

> My first two years at Aberdare Hall were spent under the care of Miss Hutchings. To the eyes of eighteen she looked a very old lady, and the two schoolgirl nieces who lived with her were as remotely young. The family was […] aristocratic, and, I imagine, impecunious, otherwise there would have been nothing to hold Miss Hutchings to a post that I fear was not congenial.
>
> There were only thirteen girls in residence my first year, for the Training Department which brought such an influx had not yet been set up. We saw little of the Principal except at meals, when conversation was very limited in scope. Visits were made to her room to ask permission to go out in the evening and to report return under

[63] Barbara How, 'A Residence for Young Women,' in *Fountains of Praise: University College, Cardiff 1883-1983* (Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press, 1983), p. 43.

safe escort, but not for mere friendly talk. Sometimes we sent deputation to ask for reform in diet.

But the most trying part of the job was chaperoning Hall girls when they went to the meetings at College where men-students might be met. She accompanied us to Debates and even to Musical Society practices. Music had a drowsy effect, and one grew to watch, even at the big Orchestral Concert, for the drooping eyelids and nodding head which showed that Miss Hutching was bored to sleep. Professors' wives at times kindly relieved her of such duties.

I used to think that she found Hall Committee Meetings irksome, expenditure being kept to a minimum. We were rather interested in the members who stayed to lunch, Lady Aberdare and Mrs. Viriamu Jones, and we knew we should all get a decent pudding that day – it was known as Committee Pudding.

On the whole students worked hard for their London degrees though the girls who came merely for 'culture' in the form of English or Music, could go more as they pleased. The study had to be silent from about 7 till 9 o'clock, and a Scavenger was elected to enforce that silence and see that the room was kept tidy.

There were occasional breaks in the student life at the Hall – Once a year the Principal entertained the College Staff and their wives at a Conversazione at Aberdare Hall…. Also once a year the girls arranged a dance and invited a few girl friends from outside. No men-students were even permitted inside in those days….

No provision was made for physical education by College or Hall, for we had no fields, and the girls who wanted to play tennis had to get permission from the Committee through the Principal to join a tennis club. We might play only in the afternoons, and it was a long trail even by tram, to the far end of Newport Road. In the winter, a few of the women-students got a gymnasium class going, at first paying an instructor to come from Clifton. To think of our costumes! Heavy blue serge knickers and tunic, gathered into trills round wrist and knees!

Still it was probably a more emancipated life than most girls then had, and the opportunity for the talk, challenging conventional ideas, made for more open minds, and beyond all, lasting friendships.[64]

[64] Glamorgan Archives, DUCAH/32. Gwen Harrington, 'Miss Frances Hutchings, 1888-92'.

The women-students had a clearly regulated and highly supervised life in the Hall. Permission to leave the Hall was to be granted by the Principal (Miss Hutchings), and any outings that were granted were on the condition that they were accompanied by a member of staff.

Where the women's daily routines were at times restrictive, the Hall offered much *intellectual freedom* to the women. This intellectual freedom is suggested by the books stored in the Hall's Library, which covered an exhaustive range of subjects including languages, literature, philosophy, history, educational theory, sciences, geometry, and art. The library stocked the complete works of Goethe, the works of Thomas Carlyle, and a comprehensive collection of volumes by John Ruskin.[65] Many of the books in the Aberdare Hall Library were donated by 'Mr W. Thompson & Wife',[66] which may refer to either H. Woolcott Thompson or J. William Thompson.[67] The contribution of the Thompson family to Aberdare Hall was gratefully mentioned in the Cardiff College 1933 Jubilee Speech:

> no account of Aberdare Hall can omit grateful acknowledgement of the generous kindness and practical interest shown from the beginning by the […] Thompson family, whose names are connected in innumerable ways with the institution. Mrs. Charles Thompson rendered invaluable service during the long period of her Chairmanship of the Central Purpose Committee; Mr. Charles Thompson placed his practical knowledge and experience at the service of the Council at the time of the building of the extension; and among other proofs of their interest may be mentioned the gift of the summerhouse from the executors of Miss Marian Thompson and of the grand piano from Mrs. Charles Thompson.[68]

The Hall's mission was to liberate women via their intellect. The first stage to freedom within Idealism was self-understanding and rationality. By providing women with their own private space to develop on their own lines, women could achieve a level of self-

[65] Glamorgan Archive: DUCAH/23/1. 'Aberdare Hall, Library Catalogue'.
[66] Glamorgan Archive: DUCAH/23/1. 'Aberdare Hall, Library Catalogue'.
[67] Glamorgan Archive: DUCAH/23/1; John Morel Gibbs, *James Pyke Thompson: The Turner House, Penarth 1888-1988* (Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 1990), p. 50.
[68] Glamorgan Archive, DUCAH/32. 'Aberdare Hall: College Jubilee Year 1933'.

determination and autonomy. Once properly trained in the intellect, they could move on to the political and social arenas. This closely mirrors Jowett's Oxford, where young men were trained intellectually in order to equip them for public life and service. Women now could become Philosopher-Saints.

A Private Scientist

By dedicating himself zealously to educational administration Viriamu Jones had largely forfeited a highly promising scientific career. Just how promising is evident in the scientific investigations he continued in the snatches of spare time and respite he had when his administrative responsibilities were not overly pressing. Katharine Jones recorded:

> At Sheffield, in the early part of 1882, Viriamu Jones began to make some experiments in Light, but the administrative routine on which he was always engaged made it almost impossible for him, both there and during the first years at Cardiff, to undertake research work, though it was to research in science that his own inclination led him.[69]

Remarkably, despite these demands on his time, Viriamu Jones still undertook significant scientific research and made substantial contributions to the field of physics. These contributions are outlined in his obituary in *Nature*:

> The determination of the fundamental unit of electrical resistance by the late Principal Viriamu Jones ranks among the most important of such determinations, and justly acquired for him a foremost position among physicists. This determination was carried out by means of a modification of the Lorenz method, and a machine for the purpose,

[69] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 253.

> on which he spent 400*l*., was erected by Principal Jones at the University College at Cardiff. He was, however, of opinion that improvement was possible, and accordingly the Drapers' Company, in 1898, in recognition of his signal services both to science and to education, voted to him a sum of 700*l*. for the construction of more perfect apparatus.[70]

For his efforts and contributions Viriamu Jones was nominated as Fellow of the Royal Society. In a 'Certificate of a Candidate for Election' dated February 12, 1891, Viriamu Jones' name is put forward for Fellowship on the following grounds: 'Distinguished for his acquaintance with Physics. Engaged with the teaching of physics as well as in the organisation of scientific studies, and is anxious to promote the progress of science'. [71]

Viriamu Jones' passion for science is seen in the time and effort he poured into personal scientific projects in the little spare time he had. One particular project on prisms, which he undertook between December 1886 to April 1890, seemed to have no relation to any practical project. He did these experiments out of curiosity from some reading he had done around the subject. Over the three years he spent on this personal project, he recorded his findings in three slim paper logbooks which he entitled, 'Observations on Dabbling in Prism Work'.[72] The use of the word 'dabbling' shows the amateur nature of the research, as does the following early entry in the logbook:

> Of course if I knew any thing practically of prism work, except from books, I should have known at once where my spectrum should be, but I have to work the matter out step by step and never having seen prism work practically I have no doubt I shall make what to the initiated will be ludicrous mistakes. (p. 2).

[70] 'Notes', *Nature* **65**, 301-304 (1902). https://doi.org/10.1038/065301a0.
[71] The Royal Society Archives, EC/1894/12. 'Jones, John Viriamu: certificate of election to the Royal Society'.
[72] Cardiff University Special Collections. GB 1239 602. 'Observations on Dabbling in Prism Work' (Dec. 1886- April 1890), Papers of John Viriamu Jones (1856-1901), Principal and Professor of Physics.

Further he wrote, 'As yet all I have done is for mere amusement, but dabbling with prisms and spectra is very fascinating'.[73] The amateur nature is also seen in the fact that he did these experiments in the library in his Cardiff home, 42 Park Place. When conducting these experiments, the dividing line between professional and amateur in various disciplines was not clear cut. Viriamu Jones' near Renaissance range of interests (the sciences, literature, philosophy, and social issues) also shows that the borderline between disciplines was also blurred. This was before C.P. Snow's *The Two Cultures*, along with the anxieties and rivalries between the 'humanities' and 'sciences'.[74] Edward Poulton wrote in his biography of Jones that he 'was keen on every branch of knowledge – rest for him meant fresh activity of thought'.[75] The scientific logbooks testify to Poulton's observation.

Being conducted in his home, these logbooks also provide a rare insight into his domestic and family life. In these pages we see Viriamu Jones relaxed with friends and family. On December 22, 1886, he wrote:

> I am writing this on 22 Dec on a dreadfully wet and dark day…. I brought the looking glass from the laboratory and amused the children by reflecting the different lights of the spectrum on my Venus & the other figures in the room – Also getting the children to sit down – I […] the red on one of their eyes so that they saw red, then the blue etc. which of course amused them.[76]

[73] Cardiff University Special Collections. GB 1239 602. 'Observations on Dabbling in Prism Work' (Dec. 1886- April 1890), Papers of John Viriamu Jones (1856-1901), Principal and Professor of Physics, p. 8.
[74] C.P. Snow, *The Two Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [1959] 2012).
[75] Poulton, *Viriamu Jones and Other Oxford Memories*, p. 38.
[76] 'Observations on Dabbling in Prism Work', pp. 8-9.

From other entries it is clear that the children referred to are his niece and nephews, the children of his brother-in-law, J.T. Wills (aka, "Jack"). These entries therefore reveal in more intimate detail the lifelong friendships he formed with the Wills family from the Alps. The Wills, especially "Jack", recur frequently throughout the logbooks. In August 1887 he wrote, 'I got Jack to interpose a red glass between the slit and the screen'.[77] Later that month he had family and friends around his home for an evening of astronomy and stargazing:

> 21st August 1887. The moon being between ¼ and ½ moon we examined it through my telescope and had a charming view of it. Mother, Jack, a Mr Jerram, Sally and I – The crater appearances were seen with great distinctness, with the shadows [sketch of crater ¼ in shadow] – Also the brilliant specks outside the apparent surface of the moon on the broken side – These being according to general opinion the tops of mountains illuminated by the sun whose beams did not reach the intervening valleys, which were black - I never saw the moon with these characteristic features more distinctly than on this occasion –
>
> A planet was above the horizon – It was twilight and putting the telescope to it I could only see as it were a very small moon with a faint band across it – After a while, when the twilight deepened we saw distinctly three moons about it, which shewed at once that it was Jupiter – Sally who saw all these wonders for the first time was delighted –
>
> The planet and the three moons appeared this
>
> . o . .
>
> The moon on the left side being apparently a couple of inches from the planet, the first moon on the right side being about an apparent half yard and the next a yard - The planet was getting towards the horizon about ½ 8 o'clock and there being a slight

[77] 'Observations on Dabbling in Prism Work', p. 32.

> summer haze, the moons were made out, with some degree of difficulty – but there they were and no mistake –[78]

The notebooks also reveal Jones' eye for the natural world and the picturesque. He often began each log with a brief description of the view outside his library window overlooking his garden: 'I am writing this on 22 Dec on a dreadfully wet and dark day,'; 'Dec 31. 1886. A very bright frosty day,'; 'January 6th. 1887 – Snow on the ground – Cloudy with gleams of sun shine – The steps leading up to the upper lawn covered with snow,'; 'looking at the side of the house through the library window […] – Twas a dull day, no sun – […] – 3 blackbirds and 2 thrushes or fieldfares on the lawn at the same time'.[79] They also reveal his spontaneous musings while alone in his library:

> On the above date [18 September 1888], sitting in my library, reading, <u>with my back to the window</u>, about ½ 5 oclock, as the sun was near going down – I was much struck by the sun light apparently shining directly on my book - I knew the sun could not possibly shine on my book, as I sat, I looked round and found a strong reflection of the sun, on the Eastern side of the bay window, and the light came from there – […]
>
> This I presume is a case of the Sun light, shining through A, on to B, and at such an angle that there was a <u>total reflection from B</u> – for the Sun light fell on my book, and on the wall beyond just as though the sun shone direct upon both – whereas I could not see the Sun from where I was sitting –[80]

As well as shedding light on his private and domestic life, Viriamu Jones' logbooks and scientific career also provides some insight into the Idealists' attitude towards the natural sciences. Idealism was vehemently opposed to materialism and its reductionist

[78] 'Observations on Dabbling in Prism Work', pp. 41-43.
[79] 'Observations on Dabbling in Prism Work', pp. 8, 16, 24, 29.
[80] 'Observations on Dabbling in Prism Work', pp. 44-45.

claims that the world was solely explicable by the scientific method. A scientific explanation of the world, they insisted, was insufficient by itself. The scientific results pointed away from themselves to a higher realm of existence. Viriamu Jones shared this attitude towards the natural sciences, as a comment from his friend and pastor Rev. J. Williamson reveals:

> Though a great scientist, he was far from being a materialist; he believed that the strongest and most fruitful forces in the world are spiritual forces. He once said to myself: "I believe that every truth that enters a man's mind is a creation of God in him, a birth of God in his soul." With him the material had to be interpreted in terms of the spiritual.[81]

Further demonstrating Viriamu Jones' disdain for materialism, Edward Poulton noted that he 'had but a poor opinion of Herbert Spencer, whom he described as "parent of a philosophy dead before it was born"'.[82] Poulton also recorded Jones' sharp denunciation against 'some recent materialistic conception of the origin of life':

> I don't complain of their saying they can't understand it [the divine origin of life]: *I* can't understand it. But to say that jumping molecules made it – why he's a fool to say that. *Made* the flowers […] and the singing birds and the eye. He's a fool: I say it: he's a fool.[83]

Another frequent Idealist critique of the natural sciences was its tendency to see phenomena in isolation and to ignore the broader interconnectedness of reality. For instance, Edward Caird noted that the natural sciences divided the world up into

[81] Glamorgan Archive, DUCAH/32. Rev. J. Williamson, 'Memorial Service for the late Principal J. Viriamu Jones, F.R.S.' (Cardiff: Western Mail, Limited, 1901), p. 12.
[82] Poulton, *Viriamu Jones and Oxford Memories*, p. 81.
[83] Poulton, *Viriamu Jones and Oxford Memories*, p. 82.

categories such as ‘substance and accident, force and expression, inner and outer being, cause and effect’, without considering the deeper ‘philosophical explanation’ which unified these concepts.[84] Similarly William Wallace wrote:

> *Divide et impera* is the motto of Science. To isolate one thing or one group of facts from its context, […] and to take, as it were, one thing at a time and study it for itself disinterestedly; that is the problem of the sciences. And to accomplish that end they do not hesitate to break the charmed links which in common vision hold the world together, - to disregard the spiritual harmony which the sense of beauty finds in the scene, - to strip off the relations of means and end, which reflection has thrown from thing to thing, and the sensuous atmosphere of so-called ‘secondary’ qualities in which human sense has enveloped each; and finally to sever its connexion by which
>
> ‘the whole round world is every way
>
> Bound by gold chains about the feet of God.’[85]

A similar desire to understand the interconnectedness of phenomena, rather than dividing phenomena into isolated categories, is found in Viriamu Jones' observations on the visible spectrum in his logbook:

> When scientists talk of the Spectrum being Seven Colours Red, Orange, Yellow, Green, Blue, Indigo, Violet, one would fancy that they are distinct colours with distinct boundaries. This is not so, the colours turn into each other so gradually and blend so imperceptibly that it is impossible to say where one colour ends and the other begins.[86]

[84] Edward Caird, *Hegel* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1902), pp. 171, 173.
[85] Wallace, *Logic of Hegel*, pp. 64-65.
[86] ‘Observations on Dabbling in Prism Work’, pp. 3-4.

On the next page he continued:

> This exquisite blending of one colour into another, all through the spectrum, lends some countenance to Brewster's notion, that the spectrum is not seven colour, pure & simple at all, but three colours, superposed, in different intensities along the spectrum, namely, Red, Yellow, and Blue, and that these colours in certain quantities give all the colours which we see – Another supposition (which strikes me) may be that every one of the seven colours may be a distinct colour but shading off into indistinctness and over lapping the next colour.
>
> This however won't agree with Newton's opinion that every colour has its own degree of [?]. Seeing that the colours are so marvellously blended, I can't see how Newton's opinion on that point can be strictly accurate – for, if so, there ought to be no bleeding.[87]

Here Jones questioned Newton's theory of colour, which stated that the visible spectrum consisted of seven clearly demarcated colours. Rather than seeing the colours in isolation, Jones noted the 'exquisite blending' of the colours, even noting that, if Newton's theory were correct, there 'ought to be no bleeding' of colours. In this respect Jones seems to fit within the Idealist ethos of seeing the interrelatedness of phenomena and not isolating them from their contexts.

With an eye to seeing natural phenomena in their wider interrelations, Viriamu Jones also saw the need to collate the results of scientific research such that future scientists would be able to discern broader interconnections and generalisations. In January 1887, when president of the Cardiff Naturalists' Society, Jones gave an address in which he outlined this vision:

[87] 'Observations on Dabbling in Prism Work', pp. 4-5.

> Generalisation, it is true, is the work of the master mind. But it is within the power of us all to help to bring together a body of facts so arranged as to be available, classified for reference artificially, while we wait for him who shall classify them for all time naturally.[88]

Jones highlighted a danger of the scientific literature of the various branches becoming 'hermetically sealed' in dead, isolated units. Like an individual isolated from social relations, or educational institutions cut off from a wider educational system, research isolated from conceptual relations could never reach its full realisation. With this in mind, Jones identified the importance of scientific institutions such as the Royal Society. The Society's function of cataloguing the vast stores of scientific papers he felt was quickly becoming worthy of being regarded as a science in its own right.

As well as being informed by the Idealist attitude to the natural sciences, Viriamu Jones' comments also reflect the opinions of his father Thomas Jones. As seen earlier, Thomas Jones' theological convictions were strongly informed by literary Romanticism which were shared by his congregants George MacDonald and Robert Browning. This in turn informed Thomas Jones' attitude towards the natural sciences. In his London sermons he sought to explain the interrelationship between science and religion:

> True science and true religion shall yet meet and blend, as naturally as two rivers flow into each other. Analyse matter, and resolve it into its first elements; dig among the rocks, and make them tell the story of their formation; "lift up your eyes on high," and study the revolving heavens; enter the temple of the mind, and read the mystic writings engraved upon its walls; and the Gospel of Christ shall not be disproved or displaced by the discoveries you may make in these or any regions. [89]

[88] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 254.
[89] Thomas Jones, *The Divine Order*, p. 367.

Thomas Jones presented science as a means of revealing the mind of God in creation: 'Science may be called a revelation – an unfolding of the material world. Wonder after wonder is brought to view in our time'.[90] Beneath all scientific explanations lay the Divine source from which the natural order came and upon which it rested:

> "God has put it in their hearts to survey the world." Hence the student of the physical world is right in carrying on his investigation. He goes down to the root of physical existence; examines the protoplasms – the first forms of things, and in doing so he is obeying a Divine instinct, and whether he thinks it or not, he is revealing the wonderful working of God…. He follows the streams of physical life to that dread point, where it first issues from the Divine Fountain.[91]

Ultimate explanations were therefore not to be found in the findings of science, but rather in the mind of God.

[90] Thomas Jones, *Lyric Thoughts*, p. 53.
[91] Thomas Jones, *Lyric Thoughts*, p. 52-3.

Chapter IV: System Building and Conflict

Idealist Educational Vision for Wales

It has been noted above that in England the Idealists sought to organise the disparate educational institutions into a single unified system, within which elementary, intermediate, and university education were all cohesively connected. Viriamu Jones sought to apply this approach to Welsh education. His wife recorded, 'Viriamu Jones, from the moment he began to work in Wales, saw the problems of elementary, intermediate, technical, and university education as a coherent system'.[1] These views were shared by other Oxford-trained Welsh Idealists such as T.E. Ellis and O.M. Edwards. For instance, on the passing of the Intermediate Education Act in 1889, T.E. Ellis wrote in an 1890 tract:

> Now that a popular system of Intermediate Schools is about to be founded [...] it is of the utmost importance that no retrograde step should be taken in reference to Elementary Education. Systematic organization of our Elementary Schools in wider districts than we now have [...] is needed.[2]

Like Viriamu Jones and other Idealists, Ellis saw the importance of 'systematic organisation' of educational institutions in Wales, with each level of learning being organically connected to the other.

In his inaugural address at the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire on October 26, 1883, Viriamu Jones stated that one of the key functions

[1] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 115.
[2] T.E. Ellis, A.H.D. Acland, *Free Education in Wales* (Wrexham: North Wales Liberal Federation, 1890), p. 4.

of the University of Wales (which was formally established a decade later on November 30, 1893) was that it would 'control the intermediate education of the country'.[3] Viriamu Jones, drawing upon his scientific training, clearly articulated his Idealist convictions concerning the organisation of educational institutions in his 1887 address to the Cymmrodorion Society in London:

> 'Scatter iron filings on a sheet of cardboard, they will fall irregularly without trace of ordering. Bring a magnet beneath the cardboard, and they will arrange themselves in curves so harmonious and beautiful and mysterious that one never wearies of watching.' That's the tale; the application? The iron filings are the educational institutions of Wales; and the University, if it plays its part aright, is the magnet that shall link them into orderly system.[4]

Here Viriamu argued that the University of Wales should function as the principal educational institution, around which all other institutions would cohere and harmonise. This holistic structure of education is consistent with Idealist principles, which held that all knowledge and reality had 'an essential underlying unity' within which 'all ideas were systematically linked together into one whole with no fundamental divisions between the different departments of knowledge'.[5] In England these principles were put into practical effect, with Idealists such as Jowett proposing a scheme of education within which 'the Universities must have some part in the government and management of […] schools, and must appoint one person in each school to be on the governing body of all the schools which choose to become affiliated with them'.[6] This scheme sought to bring

[3] Rev. D. Tyssil Evans, 'John Viriamu Jones, M. A. (Oxon.). B. Sc. (Lond.) F. R. S.', in *Welsh Political and Educational Leaders in the Victorian Era*, ed. J. Vyrnwy Morgan (London: Alabaster, Passmore & Sons, 1908), p. 317.
[4] John Viriamu Jones, 'Address to the Welsh National Society of Liverpool', November 1895.
[5] Mander, *British Idealism: A History*, p. 3.
[6] Abbott and Campbell, *Life of Jowett*, ii, pp. 424-5n.

'Universities and secondary schools together', thus producing a single cohesive educational system.[7]

Viriamu believed that this Idealist structure suited the contemporary situation in Wales, where various educational institutions were spread out across the land 'without [a] trace of order', many of which belonged to conflicting religious parties. In a letter to O.M. Edwards on February 1897, Viriamu wrote of the 'importance of the post of Chief Inspector' overlooking Welsh education, and how this post would 'be a position of great influence and magnificent possibility,' affecting 'the immediate future of Intermediate Education in Wales both in itself and its relations to Element[ary] and Higher Educ[ation]…'[8] Here Viriamu Jones wished to systematise Welsh Education by bringing all levels of learning under the supervision of a 'Chief Inspector'.

This conviction of the importance of homogeny is evident in an address Viriamu Jones gave at the 1887 National Eisteddfod titled 'The Future Development of the Welsh Educational System'. In this speech he advocated his conviction that elementary and secondary school teachers should gain their teaching qualification from the University of Wales, and that Intermediate education should be overseen by the University. He stated:

> We have considered the training of elementary teachers, and it emphasised the necessity of University organisation. We have considered intermediate education with the same result; and I think that the consideration of almost any question in connection with Welsh education points to a growing need of some higher educational authority than any at present existing in Wales – to an organisation of a completing kind, binding together what is at present, more or less, separated and individual educational work.

[7] Abbott and Campbell, *Life of Jowett*, ii, p. 424.
[8] NLW, AG2/5/3. Feb: 2nd 1897, *O.M. Edwards Papers: Letters from J. Viriamu Jones*.

> The Welsh University is needed to give unity of purpose and consolidation of result to Welsh educational effort.[9]

Further on he stated, 'It is my profound conviction that if a closer connection between the elementary teacher and our university institutions is brought about, the result will be a raising and broadening of the profession, which will do incalculable good'. This scheme came to some fruition in 1892 when University College, Cardiff established a department 'for the training of women as secondary school teachers'. Millicent Mackenzie was appointed the department's first Head.[10]

Viriamu Jones was also convinced that when his envisioned national educational unity would come about, Wales as a nation would better play their part in the "spiritual" evolution of mankind. He ended his speech at the Eisteddfod with a bold and visionary prayer for Wales:

> May she [Wales] put far from her all narrowness and exclusiveness of spirit, believe profoundly that God has given to her a mission and a part of her own to perform in the evolution of the high destiny of man, and may she gird herself to her task with simple earnestness and eager faith, thankfully recognising that it is to be accomplished not by force of arms nor in political isolation, but by intellectual and moral eminence in closest contact and heartiest sympathy with all portions of the great empire of which she may well be thankful and proud that Providence has willed that she should form a part.[11]

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[9] Cardiff University Special Collections, GB 1239 101/9/1/1. UCC/P/L&P/31. John Viriamu Jones, 'The Future Development of the Welsh Educational System', Viriamu Jones papers re. Welsh language, 1885-1901, p. 4.
[10] W.J. Mander, 'Mackenzie, Hester Millicent (née Hughes: 1863-1942)', in *Dictionary of Twentieth Century British Philosophers*, Vol. ii (Bristol: Thoemmes Continuum, 2005), p. 616.
[11] Viriamu Jones, 'The Future Development of the Welsh Educational System', p. 5.

This quotation is filled with Hegelian and Romantic Nationalist/Idealist notions, such as the belief that the nation-states (such as Wales) were God's chosen vehicles to carry out His will on earth,[12] and thus that each nation and people group had a unique part to play in God's great plan of Providence. It also has imperialist assumptions, holding that the British Empire played a crucial role in the destiny of man. Throughout his life, probably due to his anglophone upbringing in London and his father's love of refined English culture, Viriamu Jones acquired strong imperialistic sentiments, seeing London as 'the centre of the great Empire'. On one occasion after visiting the House of Commons he wrote:

> Ah! one feels here the might of England – something of the feeling I had during my visit to the Mediterranean comes upon me here. We lunched at Gibraltar to find British redcoats – at Malta, the sight of them made us feel at home – at Cairo we found the citadel in their possession, and one realised what it is to be an Englishman – marched with a prouder tread. Yes, travelling makes one understand the Empire. To go round the world and meet everywhere the English-speaking race. Well, I may be mistaken, but the might of this land, the mother of nations, comes home to me – and I rejoice to have sprung from her loins. And I have the same feeling here – at the centre of the great Empire. Yes! it appeals to the imagination.[13]

In this extract Viriamu Jones identified himself as an Englishman who belongs to the mother of nations. His Welsh identity was informed by this imperialism, believing that Wales found its true purpose and identity within the British Empire. He therefore had little sympathy with what he called 'narrowness and exclusiveness of spirit' of nationalisms which focused solely on Welsh affairs. Viriamu Jones' imperialistic sentiments were informed by the British Idealists who saw the Empire as a mighty spiritual, moral, and civilising force in the world. W.J. Mander, collating together the various imperialistic statements of the Idealist J.H. Muirhead, writes:

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[12] John Warren, 'The Rankean tradition in British historiography, 1840 to 1950', in *Writing History: Theory and Practice*, ed. Stefan Berger, Heiko Felder, Kevin Passmore (London: Hodder Arnold, 2003), p. 33.
[13] Katharine Jones, *Life*, 299.

> We have a duty of care and nurture, part of our 'obligation to the wider whole of Humanity'. This duty is to develop (not 'reconstruct') the moral, industrial, and spiritual ideas of some four or five hundred million people, in best accordance with their own race; not to destroy their own forms of the General Will, but foster what is best in them. Our mission must be to teach European ideas of truth, justice, and science, for Justice is justice, and science is science, all over the world.[14]

Mander also collates together the imperialistic statements of J.S. Mackenzie:

> The need was to wake up to the fact that 'we have relations and obligations all over the surface of the earth', and thus that we must treat our empire not just as a commercial asset or national adornment but embrace instead a 'true imperialism' which involves 'the recognition that we have our part to play with others in the great task of advancing humanity, that we have to join heartily with others in the promotion of peace, liberty, justice, and enlightenment, to which we hope all nations will be more and more devoted'.[15]

In his educational efforts in Wales Viriamu Jones was attempting to implement the Idealists' imperialistic mission of promoting 'peace, liberty, justice, and enlightenment' within Wales itself. As shall be seen below it was not Viriamu Jones' intention to 'reconstruct' Wales' identity in accordance with English ideas, but rather to 'develop […] the moral, industrial, and spiritual ideas' of the Welsh 'in best accordance with their own race'.

Viriamu Jones' vision of a single cohesive system of education in Wales was therefore informed by many English imperial assumptions, as well as by Hegelian notions mediated through English thinkers. His vision was met with considerable opposition by some other Welsh educationalists. A few were sceptical of a monolithic structure which seemed to privilege those in university departments above those whose

[14] Mander, *British Idealism: A History*, p. 522.
[15] Mander, *British Idealism: A History*, p. 523.

work was within the Intermediate schools. A voice of dissent came from Sir George Young who wrote the following to Viriamu Jones in 1896: [16]

> DEAR PROFESSOR JONES, - I am sorry I missed you this morning.
>
> I heard from Mr. Ivor James of the movement for making the University of Wales the provincial authority in Secondary Education, and deprecate it […] because I do not think University authorities, acting as such, are the right authorities to control secondary education. Secondary education is that which is best for students of whom a small minority will go to the University, the great majority having other destinies. Therefore, while the culture of University men, and their outlook over the educational field, make their presence more important perhaps than that of any other single element in composing the authority for Secondary Education, they ought, in my opinion, to be one element of (I do not say many, but) several – two or three fewest – and they ought not, acting *ex officio* as University authorities, to be supreme. The argument is made stronger for me, in my view, by Mr. James's reply – 'The University of Wales is *not* all composed of University Dons.' I could trust the professional better than the amateur Don, in such a matter.[17]

Implicit in Sir George Young's suspicion was that Welsh education, if overseen by University Dons, was prone to being infiltrated by English university influences alien to Welsh interests. He had greater confidence in the Welsh teachers and schoolmasters who oversaw secondary education first hand. Sir George Young's concern that an educational system governed by University Dons would result in an authoritarian leadership transpired to be a very real one. As shall be seen below, Benjamin Jowett's "philosopher-saints" were not prepared simply to give useful advice, but rather were bred to dominate and rule.

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[16] Sir George Young is a mysterious figure who does not appear in any biographical dictionary the present writer has been able to find.
[17] Katharine Jones, *Life*, pp. 212-213.

Doubts were also raised by Owen Owen, a headmaster of a private school in Oswestry which under his care became Oswestry High School.[18] In 1887 Owen 'put forward a proposal for a Welsh Educational Department in Whitehall',[19] then from 1890 to 1893 was instrumental in forming various local county schemes under the Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889,[20] and in 1895 supported the 'proposal to create a Central Welsh Board for the examination and inspection of Intermediate Schools in Wales'.[21] Owen was therefore highly experienced in local Intermediate educational schemes and was naturally wary of externally imposed systems.

Viriamu Jones was opposed to the creation of the Central Welsh Board, arguing that it would cause strife and conflict between the Intermediate and University bodies, and would introduce 'too much machinery' to Welsh education.[22] He expressed these views to 'a meeting of the Intermediate Governing Body at Cardiff on February 4':

> We have, in fact, two great educational parliaments called together from all parts of Wales, and the question arises, Is it worth while to bring two such parliaments into existence, because the Central Board would minister to the Intermediate Schools, whilst the University would minister to the Colleges? Why not join the two? That has been in the minds of educationalists and has been the subject of reiterated resolutions. The Welsh University Charter and the Central Board Scheme both definitely state that in matters of academic study Wales is to look after itself as one province. Why – in connection with things so closely related as University education and education in

[18] Edgar William Jones, 'OWEN, OWEN (1850 - 1920), first chief inspector of the Central Welsh Board for Intermediate Education in Wales', in *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. Online access: https://biography.wales/article/s-OWEN-OWE-1850 [accessed January 21st, 2022].
[19] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 211.
[20] Edgar William Jones, 'OWEN, OWEN (1850 - 1920), first chief inspector of the Central Welsh Board for Intermediate Education in Wales', in *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. Online access: https://biography.wales/article/s-OWEN-OWE-1850 [accessed January 21st, 2022]; John Fletcher, *The Influence of the Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889 on Technical Education in Wales* [PhD dissertation] (University College, Cardiff, 1982).
[21] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 211.
[22] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 213.

