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Some Old-fashioned Educationists

"If we wish to understand modern theories of education, we must recognise the imperfections of the old on the wreckage of which they have been built; and it is the understanding of such imperfections which can alone save us from a foolish reaction."

Some Old-fashioned Educationists

By

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Edinburgh and London
William Green & Sons
1907

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Preface

In the following pages I have endeavoured to bring to bear on the elucidation of an ever-present and ever-pressing subject the fruits of a long experience alike in historical research and in the practical work of teaching. In attempting such a combination instead of fishing in the troubled waters of educational policy, I am happy to shelter myself behind the example of an educational writer so able and so well known as Mr R. H. Quick. In the preface to his *Educational Reformers* he says: "My plan has been to select a few people who seemed specially worth knowing about, and to tell about them in some detail just what seemed specially worth knowing. If we ignore the Past, we cannot understand the Present or forecast the Future." I had almost completed my self-imposed task before I met with these essays of Mr Quick, published so long ago as 1868, but still as wise and valuable as ever. Except for a casual illustration, I have made no use of any modern writer, my object being to take a very few entirely fresh names [1] and make them tell their own story. Of these, most has been written about Brinsley, but I have confined myself

[1] Of course, Bacon's is very far from being an entirely fresh name; but, as far as I know, the present attempt is the first to evolve from his writings (from the point of view, not of the philosopher, but of the schoolmaster) a system of what he conceived to be intellectual culture.

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to an independent reading of his *Ludus Literarius.* As educationists I believe the others to be fresh subjects. Bacon, Cordery, Williamson, and Kirkwood are not ostensibly educational theorists at all. The first I have regarded mainly from the point of view of method as applied to the teaching of English, partly because herein lay my own practical experience, partly because the teaching of the mother-tongue is the one key to the whole situation. But Bacon, as a consummate artist, has woven a mantle ample enough to shelter a varied crowd. The others I have used mainly to resurrect the old grammar-school under the long unchallenged reign of Latin.

It is surprising how few Scottish schoolmasters have contributed anything to the literature of their profession which is of other than local or text-book interest. My friend the late Mr A. H. Hutcheson will live in connection with his thorough piece of work, the *History of Stirling Grammar School.* The *Comenius* of another valued friend, the late brilliant Professor Meiklejohn, will keep alive his memory. Equally admirable and permanently valuable is Professor Edgar's *History of Scottish Burgh Schools before the Reformation.* And lastly, in the works of a distinguished ornament to the profession and a Scotsman to boot, Professor Adams of the University of London, we have an able exposition of the philosophy of Education.

I have pleasure in adding that this work appears under the auspices of the Grants in Aid of Research Scheme of the Carnegie Trust.

JAMES COLVILLE.

Contents

PAGE

FRANCIS BACON AS AN EDUCATIONAL THEORIST 9

THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL OF THE OLDEN TIME . 54

[1] Maturin Cordery and his *Colloquies* (*b.* 1478 ; *d.* 1564).

THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL IN SHAKESPEARE'S TIME 78

Brinsley's *Ludus Literarius*, 1612.

Williamson's *Vocabula in Rudimenta Grammatices*, Glasgow, Sanders, 1693.

JAMES KIRKWOOD AND HIS STORY AS TOLD BY HIMSELF, 1674 AND 1711 98

[1] Cordery, as he is familiarly known, is a corruption of Corderius, the Latinized form of his French name, Cordier.

Some Old-fashioned Educationists

FRANCIS BACON AS AN EDUCATIONAL THEORIST

THE theorist is apt to be misunderstood, and in consequence depreciated. His theorising is held to imply either a pretence of superior wisdom or the aim of the visionary in contrast to that of the man of practical common sense. It is necessary at the outset to disclaim both of these views. The "theōros" in Greek was the onlooker, who is proverbially said to see the best of the game. The "theōroi" were state ambassadors sent to the Delphic oracle or to the great national games, and, as such, held in the highest honour. Theorising is a useful, and, at the worst, a harmless contrivance to present a reasoned-out scheme, showing the general and essential principles underlying a series of related

NOTE.—Bacon's *Essays* will always rank high among the world's classics. The first edition, of ten essays, appeared in 1597; the second, of thirty-eight, was published in 1612. The "newly enlarged" edition, as we have it, is dated 1625. The two-volume edition of Dr Edwin A. Abbott (1876) is admirably equipped with every aid the student is likely to require. Whately's (1864) is annotated very fully in a vein of homely common sense.

facts or phenomena. And, after all, practice asserts itself, for here, as elsewhere in real life, the virtue lies in the application.

It was fitting that the Renaissance should witness the dawn of modern education. Bacon, its brilliant occidental star, was ever an educationist of most pregnant wit. The strength of his philosophy is his method,[1] a scheme of education which should at once inspire and direct the searcher after knowledge. His temple of Science is too vast for the ordinary beholder, but in the *Essays* we have the student in the making, thinking aloud practical wisdom that "comes home to men's business and bosoms." He uses the word essay in its early sense of "attempts," to set a-thinking and invite further remark. To Prince Henry[2] he says: "My hope is, they may be as graynes of salte, that will rather give you an appetite, then offend you with satiety . . . breif notts, sett downe rather significantlye" (in posse) "than curiously" (in esse). Bacon, therefore, in virtue of his suggestiveness, his open mind, his unquenchable thirst for truth, is eminently fitted to guide where the contemplative and the active life run together. As he was on the flowing tide of the Renaissance, so we too are at a point when a fresh step forward must be made. It is too late in the day for any new theory bearing on the facts of human

[1] A writer in *Blackwood* (Jan. 1905), discussing the burning question of "Compulsory Greek," has these apposite remarks:—"The duty of the Universities is to teach *methods* and *methods alone*. We cannot ask a boy of twenty to achieve a piece of lasting or original work. But we can expect his mind to be so well trained that, when the time comes with ripened experience and broader outlook, he shall perform something which his contemporaries will not despise; and method alone will make this performance possible."

[2] Prince of Wales, died in 1612.

experience. But the wisdom of Bacon can never grow old.

Many wise sayings are scattered throughout the *Essays* which are precious for the culture of the intellect. They are most frequent in "Studies, Truth, Custom and Education, Discourse and Seeming Wise." Bacon has been fortunate in his commentators, Archbishop Whately[1] and Dr Edwin A. Abbott, who unite logical acumen and graceful scholarship with wide teaching experience. In their setting of the *Essays* one cannot fail to see the full worth of the gems. The classical passage in this educational connection occurs in "Studies":—"Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; writing an exact man." It is comprehensive enough to embrace a whole scheme of a liberal education. Bacon had the poet's eye though without the fine frenzy or the mechanic faculty of verse. No author delights more in large thoughts. In "Truth" there is a splendid expatiation on this aphorism in "Studies." Here we have the same threefold clew to thread the maze of Science—"Truth which only doth judge itself" (right reason) "teacheth that the inquiry of truth (which is the love-making or wooing of it), the knowledge of truth (which is the presence of it), and the belief of truth (which is the enjoying of it) is the sovran good of human nature. The first creature of God was the light of the sense; the last was the light of reason; and His Sabbath-work, ever since, is the illumination of His spirit." Thus have we the fulness of the inquiry by reading and observation,

[1] Bacon's *Essays*, Edwin A. Abbott, D.D., 2 vols., Longmans, 1876. Bacon's *Essays*, Archbishop Whately, D.D., 2 vols., Longmans, 1864. I note these as more easily attainable than the *editio princeps* of Bacon by Spedding.

the exactness of knowledge by writing and reflection, and the readiness of belief in the use of it for the delight or edification of our fellows.

Bacon's fulness as the aim of reading is simply the acquisition of knowledge from books or from the observation of men and things. But this empirical and observational stage implies a preliminary training in the art of reading and observing. Technique must precede effective production. This mechanical practice, like learning to walk, the meaning of which is a mystery to the child, supplies a faculty, a mould wherein to cast individual activities to the best advantage. Every form of human energy has its own language as at once the basis of production and its interpretation, whereby out of the Babel of confusion may spring the unity of a mutual understanding. As man is essentially a social animal, learning to read should go exactly on the lines of learning to speak. Imitation, the delight in doing what the grown-up does, will give vitality to what must otherwise seem but arbitrary symbols. At this stage the helplessness of the child is the secret of its extreme docility. "Custom," as Bacon says, "is most perfect when it beginneth in young years: this we call education, which is in effect but an early custom." Later on, when character begins to show, it will be otherwise. "Youth has an inherent contempt for the authority of the aged to the end all may gain wisdom at their peril," which is nothing but the assertion of individual interest. Were education to remain at the merely imitative stage, we should rise no higher than the lower animals. In them there is no reflection, no philosophising, because their intellect in itself cannot be cultivated without the mutual bond of language. Thus even the animals that have

been longest in contact with man do not of their own accord imitate his actions. Imitation must remain as a stand-by, in the form of repetition and iteration, till reason is developed. This is the catechism (Gr. *katechein*, to din into one's ears, Lat. *inculcare*) or early stage in the history of all education, when precepts and formulæ were memorised and inculcated, or trodden under the heels of unmeaning discipline. Carlyle, in *Sartor*, tells how the Hinterschlag masters "knew syntax enough, and of the human soul thus much, that it had a faculty called memory, and could be acted on through the muscular integument by appliances of birch rods." James Melvill, the Reformer, says of his early instruction on this method: "The treuthe was, my ingyne and memorie war guid aneuche bot my judgment and understanding war as yet smored" (smothered) "and dark, sa that the thing quhilk I gat was mair be rat" (rote) "ryme nor knowledge." Of such methods Bacon has well said: "It needs great perfection if the practice be harder than the use."

When we turn to the matter read, while as yet facility is everything, quantity is to be considered before quality, since taste, or the appreciation of language for its own sake, is as yet in embryo. We must not, however, rate the reading appetite of the very young too high, as it may be due only to laziness or a lively sense of favours parental to come. In one of Bacon's Antitheta or suggestive half-truths he says what may be true of such reading: "Contemplation is but a specious sloth." The concrete, too, must precede the abstract, for the senses, that is, the observation, are natural tools, while reflection is not. The school-books of our forefathers erred in this direction in their didactic insistence on the psalm,

the hymn, and the improving moral tale. Nowadays we cannot have too much of the naïve nursery rhyme, adventure, biography, the charming incongruities of fable and fairyland. As environment only is inherited, not the intellectual plane of the parent, human feelings, situations, and actions are alone intelligible to the immature mind. It is doubtful if mere description, without a strong human element, will tell with the very young. The appreciation of natural scenery is purely the artificial product of education. The natural man is indifferent to it. Burns and Wordsworth, because with them the human situation overshadows Nature, will succeed, as matter for youthful reading, where Byron and Coleridge fail.

