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‘Not in the college but city’: Networks of Higher Learning in Manchester before 1824

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Abstract: This article explores in what ways and to what extent it is possible to talk about ‘higher learning’ and ‘higher education’ in Manchester before 1824, the date formally chosen by the University of Manchester to mark its foundation. It considers diverse sites and institutions, revealing a complex, interconnected web of knowledge institutions – dissenting academies, teaching hospitals, learned societies, independent libraries and individual initiatives – which complicate existing narratives of the development of higher education in the city which usually focus on the origins of the university. In the early nineteenth century, with Manchester rapidly becoming the ‘world’s first industrial city’, we see emerging at the same time a vibrant urban educational landscape, with no parallel in the British Isles at that time.[1] In contrast to England’s ancient universities which remained, for the most part, closed and private entities until the mid-nineteenth century, Manchester’s educational culture was self-consciously diffused, civic and participatory, strongly influenced by the city’s prominent dissenting communities. Excluded from Oxford and Cambridge, Manchester’s Unitarians, in particular, sought to shape the city’s educational culture according to the Enlightenment ideal of polite learning as a public endeavour. While civic participatory models have been foregrounded by historians of knowledge and ideas for some time now, this article considers, for the first time, how such models influenced the history of educational cultures in Manchester.

Keywords: Manchester, higher education, higher learning, literary and philosophical societies, dissenting academies

It is important to note, at the outset, that this article makes the case for a history of higher learning and education that looks beyond the university. In a sense, this is obvious from the title, since the date that it invokes was chosen to represent the foundation of the University of Manchester. Building on recent historiographical developments, it argues that the history of higher education ought not to be limited to the history of the university, an institution fixed in space and time. Any definition must embrace a wider range of institutions, of which some were of short duration, and others have exercised a lasting influence

until the present day.[2] A history of higher learning (rather than simply of universities) invites researchers, for example, to look more closely at the (frequently blurred) boundaries between secondary and tertiary education in the past. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, for instance, Scottish universities recruited students who were on average between fourteen and sixteen years old, an age more usually associated with secondary education.[3] As H. S. Jones notes in his own contribution to this special issue, the 'fundamental binary' was between elementary and higher education for much of the nineteenth century.[4]

Higher learning, as a term, also encourages a focus on the specific activities and practices that constitute it – teaching, research, the training of future researchers – rather than on a particular institutional context. In so doing, alternative, frequently neglected spaces carrying out specific aspects or functions of higher learning are thrown into greater relief. Another risk when telling the story of higher learning in Manchester before 1824 is that of reading developments in the city and surrounding area solely through the lens of the emergence and spread of the research university, which is usually considered the central story in the development of modern higher education. It is not the only one, however. As William Whyte has written, 'the development of higher education in the early nineteenth century cannot be reduced to a simple story in which the forces of progress … inevitably and irresistibly created a new and modern sort of university'. There were rather, he continues, 'a multitude of competing visions' which could provide the basis for 'an alternative history of higher education'.[5] While it is clear in hindsight that the University of Manchester would come to dominate the history of higher learning and higher education in the city, it is important not to lose sight of the rich and diverse educational landscape, flourishing against the background of Manchester's unprecedented growth as the world's first industrial city, which preceded it and from which it emerged.

For much of the eighteenth century in England and France, universities like Oxford and Cambridge were widely condemned as intellectually stagnant and 'monkish', isolated from the cut and thrust of national life.[6] Intellectual innovation and reform in higher learning and education took place elsewhere. According to the Irish playwright, Oliver Goldsmith, in 1759, 'the true intellectual forum was the city, where the members of this larger university, if I may so call it, catch manners as they rise, study life, not logic, and have the world for correspondents'. The best universities, Goldsmith argued, were those that interacted with urban life most intensely, 'where the pupils are under few restrictions; where all scholastic jargon is banished; where they … live not in the college but city. Such are Edinburgh, Leyden, Gottingen, Geneva.'[7] In what follows, I would like to keep in mind this idea of the city – here the city of Manchester – as one of these 'larger universities'.

Manchester Collegiate Church and Chetham's Library

Manchester Collegiate Church had, since its foundation in 1421, been a centre of education for the surrounding population. However, it was during the English civil war that efforts were made to locate a northern university there. The proposal, made in 1641 by a group of local inhabitants, asked Parliament to establish a university for the north of England in Manchester; it was anticipated that the old College buildings would form the core of the new university, likely supported by the clergy from the Collegiate Church. This proposal never came to fruition, however, since it faced opposition from a competing bid from York and was ultimately overshadowed by other parliamentary matters.[8] The foundation of Chetham's Library in 1653, in the same College buildings that had been intended to form the core of this northern university a decade earlier, marks the real beginnings of higher learning in Manchester prior to 1824. It is an institution that holds the distinction of being the oldest surviving public library in Britain, and its establishment can be attributed to Humphrey Chetham (1580-1653), a prosperous merchant, banker, and landowner from Manchester. In his will, Chetham made provisions for the foundation of a library, as well as a school for forty poor boys.[9]

Before the library's establishment, there was a lack of independent study facilities in the north of England. In response, the twenty-four feoffees (or governors) appointed by Humphrey Chetham set out to amass a substantial collection of books and manuscripts that encompassed a broad spectrum of knowledge, rivaling the libraries of prestigious institutions like Oxford and Cambridge. Indeed, in 1670, the Manchester-born Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, John Worthington, declared the library to be 'better than any library in Cambridge'.[10] Chetham's will of 1651 stipulated that the library should be accessible to 'scholars and others well affected', and he instructed the librarian to demand nothing from anyone entering the premises.[11] Chetham's Library continued to play an important role as a centre for private study in Manchester and the surrounding area in succeeding centuries, particularly for the region's dissenting community. At the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the author James Clegg noted the significant advantage enjoyed by those studying under the Presbyterian minister and tutor John Chorlton, whose house in Manchester was near to Chetham's Library.[12] Almost a century later, in 1794, the chemist John Dalton, who was at that time Mathematics Professor at the newly-opened Manchester Academy, referred to Chetham's Library as one of the most attractive features of Manchester as a place of learning.[13]

Under the terms of Chetham's will, the sum of £200 was also allocated for the provision of five small libraries of books, designed to be 'chained upon desks or to be fixed to the pillars or in other convenient

places'. They were to be located in the parish churches of Manchester and Bolton and in the parochial chapelries of Gorton, Turton and Walmesley. The feoffees or trustees were instructed to purchase 'godly Englishe Bookes…for the edification of the common people'. The library at Gorton was the first of the five to be completed, containing fifty-one works.[14] At the time, chained libraries such as these constituted one of very few educational resources available to local people.