> Intermediate Schools – weaken the large assembly by bringing into existence two bodies which would consist very largely of the same men? They no doubt want two Executive Committees, but I think it is courting failure to create so many large bodies.[23]

Viriamu was anxious to implement his cohesive Idealistic system into Welsh education, as he was convinced that systems only properly functioned when based upon an essential underlying unity. The presence of any fundamental divisions would therefore lead to a natural disintegration of the entire structure. For Viriamu, the presence of separate educational bodies represented such a division which would inevitably lead to rivalry and disintegration. This odd reasoning seems to confirm Sir George Young's suspicion that the 'amateur Dons' were seeking supreme control over all educational administration in Wales.

Despite Viriamu Jones' strong conviction and impassioned plea for a single educational system governed by the Welsh University, he ultimately lost this debate, and the Central Welsh Board was formally established in 1896. Perhaps as an act of reconciliation, Viriamu was 'unanimously elected […] Vice-Chairman' of the Board at the second meeting on December 7, 1896.[24]

Another opponent to Viriamu Jones' idea that all levels of education should be overseen by the University was Arthur Humphreys-Owen, Liberal M.P. for Montgomeryshire. Humphreys-Owen had a deep concern for nonconformist access to intermediate education and opposed 'the further endowment of sectarian schools'.[25] Humphreys-Owen believed that the best way to secure these objectives was in the formation of a Central Board. While sharing Viriamu Jones' concerns that 'a second national body for educational purposes would almost inevitably drift, however unconsciously or unintentionally, into an attitude of antagonism towards the Welsh

[23] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 215.
[24] Sir Percy E. Watkins, *A Welshman Remembers* (Cardiff: William Lewis, 1944), p. 35.
[25] 'The Education Question in Wales', *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald and North and South Wales Independent*, November 22, 1895.

University,' he believed that the Central Board may eventually join forces with the University by the formation of a Syndicate.[26]

After the formation of the Board Humphreys-Owen initially wrote a circular which 'denounced the attempt of the University Court to capture the Central Board'. However, after some canny diplomacy on the part of Viriamu Jones, he 'issued another circular, actually supporting the University Court in what his former circular condemned'.[27] This episode demonstrated Viriamu's incredible ability to bring people around to his way of thinking, which J. Issard Davies, a leading educationalist in Caernarvonshire[28], negatively described in a letter to the editor of the *Montgomery County Times and Shropshire and Mid-Wales Advertiser* as his 'soothing mesmerism' over impressionable minds.[29] Issard Davies, along with several others on the Central Welsh Board and other Welsh educationalists, was convinced that Viriamu's plan would mean 'the crippling of our best schools' and the 'compulsory adoption of a code of education whose ultimate goal must be the University Colleges'. Rather than adopt this hegemonic system which gave ultimate privilege to the Colleges, Davies wanted the 'freedom for each school to develop unhampered on its own lines'.[30]

It therefore appears that Viriamu Jones' position in the Central Welsh Board was not without friction, and that there was some bad blood between him and certain individuals on the Board. Viriamu Jones had a particularly strong antagonism against Owen Owen. A possible reason for this antagonism was that Owen was a key figure in supporting the Board's formation, and its separate status from the University. Viriamu Jones even tried to hamper his election as Chief Inspector of the Board. Sir Percy Watkins, a Welsh civil servant who was present at the first meetings of the Board, noted Viriamu's 'rather strong language in opposition to the candidature of Mr. Owen Owen,'

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[26] Katharine Jones, *Life* p. 213
[27] *The Montgomery County Times and Shropshire and Mid-Wales Advertiser*, January 16, 1897.
[28] *The North Wales Chronicle and Advertiser for the Principality*, 'Late Mr Issard Davies', March 16, 1917.
[29] *The Montgomery County Times and Shropshire and Mid-Wales Advertiser*, January 16, 1897.
[30] *The Montgomery County Times*, January 16, 1897.

and his sarcastic comment that 'he had read Mr. Owen Owen's application very carefully, and the only point in it which he could discover which singled out Mr. Owen for special comment was that he was proficient in the tonic sol-fa'.[31] Another possible explanation for Viriamu Jones' antagonism toward Owen was their differing class backgrounds and upbringing. Owen seems to have been born to an affluent family, having been educated at Botwnnog grammar school.[32] This early educational privilege made Owen eligible for a Welsh Scholarship at Jesus College, Oxford,[33] where he matriculated in 1873.[34] These early educational privileges, along with his subsequent career as a headmaster of a private school, put him at odds with Jones' upward social climb and more egalitarian education vision.

A final explanation for Viriamu Jones' fierce opposition to Owen Owen and his application for the position of Chief Inspector, was that he had already decided that his friend O.M. Edwards was the right man for the job. Jones had written to Edwards several months earlier saying 'I should like to see you among the candidates'.[35]

Since their first encounter in 1883 Viriamu Jones and O.M. Edwards had developed an intimate friendship. In their correspondence Jones fondly addressed his letters to 'My dear Owen Edwards'.[36] The two men had much in common: they were both Welsh graduates from Oxford; they both had a keenness for literature, particularly for the romanticism of Wordsworth, Ruskin and William Morris; and crucially, they also shared the common conviction that a Welsh national education should be 'unified in

[31] Watkins, *A Welshman Remembers*, p. 44.
[32] Edgar William Jones, 'OWEN, OWEN (1850 - 1920), first chief inspector of the Central Welsh Board for Intermediate Education in Wales', in *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. Online access: https://biography.wales/article/s-OWEN-OWE-1850
[33] *Oxford University Calendar 1877*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1877), p. 352
[34] 'Owen Owen (6)', in Joseph Fletcher, *Alumni Oxonienses: the Members of the University of Oxford, 1715-1886*. Online Access: https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Alumni_Oxonienses:_the_Members_of_the_University_of_Oxford,_1715-1886/Owen,_Owen_(6) [Accessed 30/08/22].
[35] NLW, AG2/5/3. Feb: 2nd 1897, *O.M. Edwards Papers: Letters from J. Viriamu Jones*.
[36] NLW, AG2/5/4. Undated, *O.M. Edwards Papers: Letters from J. Viriamu Jones*, London, to O.M. Edwards.

structure' and governed by a 'coherent ideal'.[37] Like Jones, Edwards was taught philosophical Idealism while he was a student. Edwards learnt it initially from Sir Henry Jones during his years of study at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth from 1880-83, and from Edward Caird at Glasgow University in 1883.[38] In 1884 he went to Balliol College where he was taught by Benjamin Jowett, who recognised Edwards as 'the most distinguished Welshmen that we have had at Oxford for many years'.[39] Eugenio F. Biagini notes that '[O. M.] Edwards had been heavily influenced by the late nineteenth century revival in the idealist philosophers of both the Hegelian and the ancient Hellenic varieties, and in particular by the ideas of the Scottish neo-idealists, whose chief advocate was Edward Caird'.[40] Edwards also shared Viriamu Jones' conviction that 'all teachers [should] attend university'.[41] The similarity of the two men's beliefs is seen in the following extract from O.M. Edwards' 1906 book *A Short History of Wales*:

> The tendency of the whole system of Welsh education is towards greater unity. There is a dual government of the secondary schools and of the colleges, the one by the Central Board and the other by the University Court – a historical accident which is now a blemish on the system. […] The ideal system is: an efficient and patriotic University regulating the whole work of the secondary and elementary schools, guided by the willingness of the County Councils, or of an educational authority appointed by them, to provide means.[42]

[37] Wynne Ll. Lloyd, 'Owen M. Edwards (1858-1920)', in *Pioneers of Welsh Education* (Swansea: The Faculty of Education, University College, Swansea, 196(3?)), pp. 87, 93, 90, 99.
[38] Lloyd, 'Owen M. Edwards (1858-1920)' in *Pioneers of Welsh Education*, p. 85.
[39] Hazel Davies, *O.M. Edwards* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1988), p. 21.
[40] Eugenio F. Biagini, *Citizenship and Community: Liberals, Radicals and Collective Identities in the British Isles, 1865-1931* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 328.
[41] Gareth Elwyn Jones, *Controls and Conflicts in Welsh Secondary Education 1889-1944* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1982), p. 18.
[42] O.M. Edwards, *A Short History of Wales* (Dodo Press), p. 67.

Sharing these characteristics and convictions, Jones was adamant that Edwards should have the position, believing that he was the perfect instrument to implement the Idealist-inspired educational structure within Wales. So convinced was Viriamu Jones that this position should go to O.M. Edwards that he even wrote to Edwards urging him to give up his academic career as historian at Oxford to apply for the post.[43]Viriamu Jones' opposition to Owen was therefore on the grounds of favouritism for a close and like-minded friend, rather than because 'he had read Mr. Owen Owen's application very carefully,' and decided against it.[44]

This was uncharacteristically small-minded of Viriamu Jones, and perhaps partially justifies Sir George Young's concern that an educational system constructed and overseen by 'University Dons' would result in a form of authoritarian tyranny. However, Jones also lost this debate, and Mr. Owen Owen was elected Chief Inspector. Sir Percy Watkins noted that upon his election Jones went up to Owen and said, 'Owen, I have done my utmost to-day to prevent your being appointed; but now that you are appointed, I should like you to know that I will do all I can, from to-day, to help you in every way'.[45] O.M. Edwards took his defeat less gracefully, and over the years (until his eventual election as Chief Inspector in 1907) was 'a very severe critic of the Central Welsh Board and its policy,'[46] and even suspected that the committee had 'been constituted to choose Owen Owen'.[47] As seen above, in 1906 Edwards referred to the Board as 'a historical accident which is now a blemish on the system',[48] and in the August 1903 edition of his Welsh language periodical *Cymru*, as translated by T. I. Ellis, he wrote:

[43] NLW, AG2/5/3. Feb 2nd, 1897.
[44] Watkins, *A Welshman Remembers*, p. 44.
[45] Watkins, *A Welshman Remembers*, p. 44.
[46] T. I. Ellis, *The Development of Higher Education in Wales* (Wrexham: Hughes & Son, 1935), p. 123.
[47] Hazel Davies, *O.M. Edwards*, p. 67.
[48] O.M. Edwards, *A Short History of Wales* (Dodo Press), p. 67.

> It was formed in error, it was clumsy and sluggish throughout its life, listless and short-sighted people sat hard and long upon it, it might have been thought that its purpose was to combine the maximum of expense with the minimum of efficiency.[49]

This rather depressing episode reveals the potential dark underside of Idealism. On the positive side, Idealism sought to bring unity and cohesion to the disparate educational efforts in Wales, and thus help to strengthen a Welsh national voice; on the negative, this effort to bring unity also contained a latent tyranny which would attempt to eliminate those who resisted their form of unification.

This 'rage for unity' and control is a recurring feature throughout the history of Idealist thought.[50] As observed in Jowett's translation of Plato's *Republic,* Plato's Idealism demanded a rigid hierarchical society governed by an elite group of 'Fellow-guardians'. Similarly, Edward Caird notes that Hegel's Idealism 'calls for a hero, to realise by "blood and iron" the political regeneration of Germany'.[51] Living in a politically divided Germany filled with various 'provincial estates', Hegel wrote that these estates:

> must be gathered into one by the violence of a conqueror; they must be compelled by him to regard themselves as belonging to one Germany. Such a Theseus must have magnanimity enough to grant to the nation which he has formed out of scattered peoples a share in that which is the common interest….[52]

[49] Quotation taken from Ellis, *The Development of Higher Education in Wales*, p. 123.
[50] Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (London: John Hopkins University Press, 1976), p. xvi.
[51] Edward Caird, *Hegel* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1902), p. 85.
[52] Caird, *Hegel*, p. 86.

These controlling elements of Idealism, as recognised by the Benjamin Jowett and Edward Caird, were incorporated into British Idealism itself. For instance, the British Idealists heavily emphasised the need for unification and systemisation. Professor MacCunn said of Edward Caird that 'he was enamoured of system,' and 'was in fact wedded to system'.[53]

This section has considered how Viriamu Jones' Idealistic persuasions informed his conviction that education in Wales should be governed in a coherent, unified system. This is aptly summarised by his wife, who writes, 'Viriamu Jones, from the moment he began work in Wales, saw the problems of elementary, intermediate, technical, and university education as a coherent system'.[54] It has also noted how this desire for coherence brought with it the risk of tyranny and the suppression of other voices. The following section shall consider how these same principles informed Viriamu Jones' belief that a Welsh University should be composed of a unified federation of Colleges across Wales, and not a disparate collection of higher education institutions. To demonstrate this, two differing ideologies of Welsh higher education which came into conflict at the inception of the University of Wales shall be considered: the unified federation of Viriamu Jones, and the itinerate system of R. D. Roberts.

Drafting the Charter for the University of Wales

In his 1888 annual report to the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire Court of Governors, Viriamu Jones made the following entry:

> In April the Council entered into negotiations with the Governing Bodies of the Aberystwyth and the Bangor Colleges with the object of jointly petitioning the Queen for a grant of the Royal Charter for the establishment of a Welsh University upon a basis to be agreed upon between the authorities of the three Colleges.[55]

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[53] Sir Henry Jones and John Henry Muirhead, *The Life and Philosophy of Edward Caird* (Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson and Co., 1921), p. 248.
[54] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 115.
[55] Cardiff University Special Collections, UCC/Ct/M/1. 'Court of Governors' minutes', p. 74.

T. I. Ellis noted that Viriamu Jones 'was in the forefront of the movement to secure a University'.[56] In 1950 David Williams also noted that the unified federal model for the University of Wales 'was primarily the work of John Viriamu Jones'.[57] This section explores Viriamu Jones' position of influence in the formation of the University of Wales Charter and how he orchestrated the movement behind the scenes.

When it came to drafting the University of Wales Charter, it is significant that the key framers of the Charter were predominantly either Welsh Idealists or those sympathetic with the movement.[58] The presence of philosophical Idealism at these meetings is evident from C.H. Herford's account of a meeting held in Jesus College, Oxford:

> Around the long oak table of the College Hall, Cardiff and Bangor and Aberystwyth met to shape the inchoate body of the new University organism […]. Some brilliant speeches of those days still live in my memory; one, in particular, in which Professor Sorely of Cambridge, then Professor of Philosophy at Cardiff, completely transfigured for most of his audience the abstract study of Logic by restating its scope in the terms of an idealist philosophy.[59]

From this extract it is clear that the topic of philosophical Idealism was discussed in amongst the more mundane matters of organisation.

John Viriamu Jones was a strong advocate for an Idealist-inspired federal model for the Welsh University. Ever since he became Principal of the University College of Wales, Cardiff, in 1883, Viriamu Jones was convinced that all the University Colleges of Wales (situated in Aberystwyth, Bangor, Cardiff in 1883, and later Swansea in 1920) should be united to form a federal University of Wales, of which each College would be a

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[56] Ellis, *The Development of Higher Education in Wales*, p. 91.
[57] David Williams, *Modern Wales* (London: John Murray, 1950), p. 277.
[58] J. E. Lloyd, 'Memoir', in *Sir Harry Reichel: A Memorial Volume*, ed. J. E. Lloyd (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1934), p. 15.
[59] C. H. Herford, 'Impressions of Aberystwyth, 1887-1901', in *The College by the Sea*, ed. Iwan Morgan (Aberystwyth: The Cambrian News, Ltd., 1928), p. 99.

local expression. This is clear from his Introductory Lecture delivered at the Opening of the Session at the Cardiff College, October 26, 1883:

> It will be useful at the beginning of our First Session to state as definitely as possible the aims and objects of this institution and what it can do for the Welsh people. It is a College one day to be affiliated to the University of Wales – a day, we hope, not far off. We must aim at that; we must not be content with less than that. The various Colleges of Wales will be isolated units till the University of Wales exists, not in name, but in fact….[60]

By bringing prominent Idealist thinkers and those sympathetic to Idealism together to form a new Welsh University Charter, Viriamu Jones was masterminding a cohesive educational scheme which, he hoped, would become the cornerstone of a national system of education in Wales.

There were other key movers behind the administrative scenes who were sympathetic to Idealism. As the Charter began to take shape, assistance was given by the Liberal government to bring it to completion. The two key advocates for Welsh education within the Liberal government were Stuart Rendel, a benefactor of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth,[61] and A.H.D. Acland, vice-president of the council in Gladstone's forth Cabinet. [62] Arthur Acland stated that 'a capable Commissioner' would be chosen to write up a report for the proposed Charter.[63] Pertinently, Acland himself was influenced by Oxford Idealism, particularly as espoused by T.H Green and Arnold Toynbee.[64] He was particularly enchanted by 'Green's view of education as the most potent moral force in society'[65] and regarded 'Wales as

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[60] Principal Viriamu Jones, 'Introductory Lecture', in *Fountains of Praise: University College, Cardiff 1883-1983*, ed. Gwyn Jones & Michael Quinn (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1983), p. 21.
[61] T. I. Ellis (1959). 'RENDEL, STUART (1834 - 1913), 1st baron Rendel, industrialist, Member of Parliament, and philanthropist'. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. Retrieved 7 Feb 2022, from https://biography.wales/article/s-REND-STU-1834
[62] John Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, Vol III, p. 495
[63] *Report on the Proposed University*, p. xv.
[64] Williams, 'A Study in the Politics of Idealism', p.388.
[65] Williams, 'A Study in the Politics of Idealism', p.388.

particularly ripe for the Idealist enterprise'.[66] Acland was convinced that a national, unified educational system was the best option for Wales.

In 1892 Acland was appointed the Vice-President of the Committee of the Council of Education, and he appointed O.M. Edwards 'to enquire with regards to the proposed University of Wales'.[67] As noted earlier, Edwards himself was sympathetic to Idealism, which he learnt from Sir Henry Jones during his years of study at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth from 1880-83, and from Edward Caird at Glasgow University.[68] Acland therefore hired a man who shared his Idealist convictions to write the Report which would go directly to the Government's Cabinet. In 1893 O.M. Edwards wrote his *Report on the Proposed University of Wales*. In keeping with the Idealist vision, the Report recommended that the Welsh University should be 'a federation of three Colleges' in the style of Victoria University.[69] Mysteriously, this document remained confidential many decades after its completion.[70] It appears that Mr Acland, who commissioned the Report, wanted to ensure that Edwards' recommendations would not be challenged. When asked by Mr S. Leighton why the Report was not being opened to scrutiny, Acland responded, 'The report was made solely for the use of members of the Government and the Committee of the Privy Council, and I do not propose to lay it on the table. I may say that the report is mainly one of information rather than recommendation'.[71] It is therefore apparent that several influential and powerful individuals were behind this Idealist enterprise and were actively working together behind the scenes. This being the case it seems that the Idealist model was the only one realistically available.

Edwards' Report became the basis of the draft charter for the proposed federal Welsh University, which was discussed and passed at the 1893 Shrewsbury Conference. The Conference drew together the Joint Education Committees of Wales and

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[66] Williams, 'A Study in the Politics of Idealism', p.392.
[67] T. I. Ellis, *The Development of Higher Education in Wales* (Wrexham: Hughes & Son, 1935), p. 96.
[68] Lloyd, 'Owen M. Edwards (1858-1920)' in *Pioneers of Welsh Education*, p. 85.
[69] O.M. Edwards, *The Report on the Proposed University of Wales*, ed. J. Gwynn Williams (Aberystwyth: The National Library of Wales, 1993), p. 7.
[70] O.M. Edwards, *Report*, p. ix.
[71] *The Cambrian News*, August 11, 1893.

Monmouthshire, which had met at Shrewsbury several times to discuss Welsh education. The Conference was widely reported in the Welsh newspapers, in which the controversies surrounding the draft charter were not overlooked. According to *The Western Mail*, Lord Aberdare, who presided over the Conference, made it clear from the outset 'what the outcome of the proceedings should be. He proposed the adoption of the draft charter without any apologies or excuses'.[72] It appeared that Edwards' Report, commissioned only a few months earlier by Acland, was being adopted almost without discussion.

The choice of Edwards had already raised the suspicions of the editors of the *Cambrian News*, who wrote on November 18, 1892:

> Mr O.M. EDWARDS is to report on something or other in reference to the proposed Welsh University. We do not wish to assume an appearance of opposition to Mr O.M. EDWARDS. But what is he to report upon? […] Will Mr O.M. Edwards take a side, and settle the question?[73]

The suggestion that there were vested interests behind the election of Edwards to write the Report was summarily dismissed by Acland in a speech to a gathered crowd at the opening of the new Library at Aberystwyth College. Edwards, he assured listeners and readers, 'would not be asked to give an opinion, but to compile such a report as to the state of the facts and the state of the work already done in the Shrewsbury conference which might in a reasonable space be useful reading and provide valuable information for members of the Cabinet'.[74] While Edwards was writing his Report the editors of the *Western Mail* assured their readers that Edwards was a man of 'benevolent neutrality'.[75] As a group, Idealists adopted the image of fairness and neutrality. Flicking through their biographies at random, its expositors and proponents are marked (amongst themselves) as possessing an 'openness of […] mind', and a 'breadth of [..] outlook'.[76] They invariably

[72] The Shrewsbury University Conference', *The Western Mail*, January 7, 1893.
[73] 'Important Education Questions', *Cambrian News*, November 18, 1892.
[74] 'University College of Wales. Speech by Mr. Acland, M.P.', *Cambrian News*, November 18, 1892.
[75] *Western Mail*, November 26, 1892.
[76] Henry Jones, *Old Memories*, p. 132.

had 'sympathetic insights' into every problem and imparted a 'quickening and broadening' influence on those around them.[77] Seeing themselves thus, those who questioned or opposed Idealism were automatically labelled as "sectarian", "factious", "bombastic", "narrow-minded", etc.[78] The one vehement voice of opposition raised against this Idealist cohesive national educational structure was that of Dr Robert Davies Roberts, a leading figure in the University Extension Movement.[79] Setting his face against Idealism, Roberts immediately exposed himself to the ire of the broad-minded policymakers. He has ever since been labelled a factious individual. According to E. L. Ellis the word 'combative' 'might well have been invented to describe R. D. Roberts'.[80] Ellis also records Roberts 'rarely worried about rocking the boat,'[81] much to the dismay of those who tried to steer it.

Born at Aberystwyth on March 5, 1851, Roberts had a varied and highly decorated early education. [82] Roberts' early education was focused on the Natural Sciences, later attaining a first class in B.Sc. at the University College, London. After this Roberts went to Cambridge. From Cambridge he accepted a temporary lectureship in Chemistry and Physical Geography at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. Here he demonstrated a passion for popular lectures and University Extension Lectures. In

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[77] Helen Bosanquet, *Bernard Bosanquet* (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1924), p. 53.
[78] Henry Jones, *Old Memories*, p. 126.
[79] Its origins dating back to the 1850s, the University Extension Movement began due to the conviction of Oxford men such as Benjamin Jowett and William Sewell that the benefits of a university education should extend beyond the walls of the universities and their colleges. This conviction was shared in Cambridge by James Stuart, Fellow of Trinity College, who eventually set up a series of 'Local Lectures' on a variety of topics (predominantly on the liberal arts) which were open to men and women from the local community. The movement gained momentum, and lecturers began to set up local lecture series in cities such as Manchester, Sheffield, Liverpool, Leeds, and Hull. The classes mainly attracted a middle-class audience. [Janet Coles, 'University adult education: the first century', in *University Continuing Education, 1981-2006*, ed. Bill Jones, Russell Moseley, Geoffrey Thomas (Leicester: National Institute of Adult Continuing Education, 2010), pp. 7-24.].
[80] Ellis, *The University College of Wales, Aberystwyth*, p. 111.
[81] Ellis, *The University College of Wales, Aberystwyth*, p. 97.
[82] B. B. Thomas, 'R. D. Roberts and Adult Education', in *Harlech Studies*, ed. B. B. Thomas (Cardiff: University of Wales Press Board, 1938), p. 1.

1876 he 'gave a course of public lectures on Physical Geography'.[83] His efforts were praised by Principal T. C. Edwards, who noted his 'strenuous effort to interest his fellow townsmen in the efforts of "Physical Geography"'.[84] Roberts had several personal and social characteristics which set him apart from Idealism which help to account for the friction at the 1893 Shrewsbury Conference. One was his less than affluent upbringing. R. D. Roberts was the son of Richard Roberts, a timber merchant, and his mother Sarah Roberts was a 'faithful and active member of the Tabernacle Methodist Church' in Aberystwyth.[85] She was especially active as a teacher in the Tanycae Sunday School which Roberts' father helped to establish in 1877.[86] It was noted that his mother 'did much good by visiting and helping the poor, and in looking after members of her class and others'.[87] Both of R. D. Roberts' parents were therefore actively involved in the Methodist Sunday School movement. Growing up, Roberts was actively involved in the Church and became an elder at Tabernacle aged 21, maintaining this position for at least six years.[88] Roberts was present for the laying of the 'memorial stone' for the new Tabernacle building on the August 11, 1879 and gave a speech before a large audience, which included Principal Thomas Charles Edwards of the Aberystwyth College.[89] He also celebrated the occasion of his marriage in the Tabernacle on Christmas Day 1888.[90] This upbringing goes some way to explaining R. D. Roberts' most striking difference from Idealist thought, which was his fundamentally different educational convictions.

As noted above, the Idealists were convinced that a single cohesive federal structure was the best course for providing Wales with a sound educational system. Roberts, however, was convinced of 'the dangers of institutionalism'.[91] This was probably due to his upbringing around Methodist education which emphasised the need

[83] Thomas, 'R. D. Roberts and Adult Education', p. 2.
[84] Thomas, 'R. D. Roberts and Adult Education', p. 2.
[85] 'Death of Mrs. Roberts, Bridge Street', *The Aberystwyth Observer*, December 17, 1891.
[86] Moelwyn I Williams, 'Tabernacle Chapel, Aberystwyth', *THE CHAPEL'S HERITAGE SOCIETY* (n.d.), p. 3.
[87] *The Aberystwyth Observer*, December 17, 1891.
[88] Thomas, 'R. D. Roberts and Adult Education', p. 3; Moelwyn I. Williams, *Y Tabernacl Aberystwyth 1785-1885* (Aberystwyth: Cyhoeddedig gan Awdur, 1986), p. 152.
[89] Williams, *Y Tabernacl Aberystwyth 1785-1885*, p. 42.
[90] *The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard*, December 28, 1888.
[91] Thomas, 'R.D. Roberts and Adult Education', p. 20

for indigenous grassroot schools for the working-classes. Methodism as a movement was noted for its 'system of itineracy', in which 'All the preachers of eminence travelled over the counties, preaching every day, sometimes three times a day'.[92] Drawing on his Methodist upbringing, Roberts held to the belief that the great task of education in Wales was to be accomplished in much the same way as Methodism had undertaken it:

> the method by means of which the religious movement of the eighteenth century spread itself and laid hold of the whole country is the method by means of which a great intellectual revival may be started, extended and maintained in the twentieth century.[93]

Roberts' educational vision was similar to that of Griffith Jones a century earlier, one of the fathers of Methodism and founder of the Circulatory Schools. Roberts advocated an itinerant system of lecturers in which University lecturers 'could be placed wherever suitable local arrangements were made for undertaking continuous university work', much like the teaching and preaching provided by the Methodist preachers.[94] Like the Methodist revival which established itself via popular efforts and enthusiasm, Roberts envisioned that this intellectual revival would 'rise in a natural and spontaneous way' in close collaboration with 'public bodies, [such as] the Educational Committees of Industrial Co-operative Societies'.[95] This vision was antithetical to Viriamu Jones' ordered and systematic Idealistic approach. To summarise, whereas Viriamu Jones and the Idealists held to a "top-down" educational vision in which everything was overseen by the University, Roberts held to a "bottom-up" approach in which the specific needs of the Welsh localities were paramount.

Roberts was also cautious of the idea that Welsh University should exclusively be an independent degree awarding institution. He argued that it should leave open the option for students to prepare for examinations at the London University. His reasoning was that a degree from a new and untested Welsh University would be of little value in

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[92] Owen Jones, *Some of the Great Preachers of Wales* (Stoke-on-Trent: Tentmaker Publications, 1995), pp. 2, 3.
[93] R.D. Roberts, Article in *Liverpool National Society Transactions*, 1898.
[94] Thomas, 'R.D. Roberts and Adult Education', pp. 17, 18.
[95] R.D. Roberts, 'The Inwardness of the University Extension Movement', in *The University Review*, October 1905.

comparison with a well-accredited London University degree. It was therefore in the best interest of Welsh students to receive their degrees from an established external body. *The Cambrian News* supported R. D. Roberts' position against Jones' policy of creating a 'Welsh degree':

> If it is adopted the Welsh students will be driven from the Welsh Colleges to wheresoever they can obtain the training that will enable them to take the London University degree, which has a recognised value all over the world. It is not English students only that would be excluded from Welsh Colleges by the adoption of Principal VIRIAMU Jones' policy. Welsh students would also be excluded. […] What can the Welsh degree be worth for some years? And are Welsh students who make great sacrifices to enter the Welsh Colleges to be told that they must qualify for the Welsh degree or nothing?[96]

In today's terminology, R. D. Roberts and his supporters within *The Cambrian News* argued that if the University of Wales conferred its own Welsh degrees it risked becoming little more than a degree mill conferring qualifications of little worth. In these concerns Roberts sought to put the cause of the working men above national sentiments.

In addition, R. D. Roberts' suspicion of institutionalism stemmed from his prolonged work in adult education within the University Extension Movement. In the 1880s Roberts was Assistant Secretary for the 'Syndicate for Conducting the Local Lectures of the University' at Clare College, Cambridge.[97] In his work he developed a keen concern for 'the educational needs of the working classes'.[98] In the north of England he initiated a 'Local Lectures Movement' which sought to establish Lecture-Centres within industrial towns and mining villages. In this work he formed links with various working-class organisations such as the Miners' Unions, Miners' Committees,

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[96] *The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard*, 'Three Welsh University Foxes', November 8, 1895.
[97] R.D. Roberts, 'Syndicate for conducting the local lectures of the University: reports of visits to centres between Easter, 1882, and Easter, 1883', Earl Grey Pamphlets Collection, 1883.
[98] Roberts, 'Syndicate for conducting the local lectures', p. 1.

Industrial Co-operative Societies and Trade Societies. Working alongside these societies Roberts was impressed by the 'sturdy intelligence of the pitmen, their determined earnestness, [and their] downright earnestness of […] speech'.[99] He was also struck by the distinctive intellectual culture of the workers:

> The leaders of the artizans in the North are men of great ability and earnestness, and well-read to an amazing degree. As we were being conducted to the Station by a working pitman after one of the meetings, some reference was made to Whewell's "History of the Inductive Sciences," when our guide broke in with, "Ah, that is a book I have long been wanting to see. Mill criticises some point in it, and as far as I can see Mill was wrong." Another working man told me that in nine out of ten of the scanty libraries of the more thoughtful working men some of Mill's books would be found.[100]

From these reports it is evident that Roberts had developed a class consciousness. By personally interacting with grassroot working-class organisations Roberts became aware that people from differing classes and circumstances required radically different approaches to education, which would be difficult to accommodate within a single unified educational system.

Roberts' insight that the working-classes had their own distinctive intellectual life, and therefore had their own unique educational requirements, set him apart from the Idealists' homogenous University model. The Idealists' model required students to study 'at one of the constituent Colleges,' and pass 'the University Examinations'.[101] Roberts believed that the requirement for students to study residentially at one of the Colleges would necessarily exclude most of the working-class from entering the University, as most would have family or work commitments. This he emphasised in lectures and in the press, as seen in his address to the members of the Menai Society of Science and Literature in Bangor, 1884:

[99] Roberts, 'Syndicate for conducting the local lectures', p. 2.
[100] Roberts, 'Syndicate for conducting the local lectures', p. 2.
[101] O.M. Edwards, *The Report*, p. 13.