Bacon would assuredly include observation of things as well as of a printed page in his demand for fulness, or the garnering of the facts of experience. He thus escapes the condemnation pronounced by Mr Quick (*Educational Reformers*) on the schoolmasters of the Renaissance, that they looked at education solely from the point of view of linguistic expression, and that through the medium of Latin, the one and only discipline calculated to train to the eloquence of the forum or the Church. Certainly Bacon says nothing about Latin as a special mental discipline in school or out of it, and so may he undoubtedly rank with the more catholic-spirited moderns. Learning to read print, however, is not a rational exercise any more than the mastery of notes and scales in music or the seeming jugglery with vowels and suffixes in accidence. There is somewhere a place for faith and authority even in this scientific age. But observation, to be worthy of the name, implies considerations of time, place, colour,

form,—all in an approach to logical sequence. There is a rudimentary and often very exact observation on the part of animals and of the natural man, but only where questions of food, danger, or the society of their kind are concerned. What we call an observant child is felt to be abnormal. And here it is well to remark that what is taught under the specious name of Nature Knowledge may easily be introduced too soon in the curriculum. The humble object-lesson was a safer medium. Here we could always proceed from the known to the unknown, and this in presence of the concrete. For continuity is an essential to all effective brain action. We cannot think in fits and starts. Thus the half-educated have great difficulty in seeing humour, the essence of which is surprise and incongruity. Besides, we are here dealing with material as handy as in reading from the printed page; but, unless the class-room is the garden, the field, or the forest, the study of things becomes only that of words. Much may be made of a twig, a flower, a leaf, a feather, or an egg, but only after some command of reason and intelligence has been acquired along with some personal contact with the life of the fields.

Education really begins with the awakening of the reasoning powers. Before this we have merely the formal walk in the grooves of imitation and habit. The accumulation of facts, through reading and observation, is not knowledge until these come under the influence of the rational or disciplinary process, and be pursued as a means to an end. Bacon says: "All true knowledge consists in knowing the laws and causes of things; mastering these we shall be able to construct, for all knowledge should result in invention." He tells us of

his own revolt, at the age of twelve, against scholastic formalism:—"I possessed an earnestness of research; and had noted the unfruitfulness of philosophy which was only strong for disputes and contentions but barren of works for the benefit of life and of man." Without ordered reason man would be lost amid the mazes of the accumulations of sense perceptions. Here let me quote one of those analogies with which Bacon, as was the manner of the Great Teacher, illuminates his path: "Travel in the younger sort is a part of education; in the elder a part of experience. He that travelleth into a country before he hath some entrance into the language goeth to school" (an elementary one) "and not to travel. . . . If you will have a young man to put his travel into a little room and in short time to gather much, this you must do: first, as was said, he must have some entrance into the language; then he must have such a servant or tutor as knoweth the country" (a teacher that is); "let him carry with him also some card or book describing the country where he travels which will be a good key to his inquiry; let him keep also a diary ('writing an exact man;') let him not stay long in one city or town, more or less as the place deserveth, but not long."

Bacon was quick to see resemblances in things, and this gives his reflections a poetical charm, often happy and always suggestive. "Before logicians use their art," he says, "they ought to imitate the bees gathering stores of flowers, to transmute what they have collected into honey." This formative or transmuting reason has always the highest place with him. "Read not to contradict and confute" (as in the old-time Grammar School and College), "nor to believe and take for granted" (as

in the Elementary or Church School), "nor to find talk and discourse" (as in society), "but to weigh and consider." The bad ways of the old formalism, as Whately puts it, were hasty, careless, scanty observation, and a want of copious, patient experiment. The most accurate reasoning in form is of no avail unless based on sound facts. Bacon's method was more than a mere accumulated knowledge of facts, extensive but crude. All acquaintance with facts is unprofitable to one whose mind is not trained to read rightly the volume of Nature and the human transactions spread out before him. The fruit Bacon desiderated for his countrymen was long in maturing, but it was the rise of Industrialism and modern complex needs that gave us our scientific triumphs. The tedious evolution of State and Church politics had, for three centuries, to pave the way.

The fulness which comes of reading and observation is either real or spurious. The object legitimately aimed at is mental growth, the creation of a thinking organism that at once accumulates and turns its gains to account in fresh acquisitions. The analogy with the body is significant. Appetite is paralleled by curiosity or the desire for knowledge, nutrition by assimilation with previous acquisitions, volition by the practical application of new faculties of thought and character. The condition precedent to all is interest, the root of sympathy between the learner and what he is learning. There is a crude or elementary stage when obedience is in keeping with the excess of docility over character. But the will produces the understanding, and with the emergence of choice comes the assertion of personality. "Nature," says Bacon, "is often hidden, sometimes overcome,

seldom extinguished. . . . Men's thoughts are much according to their inclinations." Hamlet says: "There's nothing good or ill but thinking will make it so." The mind of youth, however, is susceptible to good impressions, and of these none are so lasting and so fruitful as those imprinted by a simple, earnest, and unaffected love of knowledge in the teacher. His successes of the intellectual kind are in the best extremely doubtful, for, after all, self-education is alone effective for the pulling down of the strongholds of ignorance; but high character in the teacher invariably tells. Whately wisely remarks: "Education resembles the grafting of a tree in that there must be some affinity between the stock and the graft. Even so the new nature superinduced by education must always retain some relation to the original one, though differing in most important points." This is as true of the acquisition of knowledge as of the formation of character. All things are not possible for all, and, if possible, not expedient. You cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear; it is more useful to the sow as it is. And therefore the teacher may triumph here too in directing intellectual tastes into congenial grooves. His skill must consist, not in imposing the uncongenial, because of the value he himself puts upon it, but in discovering the kind of mental food which can be most effectively assimilated. If the teacher were wise enough to work on the line nature prescribes, which is always that of least resistance, and remember that minds as well as backs are made for their appropriate burdens, there would be fewer hopeless dullards. On his side and working for him there would always be the gratified appetite, and with it that measure of fulness which means satisfaction. In the *Antitheta* we read: "No

pleasures are in accordance with nature save those that never breed satiety."

In this disciplinary stage of learning, through subjection to the control of reason, three classes of minds are to be considered—the precocious, the seeming wise, as Bacon calls the victims of cram, and the seeming ignorant, but in reality only not able to show off their knowledge to advantage. Of the first type Bacon says: "There be some have an over-early ripeness in their years, which fadeth betimes." Even the ordinary observer has remarked that in the application of early training to real life, slow and steady wins the race. In fruits and vegetables the late variety may be as good as the early. As Whately puts it: "There is nothing less promising than, in early youth, a certain full-formed, settled, and, as it may be called, adult character. A lad who has, to a degree that excites wonder and admiration, the character and demeanour of an intelligent man of mature age, will probably be that, and nothing more, all his life, and will cease accordingly to be anything remarkable, because it was the precocity alone that ever made him so." The second class is treated in the essay, "Of Seeming Wise." Here Bacon has in his mind the Sir Oracle of Shakespeare, the empty formalist. Cowper in "Conversation" sketches him :—

> "His wit invites you, by his looks, to come,
> But when you knock it never is at home."

The atmosphere of the schoolroom is unfavourable to this impostor, but many pretentious methods tend to produce the crammed type of the seeming wise. It results from an appetite for accumulation without the

power of rapid or, indeed, of any, assimilation. It is engendered out of mechanical methods of teaching to save time and trouble, an excess of docility, and no little mental laziness on the part of the pupil. To take for granted is ever so much easier than to weigh and consider. Some teachers see virtue in those docile, well-drilled marvels of receptivity. A farmer's wife was overheard scolding a servant for some well-meant but misdirected effort, to whose apologetic remark that he thought so-and-so, she tartly replied—"You had no business to think," a remark which characterised the attitude of excessive deference to authority that produced generations of devout formalists in Scotland, crammed with the neat tabloids of the Shorter Catechism. The repetition of the Decalogue never kept anyone out of the hands of the police. Bacon puts "man's chief end" otherwise: "Merit and good works is the end of man's motion" (endeavours); "conscience" (consciousness) "of the same is the accomplishment of man's rest." The third class, the seeming ignorant or the not so ignorant as they seem, are really the most hopeful of all. Those whose knowledge is crude because they are receptive to a fault and over-credulous merely have their critical faculty as yet undeveloped.

Fulness of knowledge, as an active quality of the mind, must be regarded in two aspects, receptivity in the acquisition and readiness in the reproduction. The one is the necessary complement of the other. Receptivity is dependent upon that law of affinity in the nature of the individual learner which might be called idiosyncrasy. In the early and more impressionable years it is plastic, and then a habit of receiving may be

formed. Bacon has some pithy observations here. "Certainly custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years: this we call education; which is in effect but an early custom. So we see in languages, that tone is more pliant to all expressions and sounds, the joints are more supple to all feats of activity and motions, in youth than afterwards; for it is true the late learners cannot so well take up the ply, except it be in some minds that have not suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceeding rare." Chaucer's two-fold characterisation of his "Clerk of Oxenfoord" is:—

> "Sounding in moral vertu was his speche,
> And gladly wold he learn and gladly teche."

The art of the teacher here is betimes to discover the bent of the learner, and to make the first prospect of the "undiscovered country" of knowledge easy and attractive. He must be all things to all, that he may gain some. The pupil may from temperament be apathetic, from caprice antagonistic, while the teacher may be unsympathetic, formal, tactless; and in such unhappy conjunction the land of knowledge will prove but a Sahara for both.

There is more scope for the art of the teacher in developing the faculty of reproduction or reminiscence. Its use appeals at once to the sense of power and of pleasure in the highest degree, and therefore it has in itself a constant incentive. Plato has said that all knowledge is remembrance. Even on the practical side one's knowledge cannot be of much servce unless one can reproduce it. The great agent in this is the represen-

tative faculty or all-shaping imagination. As we are constituted it is a universal gift, though too many of us hide it in a napkin. A well-worn aphorism declares that there is nothing in the intellect which was not previously in the sense. This truth is implied in the word "idea," which, apparently most abstract, in reality means a mental picture, the image of the external form in the mind. This picture, being wedded to its symbol in speech, becomes recognisable and recoverable. So considered, the study of words is the fascinating resuscitation of dead metaphors. Hobbes called words the counters of wise men, but the money of fools. The best tool in the teacher's workship is this power of visualising, and fortunate for him and still more for his pupil if he be dowered, though in humble measure, with the poet's gift of vivid, graphic, sympathetic speech. The power of recovering knowledge is popularly called memory, and the want of this is supposed to cover a multitude of the learner's sins. As man has a sneaking propensity to bless what he is inclined to, while at the same time the weakness of vanity is ever lying in wait for him, he is apt to regard forgetfulness as evidence of greatness of mind. "See how I have got on without that common drudge, Memory," he in effect says; "I don't need to keep my eye ever on the drill-master's Attention!" While curiosity or interest is helpful in securing a receptive attention and thereby a strong impression, the habit of association will go far to facilitate the recovery of impressions. As it is impossible to keep before the Mind's eye any but an infinitesimal proportion of these, memory, through association, becomes an art of forgetting, or holding in reserve our stock, as money in the bank "at call." There is a law of continuity in

all our bodily or mental energisings. To proceed from the known to the unknown is a safe rule. Surprise bewilders, except in humour, where it acts as a stimulant. But one who propounds a riddle or conundrum is held to have spoilt the pleasure if too ready a solution has been found. In teaching, any nexus of association will serve almost, no matter how whimsical, accidental, or arbitrary. Many impressions come back momentarily into the mind unbidden and even undesirable, and many again are so trifling that we wonder how they ever came into being at all. We reach a higher plane when the knowledge we have acquired is not only held in reserve, but ostensibly dispensed with as the scaffolding is, when the building it served has been finished. This is the argument for the utility of those studies which formed so much of the recruit-drill of school, studies which, though apparently dropped, still shape the thinking of real life, still give backbone to the scouting and skirmishing with the enemy in the field. A powerful aid to association through the visualising power of the imagination is the habit of discovering logical affinities in the facts of consciousness. This is the only justifiable form of guess-work, that form of it which, in the hands of the scientist, becomes hypothesis. It may always be practised in humbler spheres. There are few cases in which a thinker may not say to himself, when reminded of a forgotten fact of consciousness: "Now, I ought to have known that." The judicious teacher will lose no opportunity of showing how his pupil ought, by the use of his own reason, to utilise his previous knowledge in the solution of fresh difficulties. This was the method of the greatest of teachers, Jesus and Socrates, the special feature of whose art was the secret of making the

inquirer answer himself. Even the blundering pupil may be skilfully guided in this quest over ground already trodden, albeit with imperfect observation. In any case "telling" is but a lame remedy for ignorance. This "giving a lead" on the part of the teacher requires much time and infinite patience, but the habit of ready inference yields pleasure as well as power. Even a blunder, if it brings out individuality, however feeble, has in it some elements of vital force.