Dissenting Academies

Following the Uniformity Act of 1662, obtaining degrees from the ancient English universities, such as Cambridge and Oxford, became challenging for men (women being excluded in any case) who were not practicing members of the Church of England. Until the Oxford University Act of 1854, the University of Oxford required a religious test for admission, comparable to joining the Church.[15] Similarly, at the University of Cambridge, a statutory test was necessary to obtain a bachelor's degree. During this period, English Dissenters, who were Nonconformist Protestants who did not conform to the beliefs of the Church of England, faced difficulties pursuing degrees at English universities. As a result, many Dissenters attended dissenting academies instead.[16]

While religious reasons were paramount, the geographical availability of university education also played a role in reducing the access of dissenters to higher learning. The establishment of Durham College by Oliver Cromwell aimed to challenge the educational monopoly of Oxbridge and provide university-level teaching to students in the north of England, although it ultimately failed due to political changes following the restoration of the monarchy in 1660.[17] However, Richard Frankland, who founded Rathmel Academy, the oldest nonconformist educational institution in the north of England, and who supported the Durham College project, continued to campaign for an independent university-level education in northern England.[18] The need for this was felt especially acutely by dissenting communities who were strongly represented in northern English towns like Manchester. According to the diary of James Clegg, upon the death of Richard Frankland on 1 October 1698, Clegg was sent to Manchester to invite John Chorlton, an old student of Rathmel Academy, to deliver Frankland's funeral sermon. Born in Salford in 1666, Chorlton had studied at Rathmell under Frankland's guidance. Five years later, he became a colleague of the respected Presbyterian minister Henry Newcome in Manchester, witnessing the construction of the Cross Street Unitarian Chapel, which was consecrated in 1694. Chorlton preached Frankland's funeral sermon, but declined the subsequent request to continue running Rathmel Academy.[19]

Chorlton's refusal was not absolute, however. Instead of relocating to Rathmel, he ‘set up teaching university learning in a great house in Manchester’. Eleven of Frankland's students from Rathmel Academy, including James Clegg, completed their studies under Chorlton. Another student of the early Manchester Academy was Thomas Dixon, who followed Chorlton as a tutor, succeeding him and his assistant James Coningham. Chorlton faced opposition from ecclesiastical authorities, but the threat of prosecution at the Assizes was avoided through the support of powerful local individuals.[20] After Chorlton’s death in 1705, his colleague James Coningham, a graduate of the University of Edinburgh, continued the work of the Academy in conjunction with his ministry at Cross Street Chapel until he moved to London in 1712. At that point, Dr Thomas Dixon, known for his theological and medical expertise, established his own academy in Whitehaven in Cumbria, taking up the mantle after the first iteration of the Manchester Academy.[21]

In July 1754, a circular was issued from Manchester, announcing a project to establish a new Academy in Warrington, located about 15 miles away. The primary reason for this initiative was given as ‘the total deficiency of Academies in this part of the country’.[22] The goal was to address the need for qualified ministers for Nonconformist churches, as well as to provide education for lay individuals pursuing other professions, including commerce. The plan involved the formation of a body of trustees who would oversee the establishment and supervision of the academy. The proposed academy aimed ‘to unite in the best manner the advantages of the public and more private methods of education’, providing at the same time ‘for the extensive learning of our youth and the security of their morals’. Those preparing for careers in the learned professions or in commerce would not only gain ‘some knowledge of the more useful branches of literature’; they would be led ‘to an early acquaintance with, and just concern for, the true principles of religion and liberty, of which great interests they must in future life be the supporters’, while for those aiming at ministerial office it would be ‘an invaluable advantage to have them educated where they may freely follow the dictates of their own judgments in their inquiries after truth, without any undue bias imposed on their understanding’. With the need for a new Academy established on these grounds, appeal was made to the generosity ‘of all friends of Religion, Liberty and Learning’. John Seddon, the minister of the Nonconformist congregation at Sankey Street Chapel in Warrington, played a prominent role in spearheading the project. To garner further support for the new Academy in Warrington, extensive correspondence was carried out with influential Nonconformists across the country.[23]

After considering the competing claims of Manchester and Ormskirk, the Academy was eventually established in Warrington. Promises of subscriptions were received from various cities with strong

dissenting communities, including Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Warrington. By April 1755, the total amount promised reached nearly £300, indicating significant support for the project. Amidst the support received for the establishment of the Warrington Academy, there was some criticism from supporters based in Leeds, where it was proposed that higher education could be adequately obtained at Glasgow University. These suggestions did not deter the progress of the project, however. On 30 June 1757, the first general meeting of subscribers took place in Warrington. It was decided that annual subscribers contributing two guineas and donors contributing twenty guineas would form the body of trustees. Lord Willoughby of Parham was appointed as the president, John Lees of Manchester as the vice-president, Arthur Heywood of Liverpool as the treasurer, and John Seddon as the secretary. At that point, the promised annual subscriptions amounted to £469 5s.[24]

Housing arrangements were made for the tutors, who would also serve as boarding masters for the students. The terms for boarding were set at £15 for students with a two-month vacation period, or £18 for those without a vacation, with additional charges for amenities such as tea, washing, fire, and candles. The tutors were to receive a salary of £100 per year, and the Academy covered their rent and taxes. In December 1758, these salaries were increased to £120 and later to £135. Warrington Academy opened in October 1757 and enjoyed a prosperous and successful thirty years of activity under famous tutors such as John Aikin and Joseph Priestley.[25] Despite this, however, the Warrington Academy faced numerous challenges that ultimately led to its downfall. The institution accumulated significant debt related to its buildings, and internal issues, such as a lack of discipline, further exacerbated the situation. These difficulties weighed heavily on the academy's administrators and supporters, leading to a sense of profound discouragement. In January 1783, during a general meeting of trustees, it was determined that the academy could no longer sustain itself. It was decided that at the end of the current academic session, the Academy would close its doors.[26]