> He would ask them to consider what was usually meant when people spoke of higher education, and increasing the facilities for higher education. Had they not in mind only the cases of young men and young women between the ages of sixteen and twenty, who possessed the means and the time to spend three years in acquiring a university education? But why was the mass of the people left out of consideration? What about the thousands who possessed neither time nor means to spend three years at a college? Why were not the facilities for higher education brought within their reach? He believed there was a new idea of higher education growing in the country-, that it was beginning to be recognised that a really national system of higher education ought to provide facilities for those who were engaged in earning their daily bread.[102]

Roberts often made his educational convictions clear via the local press. *The Cambrian News* on September 16, 1887, reported Roberts as saying that the work of a university 'must not be restricted to the central and affiliated colleges, but branches will have to be sent out among the people, taking mental food of the first quality to their very doors'.[103]

Roberts drew up his more flexible University education model in 'a memorandum on the "Proposed University for Wales."' Regarding this memorandum B. B. Thomas wrote:

> He based it upon the needs of students who were unable to go into residence and the experience of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. He advocated the itinerant system of lecturers, the printed syllabus, weekly written work and final examinations for students. He outlined the conditions whereby a non-resident student might complete a degree in nine years and emphasised the value of wide educational responsibilities as a safeguard against the fetters of examination systems. He proposed that in addition to lecturers attached to the constituent colleges, the University as such should "possess a staff of itinerant lecturers who could be placed wherever suitable local arrangements were made for undertaking continuous university work." Their syllabuses should be

[102] *The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard*, 'DR. R.D. Roberts on Higher Education', January 11, 1884.
[103] *The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard*, 'People's Lectures', September 16, 1887.

> approved by the University and the detailed arrangements of courses for students aiming at a university degree worked out.[104]

Roberts' critique of the proposed University Charter highlighted the lack of concern for the lower classes within the Idealists' educational vision. This attitude of privileging those 'who possessed the means and the time to spend three years in acquiring a university education' was in fact inherent within Idealism. As mentioned in Chapter One, the goal of the Idealists' educational reforms was to open university education to those of an impoverished middle-class background in order to create a cultivated and refined group of young men to govern civil life and national affairs. As a later Idealist R.B. Haldane explained, the goal of a national education was to infuse 'a large outlook and understanding' into 'our middle and governing classes'.[105]

When put to the vote Roberts' alternative charter was defeated '2 against 21'.[106] There are several factors which may have contributed to this landslide defeat. The first is Lord Aberdare's assertion that Roberts' 'alternative charter' was not proposed until the last moment, thus leaving no time for it to be properly considered. Roberts, however, insisted that the 'substance' of it was raised at earlier meetings. That Roberts had raised the substance of his views on education earlier is certainly true. J. Gwynn Williams notes that Roberts had 'already made his standpoint known to Welshmen in *Y Traethodydd* in 1887,' and that in September 1891 he produced a 'Memorandum on the Proposed University of Wales'.[107] In this Memorandum he 'outlined the provisions at the older universities for those unable to attend regularly for three years'; however, it only suggested that some student could be allowed to reside at a University College for 'two rather than three years,' as opposed to his later proposal 'that the period of non-attendance should be extended to nine years'. Although some key aspects Roberts' views were known years earlier, Lord Aberdare was correct in saying that a formal scheme was not produced until the last meeting only a few weeks earlier.[108]

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[104] Thomas, 'R.D. Roberts and Adult Education', pp. 17-18.
[105] R.B. Haldane, *Education and Empire* (London: John Murray, 1902), pp. 5, 6.
[106] *The North Wales Press*, January 1, 1893.
[107] J. Gwynn Williams, *The University Movement in Wales*, Volume I (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1993), p. 127.
[108] Williams, *University Movement in Wales*, Volume I, p. 128.

Another factor for the defeat would be that Roberts' combative nature had made him unpopular with the Committee. In presenting his views he 'fought tenaciously,' 'aroused the ire' of senior members of the Committee, and finally 'urged his views relentlessly in the press' when he felt he was misrepresented. J. Gwynn Williams observes that Roberts' lack of tact and inflexibility was a major contribution to his defeat, stating that if he had been more moderate in his demands 'he would have been widely supported'.[109]

The driving force behind the Idealist charter was the belief in unity as applied to institutions. The core underlying beliefs of Idealism have been treated exhaustively above; however, the key concepts to bear in mind here are a belief in a systematic, unified, and rational universe; the desirability of a cultured and educated middle class; and the primacy of mind over the material. The belief that reality is a rational systematic unity neatly lends itself to the assumption that a federation of Colleges constituting a single University was the naturally the stronger educational model. This assumption is particularly evident in O.M. Edwards' comments on the federal system in his *Report*:

> The federal system has its difficulties, but the Colleges of the Victoria University are working well and in perfect good faith. There are no signs of disintegration; the policy of the Governing Body is shaped, not by the desire to make the Colleges into future Universities, but by the desire to perfect the machinery of the federated University.[110]

What makes Edwards' comment particularly interesting is that it went against the available evidence. As noted by Roberts, 'the constituent colleges at Liverpool, Manchester, and Leeds' were already in preparation to become their own Universities. J. Gwynn Williams also questions Edwards' 'optimistic view of the tricuspid Victoria University,' and wonders if he would have maintained this position 'had he in fact visited Liverpool, as was his original intention, and heard at first hand of the violent quarrel between Leeds and Liverpool in 1890 concerning the proposal to establish a chair of

[109] Williams, *University Movement in Wales*, Volume I, pp. 127, 128, 130.
[110] Edwards, *The Report on the Proposed University of Wales*, p. 18.

theology, much to the displeasure of Manchester, the senior partner'.[111] So too D. Emrys Evans writes:

> If his [Edwards'] diagnosis was correct at the time, he would certainly have found cause to write differently a few years later. Professor Charlton has described the 'malaise of federalism', which was mounting with the rapid growth of the three federated colleges. Two of them, Manchester and Liverpool, were eager for independence, and eventually, in 1903, the federal University was dissolved.[112]

Edwards' conviction that the federal system inspired 'good faith' and a near-frictionless unity was very much a result of his Idealist convictions and presuppositions as opposed to empirical evidence.

Idealist assumptions are evident in Henry Jones' comment that 'the framers of the Constitution of the Welsh University' (of whom he was one) envisioned the University as 'a highly complex organism. There are many elements in it;' he continues, 'and *the prosperity of the whole depends upon the welfare of each of these*…'[113] Summarising the Constitution Henry Jones states that its aim was that of 'securing the unity of the whole, to preserve as far as possible the freedom and independence of its constituent parts'.[114]

This emphasis on the unity and freedom of the Welsh University Colleges is another reason why the Idealist-inspired Charter was adopted. Before this Charter was adopted the University Colleges prepared students for the London Degree and followed the syllabi prescribed by the University of London. However, under this arrangement there were significant tensions between the Welsh Colleges and London. A recurring issue was the inflexibility and unsuitability of the London syllabi for the purposes of the Welsh Colleges. On May 17, 1887, Viriamu Jones wrote the following to the Registrar of the University of London:

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[111] Edwards, *The Report on the Proposed University of Wales*, p. xx.
[112] D. Emrys Evans, *The University of Wales: A Historical Sketch* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1953), p. 60.
[113] Henry Jones, 'The University of Wales: The Line of its Growth', Cardiff, October 3rd, 1905, p. 6. Emphasis added.
[114] Henry Jones, 'The University of Wales', p. 26.

> My Dear Sir,
>
> I am anxious to bring before the Senate the great difference between the amount of work required for the intermediate examination in Arts and the intermediate examination in Science. In drawing up our prospectus (a copy of which I send off with this) we find that it is not possible to go through the work prescribed for the intermediate in Science without giving 16 hours to lectures and 15 hours to laboratory work each week making in all 31 hours; while in the case of the intermediate in Arts the work required is carried by 19 lectures a week. This makes the amount of work in Science much too great for anyone to undertake at once.[115]

Furthermore, Viriamu Jones enclosed a letter from Professors such as W.P. Ker, Professor of English at Cardiff College, complaining of the difficulty of the Intermediate Examinations in English. The letter, dated May 13, 1887, read, 'The Old English subjects for the London Intermediate Examination in Arts 1888 are extremely difficult, and quite unnecessarily so'.[116]

Another reason for the tensions between the Welsh Colleges and the University of London was that they were built upon radically different philosophies. Whereas the Welsh Colleges were adopting Idealism, the University of London was founded upon Utilitarianism. Those who ran the University of London were inspired by the ideas of Jeremy Bentham, the founder of modern Utilitarianism, and adopted his materialist outlook.[117] The University remained, quite literally, under the watchful eye of Bentham and his philosophy, as Margaret Eyre, a student at London, recalled:

> Jeremy Bentham, the early 19th century philosopher, educationalist and writer on Social Subjects – and a queer fish […] was concerned with the foundation of the College in 1827 and so much interested that he left *Himself* to us. Stuffed like a specimen in the

[115] Senate House, London. GB 0096 AL194. Ker, William Paton; Jones, John Viriamu; Reichel, Harry: correspondence. 1887.
[116] Senate House, London. 1887.
[117] Hugh H.L. Bellot, *University College London, 1826-1926* (London: University of London Press, 1929).

> South Kensington Natural History Museum, sitting in a glass case, in his own chair, with his own skeleton supporting his own skin and wearing his own clothes […].[118]

The materialism of the University was also recognised by Viriamu Jones while he studied there from 1872-1874. In 1873 he wrote to his sister saying that the professors of Zoology seemed 'to regard life altogether as simply resulting from the way in which the molecules of the elements are aggregated together in order to produce the body'.[119]

By breaking away from the University of London the new University Charter allowed professors the freedom to teach as they felt was suitable and to form their own syllabi. This allowed the framers of the new Charter to promote an Idealist vision of the purpose of education. For them, education was not a matter of taxing the memory, but rather a process of forming good character and creating responsible citizens. Presenting this vision before the Cymmrodorion Society Viriamu Jones said:

> the University degree ought to be a guarantee of good training as well as the successful exhibition of knowledge in particular examinations; that in connection with all examinations there is a danger of the mental digestion commonly called 'cram,' and that this danger is minimised if the examining body insist beforehand that the person to be examined shall have sufficient teaching of such quality as to make 'cram' on his part a superfluidity of naughtiness.[120]

Viriamu Jones' comment emphasised the type of education Idealism envisioned and the particular demographic they sought to educate. R. D. Roberts was correct when he pointed out that by restricting the University's education to those 'within the walls of the three University Colleges', the proposed University Charter excluded the vast majority of the working classes.[121] This is explicit in Lord Aberdare's objection to Roberts's alternative Charter at the Shrewsbury Conference: 'Much of the University

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[118] Alicia C. Percival, *Aunt Margaret: Reminiscences of Margaret Eyre 1874-1963* (Oxford: TRUEXpress, 1974), p. 30.
[119] Poulton, *Viriamu Jones and Other Oxford Memories*, p. 28.
[120] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 380.
[121] *The Cambrian News and Merionethshire Standard*, 'Welsh University Principle and Detail', January 6, 1893.

extension movement was merely fireworks. They wanted graduates to be cultured men, as well as men possessed of a certain number of facts'.[122] For the Idealists, the primary purpose of a University education was to create 'cultured men', or, as stated in Chapter One, to train young men in order to attain a high standard of character and manners as opposed to a list of facts. This education was especially equipped to train and develop the middling classes. Through Socratic discourse and exercising critical thought the Idealists endeavoured to 'shape and guide the minds and characters' of the pupils under their care.[123]

This careful shaping and guiding of minds and characters could only take place within a controlled environment and under skilled teachers, i.e., by lecturers within a University College. This is entirely in keeping with Viriamu Jones and the other Idealists' ambition to restrict University teaching within the 'walls of the three University Colleges', and also for the University of Wales to confer its own degrees so it could craft its own method of teaching without being constrained by an external educational body. This ideal method of education was derived from Benjamin Jowett, who himself derived it from his reading of Platonic Idealism:

> For we must not fail to observe […] that there is a difference in places, and that some beget better men and others worse; and we must legislate accordingly. Some places are subject to strange and fatal influences by reason of diverse winds and violent heat, some by reason of waters; or, again, from the character of the food given by the earth, which not only affects the bodies of men for good or evil, but produces similar results in their souls.[124]

This vision of carefully controlling the environment of teaching sharply conflicted with Roberts' vision of working men being taught in their spare time by itinerate lecturers within a local 'Free Library' or 'larger secondary schools', to then undergo examinations from London University.[125]

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[122] *The North Wales Press*, January 1, 1893.
[123] Abbott & Campbell, ii, p. 441.
[124] Benjamin Jowett, *Dialogues of Plato*, Vol. IV, pp. 316-17.
[125] R.D. Roberts, 'The Inwardness of the University Extension Movement'.

By exploring R. D. Roberts' opposition to the proposed University Charter, this section has highlighted some key intellectual assumptions inherent within Idealism. Its vision was both Collectivist and Universalist, looking forward to a rational and coherent human society. Within this vision there was no place for isolated efforts and little immediate concern for the lower classes. Where, then, if anywhere, did the working classes fit within this model? This question shall be explored in the next chapter, which looks at how Viriamu Jones applied Oxford Idealism into the broader social issues of the time within Wales.

The Idealist Diplomat and Fundraiser

Idealism had grand visions as to how education should be run and governed. These visions, however, required funding. Viriamu Jones had a unique ability of securing funds from various public and civic individuals and groups. While in Sheffield Viriamu Jones met with prominent figures such as Alderman Mappin, Member of Parliament for Retford, a manufacturer of Sheffield, to speak of 'the great need of this town for intellectual food'. From this meeting he secured £100 'to organise a course of Lectures for next term in Metallurgy'.[126] Viriamu's ability to negotiate with prominent figures and groups would later come into great use when, as Principal of the University College, Cardiff, he had to secure large sums in donations to keep educational ventures afloat.

According to Jones' ideal all educational institutions would be fully funded by the State. However, until such a time came, he was very canny in securing the necessary funds. One such instance of this was on April 6, 1895, when Viriamu Jones arranged an interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir W. Harcourt. He wrote of what took place the next day to the Liberal politician, and friend, T.E. Ellis:

> Dear Ellis,
>
> I saw Sir W. Harcourt yesterday at 1 o'clock – I had not the opportunity of saying much – He was prepared to take the program of the College for granted, and came straight to the point of amount – When I named our requirements he sat astonished and

[126] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 64.

> then laughed at the idea that the Chancellor of the Exchequer could be expected to entertain for a moment such a petition – Said that he for his part could not [meet?] that sum if he could there was no money. Would we take less? If we proposed a sum of £20,000 say it might be considered. I regretted my feeble advocacy – On the whole he held out hopes that our cause might not suffer from that.
>
> I pointed out that in asking for £100,000 we understood that the grant could if given be spread over a number of years and that it would be coupled with conditions of adequate local response.
>
> I came away with the feeling that we may look for something to go on with – But ~~hope~~ that the whole scheme could not be considered.[127]

The fact that he walked away with £20,000 from the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the cause of education and yet still bemoaned his 'feeble advocacy,' demonstrates Viriamu Jones' dedication to uphold institutions which promoted the civic common good. Despite Jones' own disappointment after this meeting, Sir W. Harcourt would later confess that the Principal 'was the cleverest beggar he had ever met with, and about the only one he could not get rid of without promising to give what he asked for'.[128] Similarly in a tribute to Viriamu Jones in the *South Wales and Monmouthshire University College Magazine* J. Austin Jenkins wrote:

> Many are the instances which I could give showing that he was a Prince of administrators and that he was matchless in committees. Some years ago at the Cardiff Exchange one of the largest coalowners in Wales maintained that Principal Jones was the ablest man in the Principality, because he got his own way in the end, and never hurt or offended anyone in getting it.[129]

This persistence towards and devotion to the improvement of civic life was a common feature within Idealist ethics, as defined above.

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[127] NLW, Ellis 1139. Thomas Edward Ellis Papers: Letter from J. Viriamu Jones. Interview with Chancellor of the Exchequer re grant. 1895, April 7.
[128] *Nature*, 'Viriamu Jones', June 13, 1901.
[129] J. Austin Jenkins, *The magazine of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire*, Vol. XV, no. 3, Feb. 1903, p. 108.

Viriamu Jones also had close links with the wealthy Thompson family who were based in Cardiff. The Thompson family owned 'Spiller & Co', a Company which produced large quantities of flour and ships' biscuits.[130] The family used their acquired wealth for cultural and philanthropic ventures. One such venture was Turner House in Penarth. Established by James Pyke Thompson in 1888, Turner House was an art gallery with the aim of distributing a knowledge and appreciation of notable artworks for the working-class. James Tyke Thompson's ambition to bring about a great social reform through art and culture suited Viriamu Jones' Idealistic mission of disseminating education to the masses. At the gallery's opening, reporters from the *South Wales Daily News* were present and transcribed Thompson's opening speech, in which he set out the aims and ambitions of the project:

> Some among his friends had asked why he had not established a soup kitchen or convalescent home – (laughter) – which could have been provided at much less cost. Well, his reply was that he was not a philanthropist. Far be it from his mind to depreciate such efforts, but philanthropy was not his particular vocation. (Hear.) The question he had asked himself was does art afford a field for useful work? His personal experience was that its true appreciation helped one to a real love of nature, and opened one's eyes to its inexhaustible beauties.[131]

Thompson's comments regarding philanthropy are particularly insightful regarding the Idealists' ethos towards the public and the concept of the "common good". John Morel Gibbs noted that Thompson 'had other things in mind than the meeting of material deprivation' in establishing Turner House.[132] Rather than establishing a soup kitchen, Thompson's ambition was to improve 'what is called "taste" [of]our industrial classes'.[133] This attitude was consistent with the Idealist ethic. As a group the Idealists were proficient in establishing societies and discussion groups in communities, yet they

[130] John Morel Gibbs, *James Pyke Thompson: The Turner House, Penarth 1888-1988* (Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 1990), p. 8.
[131] *South Wales Daily News*, 'The "Turner House" at Penarth,' June 27, 1888.
[132] Gibbs, *James Pyke Thompson*, p. 16.
[133] Gibbs, *James Pyke Thompson*, p. 4.

showed little interest in setting up orphanages or shelters.[134] Like Thompson, they wanted to elevate the intellectual and moral taste of the society around them. By creating University Settlements, discussion groups and exhibitions in economically deprived areas, the Idealists wanted to set an aspiration before the public for them to strive towards. This ethic is aptly summarised by the Cardiff-based Idealist J.S. Mackenzie: 'The new Gospel is not that of leaving everyone to help himself, any more than it is of helping everyone; it is that of helping everyone to help himself'.[135] So too Benjamin Jowett believed 'that all who received help should begin by helping themselves, for all improvement rests on the improvement of the individual character'.[136]

Idealistic philanthropy therefore emphasised the need to improve the *consciousness* of individuals over and above their conditions. The aim of this philanthropy was educational and edifying rather than directly charitable or political. This attitude was encapsulated by Herbert Metford Thompson,[137] the brother of Pyke Thompson, in an address to the Cardiff Impartial Society:

> [although] reforms may help a good deal in bringing about a happier state of things, and a better and more general distribution of wealth, I do not think that legislation will reach the root of the difficulty. The things that are wanted more than anything else to remedy these evils – are firstly that every man and woman should be taught to do something thoroughly well something that will be of service to the community – secondly that there should be enough general intelligence to see what is needed by the community and enough adaptability to set to and do it – thirdly that the organising faculty should

[134] Matt Carter, *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism* (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2003), p. 13.
[135] J.S. Mackenzie, *An Introduction to Social Philosophy* (Glasgow: James Maclehouse & Sons, 1890), p. 115.
[136] Abbott & Campbell, *Life of Jowett*, ii, p. 253.
[137] In 1891, H.M. Thompson expounded his philanthropic philosophy in a book entitled *The Purse and Conscience*, published by Swan Sonnenschein & Co., who also published Millicent Mackenzie's thesis on Hegelian education. The book was reviewed, though not highly commended, by Bernard Bosanquet in the *Charity Organisation Review* (vol 7 no. 80, pp. 311-313).

> become more general, and fourthly that we should have enough confidence in our fellows to combine and cooperate with these for common objects.[138]

For the Thompson family, as with Idealism more generally, the root problems in society primarily had to do with how people were *taught* and how each contributed to the community at large.

Viriamu Jones and Pyke Thompson shared a passion for Browning's poetry,[139] and Turner House hosted poetry recitals which Viriamu Jones attended.[140] [141] Both Viriamu Jones and James Pyke Thompson had the belief that the arts were edifying and redemptive, and that the appreciation of art developed good character. Viriamu Jones advocated the introduction of art in schools as a means of teaching children 'to see things as they are,' and to 'train the feelings of the children […] to develop nobly, to grow finely'.[142] Other members of the Thompson family also established similar centres of culture. Herbert M. Thompson, the brother of James Pyke, became President of the Cardiff Ethical Society and emphasised the importance of teaching Ethics to school children.[143] Charles and Herbert M. Thompson also helped establish University House in Splott in 1906, a university settlement centre.[144] The Thompson family became

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[138] Glamorgan Archives, DTC/128. H.M. Thompson (n.d.), 'What should our aims in education be?' [1 Volume, MS]. Herbert Metford Thompson of Whitley Batch, Llandaff, 1856-1939.
[139] Gibbs, *James Pyke Thompson*, p. 37.
[140] *The Western Mail*, 'Forthcoming Recital at the Turner House,' October 11, 1889.
[141] Both men had taken part in a Browning poetry recital in the Lecture Theatre of the Public-hall, Queen-street (*The Western Mail*, December 11, 1885). On the evening of October 15, 1889, Pyke Thompson held a special poetry recital at Turner House for a 'numerous and select company' (*South Wales Echo*, October 16, 1889). The poetry of Browning was read by the actress Romola Tynte, a rising star of the day. Viriamu Jones was most probably present as the evening marked 'the opening of the winter session of the Browning section of the Cardiff Literary Society; therefore the programme was in some part devoted to the works of that poet.'(*South Wales Echo*, October 16, 1889). Viriamu Jones and Katharine Jones were also present at the seventh anniversary celebration of the opening of Turner House, along with other university staff and the Thompson family (*South Wales Echo*, June 28, 1895).
[142] Katharine Jones, *Life*, pp. 371, 372.
[143] Herbert M. Thompson, 'Moral Instruction in Schools', *International Journal of Ethics*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (Oct., 1904), pp. 28-47.
[144] *Weekly Mail*, May 19, 1906.

significant contributors to the educational efforts of Viriamu, Katharine Jones, and the College as a whole. By befriending members of the Thompson family Viriamu Jones found willing wealthy benefactors who funded the University College when it met with financial difficulties.

Another prominent figure with whom Viriamu Jones had dealings was the Third Marquess of Bute, Lord John Patrick Crichton-Stuart (1847-1900). Throughout Viriamu's time as Principal of the Cardiff College it is evident that the two men had a fractious relationship. A cartoon in the Welsh paper *Evening Express* presents the Bute as a large imposing figure behind Viriamu Jones' shoulder attempting to meddle in University affairs.[145]

A key source of friction between them was the matter of money and land ownership. John Patrick Crichton-Stuart's grandfather was John Stuart (1744-1814), who was the son of the 3rd Earl of Bute and became the 1st Marquess of Bute. Through his marriage with Charlotte Windsor, he inherited the large estates of the Herbert family.[146] Their grandson the 3rd Marquess used his inherited wealth to pursue his private interests in architecture, medievalism, occultism, and travel. Due to a traumatic custody battle in his youth, Lord Bute was by disposition 'isolated, lonely, bitter and mistrustful'.[147] The striking difference in Viriamu and Bute's natural dispositions (the former was civic-minded and practical while the latter was suspicious, private, extravagant, and contemplative) was a key contributor to their difficult encounters.

At a deeper level, two men's antagonistic relationship was symptomatic of a larger division. Since the time of the 1st Marquess of Bute, matters of the Bute estate and local politics were largely conflated. For decades members of the Cardiff Corporation, consisting of 'a constable, two bailiffs, twelves aldermen, twelve burgesses, a steward and two serjeants-at-mace' were largely chosen or approved of by the

[145] *Evening Express*, March 9, 1894.
[146] Hilary M. Thomas, *The Diaries of John Bird of Cardiff: Clerk to the First Marquess of Bute 1790-1803* (Cardiff: South Wales Record Society & Glamorgan Archive Service, 1987), pp. 150-1.
[147] Matthew Williams, *Cardiff Castle and the Marquess of Bute* (London: Scala Arts & Heritage Publishers Ltd., 2019), p. 60.

Marquess.[148] 'Thus the corporation', noted John Davies, 'while in theory enjoying independent powers, was little more than the creature of the castle'.[149] However, with the increase of industry and population during the mid nineteenth century, and the rising resistance of a politically vocal middle-class, the Bute control over the Cardiff Corporation had eroded away.[150] By the time the 3rd Marquess came to inherit his fortunes, his estate was engaged in an ongoing power struggle with the Corporation. Viriamu Jones, coming from the politically vocal middle class and on good terms with the then mostly middle class Corporation, was bound to collide with the interests of the Bute.

Lord Bute's insular and eccentric personality was reflected in the use of his wealth. He spent £600,000 to rebuild Mountstuart House when it burnt down in 1877, but, as shall be seen, was remarkably sparing with his gifts to the Cardiff College.[151] Gordon W. Roderick notes that 'the third marquess of Bute could have been the key figure in establishing the reputation of the Welsh colleges through putting them on a sound financial footing,' however his gifts 'were a mere fraction of his immense wealth' and were not 'commensurate with the munificent bequests of aristocrats and industrialists to English colleges'.[152] He also spent a considerable sum on a hare-brained scheme to transform the University of St. Andrews in Scotland 'into his idea of a medieval place of learning'.[153] Unsurprisingly, the scheme was not warmly received at St. Andrews. Viriamu Jones' Oxford friend, D.G. Ritchie, who was elected to the Chair of Logic and Metaphysics at St Andrews in 1894, wrote concerning Bute, 'Except for

[148] John Davies, *Cardiff and the Marquesses of Bute* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1981), p. 83.
[149] John Davies, *Cardiff and the Marquesses of Bute*, p. 84.
[150] John Davies, *Cardiff and the Marquesses of Bute*, p. 137.
[151] Gordon W. Roderick & David Allsobrook, 'Welsh Society and University Funding, 1860-1914', in *Welsh History Review*, Vol. 20, Iss. 1, (Jun 1, 2000), pp. 34-61.
[152] Gordon W. Roderick & David Allsobrook, 'Welsh Society and University Funding, 1860-1914', p. 54.
[153] Quotation taken from Roderick & Allsobrook, 'Welsh Society and University Funding', p. 55.

influenza (which I had worse in Oxford) and Bute (who is a unique plague) I am very fond of St Andrews'.[154]

When Viriamu Jones became Principal, the College had to 'temporarily locate the students' classrooms at the old Infirmary' on Newport Road, due to a lack of land for a new University College building.[155] However, it soon became apparent that the old Infirmary building was an inadequate setting for the University College, and Viriamu Jones (with the Cardiff Corporation) began corresponding with Lord Bute in 1887 regarding the purchase of some of his land. On May 26, 1887, *The Western Mail* reported on the meeting of the two men and of their negotiations regarding 'two plots of land, either of which might be suitable for the purposes intended – one in Cathays Park and the other in Cathedral-road'.[156] The Court of Governors minute book on October 5, 1887 records the substance of their negotiations:

> Negotiations for a site for permanent College buildings are continued chiefly through the Principal who reported in June: -
>
> 1. That Lord Bute was willing to negotiate for a site on the West side of Cathays Park beginning from the north-west corner, and contained between the wall and the avenue, the amount of land to be sufficient for College Buildings, but not of such extent as would be required for the students for athletic purposes.
> 2. That in Lord Bute's view the better site was that proposed in Cathedral Road.
> 3. That Lord Bute was taking into consideration the proposal of Sir Thomas Lewis, that, in case the latter site is adopted, the exclusive right shall be given to the Students of the College to play cricket and football on a certain position of the open ground between the Cathedral Road and the river.[157]

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[154] D.G. Ritchie, *The Collected Works of D.G. Ritchie*, Vol. 6, ed. Peter Nicolson (Bristol : Thoemmes Press, 1998) https://people.stfx.ca/wsweet/Ritchie_intro.htm [Accessed 04/05/22].
[155] 'Cardiff Council Minutes: 1881-1883', in *Cardiff Records: Volume 5*. 1883 August 13.
[156] 'The Site of the Cardiff University College', *The Western Mail*, May 26, 1887.
[157] Cardiff University Special Collections, UCC/Ct/M/1. 'Court of Governors' minutes', p. 56.

The surviving letter correspondences on this matter reveal that negotiations with Lord Bute were far from straightforward. A letter to Lord Aberdare from Lord Bute's agent, William Thomas Lewis, dated March 12, 1887, reads, 'Lord Bute did not intend that any buildings should be erected on Cathays Park'. Having ruled out Cathays Park as a possible site for the University College, negotiations for Cathedral Road took place. However, over the next few years these negotiations were thwarted by continual difficulties and tensions. From the surviving letters from these correspondences, it is evident that matters gradually deteriorated between the two parties, the letters becoming sharper and terser. It appears that at one point Lord Bute's solicitor demanded a Claim for £250, presumably for lost income while negotiations were ongoing. When the College's pleas for a concession fell on deaf ears, J.L. Wheatley from the Cardiff Corporation wrote despondently to Viriamu Jones 'there is no alternative for the Corporation but to pay the amount demanded'. Viriamu Jones suggested that they cease communications with Lord Bute and 'allow this matter to stand over for a short time'.[158]

Viriamu Jones was right to play the long game in his dealings with Lord Bute. Over time Bute's position as a private owner of a vast estate in the heart of Cardiff became more and more untenable as the town grew. Matthew Williams notes that the relationship between Lord Bute and the town council was 'frequently uneasy, with each resenting the power of the other'.[159] After several decades of difficult negotiations and power struggles, the 'Cardiff Corporation approached Bute with a plan to buy Cathays Park for the purpose of building new municipal buildings'.[160] Having little choice in the matter and struggling with ill health, Bute agreed to sell the land to the Corporation, with the sale being completed in 1898.

With the entirety of Cathays Park now owned by the Cardiff Corporation, one may have suspected that the University College of Cardiff would have had no more

[158] Cardiff University Special Collections, UCC/P/LeP/1. Viriamu: 1887-92, Correspondence Re; Cathedral Road Site.
[159] Williams, *Cardiff Castle and the Marquesses of Bute*, p. 169.
[160] Williams, *Cardiff Castle and the Marquesses of Bute*, p. 165.

problems regarding land for new buildings, especially since Viriamu Jones had previously assisted the Corporation in its negotiations with Bute. However, when the College requested land for new buildings in 1900, the Corporation offered a portion of the Park for £10,000.[161] This led Viriamu Jones to carry out his single greatest civic and diplomatic negotiation.

Standing before the Council of the County Borough of Cardiff on October 31, 1900 Viriamu Jones implored the Mayor 'that that site may be *freely given*'.[162] To justify his bold request Viriamu Jones explicated the Idealist doctrine that education was a public good which repaid all expenses 'On every ground – intellectual, moral, and material'.[163] The College, he argued, was in 'the true interest of the town,' and provided 'the real welfare of those whom you represent'.[164] These justifications echo Green and Jowett's mantra that education provided for the intellectual, moral, spiritual, and ultimately material, needs of both the individual and society. As further justification, Viriamu Jones also presented his Idealist-inspired vision of a unified educational system in Wales:

> The College is an essential part of your educational system, essential to the completeness of the 'ladder of learning' which has been established in the town, whereby every child of sufficient ability, however scanty the means of the parents, has the opportunity of rising from the Elementary School to the University.[165]

The *South Wales Echo* on the same day made note of Viriamu Jones' 'long and eloquent speech in support' of the college:

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[161] Rev. D. Tyssil Evans, 'John Viriamu Jones, M.A. (Oxon.) B.Sc. (Lond.) F. R. S.', in *Welsh Political and Educational Leaders in the Victorian Era*, ed. J. Vyrnwy Morgan (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1908), p. 336.
[162] Principal Viriamu Jones, 'From the Address to the Council of the County Borough of Cardiff on 31 October 1900,' from *Fountains of Praise: University College, Cardiff 1883-1983* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1983), p. 51. Italics added.
[163] Jones, 'Address on 31 October 1900', p. 52.
[164] Jones, 'Address on 31 October 1900', p. 51.
[165] Jones, 'Address on 31 October 1900', p. 51.