Bacon, regarding his subject from the point of view of the student educating himself in the best method of acquiring and using knowledge, naturally put writing last as merely a mechanical aid, but exactness is a vital accomplishment and an indispensable tool even in the early stages of the quest for truth. By nature he himself was not at all an exact man. It was incompatible with his pronounced artistic temperament. Exactness is a homely and far from showy accomplishment, whereas Bacon ever expatiated in the sphere of large thoughts. Quick, as he says himself, to see the resemblances of things, he lacked the plodding virtue of patient introspection. Half truths, as having in them the potency of suggestion, were more pleasing to the artist in language, as he was. He trained himself, however, to see that exactness was not his strong point, so he emphasises its place in his scheme. "No course of invention"—which is with him the putting together of known facts from which to draw new principles—"can be satisfactory unless it be carried on in writing." It is significant of the place held in his day by "policy," or diplomatic finesse, that in the essay on Negotiating he thinks it is generally better to deal by speech than by letter. One is sometimes led in a letter, from a love of phrasing (which is

just posing), into over-strained expression, but one may as readily say, in the heat of discussion, what may be ever afterwards regretted. In both cases the situation is much one of temperament or training. Again, while fluency of speech seldom accompanies accurate reasoning, the oral discussion more readily assumes the art of the advocate, free to drive home the points which at the moment are felt to tell, while using the secondary ones as skirmishers.

Exactness cannot be acquired without the use of language, and that includes not words only, but arithmetical symbols and mathematical formulæ. In the latter case the exactness is conspicuous, but its rigid standard should always be applied to words as well. Of Bacon's third species of Idols, or preconceived shadowy notions in contrast to the "divine ideas," Abbott says: "Language is a third imposture" (Idol) "almost inherent in human nature, pretending to supply nothing but the expression of thoughts, but, under the mask of this pretence, tyrannising over and moulding thoughts." Locke makes a strong point of the ambiguity or want of mutual intelligibility in the use of general terms by two disputants. This places the realising of the full significance of words in the front rank of studies. There is no antagonism between the study of words and of things, provided the same rules are applied to both. Sir W. Hamilton has said that the study of languages, if conducted on rational principles, is one of the best exercises of applied logic. This is essentially in no ways inconsistent with the creed of the practical scientist such as that eminent physician, Sir Wm. Gairdner, who puts it thus: "The first lesson to be learned to make all other lessons possible is to deal very largely

with things and not with mere words; to realise as much as we can all our instruction by making it our own through personal observation; to suffer nothing, if it can possibly be avoided, to lie on the mind as a dead weight of vocables, oppressing the memory and dwarfing the intellect." Sir William finds in an old grammarian, Julius Cæsar Scaliger, writing three centuries ago, what he holds to be the root principle of the scientific as opposed to the scholastic method: "Rerum ipsarum cognitio vera e rebus ipsis." Language is, however, every whit as natural and as necessary to us as our limbs or our senses. It provides us at once with materials for study and with tools. Nor does the study fall behind the observation of Nature in interest and pleasure. It is at once the miraculous among our gifts and the handmaid of all. As the true sense of a word is that which is understood by its intelligent users, it is of the utmost importance to develop at an early stage the faculty of appreciating that usage of a word which most exactly fits the work it is wanted to perform, a process precisely analogous to the skill of the workman in selecting and handling the tool designed for the job. It is this inevitable fitness which characterises the diction of the masters of style. The intelligent grasp of the "content" of a term, the visualising in the concrete of buried metaphor in words, the formation of derivatives, these can all be studied at every stage of reading practice. And, as in the natural sciences biology gives new interest and meaning to function, so in the study of words regard should ever be had to their life-history and affinities. When we are subjecting language to this exact study, the quality of the matter read must be kept in view rather than the quantity. The literature of a language is too

vast for the study of any one man. The student must apply the time-honoured methods of classical study to Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Milton, and the rest of the immortals. Everything they wrote is full of suggestion. It is not so much a matter here of fulness of knowledge as of appreciation. Their books must be regarded as human documents and a revelation of a human personality.

The practice of exactness, acquired through the study of classical diction and structure, is analogous to the working of problems in mathematics. It may be regarded, on the side of technique, as the practice of original composition, or rather of imitation of the models studied. The most obvious method for acquiring exactness is that of note-taking, always identified with the student. It has its evils to be guarded against, and of these the worst is its tendency to encourage laziness. So much easier is it to note a fact than to think it out in all its bearings and assign a proper place to it in the mind. It fosters, too, the whole brood of laziness,—credulity, half-knowledge, blundering, and imperfect generalisation. The best means of cheating the lazy habit is sustained interest, careful explanation, deliberate pace, judicious selection; for it is possible not to see the wood for the trees. The use of such tricks of association as anecdote, diagram, picture, joke, and the like is helpful. Above all, the teacher must see, by examination and correction of the notes if possible, and by frequent and persistent revisal, that what he has said has been understood. The persistent effort, hereby evoked, to understand and to be understood on the part of the pupil, is a self-educating process of the highest value Its reflex virtues for the teacher constitute the

truest training in his art and the best incentive to efficiency. He must regard the study of language as laboratory work, and keep his eye and hand on it accordingly. In this way note-taking will promote habits of attention, neatness, concise arrangement; and at the same time it will provide a ready test of acquired intelligence as well as preserve evidence of the ground gone over. It will correct waste arising from inattentives, dullards, and absentees; for in the dissemination of knowledge, as of seeds, the prodigality of Nature is enormous. By allowing of judicious selection of the essential it economises time.

Analogous to the notebook for class or lecture-room is the diary or commonplace-book. Bacon recommends this for the young man who goes on his travels:—"Let him keep also a diary." He notes how, with little discrimination, this is practised at sea, where nothing is to be seen all around, but rarely on land, where so much is to be observed, as if chance were fitter to be registered than observation. Something similar happens in the scholar's life. Few youths would dream of thus committing to paper even an apprentice record of their mental growth, yet that record would be invaluable, and, in the making, a source of lasting pleasure. Whately puts the case very fairly: "It conduces much to mental improvement to keep a commonplace-book, in which to record any valuable remarks heard in conversation or thoughts occurring to your own mind. And you should not scruple to put down the crudest and wildest speculations, since, when you are writing for no eye but your own, you will not have committed yourself to any erroneous views. Besides other advantages, it will help to cultivate an easy, unaffected style; since, when a man

is writing only for his own use, he will write not as if he wanted to say something, but as if he had something to say." From the point of view of the future literary artist, a record of good sayings, character sketches, impressive scenes, momentous incidents, will provide a store of workable material. Drawing attention to apt quotations in illustration of words or thoughts suggested by the daily lessons, and tacking on to them *obiter dicta* in literary history and criticism, are invaluable as profitable and pleasant stimuli. It is good to strengthen the memory by trusting to it, but this is a treacherous ally; for unless our mental furniture is in regular use or repeatedly turned over, it rapidly slips out of reach or deteriorates. If the young scholar is encouraged to note down facts that impress him by their truth or novelty, quotations that are worth prizing for their wit and appositeness, even dates and significant words, with the circumstances of their emergence, he will be *making himself* in the fashion of the artist or the field naturalist. There is unique gratification for the pupil in being able to supply exclusive information just when it is wanted. There is many a "Single-speech Hamilton" in the schoolroom, whose one happy thought will never be forgotten. The practice of making abstracts also contributes greatly to the student habit of exactness. The attempt to combine clearness and strength with the use of the fewest possible words is worth more than the covering of reams of essay paper, an exercise of doubtful profit, for it is vain to look for anything like originality in the usual elaborate, long-drawn-out production that passes for the school or college essay. In all but a very few cases it is a waste of time for writer and reader. Poverty of thought, laziness, or both, infallibly leads to

servile imitation. An excellent compromise is to have a set of selected books, useful and pleasant to read, to be passed round a class in handy sections; and a reasonable interval being allowed, an account of each book to be written out. Such co-operative reading is at once economical and encourages emulation. The ordinary school library rarely serves any good purpose. The effort to show something tangible for private reading and to submit it, for comparison, to the judgment of another, is a humble but quite practicable form of authorship. On the same lines the habit of independent research in books of reference gives a surprising interest to useful study. If the object of the search be a quotation, date, term, or fact that can be reasonably got at; and if the quest arises incidentally to the study in which it originated, it should not be told by the teacher but be left for home research. An endless field for research, easily accessible, is the Bible, Shakespeare, Scott's novels and narrative poems, and the like. If the teacher is himself a student, genuinely interested in intellectual culture, his influence will tell in the best possible direction. Nothing will do more than all this to neutralise the deadening effect of modern mechanical class-book methods, class-books, too, in which the pupil rarely reaches "Finis." As a technical aid to composition the paraphrase has little to recommend it. There are other and far better ways of arriving at the desired result. Translation, for example, has a legitimate place in school. It is possible to make from another language a good piece of English, but is the ordinary pupil likely to improve by a paraphrase upon the classical model supplied by his own tongue? There is no need whatever for paraphrasing if another

language besides the mother tongue is studied, and, without this, culture through literature is at best imperfect.

When Bacon made Conference the agent in producing readiness, he was evidently regarding the gift of reasoned and persuasive utterance as the crown and flower of the intellectual equipment, not only of the man of affairs, but of every one who aspires to play his part with success or distinction among his fellows. The essays on Negotiating, Discourse, Simulation and Dissimulation, all emphasise this aspect of the subject. It is the note running throughout the essay on Discourse. "Discretion of speech is more than eloquence; and to speak agreeably" (in a manner suited) "to him with whom we deal, is more than to speak in good words or in good order." Amid the crooked policy of the age, and the cross-currents of Reformation times, it was a great point in the game of life to know when to be open and when to be reserved. A subtle observation is this of Bacon's: "Men rather discharge their minds, than impart them." Confession for the ease of unburdening the heart assumes the guise of an apparent communication of inward thought. His rule of conduct in speech is deeply significant of the man and his times:—"The best composition and temperature is to have openness in fame and opinion; secrecy in habit; dissimulation in seasonable use; and a power to feign, if there be no remedy." His *Antitheta* [1] present a subtle series of maxims on the comparative merits of candour and reserve: "Silence is a virtue in none but confessors. . . . The silent man has no secrets told him. . . . All

[1] Bacon's *Antitheta* are designedly half-truths, presenting the pros and cons of the argument under discussion.

kinds of constraint are painful, but of silence most of all. . . . Thoughts are like water, most wholesome when they flow." On the balance Bacon, as was to be expected of one who was full of apostolic fervour in the pursuit of knowledge, commends the virtue of openness; but, as was natural in one whose soul, like Milton's and Carlyle's, dwelt apart, he inclines to reserve:—"Nakedness is uncomely as well in mind as in body; and it doeth no small reverence to men's manners and actions if they be not altogether open. As for the talkers, they are commonly vain and credulous withal, for he that talketh what he knoweth will also talk what he knoweth not." In ordinary social intercourse, however, between equals, the balance is entirely in favour of openness, real or disguised; for the communication of knowledge is highly congenial to human vanity. It needs either temperature or strong will to restrain this form of social joy. Ordinarily, when a man is reserved in opinion, it is from lack of sympathy, due to opposition, ignorance, indifference, or, most potent of all, deficiency in imagination. As an illustration of the art that conceals art in handling reserve, Whately's "modern instance" will serve:—"A certain banker bequeathed to his son a flourishing business, together with a large and very strong iron chest, securely locked, which had always been supposed full of gold. 'To tell you the truth,' said he, 'the chest is empty; but if you keep the secret, the secret will keep you.'"[1] Many support a reputation for wisdom on the empty chest.