On 29 June 1786, the Warrington Trustees referred to the 'intended' establishment of a new academy in Manchester. By that time, however, plans for the new foundation were already well underway. A meeting had taken place on 22 February 1786, at Cross Street Chapel in Manchester, where Dr. Thomas Barnes and Ralph Harrison, both ministers of the chapel, were appointed as tutors for the new academy. Following this decision, a committee was formed on 1 March 1786, and on 26 March, Harrison delivered a sermon 'on the occasion of the establishment of the Academy', which was subsequently published.[27] The individuals involved in these decisions were largely the same group of influential figures from the north of England who had been supportive of Liberal Dissent. Among the fifty-four Warrington

trustees who voted for the dissolution, seventeen had also signed the invitation to Barnes and Harrison, and twelve of them were members of the new committee.[28]

Dr. Thomas Percival FRS, a well-known physician in Manchester and a member of the Cross Street congregation, served as the Chairman and, along with the two minister-tutors, exerted significant influence in securing the foundation and shaping the policies of the new Academy. The opening statement in the printed record of the first meeting gives us an insight into its aims and aspirations: 'a very respectable meeting of gentlemen was held this 22nd day of February, 1786, when it was unanimously agreed, after due deliberation, that an Academy should be established in Manchester, on a plan affording a full and systematic course of education for divines, and preparatory instruction for other learned professions, as well as for civil and commercial life. This institution will be open to young men of every religious denomination, from whom no test, or confession of faith, will be required.'[29] In an address given in Cross Street Chapel on the morning of 14 September 1786, and subsequently published together with Ralph Harrison's sermon, Thomas Barnes declared his hopes for the new Academy to the assembled congregation. From his words, we can see that, although based in Manchester, he viewed the Academy as part of a much wider international network of higher education free from religious barriers and controls:

> You are erecting a Temple, on the front of which you will inscribe no name of any distinguished human leader, either in science or theology. You will dedicate it 'to Truth! to Liberty! to Religion!' When you turn your eyes towards it, you will breathe forth the dying Patriot's fervent aspiration (*Esto Perpetua!*). You will pray that it may flourish, with increasing honour, to many future generations. Nor will you confine your good wishes to this Seminary: you will also pray that the sacred cause to which it is devoted may extend its influence abroad with glorious success; and that the holy light of truth, of reason, and of righteousness, may shine over all the nations of the earth with growing lustre, even to meridian day.[30]

To the published version of Barnes's address was added a statement listing the reasons for the establishment of the Academy, and several resolutions designed to form its constitution. The 'expediency, and even necessity' of the Manchester Academy was explained by the fact that, with the closure of Warrington, there was 'no place of education for youth, on the liberal and extensive plan proposed' within more than a hundred miles of Manchester. In addition, it was urged that 'the great populousness of this

vicinage, the opulence of its inhabitants, the number and respectability of the Dissenters and the increasing taste for learning, insure both adequate support and a constant succession of pupils'. They also had an eye to the relative security of the city, 'remarkable for a well-regulated police, and for a serious attention to the duties of public worship; and that the industry, ingenuity and enterprising spirit which characterize the people cannot fail to influence by example, and may catch the minds of youth by a secret and powerful sympathy.'[31]

In a second circular, published later the same year, the announced programme of studies included a five-year course for Divinity students and a shorter course for others. Thomas Barnes was assigned the following subjects: Hebrew, Logic, Ontology and Pneumatology, Ethics, and the elements of Jurisprudence. Additionally, he was to teach the 'Evidences, Doctrines, and Precepts of Christianity, Ecclesiastical History, Jewish Antiquities, and the duties associated with the Pastoral Charge'. It continued,

> Through the greatest part of this course particular attention will be paid to Scripture Criticism, and to the composition and delivery of sermons. For this purpose the students will be employed, every week, in analysing the best printed sermons, in preparing schemes of their own subjects proposed by their Tutor, and in Elocution. Whilst thus engaged, they will enjoy opportunities of attendance on the other Professors, for the acquisition of the several branches of science essential to a Liberal Education.[32]

From this we see that it would be incorrect to describe the Manchester Academy as simply a religious seminary for Dissenters. Harrison, as 'Professor of the Classics and Polite Literature,' would teach Latin and Greek, and 'illustrate his lectures with observations on the History, Mythology, Manners and Philosophy of the Ancients'. For Polite Literature, a course of lectures each session would deal with a range of different subjects including 'the Theory of Language, particularly the English, Oratory, Criticism, Composition, History and Geography'. A third professor was to be appointed to teach Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.[33]

According to V.D. Davis, the historian of Manchester Academy, the system of discipline prescribed for residential students was not dissimilar to those under which students at Oxford and Cambridge had to live. Clearly, moral supervision was to be as important as academic oversight in the new academy:

> No student shall be allowed to be out of his lodgings, without leave from the Conductors of the Academy, after ten o'clock.
>
> No student shall be permitted to ride out of town, or to be in a Tavern or Inn, without leave from Dr Barnes or Mr Harrison.
>
> All games of chance shall be strictly prohibited.
>
> It shall be earnestly recommended to the students, to use great plainness in dress, and economy in expenses. And it is hoped that Parents and Guardians will second so important an advice by their allowances and influence.
>
> Every student, except where an exemption is particularly requested by their friends, shall, when the public buildings are completed, regularly attend morning and evening prayers at the Academy.[34]

The initial period of the Academy's existence was marked by a sense of optimism, and during the first eleven years under Dr. Barnes's leadership, a total of 135 students were enrolled. Among them, twenty were specifically preparing for the ministry, and four of these were firmly committed to joining the church. A significant number of the eighty-eight students destined for 'Commerce' resided in Manchester. Additionally, there were twelve students studying Law and eleven pursuing Medicine. An important milestone in these early years was the appointment of the famous chemist and subsequent developer of atomic theory, John Dalton, as Mathematics Professor in 1793. In the prospectus of August 1798 of the 'Academical Institution or New College at Manchester', Dalton's subjects were described as including, 'with Mathematics and Geography, Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, theoretical and experimental'.[35]