> The Principal dwelt upon the manifold advantages enjoyed by Cardiff owing to the presence of the college. Nearly £2,000 per annum were given to the children of the town in scholarships, and it was calculated that since its establishment 17 years ago the college has spent £206,000 in the town. The speech was full of telling facts and figures, and Councillors Beavan, Veall, Evans, and others appealed to Principal Viriamu Jones to reproduce his remarks in pamphlet form, not merely for the convenience of the Council, but also for the enlightenment of the many heavy ratepayers in the town, who did not see why the Council should make this gift to the college.[166]

The report of Viriamu Jones' speech show that he was able to appeal to people on various levels. As well as explaining the intrinsic moral value of education he could also produce 'telling facts and figures' which would appeal on a very practical level to ratepayers. This highlights the Idealist belief that the spiritual and material realms were interconnected, and that the moral world was built upon the physical. The Rev. D. Tyssil Evans records that Viriamu Jones' plea 'was so powerful and persuasive, that the council determined to reverse its previous decision, and to make a present of the site to the college, thus raising the contributions for the new college to £60,000'.[167]

This act was the ultimate expression of Viriamu Jones' Idealist ethos regarding both education and dedication to the public good. It also came at tremendous personal cost as soon after his achievement he suffered an acute form of 'dyspeptic trouble'.[168] Throughout his career Viriamu Jones was plagued with ill health, which was frequently exacerbated by his fierce work ethic. From the beginning of his administrative career his tendency to overwork was evident: 'Before long many of the Council had become the Principal's friends and were anxious to ease the burden of his office for him – anxious

[166] 'University College Site. Principal Viriamu Jones and the Corporation. An Eloquent Appeal.' *South Wales Echo*, October 31, 1900.
[167] Rev. D. Tyssil Evans, 'John Viriamu Jones, M.A. (Oxon.) B.Sc. (Lond.) F. R. S.', in *Welsh Political and Educational Leaders in the Victorian Era*, ed. J. Vyrnwy Morgan (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1908), p. 336.
[168] Rev. D. Tyssil Evans, 'John Viriamu Jones', p. 336.

even for his health and personal welfare'.[169] These anxieties proved to be well-founded and shortly after his speech to the Council his health broke completely.

[169] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 58.

Chapter V: The Expansion of Idealism

Through Viriamu Jones' leadership, diplomacy, and dogmatism, Idealism had now claimed the University of Wales. Idealism was imbedded in the University Charter and was represented by a considerable proportion of the various Colleges' teaching staff. With this accomplished it was now the Idealists' task to branch outwards beyond the walls of the University into Welsh society.

The ambition to branch outwards beyond the academic and speculative was inherent to Idealism: from its inception Idealism has always been a practical philosophy. It placed on its followers the burdensome responsibility of descending from the realm of light and knowledge into the realm of the practical and concrete to draw others upward. This is seen in Plato's Analogy of the Cave, as Martin Ryle and Kate Soper observe: 'Plato, we may recall, also requires that those compelled to see the Sun should then return to the Cave to serve their fellows as philosopher Guardians, a role for which they are all the more qualified by their reluctance to assume it'.[1] Jowett's "philosopher-saints" were charged with the same task. Having been enlightened with an Oxford education, they were given the task of taking on administrative, civic, religious, or teaching roles to lift others to a similar position of enlightenment. Jowett went so far as to inform his students what career path they should follow to best benefit society.[2]

Jowett's charge of responsibility upon his students shaped Viriamu Jones' attitude towards the connection between academic and practical work. The distinction and connection was echoed in a letter Viriamu Jones wrote to Katharine Jones, in which he wrote that the 'high intellectual paths' are 'a joyous home only when one can descend in the evening to the valleys and their deep delights'.[3] When one descends from these hights, 'Then the serenity begotten in a man up there amid the forms of

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[1] Martin Ryle and Kate Soper, *To Relish the Sublime?* (London: Verso, 2002), p. 11.
[2] Sir J.E. Lloyd, *Sir Harry Reichel 1856-1931: A Memorial Volume* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1934), p. 31. Viriamu Jones was not exempt from this treatment as he was advised by Jowett to 'Be a physician' (Katharine Jones, p. 38). Clearly, he didn't follow this advice, but nonetheless sought to use his talents to the betterment of society.
[3] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 284.

ideas becomes radiant and the stream of his living energy may kindle the world to diviner life – waking the sleepers as the sun at dawn'. [4] This can be read as an insightful analogy for Jones' choice between the purely intellectual life and the life of an administrator. Through his educational administrations, Jones sought to bring the joy of 'the topmost sky' down to the inhabitants of the valley below, thus rousing them 'as the sun at dawn'. The imagery of this letter drew upon Jones' private pursuit of mountaineering, demonstrating once again the merging of his public and private lives.

The present chapter explores the various ways Viriamu Jones sought to bridge the gap between the intellectual and practical realms. It will consider four expanding spheres of influence: the public lecture, the university settlement movement, technical education, and Wales's national and civic life. The public lectures and the university settlement movement sought to bring university learning into contact with those outside of the university; technical education sought to bring working men otherwise unable to enter universities within the College; and the efforts to solidify Welsh national and civic life sought to raise the intellectual status of the Welsh people as a whole.

Public Lectures

In the mid-to-late nineteenth century the "popular lecture" became an increasingly common pastime for the lower-middle classes. Missionaries, educators, and public societies put on these displays to inform, educate, and entertain. Their key demographic was the self-educated artisan. Of these lectures Jane Garnett writes:

> Those who attended popular lectures or scientific demonstrations participated in a carefully choreographed theatrical experience, designed to inspire interest by means of dramatic impressions.[5]

[4] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 284.
[5] Jane Garnett, 'Religious and intellectual life', in *The Nineteenth Century 1851-1901* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 203.

The public lecture was a vehicle frequently used by Idealist scholars as a means of both enacting and propagating their philosophy. As previously noted, the Idealists believed that the larger part of man's nature 'is malleable and mobile, and may be moulded and fashioned by education'.[6] The public lecture was therefore the means by which great masses of men and women, who may not have had access to schools or universities, could come under the morally beneficial influence of education. T.H. Green delivered various public lectures and addresses on social issues with 'pressure groups such as the Reform League (for extending the franchise), the National Education League, and the United Kingdom Alliance (for anti-drink legislation)'.[7] He also helped establish the University Extension movement which sought to provide evening-classes in schools and civic buildings, 'in the hope that these might become the basis of a local institution of university education'.[8]

Lawrence Goldman sees the educational outreach of Green and Jowett as the beginning of the adult education tradition within Oxford University, which continued in a modified form into the early twentieth century through 'William Temple, A. D. Lindsay, R. H. Tawney, Alfred Zimmern and, slightly later, G. D. H. Cole'.[9] He also notes that Oxford scholars such as Jowett and Frederick Temple were instrumental in conceptualising what would later become the University Extension Movement.[10] In 1868 Green and Jowett 'established Balliol Hall as a hostel for poorer students', and over the following decade oversaw and developed the university extension in Oxford.[11] Many of Green and Jowett's students, such as Bernard Bosanquet, A. C. Bradley, W.P. Ker, D.G. Ritchie, R.L. Nettleship, and Arnold Toynbee, established settlements and societies

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[6] Jowett, *Sermons: Biographical and Miscellaneous*, p. 341.
[7] Geoffrey Thomas, 'Thomas Hill Green, 1836-1882,' in *Liberal HISTORY: The website of the Liberal Democrat History Group* [20 May 2012]: https://liberalhistory.org.uk/history/green-thomas-hill/
[8] Alberto de Sanctis, *The 'Puritan' Democracy of Thomas Hill Green* (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2005), p. 97.
[9] Lawrence Goldman, *Dons and Workers: Oxford and Adult Education Since 1850* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 3.
[10] Goldman, *Dons and Workers*, p. 26.
[11] Goldman, *Dons and Workers*, p. 21.

which sought to provide public platforms for intellectual debate and education for the wider section of society.[12]

Following the ethos of Jowett, Green and other Oxford Idealists, Viriamu Jones, on top of his inexhaustible efforts to bring about a unified system of education to Wales, was also a prolific public speaker and gave countless lectures around the country. His efforts in this field began when he became Principal of Firth College in Sheffield. Firth College itself was a Cambridge University Extension Movement settlement and had T.H. Green as a member of its academic Council.[13] Its purpose, in keeping with the Movement, was to provide university teaching to the inhabitants of the large towns and cities of England beyond the universities.

On September 13, 1881, Viriamu Jones wrote to his then-fiancée Katharine, 'I have been thinking this morning of Popular Work…. I consider that its object is to arouse and maintain an interest in literary and scientific subjects *in the community at large*'.[14] He then outlines reasons for, and benefits of, 'Popular Work' in the community at large:

> (1) Because an enlightened interest in some branch of literature, philosophy, or science is the very best way of spending the leisure of a busy life.
> (2) Because the stimulus given to the young by interest taken in their work by their elders is very great.
> (3) Because the stimulus given to the investigator by the interest of the community in his work is very valuable.
> (4) Such work is to be recommended to the investigator because preparation to explain to an audience whom he may consider ignorant is an excellent method of clearing his own ideas.[15]

Following these key motivations and guidelines, the subject of Viriamu's public lectures ranged over many topics, including but not limited to 'literature, philosophy, [and] science'. The lectures were designed to be engaging but not overly taxing, so that the community at large could enjoy them at their leisure, and 'to attract the unlearned and

[12] Matt Carter, *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism*, p. 13.
[13] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 56.
[14] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 59. Emphasis added.
[15] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 59.

arrest their attention'.[16] In Sheffield his lectures focused on the physical sciences, looking particularly at the nature of electricity and geology. On November 22, 1881, he wrote, 'I think I have told you I am going to give a popular lecture on the Sun. I have changed my mind – instead of the Sun the subject shall be Electric Light'.[17]

Viriamu invited his Oxford Idealist friends, W.P. Ker and Arnold Toynbee (both of whom were fellow students under T.H. Green) to give popular lectures at Firth College. On January 26, 1882, he noted:

> Lectures in the morning – in the afternoon I had to go to Ker's lecture, the first, and then at five gave one of my own. […] Ker's lecture was very good indeed, there were between sixty and seventy people there, and I think there is promise of a most successful course. It is on the early period and Chaucer. Yesterday he gave a general review of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries – historical and literary.[18]

W.P. Ker would become the head of English Literature at the University College, Cardiff, under Viriamu Jones two years later. A few days later Viriamu referred to Toynbee's lectures:

> Arnold Toynbee is going to lecture here on Saturday night. Subject: 'Wages and Natural Law.' It is one of the popular lectures – twopence admission. I hope it will be full – I am told Political Economy draws people together in Sheffield.[19]

Despite initial hopes for large turnouts, Toynbee's lectures had a disappointing attendance: 'Toynbee lectured last night. Audience not so good as usual. Political Economy not so taking as Science apparently'.[20]

As well as inviting fellow Oxford Idealist friends to give lectures, Viriamu Jones also had visits from T.H. Green himself. On October 28, 1881, Jones recorded:

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[16] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 64.
[17] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 65.
[18] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 67.
[19] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 68.
[20] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 68.

> On Tuesday we had a Council meeting at Firth College; Dr. Percival and Professor Green came from Oxford. It was decided to appoint a Professor of Literature and History, candidates to send in applications by December 1st. Salary of £300 per annum and half fees. Green came up to tea in the afternoon.[21]

This demonstrates Green's active involvement in the educational efforts in Sheffield, offering his administrative advice and support to the Firth College Council and to Jones himself. Professor and Mrs. Green also provided Jones with practical and emotional support when the job proved difficult and discouraging. On January 14, 1882, he wrote:

> My history – I left Esher sorrowful. I was not in a smoking carriage: the consolation of tobacco was denied me: 'Pickwick Papers' could not raise the cloud.
>
> Green greeted me with the pleasant intelligence that W.P. Ker, Fellow of All Souls, would most likely do our work this term – but this is not settled.
>
> I enjoyed my stay with Mr. and Mrs. Green – they are very kind to me, and I hope you will like them when you get to know them.[22]

When all the elements seemed to conspire against Viriamu Jones, a visit to the Green family offered him the encouragement he needed and revitalised his energies for the educational work. When reenergised he could speak boldly of his fervour for the propagation of learning: 'To-day […] I am very energetic, and feel fierce over my crusade against ignorance'.[23]

Viriamu Jones continued to deliver public lectures on a wide variety of subjects throughout his career. When he became Principal of the University College, Cardiff, he travelled around Wales and gave addresses and lectures to venues large and small. Many of these lectures were reported and advertised in the local press. On December 1, 1883, *The Aberystwyth Observer* made note of Viriamu Jones' public appearance at 'a meeting held at Merthyr, on Monday, on behalf of the Cardiff College' and commented:

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[21] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 62.
[22] Katharine Jones, *Life*, 66.
[23] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 65.

> This is just as it should be. The College influence should radiate outside its own walls. […] The example is worthy of imitation. […] The interests of higher education now require that a forward movement should be made.[24]

On May 28, 1895, the *South Wales Echo* gave the following report of Viriamu Jones' lecture 'On Electrical Resistance':

> The lecture was remarkable for the beauty and delicacy of the apparatus which Professor Jones has evolved to illustrate his researches, one of the prettiest features being his method of ensuring absolute constancy of speed in the rotation of a disc driven by a motor.[25]

On May 15, 1897, the *South Wales Echo* again reported:

> Principal Viriamu Jones, of the University College, Cardiff, gave a highly interesting lecture at the Gwyn Hall, Neath, on Thursday night, under the auspices of the Neath Young Men's Christian Association. Mr Walter Rice Evans, Eaglesbush, presided, and there was a large and most appreciative audience. The lecture dwelt upon the characteristics of Matthew Arnold, Carlyle, and Browning, and read some choice illustrative selections from their works.[26]

Other lectures were on contemporary issues, such as a stirring 1896 address he gave in a Wesleyan Chapel in Barry about higher education and democracy in Wales. In his address Jones spoke of the 'intellectual uprising of the Welsh people' that had taken place over the previous 50 years, and how it had culminated in 'a completed educational system' for Wales. As a result of this achievement, almost every Welshman was now elevated 'to the position of citizen, entitled by his opinion to influence the destiny of the country'. With this came greater autonomy and freedom, but the freedom came the responsibility that each citizen was to be intelligently informed. 'They were all entitled to express an opinion, but they all had a corresponding duty to see that it was well

[24] 'A Hint', *The Aberystwyth Observer*, December 1, 1883.
[25] 'Professor Viriamu Jones on Electrical Resistance,' *South Wales Echo*, May 28, 1895.
[26] 'Principal Viriamu Jones at Neath,' *South Wales Echo*, May 15, 1897.

founded'. To meet this responsibility, the Welsh nation had to ensure that all its people were trained to exercise the important duties of citizenship.[27] Here Viriamu emphasized the Idealist imperative that education is necessary for ethical citizenship. On the charge that these ideas were Utopian and unfeasible, Viriamu responded:

> What if it be? It was not more remote and not more difficult to realise than the like ideal of Christian conduct in the realm of morals and guiding principles. May they not accept that, then, as one of the guiding principles of the development of the community, and should they not take hands together, and work the opportunities out carefully to make progress towards the realisation of the great ideal. [28]

The unreachable ideal was a key concept in Idealist thought. Ideals made one strive towards that which was better than presently realised. As Benjamin Jowett wrote, ideals were not 'immediately applicable to practice, but there is a virtue flowing from them which tends to raise individuals above the common routine of society or trade'.[29]

Evening lectures were also held at the Cardiff College. In 1884 it was recorded in the Court of Governors' Minute Book that 'evening classes in twelve subjects were held at the College, the number of entries being 629'.[30] From these evening classes developed the University Settlement Movement and the Workers' Education Association, both of which were overseen by Cardiff's Idealist philosopher J.S. Mackenzie.

The University Settlement Movement

J.S. Mackenzie was appointed Professor of Philosophy at Cardiff by Viriamu Jones in 1895, succeeding fellow Idealist W.R. Sorley whom he had known at Glasgow University

[27] 'Principal Viriamu Jones on Higher Education. The History of Welsh Effort. A True Democratic Ideal: is it Utopian?' *Barry Herald*, March 13, 1896.
[28] *Barry Herald*, March 13, 1896.
[29] Jowett, *The Republic of Plato*, page ccxxix.
[30] Cardiff University Special Collections, UCC/Ct/M/1. 'Court of Governors' minutes', p. 11.

while studying under Edward Caird.[31] His teaching was informed by the Idealisms of Caird, Henry Jones, Hegel, and Plato.[32] Through his teaching in the College, J.S. Mackenzie further nourished a blossoming culture of Idealism at the Cardiff College. A clear instance of the flourishing Idealist culture at Cardiff College was the establishment of the Philosophical Society on March 22, 1901, of which J.S. Mackenzie was appointed President. At this first meeting Mackenzie delivered an address on the "Hegelian Point of View". The College Magazine reported:

> Of the address it is needless to say anything. It will suffice to say that the Society started gloriously, and a high and lofty standard was set before the Society. Professor Mackenzie did not enter upon a detailed account of Hegel's system of Philosophy but endeavoured, and that successfully, to point out what the Hegelian point of view was.
>
> Most of the present Students felt it rather difficult to climb up to the lofty heights which the lecturer seemed to enjoy; but all, I believe, were stimulated to have a try at it, and I daresay some of the members will not be satisfied until they succeed.[33]

Under the Presidency of J.S. Mackenzie, the Society had distinguished Idealist philosophers such as Professor Pringle-Paterson and Edward Caird visit and deliver addresses.[34]

J.S. Mackenzie's classes emphasised ethical and social obligations. W.J. Mander writes, 'Mackenzie follows Green in holding that the end of action consists in realization of the true self, which is both rational and, since humans are essentially social creatures, social'.[35] In keeping with his social outlook J.S. Mackenzie was active in his support for student social societies, such as the Literary and Debating Society and the University House Settlement in Splott. A note of his efforts is found in a 1904 edition of *The Welsh Leader*:

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[31] W.J. Mander, 'Mackenzie, John Stuart (1860-1935)', in *Dictionary of Twentieth-Century British Philosophers*, Vol. 2 (Bristol: Thoemmes Continuum, 2005), p. 618.
[32] Mander, 'Mackenzie, John Stuart (1860-1935)', p. 618.
[33] (1901). *The Magazine of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire*, Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 222.
[34] *Magazine for the University College of South Wales*, Vol. 13, No. 5, p. 222; Vol. 14, No. 5, p. 190.
[35] Mander, 'Mackenzie, John Stuart (1860-1935)', p. 619.

> Professor J.S. Mackenzie lectured last night (Wednesday) to the members of the Young Men's Social Union. The subject was "The Danger of Democracy," and it was ably treated. Professor Mackenzie is always ready to assist in social work, and most of the young men's societies here owe their success to his efforts.[36]

J.S. Mackenzie was also actively involved with the university settlement movement in Cardiff, acting as the Settlement's Treasurer.[37] The settlement movement developed from the university extension movement headed by Green, Jowett, and Arnold Toynbee at Oxford in the 1870s.[38] The movement's first concrete manifestation was in 1884 when Toynbee Hall was established in London. From there, 'the movement later spread to the provinces when universities or university colleges such as Glasgow (1889), Manchester (1895), Cardiff (1901), Edinburgh (1905), Liverpool (1907), and Bristol (1911) addressed themselves to the poor of their own cities'.[39] So far, the historiography of this movement, according to Lucinda Matthews-Jones, has been dominated by the 'histories of London settlements in general and of Toynbee Hall in particular'.[40] Other studies have consistently considered the settlement movement in England generally with very infrequent mentions of the movement in Wales.[41] This study of J.S. Mackenzie's involvement with the Cardiff University Settlement provides a Welsh insight into this broad movement, as well as a clearer understanding of the British Idealists' connection with it. Of Mackenzie's activities Morgan Watcyn-Williams recorded:

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[36] (1904). *The Welsh Leader*, Vol 1. No. 21, p. 325.
[37] (1906). *Cardiff University Settlement Magazine*, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 25.
[38] Frederic A. C. Perrine (1893). 'The Scientific Aspect of the University Settlement Movement', *American Association for the Advancement of Science*, Vol. 21, No. 524, pp. 91-92.
[39] B. M. Bull, *The University Settlement in Cardiff* (The School of Printing Cardiff College of Art, 1965), p. 6.
[40] Lucinda Matthews-Jones (2016). ''I still remain one of the old Settlement boys': Cross-class Friendship in the First World War Letters of Cardiff University Settlement Lads' Club', *Cultural and Social History*, Vol. 13, No. 2, p. 196. Online access: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14780038.2016.1202011
[41] R. J. W. Selleck, *The New Education* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons Ltd., 1968); Janet Coles, 'University adult education: the first century', in *University Continuing Education 1981-2006*, ed. Bill Jones, Russell Moseley, Geoffrey Thomas (Leicester: National Institute of Adult Continuing Education, 2010), pp. 7-24.

> he was committed by deep conviction to extra-mural activities. Some ministers got their first glimpse of social service by joining him in the Settlement at Splott, Cardiff, and by spending occasional evenings with steel-workers and errand boys. It was a fine and a salutary experience.[42]

Details of the activities of the Settlement are given in the Cardiff student magazines. These details provide an insight into the purpose behind the Settlement movement in Cardiff and the demographic it sought to accommodate. University House, which was open during the winter months, was opened in 1901. A 1903 report titled 'The Winter's Work at University House' stated:

> Our central point, I think, for both boys and girls is this, - to divide the time and interest about equally between games and education. It is a fatal thing for those who have left school early and have to do manual work for the rest of their lives to grow up without any intellectual or quasi-intellectual hobby. It inevitably means loafing at street corners while they are boys, and, when they are older, finding their only amusement in the Public House.[43]

The purpose of the University Settlement was to provide rational recreation for children who had left school early and for young men and women. D. Gareth Evans notes that at this time, due to the parents' poverty, most pupils left school at the age of fourteen 'in search of employment'.[44] In the first edition of *Cardiff University Magazine* a girl wrote of her experience in the House:

> I joined the University House Girls' Club for two reasons – first, to help me to be a good scholar, and secondly, to have somewhere to go in the week-evenings to enjoy myself. Of course, we learn all sorts of fancy work, drawing, painting, stories singing and dancing. […] All girls and boys who join the University House Club must be 14 and have

[42] John Stuart Mackenzie; Millicent Hughes Mackenzie, *John Stuart Mackenzie: His Life and Work*, ed. W. Tudor Jones (London: Williams & Norgate, ltd, 1936), p. 89.
[43] (1903). 'The Winter's Work at the University House', *The Magazine of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire*, Vol. 15, No. 4, p. 164.
[44] D. Gareth Evans, *A History of Wales 1906-2000*, p. 112.

> left school. […] Each member of the club must keep themselves as respectable as possible.[45]

It was hoped that the provision of intellectual hobbies would keep girls, boys and young men and women from delinquency. As well as providing rational recreation for young adults, the House also sought to draw men away from the Public House on weekends. The first *Magazine* happily reported that their Saturday free concerts had drawn in men who had 'formerly made a practice of frequenting the houses on Saturday evenings, but who are now to be found continually at the concerts'.[46]

Another aim of the Settlement was to create understanding and harmony between the middle and lower classes. This was the driving force behind the Settlement movement, both generally and within Cardiff. This aim was explicitly stated in the 1904 annual meeting of the Settlement committee by a Mr Lewis Williams:

> Instead of the classes dwelling together, there were artisan districts and suburban districts. He was convinced one of the greatest problems before them was how to remedy that evil, and he looked with great interest and expectation that these settlement movements in large communities were going to help to deal to a very considerable and important extent with that problem.[47]

Through interaction, understanding, and training in the ideals of citizenship, it was hoped that the University Settlements would smooth over class tensions between the lower and middle classes. These ambitions were clearly set out by Principal Burrows in his lecture to the University Settlement movement in Cardiff in 1914:

> The vast majority of working men, whatever their political and industrial views, have the national characteristics of moderation and common sense, love of order and piety. […] they look forward to a regenerated nation, not to the triumph of a particular class, even

[45] (1906). 'Why I Joined the Club', *Cardiff University Settlement Magazine*, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 2.
[46] E. Lewis (1906). 'Our Free Concerts', *Cardiff University Settlement Magazine*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 3-4.
[47] *The Cardiff Times*, October 29, 1904.

> though it be their own. They would far prefer that regeneration should come gradually and peacefully by the good-will and co-operation of the whole nation. […]
>
> It is in this spirit that we ask Cardiff and South Wales to approach the Settlement Movement. That way lies Evolution. Is it to be Revolution? Which will you have?[48]

These aims cohere with the general tenor of Idealist philanthropy, which emphasised the rationality of man and focused on personal improvement through internal cultivation. It was these aims which would come under intense scrutiny as the twentieth century progressed with the rise of socialist and Marxist thought among the working classes.

Technical Education

In his Introductory Lecture at Cardiff in 1883 Viriamu Jones set out his vision for the responsibilities of the University College. It was to provide teaching in all the branches of the arts and sciences, and its teaching was to be both theoretical and practical. Regarding the applied sciences, or "technical education", he stated:

> The teaching of applied science, or technology, is becoming day by day more important. The state of technical education in England and other countries has recently been made the subject of inquiry by Royal Commission […]. By technical education I mean an education in the scientific principles upon which our manufacturing processes rest. The importance of this cannot be over-estimated. A scientific knowledge of the processes used in various manufactures here would stimulate the mind of its possessor to original efforts.[49]

[48] R. M. Burrows (1914). 'Evolution or Revolution', *Welsh Outlook*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 27-28.

[49] Principal Viriamu Jones, 'Introductory Lecture', in *Fountains of Praise: University College, Cardiff 1883-1983*, p. 22.

From the outset Viriamu Jones was convinced that the University Colleges in Wales had a responsibility to the places in which they were situated and to Welsh industry. He believed that the most effective way to do this was to improve the scientific knowledge of workers and manufacturers. By ensuring more workers and manufacturers were in possession of "pure" scientific knowledge, he was certain that Welsh industry would develop upon more rational lines. These beliefs were very much in keeping with the late-Victorian conviction that 'the future prosperity of Great Britain required a scientifically educated workforce'.[50]

In his speech Viriamu Jones lamented the state of ignorance within industries, and emphasised the benefits a technical education would bring:

> Ignorance is tenacious of precedent; looks at new processes and will have none of them; shakes its head, mutters something about a frying-pan and a fire, and turns away grumbling to work in the old fashion. But knowledge, fertile in suggestion, foreseeing distinctly the effect of an alteration, capable of dealing with new cases, is ever ready to improve. That is the great reason for technical education….[51]

Exactly how this responsibility towards industry was to be discharged proved to be an enduring issue throughout Viriamu Jones' educational career, and one which arguably remained unresolved.

The University's attempt to engage with local manufacturers and industries is an area which has been almost completely overlooked. Historians such as Neil Evans go so far as to say that the University of Wales had almost no links to industrial partners.[52] On the other hand, Peter H. G. Harris, recognising that the University College of Wales, Cardiff, did have a mining department established in 1891, nevertheless noted that the department suffered from overcrowding, poor facilities, and was resistant to the

[50] T. F. Holley & V. A. Holley (1996). 'The Gilchrist Lectures', *Merthyr Historian*, Vol. 8, p. 118.
[51] Principal Viriamu Jones, 'Introductory Lecture', p. 23.
[52] Neil Evans (1982). 'Urbanisation, Elite Attitudes and Philanthropy', *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 27, No. 3, p. 313.

interference of local coal-owners and manufacturers.[53] In fact, the University College under Viriamu Jones did attempt to engage with local industry and manufacturers, but had very limited success in doing so. The reason for this, it shall here be argued, was to be found in the tensions within Viriamu Jones' Idealist model.

The desire to establish a Chair of Engineering for the Cardiff College was an early ambition for Principal Viriamu Jones. The issue was raised as early as 1884 in the Court of Governor's Minute Book.[54] However, from the beginning the problem of funding was apparent. For the first decade or so, the Engineering School was situated in a group of temporary make-shift wooden structures, which were woefully inadequate. These structures were the butt of many jokes in the student run magazine, one student humorously writing an excavation report of the University College from the year 2896, A.D.:

> In our columns last September we chronicled the discovery of the top of a brick structure near the centre of the site of the old town. This, on further excavation, proved to be the top of a chimney stack, and it was believed that the ironworks known as the Doull-ais had been discovered. Still further excavations seemed to warrant the assumption; large rooms containing machinery were unearthed alongside. But soon the discovery of a number of bare barn-like wooden sheds complicated matters. Three of them were labelled Nos. 8, 9, 10, while others bore the legends " Engineering Room " and " Drawing Room." Then the main building, a squat, square, squalid stone structure was laid bare—then was it discovered that this strange heterogeneous collection of buildings was a College![55]

Viriamu Jones went down several avenues to raise sufficient funding for the Engineering School, but the money was not forthcoming. Zealous in his mission he sought grants from the City and Guilds Institute of London, the National Association for the Promotion

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[53] Peter H. G. Harris, 'South Wales & Monmouthshire School of Mines', in *A Community and its University*, ed. Dai Smith & Meic Stephens (University of Wales Press: Cardiff, 2003), pp. 40, 41.
[54] Cardiff University Special Collections, UCC/Ct/M/1. Court of Governors' minutes, p. 11.
[55] I. B. J. (1896). 'The New Pompeii', *The magazine of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire*, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 13-15.

of Technical Education, and from the Government, all to no avail.[56] In 1884 the Court of Governors' Minute Book records, 'It was thought in the first instance that the City of Guilds of London might offer a grant which would even the necessary expenses, but unfortunately that hope has proved delusive'.[57]

Finally, Jones went in person to the Drapers' Company in 1889 to appeal for their support. Founded back in the thirteenth century as a guild for the drapery trade, the Drapers' Company developed over the centuries into a charitable society, establishing orphanages, schools, and alms houses. In the 1870s the Company focused their attention on technical education, in 1878 joining 'with the City of London Corporation and 15 other livery companies in the foundation of the City & Guilds of London Institute'.[58] As a result of Jones' appeal the Company 'offered a gift of £1000 and £300 a year on the condition that the locality also contributed £1000'.[59] On top of these funds the Drapers' Company also provided £1000 to be placed into the College Scholarship Fund, 'the object being to assist in making permanent provision for a grant of Scholarships by means of which the advantages of the College might be placed within the reach of student of ability, who would otherwise by unable to obtain them'.[60] Jones remained on good terms with the Company and was able to secure further funds from them to purchase scientific equipment for the College. An article in *Nature*, published shortly after Jones' death in 1901, records his relationship with the Company, and how the Company funded his own scientific research. [61] It also records the Company's appreciation for Jones' contributions to both science and education. With the Company's assistance the Engineering Department was officially opened in 1890.

With the practical problems of funding removed, the deeper problem of the nature of the teaching in the classes became apparent. The perennial issue of the technical classes was the level of theoretical and practical teaching they would provide.

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[56] Katharine Jones, *Life*, pp. 172, 173.
[57] Cardiff University Special Collections, UCC/Ct/M/1. Court of Governors' minutes, p. 11.
[58] 'Drapers Company History', https://www.thedrapers.co.uk/PDF/Drapers_Company_History.pdf [Accessed: 08/08/2022].
[59] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 176.
[60] 'Court of Governors' minutes', p. 93.
[61] (1902). 'Notes', *Nature*, Vol. 65, p. 301.

The emphasis of Viriamu Jones' educational philosophy was the humanistic goals of character development and ethical citizenship. How these humanistic goals cohered with the utilitarian needs of industry proved an uneasy balancing act. This reluctance to reduce teaching completely to practical training stemmed from Viriamu Jones' Idealist convictions. Since the ultimate basis of reality was mental and spiritual, education must emphasise these essential qualities. Katharine Jones wrote of Viriamu Jones' 'tendency to over-intellectuality,' noting that 'It was to a man's thoughts that he would most gladly minister, taking the point of view that it is a man's thought that shapes his life and action'.[62]

Nowhere is the tension between theory and practice in Viriamu Jones' philosophy more apparent than in an 1894 address he gave on "Technical Education" at Abertillery.[63] His presence at the mining village at that particular year is significant, as it was a time of peculiar unrest. The beginning of the year saw hundreds of men unemployed, owing to the closing of the tinworks at Abertillery.[64] Throughout the year newspapers reported a workers' disputes at the Rose Hayworth Colliery,[65] a medical officer's report of consistent high death rates within the village,[66] and a fatality at the Rose Hayworth Pit where a man was 'by some means knocked down, and had both his legs broken, besides severe internal injuries'.[67] This unrest saw the development of the new unionism in the village.