Conversation is barren and formal without that mutual sympathy which has a tender regard for fair play in

[1] The notorious Humbert case in Paris is a striking illustration here.

avoiding masterfulness, tediousness, and mere personalities. Jest and satire are equally to be condemned. As Bacon says: "There be some that think their wits have been asleep except they dart out somewhat that is piquant and to the quick—that is a vein which would be bridled. And, generally, men ought to find the difference between saltness and bitterness. Certainly he that hath a satirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need be afraid of others' memory." As kindly, self-effacing talk not only gathers knowledge but evidences a bond of sympathetic interest, the vanity of a display of wit is fatal to that sincerity which is the savour that keeps conversation sweet. It was the indiscreet Ben Jonson, not "sweet Will," that would sooner lose a friend than spoil a jest. Akin to such suggestions of insincerity is that tendency, more or less inherent in all of us, to put into what seems to be an expression of opinion, or a statement of fact, or observation of sense, elements due to temperament, caprice, feeling. This is but that artistic lie which we are all prone to, when setting off our conversation. "A mixture of a lie," says Bacon, "doth ever add pleasure. Doth any man doubt that, if there were taken out of men's minds vain opinions, faltering hopes, false valuations, imaginings as one would, and the like, but it would leave the minds of a number poor, shrunken things, full of melancholy and indisposition" (for action) "and unpleasing to themselves. But it is not the lie that passeth through the mind, but the lie that sinketh in, and settleth in it, that doth the hurt." We have here a subtle statement of the part played by temperament in the intercourse between man and man that is dependent upon speech. Bacon's own unbounded faculty of self-deception was an "imagining

as he would"—such as ever gives large thoughts and impressive utterance.

The value of Conference, with all its helps and hindrances, is powerfully illustrated in the communication of knowledge in the classroom. There was a time when to teach was to hear prescribed tasks and dictate formal precepts and the dry bones of catechisms, all to be repeated with or without understanding. The material, probably most excellent in itself, was doled out without much regard for the capacity of the receiving mind, or the natural fitness, for the occasion, of what it had to receive. Authority was everything, individuality nothing. Not till last century was well under way was the expository or explanatory method much practised, and this originated, not in the privileged grammar schools, but among a few outsiders and enthusiastic theorists. In the higher walks it was contemporaneous with the appearance of the mother tougue as an agent in intellectual discipline. The classical master never conceived that English could of itself be of any account in mental discipline, or that there was anything in it that called for explanation. The explanatory method owed much to the introduction of the infant school training as an advance on the ignorant dame, her hornbook and dunce's cap. The extension of the method brought into prominence the essential value to the teacher of the Baconian trinity, fulness, accuracy, and readiness; while it established the pre-eminence of the mother tongue in the educational process. An old maxim of the poet, Persius, says that no one can be held to know a thing till he can make another know that he knows it. This points to conference or the interchange of ideas, the exposing of them to the corporate light, as the final test

of all instruction, and in this the teacher must play the leading part. He ought to come to his task with a well-informed mind and a trained understanding. Whately puts the position well—"True wisdom consists in ready and accurate perception of analogies. Without the former, knowledge of the past is uninstructive; without the latter, it is deceptive. . . . One complaining of not being understood is one who does not well understand himself."

Scott, speaking of his teacher, the estimable Adam of the Edinburgh High School, says that only some share of vanity could have made the inherent drudgery of his position possible. The teacher has indeed what might be called the vanity of the artist, the consciousness of clearer vision, of wider prospect, of higher purpose. He has in him some ground for that intellectual pride of which Milton made so much, for to him knowledge is power. But though Adam did something to humanise his work, the old method served only to raise a wall of partition between the learner and the learned. Vanity in the popular sense, however, may be dismissed as incompatible with a trained and well-balanced intellect. A vicious type of it is that austerity of the formalist and the martinet which excludes sympathy with every one but itself. It is due to an inherent imperfection in respect of manner or of method or of both. Formality in method is useful in the early stages of instruction, but, in the later, initiative is to be fostered at all hazards; just as, in military education, the practice of the drill-ground is only a preparation for independent scouting in the field. This sympathy dictates what is the determining motive in most speaking, persuasion, leading to the acceptance of knowledge or opinion and a consequent

course of action. It is the transference *ad rem* of one's personality to another, and this is alone possible where the speaker can work upon that corporate sense which we call sympathy in common interests and a common pursuit. In this way the teacher not only commends his instruction, but imprints on the plastic mind of youth his own personality in ways alike of thinking and of acting. His fluency and fulness should bespeak a love of knowledge, his accuracy should reveal the critical habit of the scholar, his readiness and sympathetic interest should persuade to imitation. An impression of perfect candour, without affectation or pretence, is a strong persuasive. One of Bacon's *Antitheta* is: "Though we cannot think according to the truth of things, yet let us at least speak according as we think." To speak with simplicity convinces of earnestness. The young are quick to recognise the hollow ring in grandiloquence, artificiality, and speaking for effect. They dislike the prig among themselves who speaks like a book. Equally distasteful ought to be the pedantic and the pulpit style. The unfailing security for naturalness on the part of the speaker is absorption in the subject, which comes, of course, from sympathy. Two powerful auxiliaries will be a keen interest in garnering and methodising knowledge and a gift of apt illustration, for one must be prepared with many baits to "catch your carp of truth."

Conference, as implying the use of language in speech, opens up what ought to be regarded as the crown of the whole edifice of culture, that is, the subject considered in its social aspect. Apart from the mutual pleasure of such intercourse, one's knowledge is probably not of much intrinsic value if one cannot reproduce it. As the aim in

conference is not only to convey information, but to give pleasure, the emotions here come prominently into play. Reading now becomes not the solace of the student as recluse, searching the world of books for knowledge, but the charm of the entertainer. The art ceases to be a mechanical device, and becomes expressive and dramatic. Vocal expressiveness is the life and soul of persuasion, and that is the object of most speaking. It comes, above all our gifts, by nature, for physically it is based on voice and ear. For the former, right methods of using throat and chest may do something, while the confidence which comes from ease acquired by practice will help. Ear is largely the power of vocal imitation, always prominent in early youth, but rapidly weakened with the growth of self-consciousness as individuality begins to assert itself. Just as the social tone which we call manners is mainly the product of environment, so intonation or accent takes its character from familiar surroundings. This accounts for dialect, which is imitation in spite of oneself. It is comparable with those early habits which are conducive to conduct, whether good or bad. We are strangely inconsistent here. In the learning of foreign languages we approach the matter from the adult point of view, exaggerating the importance of a pure accent, whereas command of language is the first requisite and not the insistence on the need for having a Parisian or a Hanoverian tutor. On the other hand, where the mother tongue is concerned, with its ready and growing supply of words along with an excess of bad examples in the shape of gabble, slipshod, and the defective utterance of the lazy speaker, we accept without question a nurse or servant steeped in dialect. The formal and limited restraint of the lesson, again, produces a stiffness in

contrast to the natural, easy flow of out-of-doors utterance. It is often observed that those who approach expressive reading from a ready use of colloquial English, as, for example, the urban children of the imperfectly educated, have more pronounced faults of utterance than those, say, in the Highlands or in Ireland in a less degree, by whom English speech is acquired more readily from books and teachers. The Highlander's speech may be faulty in its phonetics, but is beautifully clear and precise. The part played by the understanding in expressive reading is much feebler than that on the imitative side of voice, ear, and environment. The reading of clergymen, undoubtedly a highly educated class, and alive to the value of expression in oratory, is, in the average, much wanting in the qualities that give pleasure to the listener. The unfortunate elimination of Bible reading in favour of the sermon, in the old Scotch service, killed out this form of expression. Distinctness and correct pausing, as due to reflection, may be present in the reading of the intelligent, but these are not the most effective factors in expression. There may be intelligibility without emotion. The critical faculty sees the point, but there is no white heat. In the statement of the logical points of a legal plea this is in place. Emphasis and speed ought both to be ruled by the intelligence, but are too frequently under the influence of temperament. The understanding, for example, prescribes a pause of some kind before a conjunction and a preposition, never after, yet the type of pause in "The boy stood on / the burning deck," is one of the commonest. No one would pause so if speaking his own thoughts. To most people reading is a mechanical matter and no more, whereas speaking is naturally dramatic and under impulses that are essentially dramatic.

As striking success in expressive reading is possible only to those who have special talent, a great deal more ought to be made than is made of original utterance and its training. The American citizen owes much of his power of fluent, clear, pleasant speaking to the republican atmosphere he breathes, yet the educational methods under which he is reared contribute largely to the result. The mediæval devotion to the text-book, and the dictated doses of didactic wisdom live in philological minuteness and the tyranny of the written examination. The most frequent field for practice in the power of recalling knowledge at command is oral questioning. We fail to regard it as a valuable exercise in composition, and accept fragments of speech as answers. Bacon, though he has in view discourse in real life, has much to say that is suggestive to the questioner and questioned in school:—"The honourablest part of talk is to give occasion and again moderate" (be moderator or director), "and pass to something else, for then a man leads the dance. He that questioneth much learns much and contents much, but specially if he apply his questions to the skill of the persons whom he asketh. For he will give them occasion to please themselves in speaking, and he himself shall continually gather knowledge. But let his questions not be troublesome, for that is fit for a poser; and let him be sure to leave others their turn to speak." The last clause suggests a much-neglected method of stimulating dramatic interest. The conventional practice is for the teacher to do all the questioning and the pupil the replies. The position should be more largely reversed.

For successful oral answering there is needed fulness of knowledge and readiness in drawing upon the stores.

acquired. A great obstacle is diffidence, due to inability to think aloud, quite as much as to nervousness. On the theory of continuity of thinking surprise is to be avoided, for the mind more readily links on to a previous thread than takes up an entirely fresh one. The latter power, that of instant mental detachment and attachment, is the rare faculty of presence of mind. By judicious excitation of association, the use of reason, and hints as to the proper mode of guessing, which is really the drawing of inference, even the slow-witted will move, and that is half the battle. Bacon truly says: "Discretion of speech is more than eloquence: to speak agreeably" (as suits the understanding) "to him with whom we deal is more than to speak in good words or in good order." A professor, who had been a Senior Wrangler, and was accepted as an educational expert of repute, was examining a class of boys, all under fourteen, in my hearing, on the "Deserted Village." The passage:

> "She, wretched matron, forced in age, for bread,
> To strip the brook with mantling cresses spread,"

suggested this appalling order, "Discuss the force of the epithet 'mantling' here." This scientist forgot that the oldest of the sciences is Common Sense. Blundering is the counterpart of diffidence. Bacon thinks that nothing so much excites suspicion as the knowing too little, evidently alluding to a lack of candour on the side of authority; but the blunderer is candour itself. His faculty of introspection is atrophied. A mathematical professor, examining a particularly obtuse specimen of his class, exclaimed in despair: "I hope, Mr ——, you will some day discover the depths of your ignorance."