A letter written by Dalton in February 1794 to his cousin, Elihu Robinson, presents a vivid picture of life at Manchester Academy some eight years after its foundation. It provides important details about the layout of the original Academy buildings (which are now lost), the accommodation, charges and daily routine of tutors and students:

> Our Academy is a large and elegant building in the most elegant and retired street of the place; it consists of a front and two wings; the first floor of the front is the hall where most of the business is done; over it is a library with about eight thousand volumes; over this are two rooms, one of which is mine; One of the wings is occupied by Dr Barnes's family, he is one of the tutors, and superintendent of the seminary; the other is occupied by a family who manage the boarding and seventeen In-students with two tutors, each individual having a separate room, etc. Out-students

> from the town and neighbourhood at present amount to nine, which is as great a number as has been since the institution; they are of all religious professions; the tutors are all Dissenters. Terms for In-students forty guineas per session (ten months); Out-students twelve guineas. Two tutors and the In-students all dining, etc., together in a room on purpose: we breakfast on tea at 8 1/2, dine at 1 1/2, drink tea at 5 and sup at 8 1/2; we fare as well as it is possible for anyone to do ... My official department of tutor only requires my attendance upon the students twenty-one hours in the week but I find it often expedient to prepare my lectures previously. There is in this town a large library, furnished with the best books in every art, science and language, which is open to all, gratis; when thou art apprised of this and such like circumstances, when thou considerest me in my private apartment, undisturbed, having a good fire and a philosophical apparatus around me, thou wilt be able to form an opinion of whether I spend my time in slothful inactivity of body and mind.[36]

In June 1800, Dalton retired from the Academy, leaving the Divinity tutor George Walker (of whom more later) with the sole responsibility for the institution. On receiving Dalton's resignation, the trustees made the decision to temporarily reduce the scope of the institution. They decided not to make any further appointments, allowing Walker to continue as the Divinity tutor while also permitting him to accept a few lay students, so long as this did not interfere with his care for the others. Walker continued for two more years, before ultimately resigning at the end of the session in June 1803. It was determined at the annual meeting of trustees in March 1803 that the funds of the institution would continue to be used for the education of young men for the ministry among Protestant Dissenters. This led to the question of where this education could best be carried out, and the decision was made to relocate the college to York.[37]

The Manchester Infirmary

The Manchester Infirmary was founded on 27 July 1752, and the construction of a new hospital to house it was begun in 1753 and completed in June 1755. The Infirmary was primarily intended for the treatment of patients, employing initially three physicians and three surgeons including Charles White, who would go on to be a founding member and Vice-President for twenty-three years of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society. It also had a significant teaching function, however. Its first student was John Daniel, who was taken on as an apprentice to the apothecary based at the hospital in 1754. By 1790, the institution had a staff of six physicians and six surgeons. The organised admission of medical pupils began in 1793. The fee for the first six-month session was five guineas, and for two subsequent sessions three

guineas, with extra fees payable to surgeons for attendance at operations. The Infirmary was outfitted with a library in 1791 for the benefit of its medical staff and students.[38] As we will see, many of the physicians and surgeons employed by the Infirmary went on to enjoy positions at the centre of Manchester's intellectual life in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As well as carrying out research in their respective medical fields of interest, they also became prominent members and officers of the city's learned and scientific societies, in particular the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, where they presented papers on a wide range of subjects including art and literature as well as the natural and physical sciences.

The Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society

Between 1780 and 1840, a significant development occurred, with the establishment of numerous smaller learned societies in towns and cities throughout the British Isles. These societies, often referred to as 'literary and philosophical societies', emerged in large numbers during this period. Concurrently, similar institutions also began to flourish in the United States and other parts of the British Empire, contributing to the widespread growth of these organisations during the same era.[39] Closely intertwined with the history of the Manchester Academy and Dissenters in the city more broadly is the foundation (in 1781) and the subsequent history of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, an institution that, as we will see, was profoundly concerned with the promotion of what, I contend may be legitimately described as a culture of higher learning within Manchester and its surrounding area.[40] Thomas Percival, whom we have already met as Chairman of the committee responsible for overseeing the establishment of the new Manchester Academy in 1786 and as a prominent member of the Cross Street Chapel congregation, became the society's first president.

It is worth focusing on Percival's own higher education trajectory, since it is typical of many of the prominent members and officers of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society in the first forty years of its existence. After completing his student years at the Warrington Academy, Percival proceeded to Edinburgh and then to Leiden, where he studied and graduated in medicine. While his father had been in business in Warrington, other members of his family, including his grandfather and an uncle, were doctors in the same town. Following his studies, Percival initially began his medical practice in Warrington but later, in 1767, settled in Manchester, where he would spend the remainder of his life. In 1765, two years before his move to Manchester, Percival was elected as a member of the Royal Society. He is recognised as a pioneer in the field of town sanitation in Manchester, and as one of the earliest

proponents of factory legislation. Notably, in 1781, the first meeting of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society took place at his house, and he served as its president until his death.[41]

The links between the Manchester Academy, the dissenting community in the city, and the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society were strong during the early years of the latter. In addition to Percival as president, Thomas Barnes served as the secretary of the society for several years, alongside Thomas Henry, a chemist who was also attended Cross Street Chapel. There were also strong links with the Manchester Infirmary, with several prominent members holding posts there – most notably, Charles White, who was one of the first surgeons at the Infirmary as well as a founding member of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, who would go on to be its vice-president for some twenty-three years.[42]

The Literary and Philosophical Societies have rarely been discussed as educational institutions or as bodies seriously interested in the theory and practice of education.[43] However, higher education and learning, in particular, were a regular feature of their debates. Unsurprisingly, perhaps, given the significant overlap in personnel, many of the attitudes expressed reflect those we have already encountered in the dissenting academies. A consistent feature of their debates about higher education was a determination to present themselves and their attitudes as being directly opposed to those that they thought prevailed at Oxford and Cambridge. This is perhaps clearest in papers presented to the Society (and subsequently published in their *Memoirs*), which discussed Classical learning – not a field of inquiry often associated with the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, which has usually been viewed by historians as a crucible of the industrial revolution.[44]