In March of that year, Keir Hardie, who in 1888 ran as an independent Radical M.P. at Mid-Lanark and who saw the formation of the Independent Labour Party in 1893,[68] gave a speech to 'a crowded meeting of colliery workmen at Ebeneezer Schoolroom, under the auspices of the South Wales and Monmouthshire Miners'

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[62] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 278.
[63] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 152. Katharine Jones' biography is the only source which mentions this address at Abertillery. It is possible that she misremembered the date but given the social and political significance of this year within the mining village this seems unlikely. The most plausible explanation is that any other contemporary records of this address have simply been lost.
[64] *South Wales Daily News*, February 2, 1894.
[65] *South Wales Daily News*, November 23, 1894.
[66] *South Wales Daily News*, June 7, 1894.
[67] *South Wales Daily News*, August 24, 1894.
[68] Kenneth O. Morgan, *Keir Hardie* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 15-16, 20.

Association'.[69] From the beginning of his political career Hardie departed from the orthodox Liberalism of the older trade unions, which emphasised peaceful cooperation between workers and their employers.[70] Hardie made his departure clear to all in his 1887 address the Trades Unions Congress in Swansea, where he criticised the Liberal MP and TUC Chair, Henry Broadhurst, arguing that it was the orthodox Liberalism of mine-owners and the trade union leaders which hindered improvements for the workers.[71] Rather idiosyncratically, before the foundation of the Independent Labour Party in 1893, Hardie still considered himself an 'advanced Liberal'.[72] Hardie's politics were an eclectic mix of Christian ethics with a firm emphasis on the Sermon of the Mount,[73] Radicalism, and a sympathy for Marxist activism, though he remained rather ambivalent to Marxist formulas.[74]

Hardie developed a particular sympathy for the mining communities of South Wales, visiting the mining villages on speaking tours throughout the 1890s.[75] In later years he referred to the Welsh, and the Celtic peoples generally, as 'socialist by instinct'.[76] In these speeches he supported the workers in their demands for 8-hour working days, safe working conditions, and a minimum wage, demands which were considered unworkable and unreasonable by many Liberal coal-owners and trade union leaders. In his speech to the South Wales and Monmouthshire Miners' Association in 1894 Hardie spoke of the 'powers lying dormant in the working classes,' which they needed to collectively organise within trade unions in order to ensure fair working conditions and minimum wages. With great oratory skill he addressed the audience's particular situation:

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[69] 'Miners' Meeting at Abertillery', *The Cardiff Times*, March 10, 1894.
[70] Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Labour's Turning Point, 1880-1900* (Sussex: The Harvester Press, 1974), p. xxiii.
[71] Owen Smith, 'Merthyr Tydfil: Hardie's Welsh Odyssey', in *What Would Keir Hardie Say?* ed. Pauline Bryan (Edinburgh: Luath Press Limited, 2015), pp. 125-133.
[72] Morgan, *Keir Hardie*, p. 18.
[73] Emrys Hughes, *Keir Hardie* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1956), p. 24.
[74] Morgan, *Keir Hardy*, p. 18.
[75] Smith, 'Merthyr Tydfil: Hardie's Welsh Odyssey', p. 127.
[76] Quotation taken from Morgan, *Keir Hardie*, 33.

> They were strong, sturdy South Walian miners, producing coal for the British public, for a wage which would just keep body and soul together, and their wives and families in comfort. And if the British public were not prepared to pay for its labour, then the British public should go and dig its own coal. (Applause.)[77]

The strong emphasis in this speech on class antagonism and workers' demands flew in the face of the Idealist (and Liberal) vision of class harmony, civic responsibility, and social cohesion. Hardie's speaking tour among the Welsh miners was symptomatic of wider changes and developments which were taking place among the industrial workers in South Wales. The late 1880s and early 1890s saw a general surge of trade unionism, forming into what became known as new unionism. The movement saw a breaking down of the distinctions between differing types of workers, whether skilled artisans or unskilled labourers, leading to a greater collective organisation of the workforce. [78]

It was within this context that Viriamu Jones travelled to Abertillery in 1894 to give his public lecture about technical education. At the time of his address, students from Abertillery were already enrolled onto the Cardiff College technical education scheme. In April it was announced in the *South Wales Daily News* that two Abertillery men, John Brown and William Silverhorne, had obtained their 'second-class certificates of competency as colliery under-managers' from the College's Mining School.[79] By the next year it was reported that 'the complete list of successful students in science and art at these classes number over 120'.[80] His audience would therefore have consisted of Abertillery men enrolled onto the technical education scheme as well as other locals and workers.

Viriamu Jones began the address by outlining the practical benefits of the technical classes and the duty of the workers to know 'the scientific principles upon which your manufacturing, mining, and other industries are based' to compete with

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[77] 'Miners' Meeting at Abertillery', *The Cardiff Times*, 10 March 1894.
[78] Martin Wright, *Wales and Socialism: Political Culture and National Identity Before the Great War* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2016), pp. 37-39.
[79] *South Wales Daily News*, April 21, 1894.
[80] *South Wales Daily News*, September 14, 1895.

foreign manufacturers.[81] After this the message of the address transitions to the connection between education and citizenship:

> you cannot discharge your duties as citizens except as educated men and women. You live in a democratic age, an age of equality of rights for all men, equality of opportunity for all men. […] You have a right to express yourselves, to have your own opinions, but with it is the responsibility corresponding to that right. It is your duty to see that opinions are well founded, and to become educated people in order that you may make good use of your privileges. Then, as young men, you will be able to do your duty as citizens and take part against the propagation of false opinion which will be harmful to us as a nation unless such competent knowledge is brought to bear as will enable you to form well-grounded, rational opinions.[82]

Considering the context, his words have a strong political undertone. Its emphasis on rational citizenship fits into the Idealist model of social cohesion where everyone could find their place. The 'false opinions' Viriamu warned against seem to be a reference to Keir Hardie's speech which spoke of class agitation. Viriamu seemed to regard Hardie as demanding rights, while he saw the need as being education that would enable those rights to be properly (rationally) exercised. Finally, the address outlines the spiritual benefits of dispassionate scholarship:

> To those of you who are students, the distinguishing work of a scholar is a reverence for all true knowledge. In so far as you have that reverence you are scholars; but more, you are partakers of the Divine nature. The thought of God is progressively manifesting itself in the advancing current of human knowledge; and if you would be scholars, sharers in the Divine nature, children of the light, you must be in this living current and conscious of its flow.[83]

Here Viriamu addressed a different section of his audience. He appealed to the young people already enrolled onto the technical courses to be an example and a guide to

[81] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 152.
[82] Katharine Jones, *Life*, pp. 152, 153.
[83] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 153.

those vulnerable to Hardie's 'false opinions'. The technical course provided by the University had a divine-infusing quality that would transform working men into sons of the light, providing a refined moral excellence. The Abertillery miners had become Jowett's philosopher-saints. Given the context, Viriamu's speech seems to show a complete disconnection with his audience's situation. Recommending better education for a few miners seems crass in the light of exploitative working conditions and high death rates.

This address also highlights the internal tensions within Viriamu Jones' Idealist philosophy of education. Initially appealing to the workers to understand the scientific principles of their industries to compete on the global market, this then transitions to the need of education to fulfil the duties of citizenship, and finally, an appeal is made to dispassionate scholarship in dizzying Hegelian terms.

The uneasy balance between the theoretical and the practical in education was not unique to Viriamu Jones. The general mid-to-late Victorian educational discourse was fraught with this difficulty. The division of opinion was encapsulated by two prominent Victorian educational thinkers: Matthew Arnold and T. H. Huxley. Matthew Arnold emphasised the humanist tradition that education was a training in ethical citizenship, and therefore advocated the teaching of classics; T. H. Huxley emphasised the utilitarian value of education, and hence advocated the prominence of scientific and technical training.[84] In a word, Matthew Arnold favoured the theoretical over the practical while T. H. Huxley favoured the practical over the theoretical.

John Viriamu Jones was trained in *both* educational traditions having first been taught in the practical/scientific tradition at London University, and afterwards in the more theoretical/humanist tradition at Balliol College, Oxford. Viriamu Jones respected *both* Arnold and Huxley. Edward Poulton, reflecting on his time at Balliol, made record of his and Viriamu Jones' discussions on the poetry of Arnold while in student dorms or out hiking.[85] Poulton also recorded his and Jones' encounter with Huxley:

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[84] Kevin Brehony, 'Popular control or control by experts? Schooling between 1880 and 1902', in *Crises in the British State 1880-1930*, ed. Mary Langan & Bill Schwarz (London: Hutchinson, 1985), pp. 256-273.
[85] Poulton, *Viriamu Jones and Other Oxford Memories*, pp. 77, 91.

> During the Long Vacation of 1881 we were both present for the first time at a Meeting of the British Association. It was the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the Society, and the meeting was held at York. Huxley delivered one of the evening lectures to the whole Association, an extraordinarily brilliant discourse on 'The Rise and Progress of Palaeontology'. Vir's admiration and pleasure may be inferred from his words spoken to me at the close of the lecture, 'At every sentence I felt myself bowing to Huxley and saying, "you are the greatest man here; no one else could have said that as you have said it."'[86]

Throughout his educational career Viriamu Jones tried to synthesise both men's insights. Such a synthesis was a new venture within Idealist thought, which had hitherto relied heavily on Matthew Arnold's theoretical/humanist conception of education.[87] In his attempt to synthesise these radically different educational theories Viriamu Jones' attitude towards technical education became fraught with internal contradictions, portraying technical education as both a utilitarian necessity and as a means of personal development. Demonstrating this duality of purpose Austin Jenkins noted in a 1901 address shortly after Viriamu Jones' death:

> It was the dream and ambition of the late Principal Viriamu Jones to see the Welsh collier taking a course of instruction at the college, and returning to the mine, not only with a better knowledge of mining, but a perfect gentleman as well. Principal Jones had the same hope of seeing the young farmer passing through the college and returning to the plough a better man in every respect.[88]

The ambition of transforming the collier into a gentleman reveals the middle-class aspirations lurking behind the technical classes. The goal of the technical lessons was to civilize the lower-classes and to smooth out politically deviant characteristics. The lessons sought to emancipate the lower classes from a materialistic outlook, and to instill in them the 'higher' goals of intellectual refinement. Keith Davies notes that the

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[86] Poulton, *Viriamu Jones and Other Oxford Memories*, pp. 38-39.
[87] Peter Hinchliff, *Benjamin Jowett and the Christian Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 199.
[88] *Evening Express*, October 3, 1901.

goal of the lessons was to redirect the energies of the working-classes away from class conflict 'towards more moderate, incorporative ideas of community and citizenship'.[89]

The tension between the utilitarian and humanistic motivations of the technical classes expressed themselves in the College's difficult relationship with the local industries it sought to benefit through technical education. Peter H. G. Harris notes that the coal owners were dissatisfied with the training provided at Cardiff, as it focused too heavily on the theoretical nature of the sciences as opposed to teaching mining primarily as a vocational subject.[90] One aspect of the College's technical education which was not conducive to coal owners and industrialists was the insistence that the mining students they sent must learn the traditional scientific languages of Greek and Latin.[91]

The combination of an uneasy synthesis of theoretical and practical training and a tense relationship with local industries led to disappointing class attendance. This was noted by Viriamu Jones in his 1897 Report to the Technical Instruction Committee:

> We cannot feel in the face of these figures that the number of Students attending the Classes in Mining and Geology is far smaller than it ought to be, having regard to the extent of the mining operations of the county; and it is clear that not many of the Students attending evening classes in Mining embark on a more advanced study of the subject and of the Sciences preparatory to and connected with it at the College.[92]

Viriamu Jones conceded that a key reason why many students of a working-class background did not advance in their studies was the time required to complete a full degree:

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[89] Keith Davies, 'Classes, Colleges and Communities', in A Community and its University, ed. Dai Smith & Meic Stephens (University of Wales Press: Cardiff, 2003), p. 109.
[90] Peter H. G. Harris, 'South Wales & Monmouthshire School of Mines', in *A Community and its University*, ed. Dai Smith & Meic Stephens (University of Wales Press: Cardiff, 2003), p. 41.
[91] Peter H. G. Harris, 'South Wales & Monmouthshire School of Mines', p. 40.
[92] Cardiff University Special Collections, UCC/LeP/30. *Papers Re. Technical Education in Cardiff*, John Viriamu Jones, 'Report to the Technical Instruction Committee of Glamorgan on the Department of Applied Science and Technology'.

> We have, on the other hand, to bear in mind that for thorough scientific preparation in Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Engineering, Geology, and Mining, at least three years are required; and that the working classes are not able unless assisted by Scholarships to devote their whole time for so long a period of collegiate study.[93]

This issue was raised by R. D. Roberts less than five years earlier when the University Charter was being drafted. The neglect of the working classes in policy was now becoming evident in practice. What is striking is that Viriamu Jones, instead of conceding a flaw in the policy, puts the onus and responsibility upon the industries and workers:

> The few men [miners] initially so trained [at the College] must have time to justify their training, must bring home to the mining community by a more intelligent discharge of their duties, and an increased originality and competence, the advantage of the training they have received, before it can become generally sought after. But many things may be done to hasten this desirable end. For instance, the Examiners for Mine Managers' Certificates in this district might show their appreciation of the value of colligate training by allowing say three years spent at the College to count as equivalent to some portion of the prescribed period of work underground; and our leaders of industry and mining engineers, might from time to time urge young men of special ability to give themselves this full scientific preparation in mining work.[94]

In later years, the tension between the College and the manufacturers was clearly displayed in the acrid relationship between the University College, Cardiff, and the more vocational based School of Mines at Trefforest. Due to the coal owners' displeasure at the overtly theoretical teaching of mining at the University College, a meeting was held on November 26, 1910, to discuss the formation of a rival School. The meeting was represented by significant coal owners such as the Cory brothers of Cory Brothers & Co. Ltd, and William Jenkins and Thomas Evans of the Ocean Company.[95] As a result of these

[93] John Viriamu Jones, 'Report to the Technical Instruction Committee'.
[94] John Viriamu Jones, 'Report to the Technical Instruction Committee'.
[95] Peter H. G. Harris, 'South Wales & Monmouthshire School of Mines', in *A Community and its University*, ed. Dai Smith & Meic Stephens (University of Wales Press: Cardiff, 2003), p. 43.

deliberations the Trefforest School of Mines was opened on November 4, 1912, thus drawing a line under the irreconcilable divide between the University and industry, between theory and practice.[96]

Oxford Idealism meets Welsh Culture

Idealism was also involved in the shaping and solidification of cultural life and nationality. It is in this area that Viriamu Jones fully developed Oxford Idealism into an explicitly Welsh context, that of nation-building. According to the Hegelian view of historical development, a nation had reached maturation when it had self-consciously developed its own national character, education, history, language, arts, sciences, technical skills, and institutions.[97] This idea was explicitly stated by Viriamu Jones' Oxford friend, and Idealist philosopher, D.G. Ritchie:

> in any given period, the presence of reason is most manifest in the development of those elements which are more spiritual, less in those which are more 'natural' or more dependent on matter. Thus we should look rather to the history of a people's philosophy (if they have any), religion, art, and institutions, than to their external growth, which depends more on external circumstances than to the spirit of the people themselves.[98]

External growth referred to financial expansion, trade, and leisure. These all showed that a nation had grown materially. For Ritchie this did not signify rational or spiritual growth.

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[96] Peter H. G. Harris, 'South Wales & Monmouthshire School of Mines', in *A Community and its University*, ed. Dai Smith & Meic Stephens (University of Wales Press: Cardiff, 2003), p. 47.
[97] G.W.F. Hegel, *Reason in History*, trans. Robert S. Hartman (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1997), p. 79
[98] Ritchie, 'Rationality of History', p. 153.

When Viriamu Jones accepted the position of Principal in Cardiff in 1883, Wales was going through a nationalist revival.[99] The most significant manifestation of this national revival in the 1880s was the *Cymru Fydd* Movement, its key protagonists consisting of Tom Ellis, David Lloyd George, and O.M. Edwards.[100] As already noted, Viriamu Jones was close friends with Ellis and Edwards, and the three had shared Idealist commitments which they applied to different aspects of Welsh life. Ellis focused on Parliamentary representation and political Home Rule for Wales, becoming a Liberal M.P. in 1886; while Edwards focused on writing popular histories of Wales to awaken a shared national historical consciousness among the Welsh people.[101] *Young Wales*, the periodical of the *Cymru Fydd* Movement, outlined in its first edition its indebtedness to other European Nationalist movements:

> That the Nationalist cause should have its own organ, pledged to its policy and in vital touch with its latest developments, is no new thing. As far back as 1831 there appeared a journal entitled Young Italy, which devoted its pages to a passionate advocacy of the regeneration of Italy, as Mazzini had presented it to the young Italian mind. Four years later there appeared The Young Swiss, as the manifesto of an association of young men who were devoted to the best interests of their fatherland and consecrated to its cause their best energies. And later , years have witnessed the rise and development of the Young Ireland movement with its recognised organs. In like manner Young Wales finds its *raison d'etre* in the advent of that wave of national sentiment to this —our native land.[102]

It also set out the key objective of *Cymru Fydd*, which was 'to promote both the political and the educational interests of the Welsh people'.[103] Viriamu Jones was closely

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[99] Kenneth O. Morgan, *Wales in British Politics 1868-1922* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1963); *Rebirth of a Nation: A History of Modern Wales* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).
[100] Dewi Roland Hughes, *Cymru Fydd* (Caerdydd: Gwasg Prifysgol Caerdydd, 2006); D. Gwenallt Jones, 'National Movement in Wales in the Nineteenth Century', in *The Historical Basis of Welsh Nationalism* (Cardiff: Plaid Cymru, 1950), pp. 99-129.
[101] D. Gwenallt Jones, 'National Movement in Wales in the Nineteenth Century', in *The Historical Basis of Welsh Nationalism* (Cardiff: Plaid Cymru, 1950), p. 121.
[102] (1895). 'Salutatory', *Young Wales,* Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 2.
[103] (1895). 'Salutatory', *Young Wales,* Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 2.

involved with the movement and contributed an article to the periodical *Young Wales*.[104]

Placed within this context, Viriamu Jones used the Idealist vocabulary of cultural self-realisation to work an Oxford-based philosophy into a Welsh nationalist situation. First and foremost, he did this through the University of Wales. For Viriamu Jones, the federal system of the University was essential for Wales if the nation was to establish its own unique and independent national identity and voice. This emphasis on national self-realisation is clear in a speech Viriamu Jones delivered to the Governors of the North Wales College in November 1895. The University of Wales was to guide students 'in the free air of intellectual independence,' which would increase their 'belief in the genius of Welsh people', which in turn would lead to 'national development'.[105] He again emphasised this view in an article he submitted to the Welsh nationalist magazine *Young Wales* entitled 'Wales as University':

> The signature of the University Charter marked for Wales, a sort of intellectual coming of age, an entry on maturity of intellectual life, a breaking of bonds of tutelage, an assumption of the powers and responsibilities involved in free self-control. Implicit but dominant in the Charter stands the declaration that Wales must henceforth be mistress of her own destiny in matters of academic study and method; and the most generalised aim of the University is national self-realisation on the intellectual side.
>
> The University is not something outside and apart: it is an organ of the national life.[106]

Further in the article Jones writes that the University should be conceived of as 'the manifestation of a chief activity of the Welsh people, as the organ of a most important part of their national life'.[107] The article is filled with Hegelian terminology and espouses the Hegelian goal of national self-realisation and self-control.

This idea that the University of Wales was a symbol and statement of Welsh intellectual independence was also expressed by another Welsh Idealist, Henry Jones, in

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[104] John Viriamu Jones (1896). 'Wales as University', *Young Wales*, Vol. 2, No. 18, p. 129.
[105] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 295.
[106] John Viriamu Jones (1896). 'Wales as University', p. 129.
[107] John Viriamu Jones (1896). 'Wales as University', p. 129.

a speech delivered on June 28, 1895 entitled 'Higher Learning in its bearing upon National Life in Wales'.[108] In this speech Henry Jones stated:

> For the establishment of a University for Wales is capable of lasting national importance. It may be made equivalent to the crowning act of the emancipation of the people, setting them for the first time free to pursue knowledge in their own way, and to secure for themselves whatever powers and privileges such knowledge confers. Henceforward, Wales may, if it pleases, generate its own ideals and live to make them real; or, to put the matter more accurately, it may by a fresh and untrammelled study of the mind, or meaning, sunk in the world of nature and in the still richer world of man, discover their constitutive laws, and convert them into its ideal of action.[109]

The similarities between Viriamu Jones' article and Sir Henry Jones' speech are striking, both identifying the University as a symbol of national self-consciousness and emancipation. Through the University Charter the Idealists believed that the people of Wales had made the crucial step towards a national self-realisation. Similarly, for O.M. Edwards 'the University of Wales became a symbol of national unity', and the day of its realisation 'stood out in the history of Wales'.[110] Taken together these statements reveal a shared Hegelian outlook amongst the original University of Wales cohort. Viriamu Jones, Henry Jones, and O.M. Edwards, three key figures behind the framing of the University of Wales Charter, shared the same Hegelian vision of national revival, renewal and unity via intellectual independence and self-consciousness. As a student under Viriamu Jones remarked:

> It was not the University idea from an academic point of view pure and simple for which he worked; he saw in the University the chief and most effective means for unifying the

[108] Henry Jones, *An address on "The higher learning in its bearing upon national life in Wales" delivered by Henry Jones at the closing ceremony of the session 1894-95, June 28th, 1895* (Bangor: Jarvis and Foster, 1895).
[109] Jones, *Higher learning in its bearing upon national life in Wales,* pp. 8-9.
[110] Edwards, *The Report on the Proposed University of Wales*, p. xxii.

> Welsh nation by giving the people of Wales a clear and unmistakable symbol of their unity.[111]

Beyond the University of Wales, Viriamu Jones was also a part of a larger movement to establish a civic centre within Wales. By taking part in the formation of a civic centre in Cardiff, Viriamu Jones was attempting to establish a cultural, intellectual, and spiritual centre in Wales where the presence of reason would be most manifest. This goal was consistent with both the aims of Welsh nationalist movements such as *Cymru Fydd* and with the scheme of historical development within Oxford Idealism. His dedication to this cause is demonstrated in his involvement with The National Institute of Wales.[112] The Institute was set up in 1887 after a public meeting at Cardiff Town Hall in which a resolution was passed to establish it.[113] It was set up 'for the consolidation and advancement of intellectual culture in Wales'.[114]

In Viriamu Jones' personal copy of the Institute's Draft Scheme, we see that the Institute's first object was 'To supply adequate and suitable accommodation for the non-sectarian and non-partisan societies of Wales, to carry on their work'. These societies included:

> *(A) The Royal Cambrian Academy of Arts;*
> *(B) The Cardiff Naturalists' Society;*
> *(C) The Cambrian Society of South Wales & Monmouthshire;*
> *(D) The South Wales Institute of Engineers;*
> *(E) The Cardiff Cymmrodorion Society;*
> *(F) The Society for the Utilization of the Welsh Language;*
> *(G) The Cardiff Literary Society;*
> *(H) The Cardiff Photographie Society;*

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[111] (1903). *The South Wales and Monmouthshire University College Magazine*, Vol. 15, No. 3, p. 107.
[112] Cardiff University Special Collections, GB 1239 101/9/1/9, UCC/P/L&P/31. 'Constitution & Laws of the National Institute of Wales (Draft Scheme)'. Viriamu Jones Papers re. Welsh language, 1885-1901.
[113] 'Cardiff Council Minutes: 1885-1887', in *Cardiff Records: Volume 5*. 1887 June 13.
[114] 'Constitution & Laws of the National Institute of Wales (Draft Scheme)', p. 1.

> and such other organizations as may at any time be associated with the National Institute….[115]

A glance at the names of the society representatives shows that these were societies signifying upper-middle class sophistication. [116] All these Societies sought to signal that Wales had become a civilised and intellectually independent nation. This was particularly important from an Idealist perspective, as it demonstrated that Wales had become a nation governed by reason and not external circumstances, indicative, according to Hegelian philosophy, of a spiritual coming of age.

Viriamu Jones was intimately involved with many of these Societies. He was an active member of the *Cardiff Naturalists' Society*, and in 1886 he was made its President. The Cardiff Times reports of a Society "Field Day" and Viriamu Jones' election.[117] The *Cardiff Naturalists' Society* was the largest scientific society in Wales, with many of its members taking an active role in the establishment of the National Museum of Wales, which was founded in Cardiff in 1907, six years after Viriamu Jones' death.[118] Though not around to see the Museum's opening, it is clear that Jones was among the people who laid the foundations of this national institution.

Katharine Viriamu Jones records that her husband gave an address on the 'Laws of Falling Bodies' to the *Cardiff Cymmrodorion Society* in December 1886.[119] He became a member of *The Society for the Utilising of the Welsh Language* in 1885, and had the Society hold meetings at the University College, Cardiff. On 9th November 1885, he was elected to be on its Council.[120] On March 5, 1886, it was agreed that the purpose of the Society was to set out:

> definite schemes for Welsh as a specific subject in Elementary Schools; the modification of the present class subject (English) to suit the requirements of Welsh districts; and the

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[115] 'Constitution & Laws of the National Institute of Wales (Draft Scheme)', p. 1.
[116] 'Cardiff Council Minutes: 1885-1887', in *Cardiff Records: Volume 5*. 1887 June 13.
[117] *The Cardiff Times*, June 26, 1886.
[118] H. Morrey Salmon, 'The Cardiff Naturalists' Society: A Condensed History', https://cardiffnaturalists.org.uk/pdf/history.pdf
[119] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 253.
[120] *The Western Mail*, November 9, 1885, p. 2.

> utilisation of the children's knowledge of their home language in the ordinary English school course.[121]

Such was Viriamu's dedication to this cause and its ambitions, that on September 27, 1886, he received a letter from the Society to inform him that he was 'elected to a seat on the new Council as one of the twenty Elect Members'.[122]

As discussed previously, Viriamu Jones was raised a monoglot English speaker. This raised some concerns in the Welsh press. For instance, a Mr. A. P. Morris wrote to the Editor of the *Western Mail* in 1885 of his concern that 'Principal Viriamu Jones, Cardiff, has so much neglected his mother tongue as to be unable to speak it'.[123] Another more scathing letter addressing Viriamu's heritage was sent to *Y Goleuad* on December 8, 1883 and reads, 'That the Council of the Cardiff College is un-national, one moment's consideration will suffice to show'.[124] The writer then proceeds to name Viriamu Jones and the members of his College Council, including the Idealist scholar Professor Andrew Seth, and says:

> Now I ask, are these the gentlemen Wales would have chosen to represent them? What does Wales know about them? What do they know about Wales? With two or three exceptions, they are men totally unknown to the country, aliens in blood and language, and what right have they to assume the reins of government in an institution that concerns the whole country? I do not wish here to canvas their *qualifications*, though that might be easily done, but I do question their *right* to be on the Council of the Welsh College. As Welshmen, we have allowed foreigners to rule over us so long, that they look upon it as a law of nature; and see the result – [125]

Though Viriamu himself may have been among the 'two or three exceptions' to this suspicion of English influence, the facts that he did not speak the language, that he was an Oxford graduate, and that he was central in forming the College Council, suggest that

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[121] *The Western Mail*, March 5, 1886, p. 3.
[122] Cardiff University Special Collections, GB 1239 101/9/1/1. UCC/P/L&P/31. Viriamu Jones papers re. Welsh language, 1885-1901.
[123] *The Western Mail*, June 15, 1885.
[124] *Y Goleuad*, December 8, 1883.
[125] *Y Goleuad*, December 8, 1883.

his sentiments concerning the Welsh nation were being called into question. In his support of Welsh societies, within three years of his becoming Principal of the University College, Cardiff, Viriamu had shown himself to be a man dedicated to the strengthening and development of the Welsh culture and language.

Viriamu Jones was elected joint Vice-President of the *Cardiff Literary Society* in February 1887.[126] The *Cardiff Times*, in anticipation of the Society's establishment, reports that it was to be set up for 'the development of culture in [the] town,' and for the 'raising of its intellectual tone'.[127] The report goes on to consider the wider import of Societies for civic life in Cardiff:

> Education should not cease with the school or even with the college, and a good Literary and Philosophical Society is able to continue the work of mental improvement. The object at Cardiff is not merely to arrange lectures and debates, but has in view the institution of a reading-room, and the formation of branches such as a Microscopical Section. In time, therefore, it may be that Cardiff will, like other towns, have an institute of its own with reading-rooms, library, and lecture rooms.[128]

The last sentence of the report captures the ambitions of The National Institute of Wales.[129]

Viriamu Jones' copy of the Draft Scheme for the National Institute of Wales contains his marginalia and notes, in which he altered the text and inserted his own recommendations. These notes make for instructive reading. For instance, the Draft's clause regarding a lecture hall to seat no less than 350 persons reads: 'an Organ may be provided for Music Lectures, Recitals and Concerts'.[130] Viriamu Jones modified this clause in the margin to read 'an Organ *must* be provided…'. Another significant alteration is found in the clause regarding free classes. The clause reads:

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[126] *The South Wales Echo*, 'Cardiff Literary Society,' February 5, 1886.
[127] *The Cardiff Times*, October 23, 1886.
[128] *The Cardiff Times*, October 23, 1886.
[129] 'Constitution & Laws of the National Institute of Wales (Draft Scheme)'.
[130] 'Constitution & Laws of the National Institute of Wales (Draft Scheme)', p. 2.

> Free classes shall, if possible, be promoted and carried on by the Institute in Technical Education upon branches of subjects considered in section 8 [this including: 'Physical and Social Science, Art, Engineering, Commerce, Manufacture, and Agriculture, History and Archaeology with special reference to Wales, and other subjects'], and with special reference to the requirements of the district and the Principality. The Council of the Institute shall not carry on any Art, Science, or Technical Classes similar to, and on like conditions to those for the time being carried on by the Cardiff Corporation Schools for Science and Art, except with the consent of the Cardiff Corporation.[131]

In the margin next to the final sentence, Viriamu Jones writes 'Omit'. In this alteration, Viriamu Jones clearly intended that the education which was to be delivered in the free classes was not to differ in kind from those delivered in the 'Corporation Schools for Science and Art'. As with insisting that an organ *must* be provided in the Lecture Hall, Viriamu Jones was insisting that popular education was not to be treated as less important than school and university education, and therefore to be done to a lower standard. Both popular and university teaching were to be treated with equal importance.

As well as this, Viriamu was present at the first meeting of the *Cambrian Society for South Wales & Monmouthshire* on the January of 1885 and delivered a speech in which he considered the nature of nationhood. The speech, once again, is full of Hegelian themes of national development, stating that a nation is made up of a unity of race, a common history, and a common language and literature.[132] Having set out these three traits of nationhood, Viriamu Jones sets out the *Cambrian Society's* task of promoting 'literature, music, and art,' and drawing together Welsh books and manuscripts to demonstrate that Wales meets these criteria.[133] When this task was adequately done, Jones believed that it would cause the Welsh people to realise their 'distinct duties to themselves as a nation'.[134] His wife also records of his attendance at 'the St. David's Day celebrations of the *Cambrian Society* in March 1885,' in which he said:

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[131] 'Constitution & Laws of the National Institute of Wales (Draft Scheme)', p. 5.
[132] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 293.
[133] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 293.
[134] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 292.