It was an old-fashioned Aberdeen professor who encouraged a laggard with this advice: "Just keep your lugs open and let it seap in (soak)." But the mental eye sees itself with exceeding difficulty. Working with a limited stock of mental capital, the blunderer lives on a hand-to-mouth indebtedness to any suggestion, any false scent of a preconceived notion, any straw which shows the wind he should lazily float on. A fertile source of the blundering which leads to misunderstanding between questioner and questioned is imperfect definition of terms used. Those who proclaim the superiority of things to words in education, in so doing woefully neglect the indispensable tool and inspirer of right thinking. Definition is indispensable to mutual intelligibility, a truth Locke long ago insisted on. The imperfect grasp of technical terms is indeed a dangerous thing, but once thoroughly understood they are precise bundles of knowledge. To the student they have all the definiteness of proper names. The very first step we make on our introduction to a strange person or place is the correct name of each, and then the path is at once smoothed to wider knowledge. Here is a justification of note-taking, and precise definition, and frequent repetition, with oral and written examination to secure accuracy. Sometimes the very arbitrariness of the technical term serves to fix it in the memory and thereby attach it to a mass of floating, correlated knowledge. This is the place of the anagram as a mnemonic. Examples that are never forgotten are Vibgyor, from the initials of the prismatic colours, the *Ichthus* or fish-symbol of the Catacombs, from the initials, in Greek, of "Jesus Christ, God's Son, Saviour"; Voltaire, from his real designation, Arouet le jeune, [l.(e) j.(eune)]. Dates

are quasi-technical terms, which, by a judicious use of association with striking circumstance, clever grouping, undesigned coincidence, and every species of collateral interest, may be made a powerful agent in the rapid, pleasing, and permanent acquisition of knowledge. The date 1616, besides being in itself a remarkable group of figures, marks Shakespeare's death. That he lived as many years as there are weeks in a year settles his birth. Curious coincidences are Dryden's birth and death (1631–1700) and Cowper's (1731–1800); or, again Plassy, (1757) and the Indian Mutiny (1857). The strict contemporaneousness of Milton and Clarendon, the historian (1608–74), the birth year of Napoleon and Wellington (1769), the deaths of Scott and Goethe (1832), the births of Queen Victoria, George Eliot, and Ruskin (1819)—these all, from their interest in comparison and contrast, can hardly fail to vivify historical thinking. Equally arresting are some curious triplets, such as the birth of related groups like Raleigh (1552), Spenser (1553), Sidney (1554), or Wordsworth (1770), Scott (1771), Coleridge (1772). The years 1586–87–88, 1649–50–51, 1665–6–7 present remarkable sequences, as do also, at longer intervals, the birth of Pope (1688) and of Byron (1788), and the striking series, 1558, 1658, 1758, 1858. These go far to show that the too common discredit attaching to the teaching of dates is not very discriminating.

An admirable combination of oral questioning and oral composition, leading to that readiness in speaking which calls upon all the acquired resources of pupil and teacher, is the encouraging of the pupils to address the class, each in turn, on some subject which has been carefully prepared. The Germans know it as the Vortrag,

the Americans as Recitation. It was a recognised practice in Grammar School and College in the seventeenth century. Such is our national reticence and exaggerated individuality, that we use it least where it would be most effective, in the universities. In comparison the wearisome written examination, the laboured, pointless essay, which absolutely blunts the sense, physical and mental, of the examiner, these are all a grievous misdirection of effort. These Vorträge would be invaluable for the future teacher, lawyer, or clergyman. Instead, they are all duly subjected to the conventional round of essay and written examination. The "lecture," in this sense, combines fulness in research, exactness in ordered arrangement, and readiness in communicating results. It breaks up the isolated position in which the teacher stands to the pupil, too often deadening in its effects, and that of the pupils to each other. It generates a true spirit of independent thinking, and neutralises cram. It appeals to the corporate feeling in inviting friendly candour and the criticism of fellow-workers, if it be combined with oral questioning both of, and by, the lecturer. In Scotland, for centuries, we have worked—professor, preacher, and teacher—on a mediæval platform of isolated authority, speaking without coming into living touch with the minds spoken to. Of course the "lecture" may turn out only a memorised essay, a dead inanity like the read speech or read sermon, which is such a powerful agent in the physical and mental somnolence of the pew. If this cannot be avoided in the case of those who are unable to shake off the inroads of unwise habit, a corrective will be found in the free use of questioning, which must largely be spontaneous. Thus the "lecture," in being mainly undesigned, becomes at once the best,

because natural, practice in thinking aloud, and the best test of good speaking. The effort of thus thinking engrosses the attention and secures naturalness, so difficult to attain in what is called elocution, an exercise which serves its purpose as a vocal drill, but when the classroom is turned into a forum we have true dramatic utterance in which all the social instincts of communion with our fellows play their part.

Dr Abbott finds, after a searching analysis of Bacon's practical philosophy, that religion is carefully excluded from the *Essays*, the treatise that is to pass into the business and bosoms of men. "He writes like a philosopher, or like a courtier, or like a statesman, but rarely or never like an orthodox Anglican." This pronouncement of the Anglican attitude is natural to an Episcopal D.D., but need not be insisted on as a universal guide to human conduct. In Bacon's day practical religion was mainly a matter of politics, church or national. Right belief regulated conduct only so far as that conformed to the authorised type of church polity. Dr Abbott says of Bacon: "In his nature passionless, the Christian religion was seldom recognised by him as having a powerful influence on human conduct except in the perverted form of superstition." Many opinions thrown out in the *Essays* support the satire in Crowe's lines:—

> "Our better thoughts
> Are as our Sunday garments, then put on
> When we have nought to do; in working days
> We wear our worst for thrift."

But when the discourse is of Science, Bacon has all the vision divine and fervour apostolic. The Apocalyptic imaginings of Spenser and the Spenserians, which beheld

as the goal of the devout life on earth the ultimate Union of the Bride or the pure Church and Christ, her Lord, become in Bacon's fancy the Union of the Mind of Man with the Mind of the Universe. In keeping with the spirit of his age he entertained low views of human nature. The student of social history sees in the record of many centuries, with its tale of cruelty and violence, of superstition and intolerance, a widespread contempt for any spark of goodness that might be in the unfortunate victim of his own or others' faults. As Abbott says: "Bacon believed something was to be learned from poets and historians, that might be useful for the Art of Advancement. But that by studying the brother whom we have seen we may expect to learn something of Him whom we have not seen, this is not taught in Bacon's theology."

Bacon in his essay on "Nature in Men," says it is "often hidden, sometimes overcome, seldom extinguished." This nature is that disposition or "inclination to goodness," which we call temperament, or the mixture in us of our inborn qualities. Custom or environment is the agent in modifying this natural disposition. Aristotle expresses the same thought when he says that, if children are early accustomed to right practice, they will form virtuous habits. The word for custom in Greek gives us ethics, and in Latin, morals. To this effect is Bacon's saying: "Men's deeds are after as they have been accustomed. Let parents choose betimes the vocations and courses they mean their children should take; for they are then most flexible, and let them not apply themselves to the dispositions of their children, as thinking they will take best to that which they have most a mind to. If the affection or aptness of the children be

extraordinary, then it is good not to cross it. Generally the precept is good—Choose the best, and custom will make it agreeable and easy." It is debatable what influence intelligence has on conduct. There has been no want at any time of clever rogues. The Reformers made much of doctrine or the inculcation, in early years, of virtuous maxims, but this did not seem to relieve the strain on church discipline. There were then some remarkable examples of early piety. At seven, James Melvill "lernit to abhore swearing, and rebuk and complain upon sic as I heard swear." Dr Abbott has small faith in "the superficial goodness of childhood and youth, those raw and unripe virtues which can only be called virtues by hopeful anticipation." With reference to Bacon's Collegiate Custom as a great reforming influence, he regrets that Bacon has not worked out the practical application. It is the keystone of the English Public School system. In schools, if anywhere, such custom is "in exaltation"; yet of schools the *Essays* contain no mention. Indeed, Bacon seems to have attached little importance to the sowing of the educational seed broadcast throughout England. Of popular education neither Bacon nor any other thinker had, for centuries, any conception. He expressly states that he thinks there were too many grammar schools, basing his opinion on the fact that education incapacitated for the lower walks of labour, while, in the other direction, more young men were highly educated than the State could employ, with the consequent fostering of the elements that led to revolution. This is potent criticism still.

In the practical field of educational work, Bacon could not go beyond the ideas of his age. The beautiful life and teaching of More remained Utopian. The shade of

Orbilius and his ferule still dominated what was assumed to be the only royal road to learning. But Bacon wore his "rue with a difference." "For roughness it is a needless cause of discontent. Severity breedeth fear"—evidently considered not to be out of place—"but roughness hate. Even reproofs from authority ought to be grave and not taunting. . . . Certainly anger is a kind of baseness, as it appears well in the weakness of those subjects in whom it seems—children, women, old folks, sick folks." It is certain that anger, whether in the shape of the satirical gibe for the dullard or the grave rebuke for the froward, never carried anyone far on the road to learning. The detestable practice of venting a boorish, underbred "sort of wit" in the shape of a nickname on some personal defect, is not unknown to the practice of some teachers. One aspect of corporal punishment in school is often overlooked. The offender is made to feel that, having given the satisfaction exacted, he is now on even terms with authority, and can henceforth devote his thoughts to the contemplation of his own self-esteem. In after years he can expatiate on his sufferings as the most memorable triumphs of his school career. Better the teacher should hold, with Bacon, that the power to do good is the true and lawful end of aspiring to a position of authority. Bacon finds a place even for judicious flattery: "A cunning flatterer will follow the arch flatterer, a man's self; and wherein a man thinketh best of himself, therein the flatterer will uphold him most. Moderate praise used with opportunity, and not vulgar, is that which doeth good. . . . In fame of learning, the flight will be slow without some feathers of ostentation." Nothing so favours such growth as the consciousness of success in any measure,

and the approbation it brings. The love of commendation leads to greater effort. Praise, however, has to be judicious. The levelling influence of numbers and the corporate average often turns the model good boy, who "stews," into the unpopular "sneak." Such is human nature that we prefer Esau to Jacob, and still more to Joseph. Bacon thought "too much magnifying of man or matter doth irritate contradiction and procure envy and scorn," but an appeal to the corporate sense or public opinion will blight such unworthy thoughts. All such praise is unwisely bestowed if it is reserved for the brilliant. "To him that hath shall be given" too often holds in the intellectual world. The favoured elements by Nature will look after their own efficiency. The diffident and the slow find in the approbation which has discovered virtue in them an incentive that is indeed doubly blest. But the unsatisfying rôle generally left to them is that wittily suggested by Bacon—"The little dogs find the hare but the big ones catch it."