Members of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society did not dismiss knowledge derived from reading ancient authors in general. Their criticism was directed towards a specific approach to Classical writers, which they associated with the cloistered world of Oxford and Cambridge. They believed that the Classics should be approached with an open and practical mindset, just like any other subject of study. According to George Gregory, an Anglican clergyman who presented a paper to the Society in November 1793, the value of a Classical education for men of science depended entirely on the attitude and perspective with which it was approached; instead of the 'senseless definitions … introduced by the School of Aristotle', he wrote, 'facts [must be] appealed to with confidence, as the only basis of solid argument'. For Gregory, Classical sources were only valuable in so far as they were investigated according to the 'more logical and less confused method of investigating truth [which] has been adopted of late years'.[45]

While admitting that the scientific significance of ancient writers had reduced in importance with the growth of modern discoveries, their work, Gregory claimed, was still valuable to contemporary men of science:

> Whoever expects to find in the ancients the perfection of science will be disappointed, but this will not warrant in us a total rejection of all the assistance which may be derived from this source … I should wish to see the ancients studied for their matter, as well as for their language – But the information which they convey, is too commonly made a secondary consideration. The attention of youth is directed to the elegant latinity of Caesar and of Horace, not to the facts, observations, or precepts, which are contained in these valuable authors.[46]

Gregory advocated the approach he believed to be followed by men of science in France and Germany, who learned modern languages and studied works of modern science at the same time as ancient authors. 'They make themselves masters not only of the ancient, but of the modern languages', he wrote, 'they can converse with the well-informed of other nations, and they can read their works'. The type of education that Gregory was proposing was broad and open, embracing all subject areas, but which also proceeded with a due regard for scientific method. Men educated in this way 'are less likely to be the slaves of prejudice than the cloistered pedant', wrote Gregory.[47]

It is worth taking a moment to reflect on the origins of this particular attitude towards the Classics. As highlighted by Arnold Thackray in 1979, and evident in the case of Percival, many influential early members of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society had received their education either at dissenting academies, particularly Warrington, or at Scottish universities, most commonly Edinburgh and Glasgow.[48] Significantly, these institutions fostered a different approach towards Classical authors compared to the ancient English universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The disdain expressed by members of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society towards the meticulous focus on 'niceties of language' associated with Classical studies at Oxford and Cambridge closely resembles similar sentiments expressed by notable figures at Scottish universities. For instance, in 1825, George Jardine, Professor of Rhetoric and Logic at Glasgow, declared that 'we do not, in this part of the kingdom, attach to classical learning that high and almost exclusive degree of importance which is ascribed to it elsewhere; thinking it of greater consequence to the students, to receive instructions in the elements of science, both mental

and physical, than to acquire even the most accurate knowledge of the ancient tongues; of which all that is valuable may, it is thought, be obtained without so great a sacrifice of time and labour'.[49]

We see precisely this approach recommended in a paper introducing 'A Plan for the Improvement and Extension of Liberal Education in Manchester', which was read to members of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society in April 1783 by Thomas Barnes himself, and proposed the establishment of a 'College of Arts and Sciences' in the city.[50] Although ultimately unsuccessful, ceasing operations within a few years of its inception, the plan for the college reflected what Barnes perceived to be a real need in the city, namely a particular course of scientific studies designed for commercial life as well as for the professions of the law, medicine and divinity, and in this view he was strengthened by the existing members of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society.

Together with Thomas Percival, Charles White, Thomas Henry, and various others, a course of liberal education, which they intended to be compatible with the needs of commercial life, was proposed. Lectures on 'Practical Mathematics, Chemistry, and the Fine Arts' were accordingly advertised, while Barnes proposed to give a course of lectures on the 'origin, history, and progress of arts, manufacturers, and commerce, the commercial laws and regulations of different countries, the nature of commutative justice; of oaths, contract, and other branches of commercial ethics'.[51] Significantly, Barnes viewed a thorough Classical training as an essential (though not exclusive) part of the education of young men who were to be engaged in commerce and industry. Once again, however, it was the attitude taken towards the Classics which mattered most. As Barnes made clear, 'the shreds and fragments … which a boy picks up, in conning over the Latin and Greek authors are not surely deserving of the name of regular and systematic science. He must move from mere linguistic analysis to a systematic study of the content and information contained in the ancient authors. It is surely desirable, that he shall *now* rise, from words to things ... All that he has yet been doing, is preparatory to real knowledge. Language, of itself, is but a scaffolding to science.'[52]

Thus, as part of the curriculum for his new College, Barnes proposed a proper training in 'the LEARNED LANGUAGES … which shall connect occasional remarks, on the history, mythology, philosophy, common manners, jurisprudence, &c. of ancient times, with the authors which shall be read'. In other words, it was not the grammar of the ancient languages which was to be studied, but rather the information the works contained. This can be seen by his clear focus on the different areas of knowledge to which ancient authors were held to contribute: 'history, mythology, philosophy, common manners,

jurisprudence'. Under the same plan, students were also to be introduced to modern writers on similar subjects: history, law, logic, morals, *belles-lettres*, natural philosophy, chemistry, mathematics.[53]

Here, once again, we see the close links with the Manchester Academy, for this curriculum was very similar to the one developed for that institution when it was established three years later in 1786. It was even proposed that students at the Academy who wished to study a wider array of subjects, including Chemistry, Anatomy and Physiology, would be able to attend lectures in these subjects provided by the new College. No less a person than Charles White, founding member and long-term vice-president of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, together with his son Thomas, delivered one of the earliest (if not the earliest) series of lectures outside London in connection with the new College.[54] This particular series was on Anatomy, and was delivered at the Society's premises in 1783. White also began to carry out instructional anatomy lectures from his house in King Street in 1787, which is reminiscent of John Chorlton's decision to provide a course in 'university learning' from a private house in Manchester in the final years of the seventeenth century, as a successor to the Rathmel Academy which closed in 1698.[55]

As well as reading the Classics for the information they contained and in combination with modern authors, members of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society also recommended studying Classics in a very different context to that in the ancient universities: in conversation, in society, in the world. One paper presented in 1796 by the prominent abolitionist, Thomas Gisbourne, entitled 'On the benefits and duties resulting from the institution of societies for the advancement of literature and philosophy', argued that societies like the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society placed a wide range of men and women who would not normally have access to universities 'within the reach of libraries stored with the information, ancient or modern, of which [they] stand in need'.[56] Such societies 'bring literature and philosophy from the college and the closet into public view', Gisbourne wrote, 'into the walks of common life, into scenes which would otherwise have been merely the haunts of business or of dissipation; and subject numbers to the influence and enrich them with the treasures of learning and science, to whom little was previously known of either but the name'.[57] This is perhaps one of the clearest articulations of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society's role as an institution of higher learning and education by one of its own members in the early years of its existence.