> It is a sad thing to reflect upon that there is no history of Wales – that it remains to be written. We cannot make a historian: a historian is the gift of God. But by collecting manuscripts and disseminating literature we can do a great deal to supply the defect that has so long existed.[135]

The Welsh people needed an account of their common history to make them realise their shared obligations to one another as a nation. The task of writing this history was the role of the historian, whom Viriamu Jones named a 'gift of God'. The historian therefore had a divine calling to trace the history of a nation. This view of the historian presupposed a divine significance to history itself, a view expounded by D.G. Ritchie as 'an attempt to read the plan of Providence, to unravel the plot of the great drama that is played throughout the centuries'.[136]

Within a year of this speech Viriamu Jones oversaw the purchase of a vast collection of Welsh books, pamphlets, and manuscripts which became known as the "Salisbury Collection". The collection was created by Enoch Robert Gibbon Salisbury (1819-1890), 'a businessman, a barrister, and a Liberal MP for Chester from 1858-1859'.[137] His collection contained 'over 15,000 books in Welsh and English, on Wales or its people, printed or written by Welshmen and women; as well as books on or connected with the old Border Counties'.[138] Due to bankruptcy, Salisbury had to sell his collection. The collection was bought by Ivor James, the Cardiff College registrar, for £1,100 in 1886.[139] When purchased the collection was the first "National" collection: 'Before the National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth, Salisbury's Library was the only

[135] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 293.
[136] D.G. Ritchie, 'The Rationality of History', p. 132.
[137] Cardiff University Special Collections and Archives: https://xerte.cardiff.ac.uk/play_13551 (accessed 4th January 2022).
[138] Cardiff University Special Collections and Archives: https://xerte.cardiff.ac.uk/play_13551 (accessed 4th January 2022).
[139] Cardiff University Special Collections and Archives: https://xerte.cardiff.ac.uk/play_13551 (accessed 4th January 2022).

comprehensive collection of Welsh related books'.[140] The national aspirations of the collection are clear in Salisbury's letter to Ivor James after the purchase in 1886:

> The loss of my books even, is sweetened to me by the reflection that they are safely housed within her [Wales's] borders, and that they will still be cared for by very loving hearts, some of whom will for years to come think tenderly of my own care for them […]. I rejoice to think that year by year they will be added to, and that within the walls of your College will hereafter be found the true history of our nation; the abiding evidences of our constant growth as a cultured people, and that the time will come when our children by your help, can stand side by side with the English, and justly boast that, they are not a whit behind the very best of them.[141]

The idea that the Collection would reveal 'the true history' of the Welsh nation, and that it contained evidence of the Welsh people's 'constant growth as a cultured people' is laden with Romantic Nationalist assumptions, namely, that nations have a single unified history to be told, and that that unified history is one of inevitable progress towards enlightenment. These assumptions also fitted well into the teleological view of history as expounded by the British Idealists. Through his speech and his oversight of the purchase of the Salisbury Collection, Viriamu Jones clearly laid the groundwork for the future establishment of the National Library of Wales, which was founded in Aberystwyth six years after his death in 1907.[142]

Within two decades of Viriamu Jones' speech and the purchase of the Salisbury Collection several histories of Wales were written by O.M. Edwards, John Rhys and David Brynmor-Jones, all of whom worked within an Idealist-informed intellectual framework. All these men had close personal connections to Viriamu Jones (David Brynmor-Jones was his brother) and shared much of his worldview. These histories established Wales's status as a mature self-conscious nation among the nations of the

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[140] Cardiff University Special Collections and Archives: https://xerte.cardiff.ac.uk/play_13551 (accessed 4th January 2022).
[141] J. Hurbert Morgan (1937). 'A letter from a book collector; E. R. G. Salisbury', *Journal of the Welsh Biographical Society*, Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 40.
[142] The National Library of Wales, *Charter of Incorporation and Report on the Progress of the Library* (Oswestry: Woodall, Minshall, Thomas & Co., Caxton Press, 1909).

world. Edwards' history in particular set out the very Hegelian aim of outlining the Welsh nation's 'very simple and definite development'.[143] Hazel Davies notes that Edwards' history 'gave the Welsh people a new lens with which to view the past,' and encouraged Welsh readers to see the golden age of Wales lying just ahead of them.[144] This view of Welsh history was encouraged by Viriamu Jones himself in his speeches. For instance, before the Cymmrodorion Society in 1887 he said:

> It is sometimes said that the Welsh are an ancient people, with a strong hint that as a race, with separate characteristics, they are drawing, or ought to be drawing, near their end…. It must indeed be admitted that we are an ancient people, for the generations of Britons and the legendary heroes are very distant, but where are the signs of a drooping of spirit or national weariness? Do we not, on the contrary, discern in Wales to-day the pulsating strength and elastic vigour of new and exuberant youth? There is the thorough-going, buoyant political enthusiasm that has not yet learned the need or value of political compromise. A vivid and ambitious intellectual awakening is finding voice in the loud demand for a better and more complete system of national education…. No, Cambria may be old, but her face is not wrinkled, neither is her eye dimmed. The truth is, she has been slumbering through the centuries preserving the hues of her youth, and the zenith of her intellectual maturity belongs to the future.[145]

Similarly, John Rhys and David Brynmor-Jones' 1900 book *The Welsh People* sought to establish the Wales's national credentials with an account of its history, laws and customs, religious movements, educational achievements, and language and literature.[146] Taken together these historical writings all worked within a historiographical framework which sought to demonstrate that Wales met all the Hegelian criteria for mature, self-conscious nationhood.

This chapter has explored how Viriamu Jones sought to implement Idealist philosophy into the world outside the University and academia. The public lecture, the

[143] O.M. Edwards, *Wales* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1901), p. ix.
[144] Hazel Davies, *O.M. Edwards*, p. 77.
[145] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 227.
[146] John Rhys and David Brynmor-Jones, *The Welsh People* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1900).

University Settlement Movement, technical education, and Welsh cultural activities all had the aim of improving the life of the mind. All these activities aimed to bring intellectual recreation to a large cross section of society, highlighting the Idealist belief that the life of the mind was the essence of cultural sophistication. This chapter has also revealed the tensions which Idealist philosophy faced in its encounter with the realities of the working class and their aspirations and goals. In coming decades, this tension would increase and ultimately lead to the demise of Victorian Idealism.

Chapter VI – The Death of Viriamu Jones and Welsh Idealism

This chapter explores Idealism in Wales and the educational legacy of Viriamu Jones after his unexpected (and unexplained) death in 1901, at the age of 46. So far, the thesis has charted the expansion of Idealism in Wales. It has shown how Idealism expanded beyond the University College into wider spheres of influence. However, at the dawn of the twentieth century Idealism encountered three challenges in three distinct spheres. Each challenge required an immediate and robust response from Idealism if it was to survive the ensuing decades. The first challenge came from the philosophical sphere: the emergent school of Realism as expounded by Bertrand Russell and G. E. Moore. The second challenge came from the political sphere: the emergence of the Labour Party, of Marxism, and the Great Unrest. The third, and most formidable challenge, came from the sphere of international relations: the Great War. Unless Idealism could adequately meet each of these challenges it risked becoming obsolete. This chapter, beginning with the death of Viriamu Jones, charts the challenges and adaptations of Idealism within each of these spheres. Victorian Idealism retreated from the world at large into insular, self-contained pockets of activity and closed its day with a whimper. However, while Victorian Idealism gave up the ghost, a new form of Idealism was developing. This 'new idealism' sought to come to terms with the unpredictable and dangerous developments of the twentieth century.

The first section considers how Viriamu Jones was memorialised by fellow Idealists as evidenced by the minutes of the "Viriamu Jones Memorial Funds Committee" which was established on July 24, 1901, and discontinued on January 30, 1907.[1] It considers the significance of the Committee's decision of commissioning the sculptor Goscombe John to create a statue in Viriamu Jones' honour, and the message this conveyed to the wider community in Wales. The second section considers how Viriamu Jones' educational legacy was carried forward by the University College, Cardiff professors John Stuart Mackenzie and H. Millicent Mackenzie. It will be argued that

[1] "Viriamu Jones Memorial Funds Committee: 1901-1907", Cardiff University Special Collections, GB 1239 101/3/1/20.

although Viriamu Jones' own life's work was cut short, his influence and legacy continued through the culture of Idealism he established in the University College and within the careers of his intellectual heirs, particularly the Mackenzies. In the third section Viriamu Jones' legacy is further traced through the lives of those affected and influenced by the Mackenzies' careers and educational projects. This section therefore explores Viriamu Jones' *indirect* legacy upon those influenced by the Mackenzies, thus tracing the lineage of his legacy over two generations. Sections four, five and six consider the broader social, economic, and political situations which led to the fragmentation and decline of Victorian British Idealism in the early twentieth century, a process which is encapsulated in the career of Thomas Jones, C.H. (1870-1955). The final section then explores the new form of Idealism that emerged in the early twentieth century, the influence of which is still present today.

The Death of Viriamu Jones and the Memorial Fund Committee

Viriamu Jones' tendency to overwork was evident throughout his career: 'Before long many of the Council had become the Principal's friends and were anxious to ease the burden of his office for him – anxious even for his health and personal welfare'.[2] His wife records that it was 'at the age of twenty-five [that he began] to live in that state of over-work which was to prevail till the end of his life'.[3] Their anxieties proved to be well-grounded and, in 1901, in a state of utter exhaustion, 'advised to go to Switzerland for the mountain air […], the end came'.[4] The exact cause of Viriamu Jones' death is mysterious. Having died abroad his death record gives no cause of death.[5] That his death was unexpected can be deduced from the fact that there was no formalized will.

Some speculation about the cause of his death was raised in a review of Katharine Jones' 1915 biography in the *Welsh Outlook*. There the reviewer gave two possible explanations for his early death from overwork: Either it was the fault of 'his

[2] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 58.
[3] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 277.
[4] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 355.
[5] 'John Viriamu Jones' (1901). C*ertified copy of death certificate for John Viriamu Jones*, *1901 June 4th*. Application number 11494852/3. General Register Office, England.

ardent character', or it was due to his role of Principal of a new institution, which meant he 'had to live in an endless fever of meetings and trains and committees and speeches and lectures'.[6] There is, however, a third possibility, which may be deduced from the many moving tributes were given for Viriamu Jones, all of which emphasised his devotion 'to the service of his country', and his 'unwearied spirit' throughout.[7] One of Viriamu's junior colleagues, Michael Sadler, wrote of his 'self-sacrifice' and his 'outpouring of life and strength and [his] intense faith' in the work of educating the masses.[8] The Idealist doctrines he learnt at Oxford caused him to devote his life to the good of humanity, and it is seems that the Idealist doctrine of hard work and self-betterment played no small part in his early death.

On July 24, 1901, fifty-four days after Viriamu Jones' death in Geneva, a General Committee was appointed by the College Council, with the purpose to 'raise a Fund to perpetuate the Memory of the late Principal J. Viriamu Jones'.[9] Those present at the first meeting included local dignitaries such as Mr Alfred Thomas, M. P., and Idealists such as Mrs. Mackenzie, Professor [J. S.] Mackenzie, and Professor [C. E.] Vaughan. At the next meeting, the Idealist Professor Sorley of Cambridge was added to the General Committee list.

Over the five-and-a-half years the Committee was in operation, both Millicent and John Stuart Mackenzie were a near constant presence. J.S. Mackenzie was appointed member of a Sub-Committee whose purpose was to create a scheme for the Memorial Fund Committee and to recruit other interested parties. On March 1, 1902, the Sub-Committee resolved 'That a fund be raised for the widow of the late Principal Viriamu Jones'. At the next meeting on March 10, it was further resolved:

> That a fund should be collected with the view of providing an annual sum of £100 to Mrs Viriamu Jones during her life (by annuity or otherwise). In the event of a larger sum being collected than is sufficient for this purpose the surplus to be applied to some

[6] (1915). 'Viriamu Jones', *Welsh Outlook*, Vol. 2, No. 8, p. 291.
[7] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 356.
[8] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 351.
[9] Cardiff University Special Collections, GB 1239 101/3/1/20. "Viriamu Jones Memorial Funds Committee: 1901-1907".

> object to perpetuate the memory of the late Principal Viriamu Jones in connection with the College.[10]

To raise these funds J.S. Mackenzie was appointed Treasurer and Mrs Mackenzie was added to a list of those who would seek to obtain funds. However, at the next meeting the Resolution was altered 'in consequence of the changed circumstances brought about by the grant of a Civil Pension to Mrs Viriamu Jones'.[11]

Considering the change in circumstances the Committee briefly considered using the fund to establish a New Physical Research Laboratory as a Memorial to the late Principal, in recognition of his contribution to Physics.[12] However, by the next meeting it was resolved that a fund would be raised 'with the view of erecting a statue to the memory of the late Principal Viriamu Jones,' and that 'Mr Goscombe John be commissioned to execute the work'.[13]

The choice of commissioning Goscombe John to build the statue was significant. As an artist and sculptor Goscombe John was well known for depicting civic dignitaries and for his contribution to portraying Welsh national identity. By the time the Viriamu Jones statue was presented in 1906 he had already memorialised prominent Welshmen such as Thomas E. Ellis, John Stuart Corbett (Lord Bute's secretary), Sir Lewis Morris (a Welsh poet who was a contender for the position of Poet Laureate), W. R. H. Powell, Thomas Henry Thomas, Sir John Williams, Sir Alfred Thomas, and Dean Vaughan.[14] He had also produced a 'wealth of public monuments […] in towns and villages throughout Wales,' and was an 'original member of the Court of Governors and of the Council of the National Museum of Wales'.[15]

By memorialising key figures in Wales's civic and public life in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, Goscombe John was establishing a new mythology of the recent renaissance within Welsh identity. Each of these men, so the legend told, was

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[10] 'Viriamu Jones Memorial Funds Committee', March 10, 1902.
[11] 'Memorial Fund', April 29, 1902.
[12] 'Memorial Fund', October 3, 1902.
[13] 'Memorial Fund', November 28, 1902.
[14] Fiona Pearson, *Goscombe John at the National Museum of Wales* (Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 1979).
[15] Pearson, *Goscombe at the National Museum of Wales*, p. 9.

instrumental in establishing a new and vibrant Wales which was culturally sophisticated, industrially productive, and politically self-aware. Goscombe John sought to solidify this new Welsh identity through a renaissance and reassessment of the arts in Wales. He stated some of these hopes and ambitions in a speech given at a dinner held in his honour in London, 1909, the substance of which was recorded in *The Cardiff Times*:

> Art in Wales was a struggling quantity, but the prospect was improving. The love of art was being fostered in the schools, and the Eisteddfod was rendering practical help. They in London were anxious to make the arts section of the Eisteddfod this year of practical benefit. Very shortly they hoped to have their National Museum at Cardiff within, in the first place, a beautiful building, and then a store of all that was beautiful in art and useful in industry in connection with Wales.[16]

By commissioning Goscombe John, the Memorial Committee were making a clear statement as to how Viriamu Jones was to be remembered: as a Welsh patriot who had used his influence to develop and establish Wales's cultural life and identity. This is evidenced by the proposed inscription on the statue: 'This Statue has been erected by his friends in memory of his wise and unwearied spirit and of a life devoted to the service of his country'.[17] Goscombe John was present at several of the Memorial Committee meetings where it was decided that the statue would be executed in marble and that the funds would go towards its construction.

Once these decisions were made the following appeal was sent out:

> Dear Sir or Madam,
>
> We desire to invite your attention to a movement for perpetuating the memory of the late Professor J. Viriamu Jones, who was the First Principal of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire. His brilliant abilities, his high attainments, his power as an organiser, his sincere and deep patriotism, his unfailing tact and resourcefulness, his devotion to duty, and his untiring effort on behalf of Higher Education in Wales, gained for him universal confidence as a leader. He left an abiding impress of his genius and devotion on the mind and character of the people of Wales.

[16] *The Cardiff Times*, May 1, 1909.
[17] 'Viriamu Jones Memorial Funds Committee', October 4, 1904.

> His qualities of heart and intellect, and his rare personal charm, won, not only the admiration of the entire community, but also the affection of all with whom he was associated in the government of the College, and in the work of the University of Wales and of the other institutions with which he was connected.
>
> A Committee, representing the various departments of activity in which Principal Jones was interested, resolved at its meeting held on Friday, 28th November, to raise a Fund with the view of erecting a Statue as a memorial of him. Such a memorial of the first Principal of the College, the Committee feels, will add a personal interest to the new College Buildings, the approaching erection of which he did so much to render possible.
>
> The Committee hopes to raise a sum of £1,000, and has resolved that on the completion of the Fund, Mr. W. Goscombe Jones, A. R. A., shall be commissioned to execute the work.[18]

The Committee's Cash Book records that five Idealist scholars donated to the fund: W.P. Ker, W.R. Sorley, J.S. Mackenzie, Millicent Mackenzie, and Seth Pringle Pattison.[19]

For the unveiling of the finished statue, the leading lights of educational and intellectual life gathered at Cardiff City Hall (the College building itself was not finished at this point).[20] The statue was unveiled by Viscount Tredegar, and speeches were given by Viriamu's brother Sir D. Brynmor Jones and the Earl of Plymouth, then president of the Cardiff College. A large assembly was reported to be present for the occasion, yet by contemporary standards for public figures, the unveiling was a modest affair. By comparison, the previous year Tom Ellis's memorial statue unveiling in Bala gathered estimated crowds of four thousand, necessitating special trains and parallel speeches in multiple venues.[21] This muted commemoration seems to anticipate the relative obscurity into which Viriamu would soon slip.

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[18] (1903). *The magazine of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire*, Vol. 15, No. 3, pp. 108-9.
[19] Cardiff University Special Collections, GB 1239 101/6/9/6. 'Memorial Fund (Viriamu Jones)'.
[20] *Weekly Mail*, December 8, 1906
[21] J. Graham Jones (2012). 'A Monument to Thomas Edward Ellis (1859-99)', *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society*, Vol. 16, No. III, pp. 293-302.

From the Committee meeting minutes and a glance at the Cash Book it is evident that British Idealist scholars played a significant role in the memorialisation of Viriamu Jones. Of these Idealists the Mackenzies stand out as the key framers of his legacy, and their role in shaping Viriamu Jones' legacy extended beyond the completion of the statue.

John Stuart Mackenzie and Millicent Mackenzie (née Hughes) both did much to continue the Idealist educational legacy established and cultivated by John Viriamu Jones. Millicent Mackenzie's particular focus was on female education and the training of elementary and secondary school teachers, while J.S. Mackenzie's focus was on social outreach and engagement with civic affairs, as seen in the previous chapter.

The rest of this chapter traces the influence of Viriamu Jones' Idealism through the careers of the Mackenzies and their pupils. This is done because the couple displayed a clear continuity to all of Viriamu Jones' educational ideals.

The Mackenzies

Viriamu Jones' insistence that all educational institutions in Wales should be governed by the University of Wales within one systematic unity was picked up and developed by Millicent Mackenzie, particularly regarding the training of female elementary and secondary school teachers. Makenzie was recruited to the College under Viriamu Jones and became his spiritual successor in the cause of Idealist education. As the Head of Education at the University College, Cardiff, she did much to propagate Viriamu Jones' vision and the Idealist doctrines upon which it was constructed.

In 1908 Millicent Mackenzie received an M. A. from the University of Wales for her research into 'Hegel's Theory & Practice of Education and the Problem of Girls' Education in Elementary Schools'.[22] The Idealist nature of her research is revealed by her list of sources:

[22] Millicent Mackenzie, *Hegel's Theory and Practice of Education and Problems of Girls' Education in Elementary Schools / Millicent Mackenzie.* Thesis University of Wales, Cardiff, 1908.

1. Hegel's works in 20 vols: published 1840.
2. Rozenkranz. 'Leben Hegel.'
3. Kuno Fischer. 'Hegel's Leben, Werke und Lehre.'
4. Caird E. 'Hegel.'
5. Thaulow. Dr G. 'Ansichten'. Publ., 1853.[23]

This research was later published as *Hegel's Educational Theory and Practice* in 1909. Her research topic, together with the consultation of original German Idealist texts, demonstrates the extent to which Idealist thought had permeated the University.

Following on from her research on Hegel, in 1909 Mackenzie read a paper entitled 'Moral Education: The Training of the Teacher' to the Moral Education League in London.[24] Throughout the essay there is a strong emphasis on systematisation. Lamenting the 'chaotic and imperfect form' of moral teaching in schools where maxims were 'picked up, as it were, incidentally and in no special order and connection,' Mackenzie, in a typically Idealist fashion, emphasised the need to have all teaching (moral, ethical, and practical) 'organized on the right lines and placed in the hands of really competent persons from the start'.[25] This argument is a recapitulation of Viriamu Jones' themes in the 1880s and 90s.

As with other Idealist thinkers Millicent Mackenzie sought to put her philosophy into practical action. She was active in various philanthropic and social societies, including the University Settlement, Christian Socialists, the Social Democratic Union, and briefly the Independent Labour Party. Her husband, J.S. Mackenzie, wrote the following of her involvement with these various groups:

> Although she never formally joined any of these, Millicent was in close touch with the leaders. She was strongly interested in the movement for the formation of Trades

[23] Millicent Mackenzie, *Hegel's Theory and Practice of Education and Problems of Girls' Education in Elementary Schools / Millicent Mackenzie.* Thesis University of Wales, Cardiff, 1908.
[24] Millicent Mackenzie (1909). 'Moral Education: The Training of the Teacher', *International Journal of Ethics*, Vol. 19, No. 4, pp. 419-426.
[25] Mackenzie, 'Moral Education', pp. 422, 423.

> Unions for Women and in organizing meetings of factory girls for the discussion of social problems.
>
> In connection with these various philanthropic activities, she gradually became convinced that although much could be done for adults, yet it was more important to tackle the younger generation. She got in touch with Toynbee Hall and learned a good deal from a study of the work that was being undertaken there; and she took up some Bristol working men to see it for themselves. […] Millicent was greatly encouraged […] and became convinced of the desirability of starting a Social Settlement in Bristol.[26]

In November 1918, Mackenzie put her name forward as a candidate for the Central Labour Party in the University of Wales Parliamentary Election. In her letter putting forward her candidature she wrote:

> If I were elected, I should make it my chief aim to help forward the interests of national education in every way in my power. I should give special attention to the problems of education in every way in my power. I should give special attention to the problems of education in Wales, and also give cordial support to schemes for improved housing accommodation; the abolition of slums; the freeing of land and the fullest encouragement of rural development; the nationalization of the larger and more vital forms of industrial undertaking.[27]

Up to this point, British Idealism had been closely linked with the Liberal party. Mackenzie's candidature for the Labour party represented an experimental alliance with the newly fledged party. At the turn of the century as the Liberal Party began its demise,[28] other Idealists such as R.B. Haldane and Thomas Jones (C.H.) moved, rather uncomfortably, from the Liberals to Labour.

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[26] Mackenzie, *John Stuart Mackenzie: His Life and Work*, pp. 108-9.
[27] Millicent Mackenzie, 'University of Wales – Parliamentary Election.', in J. Herbert Lewis Papers, D79. Univ. of Wales Representation 1917-22.
[28] Kenneth O. Morgan (2017). '7 December 1916: Asquith, Lloyd George and the Crisis of Liberalism', *Parliamentary History*, Vol. 36, No. 3, pp. 361-371.

After retiring from her position at Cardiff in 1915 Millicent Mackenzie helped establish the Halsey Training College in 1916.[29] According to its prospectus, the College provided training for:

> educated women who are ready to devote themselves to […] National Service, whether by teaching in experimental schools and classes, by serving on Local Educational Committees … by working in Settlements, or by undertaking pioneer or research work in education and social economy.[30]

The intellectual freedom given to the women in the college mirrors that provided at Aberdare Hall in Cardiff, a project in which both Mackenzie and Viriamu Jones were closely involved. The emphasis upon dedication to National Service via Local Education Committees and Settlements is also a clear continuation of the Idealist ethos, again as propagated by Viriamu Jones.

Millicent Mackenzie emphasised the crucial role education played in character development and internal growth. This is seen in her advocacy of the innovative pedagogical techniques of Rudolf Steiner in the 1920s. Steiner's educational theories were steeped in German Idealism, stating that the purpose of teaching was to cause the learner 'to wonder about the true nature of the eternal, suprasensory reality behind the world of the senses'.[31] Millicent Mackenzie was instrumental in introducing Steiner's ideas into Britain, most notably by inviting him to speak at an educational conference held at Mansfield College, Oxford, in 1922. Christopher Bamford writes of the occasion:

> About two hundred people attended. Dr. Millicent Mackenzie, then Professor of Cardiff – a person for whom Steiner had the highest regard – was in the chair throughout the lectures. The Minister for Labor, Dr. H. A. L. Fisher presided. Other lecturers included

[29] Ann Jessica Pilcher-Dayton (2011). 'Women Freemasons and Feminist Causes 1908-1935: The Case of the Honourable Fraternity of Ancient Masonry', PhD thesis, University of Sheffield, Sheffield.
[30] Ann Jessica Pilcher-Dayton, 2011, 'Women Freemasons and Feminist Causes 1908-1935', pp. 179-180.
[31] Rudolf Steiner, *The Spiritual Ground of Education* (Great Barrington: Anthroposophical Press, 2004), p. 3.

> celebrated names such as Gilbert Murray, the great classicist, A. Clutton Brock, the essayist, Professor Maxwell Garnett, and Edward Holmes.[32]

The lectures left a deep impression on the audience, *The Manchester Guardian* noting that Steiner 'puts as much vitality into his exposition of the difference between mind and spirit as a barrister would put into an appeal for justice'.[33]

Such was the success of Steiner's lectures that Britain's first Steiner School was opened in Torquay in 1924.[34] John Paull notes that the success of the Oxford Conference and the subsequent dissemination of Steiner's educational philosophy was due in part 'to the organising skills of Millicent Mackenzie'. He further notes that the 'Oxford Conference of 1922 played a pivotal role in the global diffusion of Waldorf education'.[35] The Mackenzies maintained a good relationship with Rudolf Steiner. Steiner's personal library included four books by J.S. Mackenzie and Millicent Mackenzie's book *Hegel's Educational Theory and Practice*, all of which were inscribed to Steiner by the authors.[36]

Viriamu Jones, by transplanting the philosophical culture of Idealism into Wales, created the right climate for further experimentation into the nature of education. Such experimentations were carried forward by the Mackenzies, who in turn introduced the educational ideals of Rudolf Steiner into Britain. From this lineage Viriamu Jones can be seen as the grandfather of Steiner Schools in Britain.

However, in this lineage there is a clear change in emphasis within Idealist thought. The Oxford Idealism Viriamu Jones communicated was dual purposed, advocating both personal development and civic responsibility. In the years after Viriamu Jones' death Idealism toned down its emphasis on civic responsibility and concentrated on personal development. This was due to the changes in British social and

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[32] Rudolf Steiner, *The Spiritual Ground of Education* (Great Barrington: Anthroposophical Press, 2004), p. vi.
[33] Manchester Guardian (1922). Spiritual Values in Education – Dr. Steiner's Lectures to Oxford Conference (From our Special Correspondent.) Oxford, Saturday. Manchester Guardian (21 August).
[34] John Paull (2011). 'Rudolf Steiner and the Oxford Conference: The Birth of Waldorf Education in Britain', *European Journal of Educational Studies,* Vol. 3, No. 1, 2011, p. 62.
[35] John Paull, 'Rudolf Steiner and the Oxford Conference', pp. 62, 63.
[36] John Paull (2018). 'The Library of Rudolf Steiner: The Books in English', *Journal of Social and Development Sciences*, Vol. 9, No. 3, pp. 21-46.

political makeup. Idealism was finding itself in a very different, and hostile, environment, and consequently had far less influence in the public and educational sphere.

In the light of these social changes the Mackenzies' advocacy of Rudolf Steiner takes on a new significance. In a time when philosophical Idealism was on the wane and comprehensive materialist philosophies such as Marxism were gaining ascendency, Rudolf Steiner offered a new and vibrant Idealistic monism. Steiner's philosophy presented a comprehensive explanation of the world in terms of humanity's latent spiritual potentials. Through his educational philosophy, Steiner sought to unlock these spiritual potentials and thus bring about a spiritual renaissance.[37] Steiner also offered an explanation as to why British Idealism and other spiritual philosophies were then facing a barrage of hostility. It was due, according to Steiner, to generations of corrupt materialistic thinking:

> You have to understand that when people have bad, corrupt ways of thinking in one age, the next generation and the next age will have to pay for this […]. The fact that people began to think in such coarse material terms in the 19th century, turning their minds away from anything spiritual, did have its consequences.[38]

Steiner Schools offered the promise of turning these spiritual tides. The Mackenzies grabbed hold of this promise and hoped for better times ahead.

However, by advocating Steiner's vision of education, the Mackenzies had forfeited the Idealist vision for a centralised and systematised education within Wales. Their efforts were now directed towards self-funded, self-contained, and independent educational institutions. This was very much opposed to Viriamu Jones' ideal and to their earlier mission under his influence.

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[37] Rudolf Steiner, *The Philosophy of Freedom* (East Sussex: Rudolf Steiner Press, 1999).
[38] Rudolf Steiner, *Original Impulses for the Science of the Spirit* (Lower Beechmont: Completion Press, 2001), pp. 18, 19.

By the 1920s British Idealism was receding in Wales. Within the academic sphere, there was a changing of the guards: C. E. Vaughan left Cardiff in 1898, the Mackenzies both retired in 1915; J.W. Hetherington (J.S. Mackenzie's replacement as Professor of Logic and Philosophy) left Wales in 1920; and Sir Henry Jones died in in 1922.[39] At Cardiff, J.W. Scott, the Head of Philosophy from 1920-44, held the dwindling Idealist light in the challenging decades of the 1930s and '40s.[40]

The sharp decline of Idealism's influence was partially due to dramatic changes in the philosophical arena. The early 1900s saw the rise of the rival philosophical school of Realism, which was headed by Bertrand Russell and G. E. Moore. This school relied on what they termed "common sense", a system of thought which took reality as it presented itself to our usual consciousness. They had no time for the metaphysical speculations of Idealism, which they considered useless to practical ethics and understanding. Against this emerging school of Realism, the Idealists found themselves on the back foot. J.S. Mackenzie was the final systematic expositor of Idealism in Wales. After him Idealists such as Hetherington and J.W. Scott focused their energies on refuting Realism and Marxism as opposed to expositing Idealism.[41] Their lack of success on this point is seen in the fact they published very little.

J.W. Scott's personal library is preserved in Gregynog Hall and reveals the intellectual labour he expended in his attempt to both understand and refute the hostile school of Realism. In his library is a heavily annotated first edition of Bertrand Russell's *Principles of Social Reconstruction* (1916).[42] Russel's book, in stark contrast with Idealism, considered the individual as primarily irrational and driven by impulses. His key contention was that 'the place of impulse in a satisfactory existence is not recognised',

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[39] C. E. Vaughan, *Studies in the History of Political Philosophy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1939), p. xix.
[40] Evans, *University of Wales*, p. 158.
[41] J.W. Scott (1918). 'Realism and Politics', *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, Vol. 18, pp. 224-246; J.W. Scott (1924). 'Psychology and Idealist Philosophy', *The Philosophical Review*, Vol. 33, No. 1, pp. 67-73.
[42] Bertrand Russell, *Principals of Social Reconstruction* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1916. First Edition). [Stored in Gregynog Hall Library].

and that all impulse was 'essentially blind, in the sense that it does not spring from any prevision of consequences'.[43] Russell argued that the key driving forces in human life were 'an impulse of aggression, and an impulse of resistance to aggression'.[44] These passages are underlined in J.W. Scott's copy and are accompanied by notes in the margins. On the title page of Scott's copy Scott summed up the book in a single sentence: 'Take the opening life of the individual human spirit, and reverence it. Let it open'.[45] Russell's emphasis on the irrational impulses of individuals and the need to reverence each 'individual spirit' flew in the face of the Idealist doctrines of the inherent rationality of humanity and the individual's responsibility to work for the common good of society, as opposed to developing one's own life according to impulses.

The result of Scott's note-taking and intellectual labour was *Syndicalism and Philosophical Realism* published in 1919, which he dedicated to 'My teacher Sir Henry Jones'.[46] In his critique of Russell's Realism he noted that 'realism is by its nature a breaker-up of the constructive rational order,' because it relied on 'what is just-there'.[47] By making ordinary experience the final arbitrator, Russell concluded that reality (as far as we can know it) could only be fragmentary and piecemeal. This was in direct opposition to Idealism's claim that all reality existed within 'a single all-inclusive system of relations'.[48] Scott also critiqued Russell's individualism, which insisted that the individual should be free from all social coercion. Scott argued that the social customs and restraints which Russell was eager to discard were in fact what constituted the individual. Thus, Scott wrote:

> In all his plea for liberation, Mr. Russell assumes that the thing is there to be liberated. There is only the breaking of bonds to be done. What he does not reckon with is the possibility that the bonds may be the man's own very sinews; and that by the time he has broken them all there may be no man.[49]

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[43] Russell, *Social Reconstruction*.
[44] Bertrand Russell, *Social Reconstruction*, p. 19.
[45] Russell, *Social Reconstruction*, [marginalia], p. i.
[46] J.W. Scott, *Syndicalism and Philosophical Realism* (London: A. & C. Black, Ltd., 1919), vii.
[47] Scott, *Syndicalism and Philosophical Realism*, p. 183.
[48] T.H. Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics* (Memphis: General Books LLC, 2012), p. 12.
[49] Scott, *Syndicalism and Philosophical Realism*, p. 204.

In other words, Scott argued that the individual abstracted from the social order was simply an abstraction and no longer truly human.