Bacon was a Humanist, a child of the New Learning, and as such the practical aim of education was, in his eyes, the development of a high standard of intellectuality. He had been "suckled in a creed out-worn," the scholastic philosophy of Aristotle, which during the Middle Ages had pursued reasoning as an end in itself. With the wider outlook that followed printing, gunpowder, the discovery of the New World, there never had seemed to him greater need for awakening the intelligence of England. Like that modern Pagan, Queen Elizabeth, the Reformation affected him nought, for both subordinated religion to policy. The schools did nothing for him, for they most emphatically were unreformed. Hence to him education was self-culture, and after all, to

this conclusion must come every sober-minded teacher. This characteristic of his theory, the enthroning of intelligence, was further exemplified in the teaching of Milton and Locke; and together these master minds gave a trend to subsequent culture in England. The contrast with Scotland is marked. As Professor Hume Brown has shown, Scholasticism lived on, and ruled there, while purity of doctrine was a *sine qua non* as a security against the counter-reformation which was always threatening in the shape of Prelacy or Popery. Thus the wider outlook in education was subordinated to the needs of the Church, and these prescribed the scholastic array of well-ordered argument. There was no Bacon in Scotland. Knox, although claimed to be the only begetter of education there, learned all he knew about it from John Sturm of Strassburg, and Calvin in Geneva. These men worked on scholastic lines. Nothing shows in a stronger light the dominant influence of the needs of the faith as interpreted by the Church in Scotland than the fact that, whereas in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England quite half a dozen books were written on education, that still live in literature, not one can be claimed for "beyont the Tweed." Of these books not one is more profoundly suggestive, or of more vital importance, than the *Essays* of Bacon. Even this, however, was but the vestibule of the vast temple he designed, *The Instauration of the Sciences*, or his unfinished scheme of Technical Education.

The century to which Bacon's early life belonged was marked by a marvellous outburst of educational thought. Erasmus, More, Colet, Linacre, Mulcaster, Lilly, Ascham are proud names in the history of education, but their views, some of them not yet realised, were far

in advance of opinion, and bore no fruit till generations passed. Bacon, himself too precocious to be much dependent on the schools of his time, few and poor as they were, leaves them out of account in his system. His outlook was, indeed, far wider, so that one is tempted, under his inspiring influence, to soar beyond the principles and practice of the pedagogue as these have been expounded in the preceding pages, and to find, within the possibilities of his scheme, an ideal equipment for the pedagogue himself as pre-eminently the communicator of ideas, guide, philosopher, and friend to the inquirer after Truth.

Bacon's Temple of Learning, to which the method I have sketched, with the help of the guide-posts in the *Essays*, is but the way of approach, was broad-based on wisdom and experience and reared to the voices of the divine harmonies as they shaped themselves under their author's plastic imagination. Yet Bacon is here in no sense revolutionary. He works on classical lines, his genius brings new wine out of the old bottles. Acting on those faculties of thought and feeling which the modern shares equally with the citizen of Athens or of Rome, he prepares the student for a measure of self-culture designed for citizenship and human intercourse. The lines he laid down in his pregnant aphorism of fulness, readiness, and accuracy carry one back to the oldest teaching. The sages of all time have begun by storing the minds of their disciples with aphorisms, pithy, sententious, easily-remembered. With us this is too much the stage of initiation through reading. But while the pupil is thus early enabled to do something for himself by overcoming the material difficulty of interpreting the printed page, both the old and the new

ways rely upon that curiosity, acquisitiveness, receptivity, or whatever it may be called, which is the universal dower of youth. Alike in the youth of the world and of human experience, as each new generation looks out upon things, it is the tree of knowledge that first presents itself. In the language of the schools this is the *doctrina* or body of truths which, on the faith and authority of the sage, had to be stored up in the memory. In the domain of literary effort it is the age of "telling" or narrating, the epic period, when to the infant mind teaching is what it radically signifies, the showing or exhibiting of signs and wonders, when fact displays itself in the garb of fable or fairy tale. In the figurative guise under which Bacon presented profound truths it is the spring-time of germination in the seed out of stored-up food, its parental heritage; the restless flitting of the bee from sweet to sweet; the lover following dimly the enchantress, Truth, whose wand beckons him, unwittingly, to her Temple.

This truly didactic stage of childlike trust gives place to one in which converse through the living voice ought to be paramount, and the formal text less and less in evidence. For converse is dramatic rather than epic, the arena in which character, personality, begins to assert itself. The activity of the awakening reason ought to inquire into the causes of things, to compare and select out of past experience so as to grow in wisdom, be quick to perceive resemblances, and unfold new tastes and likings. Activity, ingenious and untiring, ought to reign here, for *drama* in Greek meant action. The sage in the forest, the wonder-worker in his cell, give place now to the alert, inquiring Socrates, educing from the opening minds of his pupils new aspects of thought and

character as they pace together the groves of Akademe. It is here where Dr J. G. Kerr's exhortation to the teacher is most apposite: "Think first of the pupil. Have no concern with the subject as a something to be taught. The main purpose of a subject is to supply material on which the pupil is to be, not fed, but exercised." He objects to the use of the word "interest" to denominate the main line on which this essentially dramatic activity runs, and prefers the expression: "The principle of functional pleasure." This merely substitutes for the somewhat vague common term, interest, a precise statement of what may quite fairly be implied in it. We are now in the period of efflorescence under the genial influence of summer suns, the assimilating of the bee's garnered stores, the sweet converse in bower or glade with the beloved object of the inquirer's quest.

The combination of Bacon's reading and conference results in the fruit of disciplined culture, the honey from the Muses's heights, the possession of a prize which no vicissitude of fortune can dim or destroy. With him no study is worthy of the name which does not lead to "invention," to something, however humble, which will in part repay borrowed benefits. And here, as both giver and receiver, the student acquires, as it were, a double life. In multiplying the sources of his own enjoyment he is increasing his influence over his environment. From Bacon's classical standpoint he has designed his method to evolve neither the mystic recluse nor the peripatetic Socrates, but rather the *rhetor*, the highly disciplined scholar who aspired to office and to public employment. In the absence of the printing press his "writing," which made for accuracy, could only proclaim itself from the *bema* or in the *forum* in matter

which was weighed with precept or guided by policy. His modern equivalent is the communicator of ideas, dowered with the literary gifts of the artist in the intellectual aspect, whose equipment is a rich store of knowledge, a nimble wit, an accurate memory, and a power of combined reminiscence and "invention," vitalising because inspired by imagination that ever "bodies forth the forms of things unseen" by the less gifted eye. And all this is implicit alike in the method of Bacon and the intellectual equipment of the teacher.

It has been no part of my plan to expound the Baconian theory of intellectual culture. That is the work of a philosopher such as the late Professor Adamson, who essayed the task in his *Pioneers of Education*. On the other hand, from the school point of view Bacon has next to nothing to say, though much to suggest, as might be expected from a scholar of so precocious and so pregnant a wit. I have merely taken his famous aphorism as the text for unfolding his tripartite method, therein implied, of reading, writing, speaking. On these lines all teaching must proceed in which the mother tongue is at once the medium and the subject-matter of instruction. Bacon, as the most suggestive of philosophical thinkers, furnished me with no lack of side-lights bearing on this tripartite method, and these I have set in place and tested by actual experience. This I take to be the *fruit* which he ever desiderated in the search for Truth.

THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL OF THE OLDEN TIME

MATURIN CORDERY AND HIS *COLLOQUIES* (*b.* 1478; *d.* 1564)

On few historical fields of study has so little come down to us of direct, realistic, contemporary observation as on the internal economy of an old-time school. The late Professor Spencer Baynes, in three articles contributed to *Frazer's Magazine* so long ago as 1879–80, discussed the subject with a view to determine "What Shakespeare learned at School." He comments upon the general vagueness of statutes, ordinances, and charters. What he desiderated was portraiture from within. Neither the well-ordered picture of the official report, that is so satisfying to us moderns, nor the romancing of the grown-up when reminiscent over his school-days, supplies the want. Under the latter category falls the witty statement, that Baynes quotes, to the effect that Shakespeare derived from the pain and suffering of several years, not exactly an acquaintance with Greek and Latin, but, like Eton boys, a firm conviction that there are such languages. He finds in Holofernes (*Love's Labour's Lost*) a portrait of an Elizabethan pedant dominie, proud of his gift of verbal wit, the product of the grammar-school method :—"Simple, simple; a foolish extravagant

spirit, full of forms, figures, shapes, objects, ideas, apprehensions, motions, revolutions: these are begot in the ventricle of memory, nourished in the womb of *pia mater*, and delivered upon the mellowing of occasion. But the gift is good in those in whom it is acute, and I am thankful for it.

"*Nathaniel*—Sir, I praise the Lord for you: and so may my parishioners; for their sons are well tutored by you, and their daughters profit very greatly under you: you are a good member of the commonwealth.

"*Hol.—Mehercle!* if their sons be ingenious, they shall want no instruction; if their daughters be capable, I will put it to them: but, *vir sapit qui pauca loquitur*."

Professor Baynes traces this grammar-school discipline throughout the play, while, in the *Merry Wives*, he shows that Sir Hugh Evans' examination of Mrs Ann Page's boy is a specimen of the catechising in vogue then. With the help of two contemporary schoolmasters, Brinsley in his *Ludus Literarius* (1612), and Hoole in his *New Discipline* (1636), he is able to sketch what must have been the curriculum at Stratford Grammar School. That curriculum might almost have been Virgil's or Cicero's, for the mediæval school ran on strictly classical lines. A love of change never was a characteristic of grammar schools. The Public School Commission reported, so late as 1862, that the lines of the sixteenth century persisted, on the whole, practically unchanged. The late Dr T. G. Law, a Winchester boy, told me that the school in his time was virtually as Wykeham left it. The pronounced conservatism of the Church and its old-established organisation, intensified by the general uniformity due to the position of Latin, barred the way to innovations.

Professor Baynes simply made use of such contemporaries as Brinsley and Hoole to throw light on his main thesis. The bulk of his argument is a subtle exposition of what Shakespeare owed to the influence of Ovid, under whose spell he had fallen in youth. England, fortunate in her many and centuries-old grammar schools, is equally so in her brilliant crowd of educational writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It would have been impossible to show, from any Scotch schoolmasters such as Brinsley and Hoole, what Burns, Scott, or Carlyle learned at school. Three such experienced authors as Henry Mackenzie, Walter Scott, and Henry Cockburn were all at the High School of Edinburgh in close succession, and, though each speaks of his boyish experiences there, what they say is at most little better than writing round about the subject. It is fortunate, therefore, that we have in Cordery's *Colloquies* first-hand material from which to reconstruct the school-life of those honest burgesses who made the stirring record of Scotland in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.