Another member of the teaching staff at the Manchester Academy to read papers to the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society on the subject of higher education and learning was George Walker, Professor of Theology and head of the Manchester Academy from 1798 until its removal to York in 1803. He was also a future president of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society. In stark contrast with the image of Classical scholarship as the work of isolated pedants, a paper read by Walker on 15 November

1799, entitled 'A Defence of Learning and the Arts, against some charges of Rousseau', identified the ideal scientific persona with Cicero's definition of urbanity; while Cicero's *urbanitas* was closely connected with learning, it was nonetheless located in the cultured context of the *urbs* or city. The 'scientific man,' Walker wrote, was he 'who has studied man as well as books, which alone deserves the name of true science'. Such a man was 'possessed of more nice discernment, more accuracy in weighing everything in the scale of sober judgement, more facility in resolving, combining, comparing, deciding'. He stressed that he did not 'ascribe this praise to the verbal critic, the mere mathematician, or the simple sciolist of any form'.[58] It was this view of ancient authors, as connected with civility and urbanity, which prompted early members of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society to recommend the Classics explicitly as part of an education designed for young men who were to pursue careers in industry and commerce. In so doing, they participated in a wider discussion in late eighteenth-century Britain about the need for learning to be grounded in social interaction, conversation and within a wider urban educational culture.

Connections between the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society and other Manchester-based educational initiatives

In its early years, the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society built strong connections with a wide range of educational institutions across the city. We have looked in detail at some of these – the proposed 'College of Arts and Science', which was itself an offshoot of the Society; the Manchester Academy, formed just three years after the Society and led by some of its most prominent officers and members; and the Manchester Infirmary, which had been an important centre of medical training since the late 1750s. Another example is the Portico Library, which was established as a result of a meeting of Manchester businessmen in 1802, which resolved to establish an 'institute uniting the advantages of a newsroom and a library'.[59] A visit by four of the men to the Athenaeum in Liverpool had inspired them to develop a similar institution in Manchester. The Liverpool Athenaeum was founded in 1797 to ensure the up-to-date provision of newspapers and pamphlets, and to create a library for the use of the merchants and professional men in the city. For the Portico Library in Manchester, money was raised through 400 subscriptions from prominent Manchester families, and the library opened in 1806. Charles White, John Dalton and other leading members of the Society were among the Library's most important supporters.[60]

By the end of the eighteenth century, several artists were offering tuition in drawing and painting in Manchester. In 1783, William Green, later a famous Lakeland artist, opened an afternoon school for drawing and painting, which by 1786 had moved to his home in Brazennose Street. He continued to run a drawing school with his half-brother Hartley until he left Manchester for London in 1796.[61] In December

1802, William Craig initiated an ambitious project to establish an 'Academy on a plan something like that of the Royal Academy, for the gratuitous instruction of one hundred young men, in the different departments of Drawing and Designing'. Craig's plan differed somewhat from that of the Royal Academy, however. The prospectus put forth by Craig stressed the artistic aspects of drawing, highlighting its role as an 'elegant amusement.'[62]

It also emphasised the potential commercial benefits arising from advancements in mechanics and manufacturing. Membership was limited to one hundred subscribers, each paying an annual subscription of a guinea, which entitled them to nominate a pupil for three months. This membership structure was designed to attract manufacturers and individuals involved in artistic trades so that they could utilise the academy as a training ground for their workers. The academy was exclusively open to men, and there were ambitious plans for an annual exhibition and the acquisition of a collection of antique casts. The initiative garnered support from the aristocracy, with the Earl of Wilton serving as the president; the subscribers included representatives from prominent mercantile and banking families such as the Hardmans and the Heywoods. Despite operating in 1805, however, the Academy closed shortly afterwards, for reasons that are not entirely clear.[63]

Other independent teaching establishments were successfully opened in Manchester in the early years of the nineteenth century. In 1814, the Manchester-based surgeon and prominent member of the Literary and Philosophical Society, Joseph Jordan, opened a school of anatomy in Bridge Street. Initially, teaching focused only on anatomy and took the form of lectures, demonstrations and dissections. Following a move to a larger premises in 1816, however, Jordan was joined by other teachers and the school offered a broader range of subjects. Just three years after the school first opened, the Society of Apothecaries recognised its lectures as acceptable in counting towards their members' diploma, the Membership of the Royal College of Surgeons.[64] A few years later, in 1822, another Manchester surgeon, Thomas Turner, began lecturing on anatomy and physiology using rooms belonging to the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, of which he was a member. Following the success of these lectures, Turner established a school of medicine at a house in Pine Street, close to the Infirmary where he had previously worked as a house surgeon. Considered the first complete school of medicine outside of London, Turner persuaded other members of the Society, including John Dalton (then president) to support his venture and even offer lectures at the school.[65] Once again, we see the closely-interwoven and overlapping nature of the connections between different knowledge and educational institutions in early nineteenth-century Manchester.