Scott's book received cool critical reception, perhaps the most biting comment coming from Harold J. Laski in the *Political Science Quarterly*:

> Mr. Scott, as a good pupil of Sir Henry Jones, is himself quite naturally an idealist, which has come to mean, politically, one who tacitly accepts things as they are with a pious hope that, if we do our duty, they may one day be better. […] but for whom is Mr. Scott speaking in that "we"? Does he include therein the thirty per cent. whom, in London, Mr. Booth found living upon the verge of poverty? Does he include the one in three in London who die in workhouse, hospital or lunatic asylum? Does he include all outside that fraction of the population to whom an adequate education allows "the intensive realization of life"?
>
> Mr. Scott suffers from that woeful inability of his school to come to grips with the facts at issue.[50]

This review further emphasised the waning influence of Idealism, and the growing realization among many of the internal contradictions within Idealism which were previously seen in Viriamu Jones' efforts to establish Technical Education and noticed by R.D. Roberts. It is perhaps because of this that J.W. Scott only published two books during his 24 years as head of the philosophy department at Cardiff from 1920-44.[51] In 1920 he published a slim volume of 52 pages entitled *Karl Marx on Value*,[52] its purpose to 'make clear the fallacy underlying the Marxian Law of Value' which Scott saw the 'central tenet in his economic teaching'.[53] This book, again, met with a cool critical response, a review in the Chicago journal *The Monist* passing judgement on the book in three terse sentences:

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[50] Harold J. Laski (1919). 'Syndicalism and Philosophical Realism by J.W. Scott', *Political Science Quarterly,* Vol. 34, No. 4, p. 667.
[51] D. Emrys Evans, *The University of Wales: A Historical Sketch* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1953), p. 158.
[52] J.W. Scott, *Karl Marx on Value* (London: A. & C. Black, Ltd., 1920).
[53] J.W. Scott, *Karl Marx on Value*, pp. 42, 1.

> This little book, by the Professor of Philosophy at Cardiff University College, is a brief summary of Marx's Theory of Value and of the chief arguments that have been brought against it. It is written in very simple language, which sometimes approaches what Mr. Caliban would call "the prattling style." But it makes no claim to originality either of idea or of manner of presentation, and it is, of course, very far from exhaustive of the subject.[54]

After the poor reception of his books, Scott wrote little and led a quiet teaching career. When given the opportunity to give the Inaugural Address to the Aristotelian Society in 1934, Scott acknowledged that his lifetime was 'passed during a period when idealism has been on the defensive', and that the days of its vitality were perhaps over.[55]

After his retirement Scott lived a life of obscurity indexing the *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*. His latter days were spent in Gregynog Hall, as Glyn Tegai, a previous Warden of Gregynog, recalled in an email to Mary Oldham, the Hall's current Librarian:

> Dear Mary
> J.W.Scott spent several months at Gregynog in, I think 1965-6. He was then about 88 and was working on the third volume of a Synoptic Index to the Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society. He was either widowed or unmarried. He had been at Jena before the First War and told me who his teachers had been. I looked them up, hoping that they in turn might have been taught by Hegel; but no luck. I happened at that time to do a radio programme with A.J.Ayer and asked him about Scott. Well, he said, the Society had, almost in a fit of absentmindedness agreed to the index, without realizing that Scott would set to quite so diligently. So, every now and again, there would come a missive from him asking one to provide a summary of some article one had published years before in the Proceedings and about which one had entirely changed one's mind in the meantime. He was delightful, old-school company, well liked by the staff and by visiting students, but he wanted to stay at Gregynog for the rest of his life and this was a trifle worrying. However in 1966/7 came the rewiring and replumbing of the hall, so that we

[54] G. C. Field, (1922). 'SCOTT, J.W.,1922. Karl Marx on Value (Book Review)', *The Monist,* Vol. 32, pp. 315.
[55] J.W. Scott (1934). 'Humanity and History', *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society, Supplementary Volumes*, Vol. 13, pp. 1-15.

> closed for some months and, regretfully, he had to return to Cardiff. He presented the library at Gregynog with some of his books, but I have no recollection of any papers.[56]

On top of the decline of Idealism within the philosophical sphere, the troubling developments in the international sphere also raised major challenges for the philosophy.

The First World War aroused xenophobic suspicions of German philosophy, particularly of Hegel's alleged statism. These suspicions led to Idealist philosophers toning down their indebtedness to German thought. Similar xenophobic concerns were expressed in the Welsh press. The year 1916 witnessed what John Harris termed 'the blackest year of the war'.[57] It was the year of compulsory subscription, which saw conscientious objectors brought before local tribunals. The April 13, 1916, edition of *The Express* jovially reported the mockery several objectors received during cross examination in court.[58] The bleak political and international climate caused some Welsh writers to question whether the Idealistic faith in the rationality of the state was totally misguided and was indeed to blame for the savagery of the war.

One such writer was John Arthur Price (1861-1942), a barrister and journalist who himself was educated at Balliol College, graduating in 1881.[59] In an article for the *Welsh Outlook* titled "State, Nationalism and Conscience" Price blamed Welsh Hegelianism for 'Prussianising Welshmen' and transforming Britain into a militarist state. Price criticised 'the flippant way in which Sir Owen Edwards dismisses the conscientious objector, and the audacious manner in which Sir Henry Jones sets up the Prussian state idolatry (popularly called Hegelianism) as an image for Wales to worship'.[60] This essay was highly polemical in nature and fitted within the general xenophobic anti-German

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[56] 'J.W. SCOTT AT GREGYNOG.' Email from Glyn Tegai to Mary Oldham, August 29, 2016.
[57] John Harris, 'Introduction' in *Capel Sion* (Bridgend: Seren, 2002), p. xi.
[58] *The Brecon Radnor Express*, April 13, 1916.
[59] E. M. Humphreys, (2001). PRICE, JOHN ARTHUR (1861 - 1942), barrister and journalist. *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*. Retrieved 10 Nov 2022, from https://biography.wales/article/s2-PRIC-ART-1861
[60] J. Arthur Price (1916). 'State, Nationalism and Conscience', *The Welsh Outlook*, Vol. 3, No. 10, pp. 311-314.

rhetoric found in the Welsh press during the war. Nevertheless, the essay reflected a general change in tone in Welsh political and philosophical thought.

Further reflecting this general change, the same edition of *The Welsh Outlook* contained an essay by Professor Hetherington titled "Philosophy and Politics". 'One cannot but be aware,' he wrote, 'of a great change, during these last few weeks, in the outlook of this country'.[61] The key changes he noted were that 'optimism is less radiant now […], and our estimate of progress more sober'.[62] He continued:

> If we put the difference in its simplest terms, it amounts, I think, to the perception that it is not enough to exalt the goddess Reason. […] we no longer suppose that we can reform the world by a simple appeal to Reason. We have learned that there are deep seated instincts, passions and interests in individuals and in communities that are hostile to Reason; and that will stand against it with every material and spiritual weapon. In other words, Reason, Freedom, and Civilization, - a real trinity of ideals, - are not so much facts and possessions of men, as qualities which are only in the process of being won.[63]

Whereas Arthur Price's article could be viewed as a stray xenophobic attack on Idealism and all things remotely German, Professor Hetherington's article raised far deeper concerns within Idealism itself.

Hetherington was taught in the Scottish Idealist tradition and was much influenced by Sir Henry Jones.[64] While writing comparatively little, he co-authored the book *Social Purpose: A Contribution of Civic Responsibility* (1918) with J. H. Muirhead and 'published a volume in which he edited the letters of his old professor Henry Jones'.[65] Hetherington's admission that there existed deep seated irrational forces within individuals and communities was a major concession to the rising philosophical scepticisms of the time. Over the next decade Idealism's optimism was almost totally

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[61] H. J. W. Heatherington (1916). 'Philosophy and Politics', *The Welsh Outlook*, Vol. 3, No. 10, pp. 330-2.
[62] Heatherington, 'Philosophy and Politics', p. 330.
[63] Heatherington, 'Philosophy and Politics', p. 330.
[64] Andrew Belsey, 'Heatherington, Hector James Wright (1888-1965)' in *Dictionary of Twentieth-Century British Philosophers*, Vol. 1 (Bristol: Thoemmes Continuum, 2005), pp. 409-10.
[65] Belsey, 'Heatherington, Hector James Wright (1888-1965)', p. 410.

eclipsed by the scepticism of Bertrand Russell, the pragmatism of William James, the psychological determinism of Sigmund Freud, and the economic determinism of Marx. Placed within this forbidding marketplace of ideas, Idealism faced the stark choice of either adapting itself to meet these intellectual challenges, or to quietly declare intellectual bankruptcy.

Hetherington's concern that the Idealist virtues of 'Reason, Freedom, and Civilization' were being undermined by deeper irrational forces was explored by Morgan Watcyn-Williams, a student of the Mackenzies in Cardiff from 1909-1914 before he was drafted off to the war. Watcyn-Williams spent his five years at the Cardiff College focussing his studies on philosophy. He thought very highly of J.S. Mackenzie's classes and said of the professor, 'He was the finest and most impartial interpreter of men from whom he differed that I have known'.[66] Watcyn-Williams also worked closely alongside Mackenzie in the University Settlement and the Workers' Educational Association.

During the war years, Watcyn-Williams' time in the military put his Idealist philosophy to the ultimate test. While in the trenches he continued to read philosophy and maintained a letter correspondence with J.S. Mackenzie. Philosophy sustained him during the duress of training and counteracted what he regarded as the soul deadening effects of army life. He recorded his gratitude to J.S. Mackenzie for continuing to send him philosophical reading material. As time wore on, Watcyn-Williams became increasingly convinced that the war was madness. As a candidate for the presbyterian ministry, he wrote, 'The question which positively haunts me is whether "cloth" and "khaki" are eternally irreconcilables'.[67] He tried to answer this question by reading Idealist ethics, including Bosenquet's *The Principle of Individuality*. The Idealists saw the state as the Administrator of God's rational will for the Earth. Watcyn-Williams was deeply troubled by what he perceived as the State's opposition and contradiction to the will of God.

Under the circumstances, the Idealist doctrine of civic responsibility was tested with tremendous strain. Belief in the state as the ultimate expression of human rationality (as held in British Idealism) was hard to reconcile with the visible barbarism

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[66] Morgan Watcyn-Williams, *From Khaki to Cloth*. (Cardiff: Western Mail and Echo Ltd., 1949), p. 35.
[67] Watcyn-Williams, *Khaki to Cloth*, p. 48.

and irrationality of war. If the state were truly rational, how could it produce such a war? In this confusion of mind, Watcyn-Williams wondered to himself whether it was moral to partake in the war. 'Was disobedience ever justified? How did I differ from a conscientious objector? If I did, was it only a matter of degree?' [68]

In amongst the intellectual and international turmoil Watcyn-Williams credited his letter correspondence with J.S. Mackenzie for restoring his faith in the deeper rationality of the universe which transcended the ephemeral nature of the war:

> One sentence from Professor Mackenzie stands out like a lighthouse over those dark waters: "the alteration of the map of Europe will not change the permanent structure of the universe." If only we would believe that, but all the time our homes and lives were being changed almost beyond recognition. Yet he was right. Like the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews he could distinguish between things that are shaken and things that remain.[69]

Mackenzie addressed Watcyn-Williams' questions concerning pacifism while his battalion was situated on 'a section of line in front of Louveral and opposite Pronville,' overlooking Bourlon Woods.[70] This was one of the bloodiest sites of the war. He received a letter from Mackenzie, dated July 28, 1917:

> The question you raise about good and evil is a difficult one. I have tried to deal with it in my book, which is now passing through the press; but you may not find my treatment of it satisfactory. I think there is only one way of meeting the difficulty that you raise, namely, by supposing (1) that all things aim at the good, (2) that the good can be attained, effort is not illusory, and yet the achievement of good is not doubtful. […]
>
> This problem has, I think, some bearing on the other question that you raise, that of pacifism. If it is true that the good can only be achieved by strenuous effort, it is only another aspect of the same truth that evil can only be overcome by a similar effort. What forms this effort must take is a large question; but it seems clear that physical force is one that has sometimes to be adopted. Even the most extreme pacifist would

[68] Watcyn-Williams, *Khaki to Cloth*, p. 50.
[69] Watcyn-Williams, *Khaki to Cloth*, p. 56.
[70] Watcyn-Williams, *Khaki to Cloth*, p. 100.

> hardly deny that this method has to be used against a savage wolf; and human beings in some of their moods are not far removed from wolves.[71]

As this letter shows, the Idealists were not state worshipers. Pacifism was not rejected outright as unpatriotic, but it was rather a serious philosophical position which needed careful consideration. If the Idealists generally did support the war effort, it was not due to blind obedience to the State, but rather a thought-out conviction. Recently Nazli Pinar Kaymaz has shown that, despite later caricatures, the Idealists did provide special circumstances in which the individual could legitimately and rationally disobey the decision of the State.[72]

Despite these reflections from Mackenzie, Watcyn-Williams remained troubled by the ethical implications of the war for the rest of his life. The crux of his concern in summarised in his question, 'God or Caesar?' In his autobiography he wrote:

> We are Caesar's pawns and that is the curse, possibly the necessary curse, of the State, but God calls us to be kings and priests unto Himself. Anything, however apparently inevitable, which interferes with that royal priesthood is the desecration of personality, and in the last resort blasphemy.[73]

Here the state is seen as a menacing power and a 'necessary curse'. This is very different from the previous Idealist belief that the state was, in the words of Hegel, the manifestation of the universal Idea.[74]

Reflecting on his experiences shortly before his death Watcyn-Williams wrote, 'My beliefs were strengthened rather than destroyed by the war, but they sadly needed overhauling and unifying'.[75] This sentence encapsulates the state of Idealist thought after the war. Whereas many maintained their faith in the deeper rationality of reality,

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[71] *John Stuart Mackenzie: His Life and Work*, pp. 92-94.
[72] Nazli Pinar Kaymaz (2018). 'British Idealists and the Case of Conscientious Objectors During the First World War', *Collingwood and British Idealism Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 1, pp. 1–26.
[73] Watcyn-Williams, *Khaki to Cloth*, p. 70.
[74] Hegel, *Reason in History*, trans. Robert S. Hartman (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1997), p. 51.
[75] Watcyn-Williams, *Khaki to Cloth*, p. 117.

how this rationality translated into the practical world was seen as far more problematic than previous Idealists had allowed. Whereas previous Idealists saw the state as the dispenser of the divine reason, the next generation saw it in a more ambiguous and menacing light.[76]

Idealism's Political Decline Within Wales

The rise of Marxist teaching raised a formidable challenge to the W.E.A. and other Idealist enterprises overseen by J.S. Mackenzie and younger Welsh Idealists. An aspect of its challenge was its ideological similarity to Idealism. Both movements claimed an all-inclusive monistic and systematic outlook on life. As Dietzgen insisted, 'everything is contained in the all, everything related, everything connected, everything interdependent'.[77] However, whereas Idealism insisted that the first principle of a systematic philosophy was mind, for Marxism it was matter. This therefore made both movements mutually exclusive and openly hostile to each other. The mutually exclusive nature of differing philosophical worldviews has been noted by Gordon H. Clark: 'Each has his own presuppositions, and each follows their logical implications. […] If they are both logically accurate in deducing conclusions from their premises, progress toward agreement seems impossible'.[78]

J.S. Mackenzie's hostility toward Marxism is evident in his books. For instance, in *Introduction to Social Philosophy* (1890) he disparagingly wrote that 'the doctrines of Proudhon or of Karl Marx […] have but little reference to philosophy at all'.[79] He raised

[76] Edward Skidelsky (2007). 'The Strange Death of British Idealism', *Philosophy and Literature*, Vol. 31, No. 1, pp. 41-51.
[77] Quotation taken from Stuart MacIntyre (1974). 'Joseph Dietzgen and British working-class education', *Bulletin of the Study of Labour History*, No. 29, pp. 50–4.
[78] Gordon H. Clark, *Historiography Secular and Religious* (Jefferson: The Trinity Foundation, [1971] 1994), p. 336.
[79] J.S. Mackenzie, *An Introduction to Social Philosophy* (Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons, 1890), p. 2. Mackenzie was perhaps unwittingly complimenting Marx's doctrines in this statement since Marx explicitly set out to critique the concept of *philosophy* itself. Indeed, Terry Eagleton notes that Marx was an 'anti-philosopher'. This anti-philosophical drive is evident in his 11th thesis on Feurbach: 'The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to change it.'

several objections to Socialism, the most pertinent being that most are intellectually incapable of governing society wisely and therefore should not have a definitive say on its maintenance.[80] For J.S. Mackenzie the object of the W.E.A (Workers Education Association) was to teach ethical citizenship and morality to the working classes. The key concern of his teaching was 'the problem of citizenship, the nature of society, its successes and failures, the way out to a world-commonwealth'.[81] As one student of his classes testified, 'He taught me to think, to serve, and to sacrifice without a grudge'.[82] These objects were antithetical to those of the emerging Labour Colleges, many of whom viewed the W.E.A. as a 'handmaid of capitalism'.[83] One such student stated that 'class warfare could not be wished away by workers adopting the ideals of good citizenship,' and that reconciliation could only be achieved 'through the creation of a co-operative commonwealth'.[84]

The Central Labour College emerged from the student strikes at Ruskin College, Oxford in 1908.[85] Ruskin College, established in 1899 by the American socialist and philanthropist Walter Vrooman, was founded upon the Christian Socialist doctrines of William Morris and John Ruskin.[86] Originally set up to 'appeal to the social conscience of *all* classes', Ruskin College gradually absorbed the more radical and revolutionary doctrines of Marx and Engels, which led to the student strikes in 1908 and the foundation of the Labour College.[87] The College, initially based in Oxford, soon found its permanent location in London. From its London headquarters the College set up settlements throughout Britain, and within a decade several branches were established throughout Wales.[88] The movement gained the attention of the Welsh Liberal periodical *The Welsh Outlook*. In his article for the periodical W. J. Edwards wrote that the purpose

[80] J.S. Mackenzie, *An Introduction to Social Philosophy*, pp. 276, 277.
[81] Mackenzie, *John Stuart Mackenzie: His Life and Work*, p. 171.
[82] Mackenzie, *John Stuart Mackenzie: His Life and Work*, p. 160.
[83] Richard Lewis, ''The Guidance of the Wise': The WEA in Wales, 1906-1918', in *Changing Lives: Workers' Education in Wales 1907-2007*, ed. Joe England (Llafur: Welsh People's History Society, 2007), p. 22.
[84] Lewis, ''The Guidance of the Wise': The WEA in Wales, 1906-1918', p. 20.
[85] W. W. Craik, *Central Labour College* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1964).
[86] Craik, *Central Labour College*, p. 34.
[87] Craik, *Central Labour College*, pp. 33, 72.
[88] W. J. Edwards (1917). 'The Central Labour College', in *Welsh Outlook*, pp. 210-212.

of the College was to train 'men and women to take part as class-conscious workers in the industrial and political organisation of their class'.[89] The College had an extensive library of socialist works, including the writings of Joseph Dietzgen. Stuart MacIntyre notes that Dietzgen's works formed the groundwork of the College's courses.[90] It was noted by Maurice Dobb that 'If one stayed overnight… in a South Wales miner's household, there were his [Dietzgen's] works… in a prominent place and treated with reverence as a sacred text'.[91]

The rise of the Central Labour College and Marxism marked a changing of the cultural tide in Wales and throughout Britain. The situation would become increasingly hostile for Idealism at the advent for the First World War. Given what has been stated about Idealism's antithetical attitude towards Socialism, the relationship of some Idealists to the Labour party seems unusual. In 1918 Millicent Mackenzie put forward her candidacy to represent the Central Labour Party in the University of Wales Parliamentary Election. On closer inspection, the relationship was one of expediency rather than ideological agreement. A case in point was the Idealist R.B. Haldane, who began his political career in 1885 as the Liberal candidate for East Lothian.[92] His ideas at this time were in full agreement with T.H. Green, which 'sought to augment classical liberal thinking with a greater positive role for the state whilst at the same time avoiding the extremes of socialism'.[93] It was after 1920 that Haldane made the transition to the Labour party. This serves as a metaphor for a more general transition in Idealist policy in the early twentieth century. This shift was driven by changing political and economic circumstances, exacerbated by the advent of the First World War and the rise in class consciousness.

The 1910s were a time of general political unrest in Wales, with workers' strikes taking place in the Cardiff Docks, the Tareni colliery, the national railway in Llanelli, and

[89] W. J. Edwards (1917). 'The Central Labour College', p. 210.
[90] Stuart MacIntyre, 'Joseph Dietzgen and British working-class education', *Society for the study of Labour History*, No. 29, pp. 50-54.
[91] Quotation taken from Stuart MacIntyre, 'Joseph Dietzgen and British working-class education', in *Society for the study of Labour History*, No. 29, p. 51.
[92] Mander, *British Idealism, A History*, p. 514
[93] Mander, *British Idealism, A History,* p. 515

a host of other locations.[94] These general workers' strikes across Wales soon erupted into what became known as The Great Unrest of Wales.[95] Neil Evans notes that during this time 'Throughout south Wales there was mounting evidence of working-class militancy and little heed was taken of the proponents of class harmony'.[96] This general unrest also witnessed the rise of the Labour Party and a crisis within the Liberal Party.[97] Under these circumstances, Idealism needed to disentangle itself from the waning Liberal party and adapt, in an attempt to remain relevant in a rapidly changing political and social arena. In the 1890s socialism could be dismissed offhand as lacking a sufficiently well-thought-through rational basis. However, its subsequent rise and gain in power meant it could no longer be ignored. The attempt to engage with the Labour party produced an uncomfortable union, with the Idealists simultaneously trying to maintain their distinctive convictions and to fit into the new and increasingly alien political situation.

Millicent Mackenzie was badly defeated in her candidacy for the Central Labour Party. After her defeat, Makenzie abandoned politics altogether as she and her husband travelled the world to explore Indian philosophy, theosophy, and Steiner education. Faced with a poorly fitting working-class politics, they retreated into the realm of mystical Idealism. Ultimately, transcendental insights and spiritual enlightenment had priority over the messy reality of politics on the ground. This was the inherent weakness present in Idealism, which had previously sunk Viriamu Jones' attempt to engage with the working classes.

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[94] Neil Evans, "'A Tidal Wave of Impatience': The Cardiff General Strike of 1911', in *Politics and Society in Wales: 1840-1922* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1988), pp. 135-159.
[95] Dean Hopkin, 'The Great Unrest in Wales 1910-1913: Questions of Evidence', in *Class, Community and the Labour Movement: Wales and Canada 1850-1930* (Llafur/CCLH, 1989), pp. 249-275.
[96] Neil Evans, "'A Tidal Wave of Impatience': The Cardiff General Strike of 1911', p. 135.
[97] Dean Hopkin, 'The Rise of Labour: Llanelli, 1890-1922', in *Politics and Society in Wales: 1840-1922* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1988), pp. 161-182.

While Idealism witnessed opposition and challenges in the philosophical and political spheres, the social upheaval created during and shortly after the War did in fact present Idealism with unprecedented opportunities. As the fabric of society was in turmoil, the thoughts of many turned to the prospects of rebuilding and social reconstruction. In later years H.A.L. Fisher would recall of this time:

> The vast expenditure and harrowing anxieties of the time, so far from extinguishing the needs of social progress, helped to promote a widespread feeling for improvement in the general lot of the people. […] The country was in a spending mood and eager to compensate the wastage of war by some real contribution to the arts of peace. As happens in any revolutionary age the educational age was in a state of ferment. For the first time in our national history education was a popular subject and discussed in an atmosphere cleared of religious acrimony.[98]

In 1917, the Wartime Coalition Prime Minister David Lloyd George put in place policies to encourage a large influx of ex-servicemen into university education, many of whom 'came from families which had never previously sent or dreamed of sending their sons to University'.[99] Lloyd George himself was friends with T.E. Ellis and acquainted with Welsh Idealism. The purpose of sending all these men to the university was 'to fit the youth of the nation for the tremendous task they would have to face in rebuilding a country whose commerce had been shattered and whose wealth had been scattered by war'.[100] Recognising the sacrifice conscription had placed upon the lower classes, there was a feeling of a national duty to likewise extend to them the full privileges of citizenship, including access to education. This was enshrined within the Education Act

[98] H.A.L. Fisher, *An Unfinished Autobiography*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), p. 94.
[99] David Lloyd George, *War Memorials of David Lloyd-George*, volume 2 (London: Odhams Press Ltd. 1933), p. 1994.
[100] David Lloyd George, *War Memorials of David Lloyd-George*, p. 1994.

1918 of which the head commissioner was H.A.L. Fisher, a friend of Henry Jones with distinctly Idealist sympathies.[101]

Fisher's childhood had been the embodiment of middle-class sophistication, his family on friendly terms with intellectual figures such as Thomas Carlyle, J.A. Froude and Tennyson. Predictably, he got a scholarship to study at Oxford in 1884, where he was immediately immersed in Hegelian Idealism. He had a distinguished academic career on Idealist lines until, stirred by the need to put his philosophy into practice, he joined the Board of Education in 1916.[102] Fisher was perfectly placed to enact Idealism within the largest political arena by embedding it into the new Education Act. The Act heralded the Idealist aspiration of creating a rational system of national education within which every child in Britain would be trained in ethical citizenship.[103] Fisher's Act envisioned and established a national educational system the like of which previous Idealists such as Jowett, Green and Viriamu Jones could only have dreamed. All educational institutions within Britain, whether elementary, secondary, technical, or university level, were now to submit and give an account of themselves to the centralised Board of Education.[104] The Education Act proved to be both Idealism's greatest triumph and its death knell.

Being a nation-wide educational Act, Fisher's Act had an immediate impact upon all the educational institutions in Wales. Abel J. Jones, a school inspector who worked under O.M. Edwards, wrote of the impact:

> With Fisher's new Act came a change. The authorities were asked to consider all aspects of education in their area and to draw out, after full consideration, a detailed plan of development for several years. This took the authorities some time and it also took the time of the Board's inspectors who were working in the same direction. The schemes were printed. Some were hurriedly put together to satisfy the Board's request. When the schemes were ready, the Chief Inspector and others went to meet the authorities to discuss them. When Owen Edwards met a large county education committee, whose printed scheme ran to over a hundred pages, his comment to them was something as follows: "You have a big

[101] David Boucher & Andrew Vincent, *A Radical Hegelian* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press 1993) p. 100.
[102] H.A.L. Fisher, *An Unfinished Autobiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940).
[103] H.A.L. Fisher, *Educational Reform Speeches* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918), p. 27.
[104] Fisher, *Educational Reform Speeches*, pp. 22-23.

> scheme of over a hundred pages; as it stands it is nothing more than a lot of dry bones. What you need now is someone to breathe the breath of life into these bones."[105]

While Fisher's Act was organising all educational institutions, from elementary, technical, and tertiary, into a rational system of national education, another Royal Commission was being led by R.B. Haldane to specifically investigate the make-up and progress of the University of Wales, the findings of which were published in 1918, alongside Fisher's Act.[106]

The Royal Commission had been requested by members of staff within the University of Wales itself, due to complex administrative problems within the University raised by the Chancellor of Exchequer's standing Advisory Committee of University Grants in 1913.[107] J. Gwynn Williams noted that the Commission sought to investigate two core issues, 'The first concerned government and organization [of the University itself], the second the [establishment of a] Medical School'.[108] The request for a Royal Commission was urged on by Sir Henry Jones, who believed that it was most prudent to have these administrative issues resolved without delay, and that the University staff should see to it that the right people were appointed to carry out the Commission.[109] With this in mind, Henry Jones 'readily advanced the claims of Richard Burdon, first Viscount Haldane, both a former and future Lord Chencellor, presumably because he had the saving grace of being a philosopher who was at his best in dealing with legal principles rather than in interpreting facts'.[110] Once again, as with the drafting of the Charter in 1893, the Idealists in high places were moving behind the administrative scenes, ensuring that an Idealist-informed model would be a foregone conclusion. Of the

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[105] Abel J. Jones, *From an Inspector's Bag* (Cardiff: Priority Press Ltd., 1944), p. 80.
[106] Royal Commission on the University of Wales, *The Final Report of the Commissioners* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1918). Online access: https://ia600202.us.archive.org/29/items/cu31924030564284/cu31924030564284.pdf [Accessed 14/08/2023].
[107] J. Gwynn Williams, *The University of Wales 1893-1939* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), p. 119.
[108] Williams, *The University of Wales 1893-1939*, p. 120.
[109] Williams, *The University of Wales 1893-1939*, p. 123.
[110] Williams, *The University of Wales 1893-1939*, p. 125.

nine Commissioners appointed, three were explicit Idealist thinkers, R.B. Haldane, Sir Henry Jones, and O.M. Edwards.

R.B. Haldane, the head Commissioner, was among the 'leading lights' of the British Idealist movement in the 1870s and 1880s, along with Andrew Seth Pringle-Pattison and W.R. Sorley.[111] In 1883 he edited and contributed to a volume entitled *Essays in Philosophical Criticism*, which was dedicated to the memory of Thomas Hill Green.[112] Haldane's essay on 'The Relation of Philosophy to Science' foreshadowed his particular interest in the applied sciences, technical education, and the position of industry in national life and its place within a university education. In a 1901 address to commercial men in Liverpool, Haldane presented what he considered should be the 'double aim' of a sound university system, 'pure culture on the one hand, and on the other the application of the highest knowledge to commercial enterprise'.[113] Haldane's concern for the place of technical education and applied sciences within the university mirrored those of Viriamu Jones and were further developed in the 1918 Royal Commission.

The Haldane Commission began with a 'Historical Retrospect', a potted history of education in Wales, conforming to the general Romantic scheme as noted in the Introduction, tracing the indigenous desire for learning in Wales through its homegrown institutions of Sunday Schools and Nonconformist Academies. It then moved onto the establishment of the three University Colleges of Aberystwyth, Bangor, and Cardiff. At this point in the Report, John Viriamu Jones features very favourably. The role of Viriamu Jones in the Report fits into that of his early biographers, again highlighted in the Introduction, who presented Jones as a great Romantic Hero who forged order out of chaos. It made much of his 'force of character', 'warm sympathy', and 'broadest views'. The Report then stated, 'It would be out of place here to go in detail into the story of his

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[111] W.J. Mander, 'HALDANE, Richard Burdon, 1st Viscount Cloan (1856-1928)', in *Dictionary of Twentieth-Century British Philosophers*, Vol. 1 (Bristol: Thoemmes Continuum, 2005), pp. 359-361.
[112] R.B. Haldane and J.S. Haldane, 'The Relation of Philosophy to Science', in *Essays in Philosophical Criticism*, ed. Andrew Seth and R.B. Haldane (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1883), pp. 41-66.
[113] H.B. Haldane, *Education and Empire* (London: John Murray, 1902), p. 27.

work, but it may be said that the successful progress of both intermediate and university education in Wales has been in a very large measure due to his energy and outlook'.[114]

The most significant feature of the Report was the place it sought to assign to the teaching of 'Technology', recommending the establishment of a Faculty and Board of Technology within the University of Wales.[115] The Report's most drastic recommendation on this front was that the Technical College in Swansea should become a constituent college of the University of Wales.[116] Throughout the Report, the same tensions which plagued Viriamu Jones' attempt to bring technical education and industry within the university's domain are evident. For instance, on the one hand the Report referred to 'the strong feeling of distrust entertained towards the University and centralised control by certain industrial and commercial interests in South Wales'.[117] Then, on the other, there was the perennial issue of the danger that if industry was introduced within university teaching, then the humanistic goals of the university, which espoused disinterested research and character development, would be sacrificed to utilitarian aims. Thus, the Report read:

> Great advances in the application of science to industry have often been made possible by the discoveries of students who had no such object in view, but were impelled simply by a desire to extend the bounds of knowledge and solve some problem in the realm of pure science […] if the Universities are distracted from this work, who can be relied on to do it in the disinterested spirit which is essential to real progress? If, therefore, those who control or direct the wealth of South Wales were, in their natural eagerness to make the fullest use of scientific knowledge and research, to tempt the Colleges by liberal aid to pay greatly increased attention to vocational training and the solution of practical problems, without at the same time showing an increased interest in the promotion of the highest university studies, the standard of the University would undoubtedly be lowered and the hopes of industry would be disappointed.[118]

[114] Royal Commission on the University of Wales, p. 7.
[115] Royal Commission on the University of Wales, p. 75.
[116] Royal Commission on the University of Wales, p. 74.
[117] Royal Commission on the University of Wales, p. 47.
[118] Royal Commission on the University of Wales, pp. 75-76.