Maturin Cordier (*b.* 1478) had Calvin for pupil in his school at Paris, so that his system would be specially acceptable in Scotland. In Shakespeare's day his *Colloquies* were "probably in use in every school in the kingdom." Hoole, writing in 1636, testifies to their popularity. The book was soon adopted in Scotland. In 1599 an Edinburgh printer obtained a licence for *The Plain Donat*, *Haill Pairtis of Gramer according to Sebastiane*, *The Dialogues of Corderius*, *Familiar Epistles of Cicero*, *Rudiments of Dunbar*, *The Feabillis of Aesope*. The list was, of course, to warn off rivals, made as comprehensive as possible, on paper at least. Cordery

was, however, one of the most familiar of the friends of Scottish youth. As late as 1831 an edition appeared in Edinburgh. His legitimate successors, on somewhat analogous lines, were *Mair's Introduction* and *Ferguson's Exercises*. Calvin has borne high testimony to the worth and skill of Cordery as a teacher. In his *Commentary to the Thessalonians*, dedicated to his preceptor, he says: "I wish to testify to posterity that, if any utility accrue to any from my writings, they may acknowledge it as in part flowing from thee." From his school, the Collége de la Marche, in Paris, and later at Geneva, his influence radiated over the whole learned world. Hoole, writing in 1652, says that the worth of Cordery was proved by the scores, if not hundreds, of impressions of his *Colloquies* in this and foreign countries.

One of the most venerable, if not venerated, of pedagogic tools of the olden time is the *Colloquies* of Maturin Cordier. Such a sign of educational awakening may be regarded as not the least hopeful of the secular movements which accompanied the Reformation. The *Colloquies*, as the work of a French Protestant reformer, was the partner of the Catechism, on the side of profane learning. As the one supplied, in neat doses, the authorised theological *pabulum*, the other furnished a ready-made suit in which a speaker might simulate to some purpose the labour of thinking without the trouble of the operation itself. Both are but artificial supports, and, as such, doubtless served a makeshift existence. Both gratified the scholastic passion for knowledge, well ordered under the hand of authority. The persistent vitality of these methods, acquiesced in without protest for centuries in Scotland, is significant of

profound intellectual stagnation. Thinkers, from Colet and Lilly to Locke, had, more or less dimly, thought out a better way, but in Scotland the reign of Cordery and the Catechism was unquestioned. Scott's kindly allusion to him as an old friend is well known. In the number of editions, as a test of popularity, Cordery vies with his scholastic contemporary, Lilly.

Let us follow the daily routine of a boarder or collegian in the school of Cordery :—

At 5 A.M. the Hebdomadarius or weekly-wakener, lanthorn in hand, knocks at the dormitory door, which a roused sleeper opens. Lighting a candle, he calls loudly, "Experrecti omnes!" The narrator gets out of bed and dons his tunic and doublet (thorax), and, sitting on a bench, draws on breeches (femoralia) and stockings (tibialia), and puts on shoes. Having then secured the breeches to the doublet or waistcoat with points (braces did not come in till near the close of the eighteenth century), and secured the stocking with garters, he puts on the girdle, combs his head diligently, and, finally, in cap and gown, descends to the yard, where, in cold water out of the bucket of the draw-well, he washes, rinsing mouth and teeth. The services of a towel prepare him for the signal by small bell for prayer. All pray together in the private hall, then, in ancient baronial fashion, they carry into the dining-room (triclinium) each his breakfast, received in order from a servant. What we learn of table manners is very significant: "I admonished," he continues, "foolish prattle, idle words, or playing the rogue" (the Latin lascivientes here means much), "carrying the names of the disobedient to the monitor, who set them down." The while an usher (hypodidascalus) walks up and down the hall, book in

hand, and from time to time warns the monitor to note offenders. On a signal being given they take their books to the Common Hall, where the nomenclator calls the roll and notes absentees. The master now goes to the pulpit and opens the work-time with a prayer. All being now ready for hearing lessons, the master, in his chair, after inquiring about absentees, orders the text of an author to be read. This the boys do in threes at a time. He calls for the interpretation of the text, evidently his own dictated comment, for "the ignorant read it off, the others repeat it from memory." The English translation follows, the more learned only answering. Finally, the parts of speech are treated grammatically. The two pauses in the day are at or about nine o'clock for dinner (prandium) and again at four for luncheon (merendum). The latter meal was long known in Scotch schools as the "beaver" or drinking, and, in popular phrase with workers generally, "four hours." It plays a great part in the discourse of the oppidans or town's boys. Their lot was the harder one. "Up at 4 A.M.," says one, "at five to school, big books under arms besides pennar (standish) and candlestick." The kindly Dean Colet, in his statutes for St Paul's (1512), did not ask these accessories of the oppidans, of whom, by the way, John Milton was one in his time. The going home for *merendum* supplies material for talk. One tells that his mother had given him beef salted, and, when asked if veal or mutton would not have been preferable, he approves of both, but confesses to a liking for roast kid. The careful mother figures here. She gives one boy only enough for present use, because, the other adds, not very politely, "you are a glutton." A, again, asks for some of B's bread, because there had been nobody

at home to help him to it, and he could not take it without his mother's leave; upon which B advises him that, when the board is cleared after dinner, he should ask for lunch and stow it away in his pocket for use. The *merendum* even played a part in discipline. Two are allowed out to visit the barber, but they must hasten their return lest they forfeit their lunch.

The *Colloquies* naturally discuss books and studies, but in a somewhat indirect fashion. The authors mentioned are Terence, on occasion of a loan of the book, and again on the discussion of a new gilt copy, printed in Paris, which had been bought of a peddling bookseller for tenpence. A Virgil had been borrowed and thereafter pawned by the borrower for threepence. He is rightly pronounced to be both ungrateful and wicked, and deserving to be reported to the master, but the injured party says he would suffer rather than have his fellow-pupil whipped. Cicero's Epistles are appealed to, but only with reference to moral precepts. Much of the work seems to have consisted in writing out the master's dictates on such grave studies. One boy is discovered to be engaged on the dictates of the day before, he having come late and so failed to get a good seat. His friend offers to do the work, as he writes faster; but the other scruples, as being against rules, the master being sure to discover the fraud from his familiarity with the hand. Besides, adds the model youth, "it is forbidden by the Word of God." "Write as you will then," says B, "I go play." "Go. I should have written a page but for you." But there is this compensation: "We have at least talked Latin." This virtuous exercise is made the ready excuse for

carrying on any idle argument or apparently unjust accusation. It is the natural accompaniment of a walk. Two thus descant on this "useful and pleasant exercise": "As often as I light upon any of those dissolute rascals, I had rather have found a carter . . . they will neither speak any good thing nor endure to hear it. They talk of nothing but their dainties and clubs in private ale-houses. They laugh at us too with full cheeks, because we talk Latin in the streets." It is the voice of the good Cordery turning the occasion to pious uses: "Advise them as a friend, and you will hear, 'Hold your tongue, preacher!' Threaten them with the master or monitor, and they promise a thrashing. Truly when one of them had found me lately in a retired place, he gave me two very great cuffs on the cheek, and ran away so suddenly that I could scarce see him." There is ample evidence in the *Colloquies*, as elsewhere, that this Latin speaking, an accomplishment that ought to be the envy of us moderns, was more apparent than real. It was an age of conventional formulæ, memorised maxims, and lip-learning generally. The methods of the day lent themselves to this "conning by rote." Here is a case in point. It was a custom that lasted long for the boys to beg a holiday in Latin. Two of Cordery's pupils approach his desk, saying: "We have been fast at our books almost these three days. May we play?" They must first say some sentence, which is given, and the English asked for, "*if you hold it in memory.*" This is the couplet:—

> "Mirth with thy Labour sometimes put in ure (use),
> That better thou mayst thy Labour endure."

To this the master adds a few words of pious thanks,

eliciting the query, "Who shall teach me these words?" . . . "I will write them for you in your notebook, that you may get them by heart; but tell me, who taught you that speech which you have said?" "A fellow-pupil had given it the day before in writing and I committed it to memory." Can this mastery of Latin be an accomplishment akin to that which Sir Toby Belch credits Sir Andrew Aguecheek with? "He speaks three or four languages, word for word, without book." Can this be the conning by rote that Shakespeare learned at Stratford Grammar School? When play is granted to the deputation, the leader is told to bear the good news to his waiting fellows. Being asked what he will say, he repeats a speech that the master had taught him once, to this effect:—"Be merry, boys. Lo! I bring you pleasant news. I have got you leave to play." Doubtless this speech would often do duty. Why was the boy not left to speak his own Latin?

There are various references to the speaking of Latin. The rule excluded the vernacular even outside of class, and not only a monitor, but a fellow-pupil might note an offender. After luncheon, a period "that ought to be precious for study," a monitor hears what he takes to be bad words. They are admitted to be idle, not evil. The subject, in fact, was a tender one with boys, the neglect of the servant to give out breakfast in time. The offender tries to mollify the monitor by assuring him that the conversation was in Latin. He admits, however, that they ought to have been reading out of the New Testament, but adds, "Pardon, sweet fellow. We shall be more diligent in future." Here it is the master that records the fact. But was it much of an accomplish-

ment, even from his point of view? The indifferent student is asked by a fellow-pupil why he has not been at school and when he means to return. He expresses his entire indifference. "Sign enough that you do not love learning," replies the other, and significant of the interest aroused. It is hard to say what was the standard which the schoolmaster of the time expected in the way of a colloquial command of Latin. We can form an inference, however, on the point from a consideration of the school age, and of the possibilities of such a method as that of the *Colloquies*. A discussion on the refusal of the loan of a pen, passes, on strict Corderian lines, into an appeal to imitate Christ. "You urge me too much," is the reply, and no wonder—"I have not yet completed the eighth year." The moralist admits giving this turn to the conversation that they might talk a little while at leisure. Again, two boys engage in discourse. The former marvels to hear that a brother of the latter, aged eight, speaks Latin. "Why wonder?" the dialogue goes on, "we have always at home a master" (the pedagogue) "who teaches us to talk Latin regularly, speaks nothing in English unless to explain something: moreover we dare not speak to our father but in Latin. We use English only with our mother, and then at the hour she orders us to be called to her. We talk rarely with the family, only in passing. The *menservants speak to us in Latin*, but to the maids we use English as to our mother." The doubter exclaims: "O! you are happy who are taught so diligently." "Thanks be to God, by whose gift we have such a father," is the usual moral conclusion. To anyone who knows how hard a task it is for school children, nay, even for the adult student, to acquire anything like a colloquial

command of any foreign language, to say nothing of their own, it must be clear that the Corderian standard has to be taken with a pinch of salt.

Whether we be prepared to accept Cordery at his own estimate or not, there cannot be the slightest question that even the diligent use of his *Colloquies* would never make any one speak Latin. In spite of all our modern methods, the merest fraction of learners only can pretend to think in anything but the mother tongue; and, unless the thinking and the speaking are in one and the same nexus, there can be nothing worthy of an accomplishment in the matter. But the *Colloquies* are constructed on no plan. There is no graduation of difficulty, either in selection of topics, vocabulary, or idiom. Mingled with simple, direct phrases we have Ciceronian periods of portentous length and intricate construction. The discussion jumps from the concrete of the pupil's everyday life to a subtle moral disquisition. The *Colloquies*, as they stand, could have been put to but one use, conning by rote; and no one could call that speaking Latin. The mastery and intelligent acting of a play of Terence would have given better results than a dozen of such tools as Cordery's.

To give actuality to a just estimate of the value of the Corderian discipline in Latin, take this hypothetical case. Suppose many generations of our youth condemned to acquire a colloquial command of English from the Shorter Catechism, dictated in fragments, conned by rote, and repeated at command, the whole filled out with accidence drill, through memoriter lines, on the abstract portions of the Pauline Epistles—and a modern may form some notion of the result. But the comparison is too favourable, for the atmosphere of the mother tongue would be

the while environing the learner and bringing within range of his experience and sympathies its own aids. To Cordery's pupils there was no such helpful environment working for colloquial Latin, rather the stone wall between the mind of the youth and that of the sexagenarian tutor.