The Royal Manchester Institution was founded on 1 October 1823 at a public meeting held by Manchester merchants, local artists and others keen to dispel the image of Manchester as a city lacking in culture and taste. The Institution was intended to hold regular art exhibitions, collect works of fine art and promote the arts generally. The initiative behind it came not this time from members of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, but from the growing community of artists in the city. The proposal to establish an art academy attached to the Institution, which would admit pupils free of charge, proved particularly contentious. Many artists derived a significant part of their annual income from teaching painting and drawing, as we have seen. Charles Calvert, at the third public meeting, opposed an academy because it would 'eventually prove highly detrimental to the Professional Tutors in Art'. Accordingly, the proposal to establish an academy was rejected following a show of hands.[66] At the same meeting, however, plans emerged for a general educational institute attached to the Institution, not only for 'opening a channel through which the works of meritorious artists may be brought before the public', but also for the 'encouragement of literary and Scientific pursuits'. The membership structure within the organisation was established through a hierarchy of governorships. For a payment of forty guineas, one could acquire a hereditary governorship that could be passed down to descendants. Alternatively, a life governorship could be obtained for twenty-five guineas, and an annual governorship could be secured by a payment of two guineas per year. The governance of the society was entrusted to a council elected by governors from within the membership. It is worth noting that the Institution was not conceived of solely as a space for male socialisation, despite the prevailing homosocial nature often associated with artistic activities at this time. While governorships were limited to men, all governors were granted the privilege of bringing their wives and immediate family members to attend lectures, exhibitions, and other educational activities organised by the society.[67]

Until the early 1820s, however, most of the (higher) educational projects sponsored by the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society were targeted at the middle and upper classes of the city, providing commercial, legal and liberal education to the sons of the city's growing industrial and mercantile elite. Its support for, and involvement in, the establishment of the small Manchester Mechanics' Institute in 1824 (the subject of a separate essay in this special issue) was a departure from this pattern, with the overarching aim being to instruct artisans in the basic principles of science, especially mechanics and chemistry, through part-time study. Several prominent Manchester residents, including many leading figures in the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, met in the Bridgewater Arms on the High Street on 7 April 1824, to establish the Mechanics' Institution.[68] While the Manchester Mechanics' Institution was one of several such institutions founded around that time, the particular

culture of the Institution was also very much rooted in the particular social, cultural and educational matrix of Manchester, as Rachel Johnson demonstrates in her essay in this special issue.[69] Peter Ewart, a millwright and engineer, and then Vice-President of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, took part in the meeting, as did the then-President, John Dalton. William Henry, who had been apprenticed to Thomas Percival at the Manchester Infirmary and who was a former secretary of the Society, was also present, and the meeting was convened and chaired by two more leading Manchester Unitarians and members of the Society, George William Wood and Sir Benjamin Heywood.[70]

Conclusions

When tracing the history of higher learning in Manchester, it is vital to go further back in time than the establishment of the city's first university. I have argued that the history of Higher Education and higher learning should not be reduced to the history of universities, something that has too often been the case. If Higher Education is instead defined as any effort to learn or study beyond the normal limits of Secondary Education (assuming that something akin to Secondary Education existed for even a limited section of society, as it did in Manchester in the period considered here), then we are freed from the institutional constraints of the university. Other spaces become potential sites of interest in such a history. These include public libraries, private houses, dissenting academies, hospitals and learned societies, all of which, in the case of Manchester, combined to create a rich and varied landscape of higher learning and education in the rapidly developing city prior to 1824.

The dissenting community, in particular the congregation at Cross Street Chapel and their wider links to northern dissenting networks, were instrumental in many of these efforts. Together, they created a distinctive alternative to traditional higher learning at Oxford and Cambridge. Inspired by the curriculum of the Scottish universities (where many of them were educated), they emphasised the value of natural sciences, modern languages and economics alongside classics and mathematics. This is especially clear in the foundation of Warrington and then Manchester Academies and the appointment of professors to teach chemistry, practical mathematics and modern languages. Through the crucial role they played in the early history of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society and the opportunities this offered for research and discussion of the latest developments in science and the arts, Manchester's dissenters extended their educational influence beyond formal learning institutions. They also became important sponsors and supporters of a wide range of other educational initiatives in the city, including the establishment in 1824 of the Manchester Mechanics' Institution, which is now looked back to as marking the foundation of the University of Manchester.

[1] Robina McNeil, 'Manchester: Symbol or Model for the World?', in Adrian Green and Roger Leech (eds.), *Cities in the World: 1500-2000*, 3 (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), p. 151.
[2] See, for example, Heather Ellis, 'Beyond the University: Higher Education Institutions Across Time and Space', in Tara Fitzgerald (ed.), *Handbook of Historical Studies in Education: Debates, Tensions and Directions* (Singapore: Springer International Handbooks of Education, 2020), pp. 1-17; William Whyte, *Redbrick: A Social and Architectural History of Britain's Civic Universities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Tamson Pietsch, *The Floating University: Experience, Empire, and the Politics of Knowledge* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2024).
[3] Robert D. Anderson, *European Universities from the Enlightenment to 1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 12.
[4] H. S. Jones, 'The Owens College Extension of 1870-3: Rethinking the Origins of the Civic University Tradition in England', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 100:2 (2024), pp. xx.
[5] William Whyte, *Redbrick: A Social and Architectural History of Britain's Civic Universities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 28.
[6] Anderson, *European Universities*, p. 35.
[7] Oliver Goldsmith, *An Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe* (London: J. Dodsley, 1759), p. 186.
[8] Ian Atherton, 'Manchester Collegiate Church, 1558-1660', in Jeremy Gregory (ed.) *A History of the Collegiate Church and Cathedral, 1421 to the Present* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), p. 114.
[9] Edward Baines, *History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster Vol. II* (London: Fisher, Son, & Co., 1836), p. 367.
[10] Matthew Yeo, *The Acquisition of Books by Chetham's Library, 1655-1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), p. 229.
[11] Ibid., p. 228.
[12] V. D. Davis, *A History of Manchester College: From its Foundation in Manchester to its Establishment in Oxford* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 27.
[13] Ibid., p. 25.
[14] Andrew Cambers, *Godly reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580-1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 141.
[15] Heather Ellis, *Generational Conflict and University Reform: Oxford in the Age of Revolution* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 31.
[16] On the wider history of dissenting academies, see the ongoing work of the Dissenting Academies Project (https://www.qmul.ac.uk/sed/religionandliterature/dissenting-academies), in particular, the forthcoming monograph edited by Isabel Rivers and Mark Burden, *A History of the Dissenting Academies in the British Isles, 1660-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). Older historiography on the dissenting academies includes Irene Parker, *Dissenting Academies in England:* their rise and progress and their place among the educational systems of the country (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1914); Herbert McLachlan, *English Education Under the Test Acts* being the history of the Nonconformist academies, 1662-1820 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1931); J. W. Ashley Smith, *The Birth of Modern Education: The Contribution of the Dissenting Academies, 1660-1800* (London: Independent, 1954).
[17] Joseph Thomas Fowler, *Durham University: Earlier Foundations and Present Colleges* (London: F. E. Robinson, 1904), pp. 19-21.
[18] Davis, *A History of Manchester College*, p. 22.
[19] Ibid., p. 27.
[20] Ibid., p. 28.
[21] Ibid., p. 28 .
[22] Ibid., p. 30.
[23] Ibid., p. 30.
[24] Ibid., p. 31.
[25] Ibid., p. 31.
[26] Ibid., p. 40.
[27] Ralph Harrison, *A sermon preached at the dissenting chapel in Cross-Street, Manchester, March 26, MDCCLXXXVI, on occasion of the establishment of an academy in that town* (Warrington: W. Eyres, 1786).
[28] Davis, *A History of Manchester College*, p. 45.
[29] Ibid., p. 47.
[30] Ibid., p. 48. Barnes's address was appended to and published alongside Ralph Harrison's sermon.