To balance these tensions and to alleviate fears, the Report recommends that, in order to be fully recognised as a Constituent College, Swansea must also develop a Faculty of Arts.[119]

Following the suggestions of the Report, Swansea Technical College was made a Constituent College of the University of Wales in 1920. Two years later, H.B. Haldane delivered an address at the Central Hall, Swansea, on November 26, 1921, in which he elaborated the role he played in the Report and the decisions which had to be made in relation to Swansea. Throughout the speech, his indebtedness to Hegelian Idealism is apparent. In the opening of the speech, Haldane spoke on the need of balance between the sciences and humanities, and how both are needed to create a whole:

> [W]e laid great stress on the necessity of Swansea's developing a faculty of arts not less than those other adjuncts which go to make a real University College, a College permeated by the University atmosphere in which knowledge is no longer taken to be an aggregation of disconnected fragments, but an entirety in which each branch has an intimate relation to the other, and has the wide-sidedness which can arise from no narrow view of knowledge, but only from the view that regards it as a whole.[120]

Haldane's argument was built upon the Hegelian view of knowledge, in which all aspects of knowledge are interconnected and make up a single coherent whole. His indebtedness to Hegelianism was made apparent in his view that knowledge can only achieve this wholeness when it is grounded in (Hegelian) philosophy. Thus, he stated:

> Well, if there is one thing – one conviction – that has become stamped on my mind as a man devoted to higher education, it is this – that in a true University and in a true University College you must have a Chair of Philosophy. It is the widest of all subjects. It is required to give their relative places to the various branches in the Faculty of Arts; it is essential if you are training Theological students, as you probably will be in this College before long; it is necessary for the training and teaching of Science, and it is getting to be there more and more necessary; for you cannot to-day study even the Higher Mathematics without being

[119] Royal Commission on the University of Wales, p. 75.
[120] Rt. Hon. Viscount Haldane of Cloan, *The University and the Welsh Democracy* (London: Oxford University Press, 1922), pp. 5-6.

> aware that the new doctrines of Relativity are forcing on the consideration of Mathematicians, Physicists, Chemists, and people engaged in other departments of Science the necessity of reconsidering conceptions which we used to accept without reflecting upon them.

Haldane's view that all fields of knowledge, particularly the sciences, must be grounded on the bedrock of philosophy is in fact a rearticulation of what he had stated in his 1883 essay 'The Relation of Philosophy to Science', in which he noted that 'science and philosophy can no longer be kept wholly apart from one another'.[121]

Another way in which Haldane's indebtedness to Hegelian thought becomes apparent in the speech is in his account of how the Constituent Colleges of the University of Wales related to one another. He compared their relationship as parts of a single organism:

> We aimed not at a mechanism but at a living organism. You know the difference between a mechanism and an organism. A mechanism consists of parts external to and independent of each other from without, and are really disconnected. But in an organism there is a higher conception. […] Just so we conceive the idea of a living spiritual life for the University of Wales – a life which should constitute that University, which should consist in constituent Colleges which were to live in it as it lived in them.[122]

Haldane's contrast between mechanism and organism was typical of Idealist thought and was again a rearticulation of ideas he expressed in his 1883 essay. Haldane's reference to the University of Wales as an organism and the Colleges as its vital organs is a rearticulation of the very ideas of the framers of the University of Wales Charter in 1896. It was demonstrated in Chapter Four that the framers of the Charter, including Viriamu Jones, O.M. Edwards and Sir Henry Jones, drew upon Hegelian Idealism for direct inspiration in its formation. Haldane's explicit use of Hegelian concepts in his

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[121] R.B. Haldane and J.S. Haldane, 'The Relation of Philosophy to Science', in *Essays in Philosophical Criticism*, ed. Andrew Seth and R.B. Haldane (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1883), p. 65.
[122] Rt. Hon. Viscount Haldane of Cloan, *The University and the Welsh Democracy* (London: Oxford University Press, 1922), pp. 4-5.

explanation of the 1918 Report on the reconstitution of the University of Wales would seem to confirm this argument.

The Fisher Act and the Haldane Commission both demonstrated Idealism at its administrative zenith. Taking full advantage of the opportunities presented by the social upheavals of the War, Idealism was able to engraft itself into key pieces of administrative legislation. However, despite these extraordinary successes, these policies ultimately led to the downfall of Idealism in the long run. As more people from a greater diversity of social backgrounds entered education, the old idea of social cohesion was no longer tenable. Idealism was faced with the stark reality that its middle-class microcosm was not representative of the nation as a whole, and that its philosophy could not accommodate this new reality.[123] Late Victorian Idealism was a philosophising of the social structure at the time, and as that structure changed the philosophy lost its foundation. To use Marxist terminology, Idealism became a superstructure without a base. Stripped of the conditions under which it had flourished, Idealism faced the choice of adaptation or extinction. As a result, it lost its dominant position in educational thought, and the rapidly mutated subspecies that emerged was no longer recognisable as the late Victorian Idealism of John Viriamu Jones.

Victorian Idealism in an Uncertain Century

Around 1920, Idealism was at a crossroads. Did it adapt to the changing circumstances of the new century, or would it attempt to reshape the century according to its previous vision? Taking the latter option was Thomas Jones, C.H. (1870-1955).

Thomas Jones was born in Rhymney on September 27, 1870. His family were from the lower-middle classes with signs of upward social mobility. His father was a grocer's assistant, eventually becoming the Manager of the Rhymney Iron Company shop.[124] As a child, TJ (as he was affectionately known) showed a proficiency for reading and Bible knowledge. As a result, when of age he was sent to the University College of

[123] Admir Skodo, *The Afterlife of Idealism* (London, Palgrave Macmillan 2016) p. 25.
[124] E. L. Ellis (1992). 'Dr. Thomas Jones, CH, of Rhymney: A Many-Sided Welshman', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, pp. 183-197.

Wales, Aberystwyth to train for the Calvinistic Methodist ministry in 1890. From there he went on the Glasgow University where his mentor was Sir Henry Jones. E.L. Ellis noted that TJ 'had been profoundly changed by exposure to the intellectual world at Aberystwyth, and especially at Glasgow University'.[125] This was an intellectual world which was permeated by philosophical Idealism, particularly at Glasgow under the mentorship of Sir Henry Jones.

While at Aberystwyth TJ and a group of students dedicated themselves to social engagement and helped establish the University Settlement at Cardiff. He therefore worked with Millicent and J.S. Mackenzie and learnt directly from their philosophical activism. From these activities he became convinced that education, as understood by the Idealists, was the means of rectifying all societal tensions and of elevating humanity both intellectually and morally. According to E.L. Ellis, for TJ education was 'a moral and political agency, the elixir that alone held out the hope of transforming the State into a Good Society'.[126]

Like Viriamu Jones, TJ was also skilful at befriending wealthy benefactors and negotiating large sums of money for educational projects. TJ received much patronage from the Davies sisters, Miss Gwendoline and Miss Margaret Davies, who had inherited a great fortune from their grandfather's (David Davies of Llandinum) Ocean Coal Company.[127] When TJ was a candidate for the position of Principal of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth in 1919, he had grand plans to restructure the College upon explicitly Idealistic lines. E.L. Ellis noted his ambition 'to transform Aberystwyth, with the help of Llandinam family money, into a fully-residential College devoted to academic excellence, but emphasising equally the training of character – a Welsh version of Oxford, but without the social snobbery and flummery'.[128] These ambitions closely mirror those of Viriamu Jones several decades earlier.

When his hope of the Aberystwyth Principalship failed to come to fruition, TJ sought to implement his Idealist vision on a much smaller scale. He had already helped the Davies sisters establish their Gregynog project after the First World War. Gregynog

[125] Ellis, 'Dr. Thomas Jones, CH, of Rhymney: A Many-Sided Welshman', p. 185.
[126] Ellis, 'Dr. Thomas Jones, CH, of Rhymney: A Many-Sided Welshman', p. 190.
[127] Eirene White, *Ladies of Gregynog* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1984, 2011).
[128] Ellis, 'Dr. Thomas Jones, CH, of Rhymney', p. 191.

House became a centre for the high arts in mid-Wales, producing specialised books through its own private press, hosting classical music concerts, and holding the largest private collection of French Impressionist art in Europe.[129]

The Gregynog project had similar aims to the Turner House established by James Pyke Thompson in 1888. Like Thompson, TJ and the Davies sisters wanted to refine men and women's tastes and elevate their consciousnesses. In typically Idealistic fashion, they were often exasperated by the public's lack of enthusiasm for their efforts and scorned what they perceived as a general preoccupation with materialist concerns. In a 1924 letter to TJ Gwendoline made the following bitter complaint:

> He the Welshman is so self-complacent, so self-sufficient, so ignorant – how are we to convince him that he is thirsty? Oh, T. J. we have so much to give that isn't just money, money and yet more money….[130]

This complaint bares striking similarities to that of Viriamu Jones while in Firth College, Sheffield. In 1881 he wrote to Katharine Wills, 'Can you give me any good reason why everybody should cultivate his mind? "Good" in Sheffield has a peculiar sense, they say – it means *£. s. d*'.[131] This sense of exasperation with an ungrateful and unenlightened public is a common feature of the Idealist mind.

The small institution TJ is most remembered for is Coleg Harlech, established 3rd September 1927. The goal of the institution was to provide adult education for the Welsh working-classes and mining communities. As seen above, the issue of adult education had become a political minefield in 1920s Wales, with many suspecting that adult education was responsible for the rise of political radicalism among the workers.[132] TJ's ambition, however, was to counteract the so-called "nurseries of Bolshevism" (i.e., the Labour Colleges) and to create a space where workers would learn the values of

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[129] Eirene White, *Ladies of Gregynog* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1984, 2011).
[130] Dorothy A. Harrop, *A History of The Gregynog Press* (Middlesex: Private Libraries Association, 1980), p. 23.
[131] Katharine Jones, *Life*, p. 59.
[132] Peter Stead, *Coleg Harlech: The First Fifty Years* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1977), p. 31.

ethical citizenship and democracy.[133] Closely echoing the Idealism of Viriamu Jones, TJ saw an inseparable link between true democracy and educated citizens, and saw University education as a source of spiritual power as well as good scholarship.[134] Following this belief Coleg Harlech had close affinities with the Workers Educational Association, and had the support of Millicent Mackenzie.[135]

Up until its closure in 2017 Coleg Harlech acted as a stepping-stone for adults who had missed out on educational opportunities at a younger age. In doing so, Coleg Harlech continued Viriamu Jones' Idealist ambition of making education accessible to greater numbers and in offering courses to adult workers, with the goal of creating socially aware ethical citizens. Its closure marked the end of an Idealism that would have been recognisable to Viriamu Jones.

From this brief survey of the life and career of TJ, it is clear that the Victorian Idealism of Viriamu Jones and friends was unable to make any significant impact on education and society at large. Facing a mixture of open hostility and quiet indifference, this form of Idealism isolated itself into smaller self-contained pockets of activity, and ended its day with a whimper.

A New Form of Idealism

During the disintegration of the Victorian manifestation of Idealism, there was emerging a new Idealism that embraced contingencies and uncertainty and tried to 'come to terms with a post-World War I Europe'.[136] Admir Skodo's 2016 monograph *The Afterlife of Idealism* traces how the 'new idealism', as he terms it, entered the realm of mid twentieth century British historiography. After the collapse of British Idealism (or, as Skodo calls it, 'Victorian absolute idealism')[137] in the years after the First World War, a group of Italian philosophers, Guido de Ruggiero, Giovanni Gentile, and Benedetto

[133] Peter Stead, *Coleg Harlech: The First Fifty Years*, p. 31.
[134] Sir Ben Bowen Thomas, *Thomas Jones 1870-1955* (Aberystwyth: The National Library of Wales, 1970).
[135] Peter Stead, *Coleg Harlech: The First Fifty Years*, p. 31.
[136] Admir Skodo, *The Afterlife of Idealism* (London, Palgrave Macmillan 2016) p. 7.
[137] Skodo, *Afterlife of Idealism*, p. 21.

Croce, began to develop the 'new idealism' during the interwar years.[138] The 'new idealists' had similar goals to the British Idealists, such as cultural regeneration and unification via education, yet they adapted idealism to the troubled times they found themselves in, 'a time of deep political divisions, socio-economic problems, and dissatisfaction with regnant intellectual traditions'.[139]

Another distinctive feature of the 'new idealism' was its unique take on history. Whereas British Idealism had a teleological view of history in which the 'Absolute Mind' achieved self-realisation in the self-conscious and politically Liberal nation-state (such as Late Victorian/early Edwardian Wales), the 'new idealists' had a far more contingent view of history. Benedetto Croce proposed a new philosophy of history he termed 'absolute historicism', which argued that 'all reality is the activity of the human mind, and that the mind is essentially concrete, contingent, and historical'.[140] Croce's 'absolute historicism' removed any teleology from history and made the direction of world events completely contingent on the decisions made by particular human agents. As Skodo notes, for Croce 'historical reality has no finality, such as utopia, or the classless society; nor can its contents be determined by *a priori*-conditions, such as absolute values, concepts derived from natural science such as "causality", or empirically static or reified concepts such as "nation", "class", or "race"'.[141] In his book *History as the Story of Liberty* Croce wrote, 'The defenders of human liberty should boldly oppose both causal and transcendental necessity'.[142] This contingent view of history informed the political philosophy of 'new idealism'. Since history had no inevitable trajectory, the Liberal nation-state was not, as the Victorian Idealists believed, the inevitable outcome of world-history. Liberalism, like all other political systems, was contingent upon men and women's desire to maintain it. For Croce, the story of liberty (and of Liberalism) was not that of Hegelian inevitability, '(The formula was: Orient, Classic World, Germanic World = one free, some free, all free.)',[143] rather, it was the perpetual battle of Good against

[138] Skodo, *Afterlife of Idealism*, p. 28.
[139] Skodo, *Afterlife of Idealism*, p. 28.
[140] Skodo, *Afterlife of Idealism*, p. 29.
[141] Skodo, *Afterlife of Idealism*, p. 30.
[142] Benedetto Croce, *History as the Story of Liberty*, trans. Sylvia Sprigge (London: George Allen and Unwin Limited, 1941), p. 31.
[143] Benedetto Croce, *History as the Story of Liberty*, trans. Sylvia Sprigge, p. 59.

Evil: 'Evil is the continual undermining of the unity of life and therefore of spiritual liberty; just as Good is the continual re-establishment and assurance of unity and therefore of liberty'.[144] Croce wrote these words as Italy was in political turmoil, with Liberalism, Communism, and Fascism battling for political control. Croce's 'new idealism' sought to rouse the population to choose Liberalism over the alternatives. The fate of Liberalism was, quite literally, in their hands.

Croce's philosophy of history and politics struck a chord with one English historian, Robin George Collingwood, who himself was coming to terms with the collapse of the Liberal nation-state after the First World War. R. G. Collingwood's early life and education had all the characteristics which made one conducive to Idealism. Born 'in the Lake District on 22 February 1889,' R. G. Collingwood was the son of William Gershom Collingwood (1854-1932), 'artist, writer, archaeologist and secretary to Ruskin'.[145] Along with his close acquaintance with Ruskin, W. G. Collingwood, during his student days at University College, Oxford, was 'an enthusiastic member of the 'T.H. Green school of philosophy', Bernard Bosanquet being his personal tutor.[146] In later life W. G. Collingwood would site Bosanquet as being one of the only men who 'ever really taught me anything'.[147] R. G. Collingwood spent his childhood in the Lake District, was home educated, and spent much of his time outdoors. His first direct contact with philosophical Idealism came aged eight, when, looking through his father's bookcase, he found Kant's Theory of Ethics. Collingwood recalled, 'I felt that things of the highest importance were being said about matters of the upmost urgency: things which at all costs I must understand'.[148] Like the previous Idealists considered, the Collingwood family belonged within the impoverished middle-class category. This made the fees of a refined education financially out of the reach of the family's own resources, so that R. G. Collingwood's school bills, 'and later my Oxford bills', were 'paid by the generosity of a

[144] Croce, *History as the Story of Liberty*, p. 56.
[145] David Boucher, 'COLLINGWOOD, Robin George (1899-1943), *Dictionary of Twentieth-Century British Philosophers*, Vol. 1 (Bristol: Thoemmes Continuum, 2005), pp. 180-186.
[146] Douglas H. Johnson (1994). 'W. G. Collingwood and the Beginnings of the Idea of History', *Collingwood Studies*, Vol. I, pp. 1-26.
[147] Quotation taken from Douglas H. Johnson, 'W. G. Collingwood and the Beginnings of the Idea of History', p. 3.
[148] R. G. Collingwood, *An Autobiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [1939] 1978), p. 3.

rich friend'.[149] From these circumstances R. G. Collingwood gained the typical Idealist characteristics of a desire for upward social mobility, self-determination, and a matching work ethic. As he recalled, 'My father's friend would, I am sure, as willingly have paid two hundred pounds a year for me as one; but to myself at least it was a point of honour that I should win scholarships, if only to justify the spending upon me of all that money'.[150]

Collingwood entered University College, Oxford in 1910 to study philosophy during a period of philosophical transition. When he first arrived, he recalled that 'Oxford was still obsessed by what I will call the school of Green'.[151] However, as his studies progressed the opposing school of Realism gained ground. He blamed the eventual collapse of Oxford Idealism on the lack of defence given by its remaining protagonists and the fiery polemics levelled against it by its enemies.[152] On top of the philosophical defeat, Collingwood also had to come to terms with the political and international upheavals which the new century brought. He became disillusioned with David Lloyd-George's Liberalism, the default political party of Idealism, which he saw to be 'utterly corrupt'.[153] It was within this moment of intellectual and political upheaval that Collingwood became aware of the 'new idealism' of the Italian Idealists, particularly that of Benedetto Croce and Guido de Ruggiero. Rik Peters notes, 'Collingwood knew Croce's work from 1909, and he must have heard of Gentile through the lectures of J. A. Smith [an Oxford professor]. Most importantly, Smith also directed him to the work of […] Guido de Ruggiero. This young Italian philosopher […] [became] Collingwood's friend in 1920'.[154]

From these Italian Idealists Collingwood developed his own form of 'new idealism'. Like them, Collingwood made human agency central to his theory of history and denounced all forms of determinism and fatalism.[155] For him, history consisted of ideas

[149] R. G. Collingwood, *An Autobiography*, p. 5.
[150] Collingwood, *An Autobiography*, p. 6.
[151] Collingwood, *An Autobiography*, p. 15.
[152] Collingwood, *An Autobiography*, pp. 18-19.
[153] Quotation taken from Skodo, p. 51.
[154] Rik Peters (1999). 'Collingwood's Logic of Question and Answer, its Relation to Absolute Presuppositions: another Brief History', *Collingwood Studies*, Vol. 6, pp. 1-28.
[155] R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [1946] 1989), pp. 213-215.

enacted by free agents. Every historical event had two parts, 'the outside and the inside of an event'.[156] The 'outside' of an event 'can be described in terms of bodies and their movements', while the 'inside' 'can only be described in terms of thought'.[157] All forms of determinism (including Marxism) considered only the 'outside' of events and did not take account of the ideas and thoughts which motivated individuals to carry out particular actions. Collingwood's 'new idealism', due to its emphasis on human thought and agency, was able to cope with the major cultural and social changes within British society. As mentioned above, First World War and its aftermath saw the collapse of political Liberalism and threw into question the validity of ideals such as progress and reason. The post-war years also saw the rise of Marxism, Communism, and the British Fascisti.[158] Older Victorian Idealists such as H.A.L. Fisher wrote of the 'menacing barbarism of our age' in a gently despairing tone and wrote nostalgically of the lost Golden Age of Victorian Liberalism.[159] By contrast, Collingwood saw a moment of emergency and opportunity. For him, like the Italian Idealists, what was needed was not nostalgia, but a determination to face the opposing systems and to rouse the desire keep Liberalism alive. Liberalism would not defend itself; it needed defending. 'Liberalism, then, requires for its success only one condition: namely that the civilization which adopts it shall as a whole and on the whole be resolved to live in peace and not at war, by honest labour and not by crime'.[160] The contingent view of history and conditional take on Liberalism meant that Idealism had not failed, as many believed, but rather it was now an ideal in progress. Its survival depended on the will of individuals to maintain it.

Collingwood's form of 'new idealism' has had a long and fruitful legacy spanning up to the present day. Within Wales, Collingwood's 'new idealism' saw a revival in the 1960s at the University College of Wales, Swansea. The revival was brought about by the appointment of W. H. Greenleaf as Professor of the then newly established department

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[156] Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, p. 213.
[157] Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, p. 213.
[158] Henry Hemming, *Max Knight, M15's Greatest Spymaster* (London: Arrow Books, 2017), p. 23.
[159] H. A. L. Fisher, *Pages from the Past* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939), p. v.
[160] R. G. Collingwood, *Essays in Political Philosophy*, ed. David Boucher (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 179.

of Political Theory and Government in 1968.[161] Collingwood's emphasis on human ideas and agency is echoed in Greenleaf's Inaugural Lecture delivered at the College on March 5, 1968. In opposition to what he called the 'naturalistic approach to political studies' which looked for 'necessary laws governing [the] process of change' in human societies,[162] Greenleaf insisted that:

> human behaviour is only fully comprehensible when seen, not as a series of events, but as activity, that is, in terms of the conscious ends that guide the people concerned, in terms of the thought implicit in what they do. […] what is necessary […] [is] to deal with […] the thought expressing itself in action.[163]

This directly echoes Collingwood's distinction between the 'inside' and 'outside' of historical events. Rather than seeking external (and deterministic) necessary laws governing human affairs, one must seek to understand the thought implicit in actions.

Greenleaf inspired a generation of political students at Swansea, including David Boucher. In his 1985 book *Texts in Context* Boucher states his indebtedness to his teacher Greenleaf, who was 'kind enough to supply me with a copy of his bibliography and copies of two of his unpublished papers'.[164] Through his training at Swansea, Boucher became interested in British Idealist political thought, particularly that of R. G. Collingwood. In 1989 he edited a collection of Collingwood's essays on political philosophy, and in the same year published a monograph on *The Social and Political Thought of R. G. Collingwood*.[165] In 1994 he helped establish The R. G. Collingwood Society, 'a charitable trust (No. 1037636) whose objective is: "The advancement of public education concerning the life and work of R. G. Collingwood"'.[166] The Society established a Centre for Collingwood Studies at the University of Wales Swansea. The

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[161] W. H. Greenleaf, *The World of Politics* (University College of Swansea, 1968).
[162] W. H. Greenleaf, *The World of Politics,* pp. 9, 13.
[163] W. H. Greenleaf, *The World of Politics,* pp. 19, 20.
[164] David Boucher, *Texts in Context: Revisionist Methods for Studying the History of Ideas* (Lancaster: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1985), p. vii.
[165] R. G. Collingwood, *Essays in Political Philosophy*, ed. David Boucher (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); David Boucher, *The Social and Political Thought of R. G. Collingwood* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
[166] (1994). *Collingwood Studies*, Vol. 1.

Centre later expanded its name to The Collingwood and British Idealism Centre and moved its location to Cardiff in 2000.[167] Encouraging 'research and study focused on the corpus of the British Idealists' writings', the Centre marks the full return of British Idealism to Cardiff, the place where, 117 years earlier, Idealism made its first full appearance within Wales via Viriamu Jones' administrative decisions as Principal.

Conclusion

Through the life and legacy of John Viriamu Jones, this thesis reveals how philosophical Idealism was crucial for the development of a coherent educational system and civic identity in Victorian and early Edwardian Wales. By infusing Idealism into Welsh culture, Viriamu Jones provided the underlying principle upon which all the disparate national educational efforts could build and cohere, as well as providing a stable ideological base upon which a Welsh civic identity could be constructed. This thesis has also revealed that Viriamu Jones' Idealism was the underlying principle upon which he erected his life, both privately and publicly. His Idealist principles informed his educational system-building as well as his devotional reading; it informed his civic engagements as well as his private life.

By *adapting* English Idealism to its own unique requirements, Wales was provided with an intellectual and philosophical ideology and vocabulary to express its own intellectual, philosophical, and national independence, while also seeking to engage with wider international affairs. However, it can legitimately be argued that by incorporating Idealism to forge a cohesive national identity for Wales, other grassroot, local, and endogenous Welsh identities were blanketed and smoothed over. This desire for a consistent overarching Welsh identity is most clearly seen in the Welsh Idealists' attitude toward education. The desire to create a unified educational system was accompanied by a desire to dissolve existing heterogenous institutions. It was Viriamu Jones' goal to see all existing educational institutions (primary, secondary, and private

[167] The Collingwood and British Idealism Centre https://sites.cardiff.ac.uk/collingwood/about-us/ [Accessed: 17/10/22].

schools) submit to the structure prepared by the University of Wales, and thereby 'binding together what is at present, more or less, separated and individual educational work'.[168]

Viriamu Jones' attitude towards systematisation was one of the great tensions in his intellectual development. As a child and young man his father, Thomas Jones, regularly warned against the dangers of system-making in his sermons.[169] In the early 1870s, while still studying at Normal College, Swansea, Viriamu Jones wrote the poem "The Tower of Babel and Philosophers" for the Swansea Literary Society, which expressed his scepticism toward all philosophical systems. Comparing philosophers to the builders in the biblical narrative he wrote:

> Philosophers have long been trying, too,
> To build a chosen city and a tower;
> […]
> And they have laboured hard to build a Temple –
> Truth's Temple that shall rear its head to heaven.
> But when they seemed advancing in the work
> There comes a sudden stop, a blight upon it,
> A strange confusion in their speech, a Babel,
> Wrangling, and bitterness, recrimination,
> The heat of controversy, quarrelling,
> Some pulling down the building of the other,
> And some rebuilding what has been pulled down.[170]

However, while studying in Oxford Viriamu Jones was converted to the system of British Idealism. Using this system, he then endeavoured to create 'Truth's Temple' within Wales (i.e., a coherent national educational system centred around the University of Wales).

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[168] Cardiff University Special Collections. UCC/P/L&P/31. John Viriamu Jones, 'The Future Development of the Welsh Educational System', Viriamu Jones papers re. Welsh language, 1885-1901: GB 1239 101/9/1/1, p. 4.
[169] Thomas Jones, *The Divine Order*, p. 92.
[170] Poulton, *Viriamu Jones and Other Oxford Memories*, p. 97.

However, with a strange prophetic fulfilment, Viriamu Jones' educational system-making met the same fate as that of the philosophers in his poem. Soon after the turn of the century, Idealism came to a 'sudden stop', and a 'strange confusion in their speech' came in the form of the Great War, socio-economic fragmentations, and the rise of Marxist critiques. The federal University of Wales evaporated, first functionally, then in fact. The history of this dissolution is long and complex; however, in a word it confirms the observation of R.D. Roberts in 1893 that the 'tendency of a federation of colleges loosely under a University would inevitably be towards disintegration'.[171] However, despite these fragmentations, aspects of Viriamu Jones' legacy continues to this day.

John Viriamu Jones' influence and legacy are most evident in four areas: in Wales's civic life, in its national institutions, its sense of national identity, and in broadening access to higher education. Of these, the most apparent is his groundwork in establishing Cardiff as a centre for Welsh civic life. As seen in Chapter Four, it was to a great extent through Jones' diplomatic skill that Cathays Park went out from Lord Bute's ownership to that of the Cardiff Corporation's. When relations broke down between Lord Bute and the Corporation, J.L. Wheatley, Cardiff's town clerk, sought Jones' advice.[172] Seeing Lord Bute's weak hand, Jones suggested the Corporation play the long game and wait for the cracks to appear in his position. When these cracks appeared, Lord Bute had little choice but to hand over Cathays Park to the Corporation in 1898. Through further diplomacy, in 1900 Jones persuaded the Corporation to freely give a portion of the newly acquired Park as a fitting site for the new buildings of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire. Within a decade of his death, Cathays Park became the site of grand municipal buildings and national institutions such as the National Museum of Wales, which was granted a royal charter in 1907. It was thus to a great extent through the canny negotiations of Viriamu Jones that Cathays Park became the grounds for the civic life Cardiff, thus establishing Cardiff's claim as the centre of civic life in Wales.

This leads onto Viriamu Jones' role, both direct and indirect, in establishing the various national institutions of Wales. He was one of the key framers of the charter for

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[171] *The North Wales Express*, 13 January 1893.
[172] Cardiff University Special Collections, UCC/P/LeP/1. Viriamu: 1887-92, Correspondence Re; Cathedral Road Site.

the University of Wales, a key national institution which gained its royal charter in 1893. The nationalist sentiments and aspirations for the University of Wales have been outlined in Chapter Four, the key aims being that the University would both signpost Wales's status as a mature and self-conscious nation state, and that it would be the crowning edifice of a completed and coherent system of national education in Wales, thus completing the "ladder of learning" from elementary to higher education.

Indirectly, Jones' work with the National Institute of Wales as outlined in Chapter Five laid the foundations for other national institutions such as the National Library of Wales and the National Museum of Wales. In his speech before the *Cambrian Society of South Wales & Monmouthshire* in 1885, Jones emphasised the need for a national collection of Welsh books and manuscripts. A year after this speech he oversaw the purchase of the Salisbury Collection from Enoch Robert Gibbon Salisbury for the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire in 1886. Two decades before the establishment of the National Library of Wales in 1907 the Salisbury Collection was the first publicly available national collection of Welsh books, pamphlets, and manuscripts. Also, Jones' involvement with the *Cardiff Naturalists' Society*, becoming the Society's President in 1886, demonstrates that he played a part in the embryonic developments of what would later become the National Museum of Wales. In all these efforts Jones was part of a movement which sought to establish Wales's status as a mature and self-conscious nation state.

Taken together, these efforts to establish a civic identity in Wales informed a general view of Wales as a nation. This was the culmination of 'Young Wales', a nation renewed and reborn culturally, educationally, and politically. This narrative of renewal and rebirth was often used by Viriamu Jones in his speeches and was propagated by historian and friend O.M. Edwards. None of Viriamu Jones' endeavours was done in isolation. He saw all his activities in Wales as manifestations of one burgeoning national life. This was an Idealist-informed belief driven by his 'faith in the star of Wales, with belief in the Welsh genius, with conviction in regard to the possibility of characteristic

national development'.[173] All these ideas contributed to a wider narrative of Wales leading the four nations in its liberalism and progressiveness.[174]

Finally, an enduring legacy of Viriamu Jones is his expansion of the scope of education. Through his efforts, women were fully incorporated into all areas of education, as seen in his recruitment of female academic staff and equal position of female students at the University College. In particular, Viriamu and Katharine Jones' work at Aberdare Hall opened the door for women at the University College, while also carefully navigating the societal constraints of the time.[175] His work in technical education shows his attempt to bridge the gap between education and industry, opening scope for a new type of vocational education.

Although Viriamu Jones' Victorian Idealism saw a decline, a new form of Idealism as expounded by Collingwood, Greenleaf and Boucher, has gradually grown up toward a revival of Idealist thought. Over the last twenty to thirty years, works have been published across several disciplines which indicate a general reemergence of academic interest in the history and intellectual credibility of Idealism. In the discipline of political thought and international relations, Idealism has seen a reemergence in the writings Philip Allott, David Boucher and Andrew Vincent.[176] In theology, there has been a call for the revival of 'Christian Idealism'.[177] In philosophy, W.J. Mander has suggested that the arguments of Realism against Idealism were in fact weak and politically motivated.[178]

The conditions are therefore ripening for a reinvigoration and deeper investigation of the Idealism of John Viriamu Jones and his friends. Much of Wales as we see it today, particularly in its civic life, can be traced to the behind-the-scenes efforts of Viriamu Jones and the Idealism he implemented. His influence and legacy have for too

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[173] Katharine Jones, *Life,* p. 385.
[174] Jenkins, *Graduate Women,* p. 2
[175] Jenkins, *Graduate Women,* p. 68
[176] Philip Allott, *Eutopia: New Philosophy and New Law for a Troubled World* (Cheltenham: Edward Edgar Publishing, 2016); David Boucher & Andrew Vincent, *British Idealism and Political Theory* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000).
[177] Steven B. Cowan & James S. Spiegel, 'Introduction: Idealism and Christian Philosophy', in *Idealism and Christian Philosophy*, ed. Steven B. Cowan & James S. Spiegel (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), pp. 1-10.
[178] W.J. Mander, *British Idealism: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 2.

long been forgotten. The revival of interest in Idealism presents the perfect opportunity to redress our forgetfulness of John Viriamu Jones.

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