[31] Ibid., p. 48.
[32] Ibid., p. 49. This circular, originally published in 1786, is preserved in *The Monthly Review; or Literary Journal*, 80 (January-June 1789), pp. 719-22.
[33] Davis, *A History of Manchester College*, p. 49.
[34] Ibid., p. 49.
[35] Ibid., p. 50.
[36] Ibid., p. 51.
[37] Ibid., p. 56.
[38] Edward Mansfield Brockbank, *The Foundation of Provincial Medical Education in England and of the Manchester School in Particular* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1936), pp. 57-8.
[39] J. W. Hudson, *The History of Adult Education* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1851), pp. 166, 174, 213, 215, 218. On literary and philosophical societies in general, see Trevor Fawcett, 'Self-Improvement Societies: The Early 'Lit. and Phils', in *Life in the Georgian Town: Papers given at the Georgian Group Symposium* (London: Georgian Group, 1986), pp. 15-25.; Jon Mee and Jennifer Wilkes, 'Transpennine Enlightenment: The Literary and Philosophical Societies and Knowledge Networks in the North', *Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38 (2015), 599. See also Jon Mee, *Networks of Improvement: Literature, Bodies and Machines in the Industrial Revolution* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2023).
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[42] Stella Butler, 'White, Charles (1728-1813)', in Lawrence Goldman (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29238 [accessed 26 September 2024].
[43] Heather Ellis, 'Beyond the University: Higher Education Institutions Across Time and Space', in Tara Fitzgerald (ed.), *Handbook of Historical Studies in Education: Debates, Tensions and Directions* (Singapore: Springer International Handbooks of Education, 2020), pp. 1-17.
[44] On the relationship between the literary and philosophical societies and the Industrial Revolution, see Peter M. Jones, *Industrial Enlightenment: Science, Technology and Culture in Birmingham and the West Midlands, 1760-1820* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), pp. 110, 113, and Joel Mokyr, *The Enlightened Economy: Britain and the Industrial Revolution, 1700-1850* (London: Penguin, 2009), p. 33.
[45] George Gregory, 'On the Uses of Classical Learning', *Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester*, Vol. 4, Part 1 (1793), p. 109. See also Ellis, 'Classical Authors and "Scientific" Research', 473-501.
[46] Gregory, 'On the Uses of Classical Learning', 127.
[47] Ibid., 129.
[48] Thackray, 'Natural Knowledge in Cultural Context', 690.
[49] Michael J. Morris, '"A Manly Desire to Learn": The Teaching of the Classics in Nineteenth Century Scotland' (Ph.D. thesis, Open University, 2008), p. 39.
[50] Thomas Barnes, 'A Plan for the Improvement and Extension of Liberal Education in Manchester', *Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester*, Vol. 2 (1785), p. 19.
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[53] Ibid., p. 38.
[54] Ann Félicité Tuxford and Willis J. Elwood (eds.), *Some Manchester Doctors: A Biographical Collection to Mark the 150th Anniversary of the Manchester Medical Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), p. 69.
[55] Brockbank, *The Foundation of Provincial Medical Education in England,* p. 37.
[56] Thomas Gisbourne, 'On the benefits and duties arising from the institution of societies for the advancement of literature and philosophy', *Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester*, Vol. 5, Part 2 (1798), p. 72.
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[58] George Walker, 'A Defense of Learning and the Arts, against Some Charges of Rousseau', *Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester*, Vol. 5, Part 2 (1802), p. 457.

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[61] Mary Elizabeth Burkett and J. G. Sloss, *William Green of Ambleside: A Lake District Artist, 1760-1823* (Kendal, Cumbria: Abbot Hall Art Gallery, 1984), p. 17.
[62] Holger Hoock, *The King's Artists: The Royal Academy of Arts and the Politics of British Culture, 1760-1840* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), p. 91.
[63] James Moore, *High Culture and Tall Chimneys: Art Institutions and Urban Society in Lancashire, 1780-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), p. 68.
[64] Brockbank, *The Foundation of Provincial Medical Education*, p. 87.
[65] Stella Butler, 'Turner, Thomas (1793–1873), surgeon and founder of Pine Street School of Medicine', in Goldman (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27871 [accessed 26 September 2024]; see also Jones, 'The Owens College Extension of 1870-3', pp. xx.
[66] Moore, *High Culture and Tall Chimneys*, p. 73.
[67] Ibid., p. 74.
[68] Mabel Phythian Tylecote, *The Mechanics' Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire before 1851* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1957), p. 129.
[69] Martyn Walker, *The Development of the Mechanics' Institute Movement in Britain and Beyond: Supporting Further Education for the Adult Working Classes* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017). For more on the Manchester Mechanics' Institution, see Rachel Johnson, 'Aftershocks of Peterloo: Manchester Mechanics' Institution and Mutual Improvement', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 100:2 (2024), pp. xx.
[70] Tylecote, *The Mechanics' Institutes*, pp. 129-30.