Relaxation generally takes the form of a walk in the suburbs when the fairness of the season and the beautiful face of earth invite to pleasant discourse. Here again it is the matured mind of Cordery that speaks. It modifies our conception of the austere pedagogue to find him telling his boys to lay by their books and he will join them in a walk. The proposal raises a discussion as to whether the walk should come before or after supper. A boy is called upon to give Socrates' maxim on the subject, which, of course, he does, adding that Cicero was his authority. The grown-up precaution is taken of changing shoes lest "the new ones be sprinkled with dust." The "umbella" (Lat.) too is to be taken, "lest the heat of the sun tan the face. We will also play somewhere in the shade." This fear of the sun points to a southern climate. In accordance with old-fashioned caution, a boy is warned against excess of play, because he is "all wet with perspiration." "Wipe your face," says the cautious one, "with your handkerchief" (sudariolum), "and dress quickly, lest you catch a sudden cold." A whole holiday is given on the day of the fair, but even this occasion is wisely tempered. The master has given it with the consent of the governors, but with the admonition to prepare next day's lessons, so the good boy persuades a companion to take an hour and half off study and resort to the bank of the lake outside the walls. This young gentleman figures in

another remarkable discussion on the use and abuse of leisure. While the others are off to play, he and his coequal elect to contend peaceably over studies of an improving kind. One proposes repetition out of Tully's Epistles, but, as the other has fallen behind through a sickness of two weeks, a book of Cato's Moral Distichs is suggested. It is, however, voted too long just then, for "we must play sometimes." It is agreed that each say a distich in turn, while Solomon, a third boy, is asked to umpire. He fears a possible imputation of favouring his friend, so, book in hand, he is to check slips, stammerings, and all, and refer them to the master. This contest in capping verses is a common form of examination. The "conquerors" of the week received such rewards as a dozen walnuts, deemed quite a handsome prize. (Lat. used for "walnut," ju-glans, Jove's acorn.) This fruit figures also in the only two games that are referred to. But here too the moralist lies in wait, not, however, in the direction of reproving gambling with walnuts, which is the sport in one of these references. The loser confesses that some evil fortune had been against him, but what he knew not, only "God willing so, that hence I may bear more grievous things when they happen." "As if God regarded the plays of boys," says the other: but this sentiment is rebuked by an appeal to the minister's teaching. The scoffer, however, admits a weak memory on this point, whereupon he is wisely counselled as to threefold exercise of it—attention, repetition, teaching others, than which advice nothing could be sounder. Further helps to pious conduct of life—"avoid the naughty, converse with the good"—bring the scoffer to exclaim: "O how seasonable was this meeting!"

The *Colloquies*, unfortunately, leave the boy inarticulate to us. The whole tone and topics are those of the masters. That they never dreamt of asking themselves what their victims thought of it all, is apparent on every page. Thus the moralising on pious conduct, the love of learning, and the beauty of study must be largely fictitious from the boy's point of view. The general strain of the teaching, however, the incidents in school-life, the faults censured and the virtues recommended, must all have been, fundamentally, in keeping with fact, and in this light the evidence they afford must be read. The real loss lies in the direction of play, on which we have nothing that is intimate or sympathetic; on the methods or results of the work, which excite no criticism; on the discipline, which has its harsh features eliminated; and on the piety, which is forced and unnatural. In all these cases one must read between the lines.

The tone of the teaching throughout is strongly evangelical. An oppidan is questioned on his duty for the day, and this is the report:—Rising, without being called, a little before five, he prayed on bended knees in Christ's name, and in dressing took care of his body indifferently (without favour), as becomes a Christian, then to his studies. Perseverance in well-doing suggests the Christian virtue of hope, which again reminds him that he had learnt in Cato—"Retain hope, which alone leaves not a man in death. But Cato was not a Christian. The heathen philosophers, however, were enlightened by the Divine Spirit." Deeper subjects are started. Two, before the bell strikes to call into the aula for supper, talking on the approaching vacation, give the discussion a curious turn. The day for breaking up is not in the

master's pleasure, but in the Divine counsels. But Satan seems to govern sometimes, it is objected. "As far as God permits," says the other; "but let us leave those things to wiser people," adding the proverb about the shoemaker and his last. On every occasion the transition is regularly made from the secular occasion to the spiritual lesson. As one boy says: "I spoke of earthly things, but you forthwith mounted up to heaven." And yet, on an occasion of equal irrelevance, there is this divergence into common sense—"We are not divines." "What then?" "Little grammarians." "And unskilful ones indeed."

The boys are equally correct in the matter of religious teaching. One has got up his lesson so well while being left in the master's room that he is offered the choice of going out to play, but he prefers to prepare the Catechism against the Sabbath examination. Bible-reading gets its commendation when the master starts a common form of exercise—the capping of texts. Everyone is to repeat a sentence out of the New Testament. Forthwith a gospel verse furnishes the rebuke to the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, and an epistle the appeal to put away lying. The reward is a walk. "Take everyone his cloak, that ye may go abroad more handsomely. But hark ye, boys. Bring your Psalms"—doubtless the version of the Huguenot, Clement Marot —"we will sing somewhere in the shade." Going to church is but once referred to. The dialogue that follows is on the lines of the usual catechising on the Sunday afternoon. The sermon was preached at the early hour of seven. The text is given, chapter and verse, but the boy confesses he had committed nothing—it is always the memory that is made use of—because of

negligence and occasional sleeping, varied by thinking on "a thousand fooleries, as boys are wont to do." He is worthy of stripes, but, as he acknowledges his fault with tears and promises amendment, he is forgiven. In the matter of daily conduct the master is much given to suspect lying. Here too the moralising is faultless: "Lies be far from us, for we are the sons of God and brethren of Christ, who is truth itself." The temptation to pilfering must have been great, but this weakness occurs only in connection with the loss of a knife. The owner, on returning from town, had let it drop out of the sheath (theca), imprudently left open. He put a notice at once upon the gate, when a sixth-form boy brought it. The keeping of found property is declared to be a kind of theft, but "most think they possess by right what they find." In this case the honest boy is rewarded with a doublon and some walnuts.

There is much in the everyday life of the schoolboy that is not directly connected with his formal studies, and this furnished equally by the collegian and the oppidan. The former must be credited with the very numerous references to money. The visit of a father is always associated with the interesting question of his liberality. The companions of the fortunate one are keenly concerned as to how much he will now be able to lend, or if he will pay back debts. These visits generally fall on the market days, as in this case. "Did you ask nothing of him?" . . . "Yes, money." . . . Twenty pence is the gift, evidently handsome, for the chum exclaims: "Twenty pence! How comes it that he dare trust so much with you?" . . . "He knows me to be a good husband and sure to account to a farthing." The friend is surprised to learn that the money was

given readily. "Oh, mild father!" He secures a loan from the friendly capitalist of fivepence, till his own father comes to market; the rest is to buy books. The school laws forbade parting with property by way of sale or exchange without parental leave. The dialogue often turns on the purchase of books or of materials for study. The best brand of knife (scalpellum), made in Germany and bought at the fair, could be had for twopence. Pens, carried in a pennar or standish, were got cheap of a pedlar at three a halfpenny. Over the purchase there is this discourse—"The tradesmen sell them much dearer. . . . And yet they daresay sometimes they cost them much dearer than they sell them for. . . . Commonly the custom with them, for they profit nothing unless they lie much, as Cicero says."

There are frequent references to out-of-door life, especially in this form of marketing. Cordery's pupils were evidently not treated as the religious recluses of the monastic schools. In these cases the dialogue is lively, natural, and interesting; indeed, modern Latin teaching to boys shows nothing like it. Take this as a specimen:—

A. Were you to-day in the market?

B. Yes.

A. When?

B. After sermon.

A. What did you buy for us?

B. Almost nothing. Only a quarter pound of butter. I durst buy no more.

A. Why?

B. Lest not good.

A. Fie, how sparing!

B. What else could I buy?

A. As if you didn't know what meats used to please me.

B. I know you love cheese, pears, and other fresh fruit.

A. Right. Why not then buy?

B. The cheese was too dear for us. As for the fruits, some were not ripe enough. I doubted if the others were good.

A. Wretch (*miser*), could you not taste?

B. But these women permit to taste nothing unless you affirm you'll buy.

A. No wonder. Many taste for pleasure only. Be wiser again. If you see any fine, buy some for a *denariolo* (a farthing) to try. If they please, buy. If not, go elsewhere.

The discipline practised is that of the most pious form of moral suasion without any of the harsher features. The English monitorial supervision of conduct is frequently referred to. In Scotland, under the sway of the Kirk Session, the kindred and odious system of delation was freely recognised. It held every man to be his brother's keeper. In our day there is certainly room for the development in schools of a healthier form of public opinion, which would support the judicious exercise of authority and discountenance every exhibition of shirking and unkind behaviour towards each other. As it is, the high standard which the corporate sense ought to encourage is dragged down to the level of a suspicious self-protection of the least worthy type of conduct. In the *Colloquies* it is the recognised practice for a boy to mark his neighbour's conduct for the information of the master. True, if there is an expression of penitence, the fault is to be overlooked. The system

must have led to such a bitter sense of injury as Cassius says he had suffered at the hands of Brutus :—

> "All his faults observed,
> Set in a note-book [Cordery's commentariolum], learned and conned by rote."

The faults reprimanded by school-fellows on the watch are the folly of laughing to oneself, loud talking, or idling over lessons. A boy, caught scattering peas on the floor, is lectured by a companion on the sinfulness of waste. More curious is the case of a lecture by one of these amateur detectives to a boy for the faults of his brother—always chattering at sermon, or fooling, or teasing, hence frequent whippings. The virtue of brotherly admonition on the lines of Cato's Precepts is recommended :—"But I pray thee, my Abraham, as oft as you set him down, tell it me." . . . "There would never be an end." . . . "At least acquaint me that I tell my father, whose words he fears more than blows." Over their studies these boys are equally fictitious. One, urged to greater diligence by a companion, confesses that he has no mind for learning, and would gladly turn to a trade. He has long since made his choice, but dare not inform his father. He is advised to tell the master, but, being too bashful, he appeals to his friend to speak for him.

There is little of reference to home-life, but what there is has an interesting bearing on the parent and his relation to the boy and his education from the teacher's point of view. Then as now we find the home responsible for absenteeism. Irregularity is not overlooked. The absentee, Peter, is reported to have been met at morning church, where he had been able to appear so early as eight in the morning. Asked when he might

return to school, he said he did not know, a variant on a confession of indifference. Urged to return, he said his father kept him to gather fruits, which may be the classical equivalent for the rural note explaining a similar absence, "kep-at-'ome-a-taterin'." The former boy is asked by the master to write to the father about the state of the school deserted by Peter. "Write fully," says the master, "and show me the letter." Helping with the vintage is a frequent form of excuse, modified by the absentee presenting, on his return, a basket of grapes. "O fortunate boy!" exclaims one to his companion, who has been written for by his father to come home for this occasion. "Will I tell my father to send for you too?" asks the lucky one. His friend has a remarkable reason for accepting the proposal:—"Your father will be glad, both for our acquaintance and for talking in Latin and conferring over our studies." Cordery's pupils are indeed models. In another case leave is given to a couple of boys to go into town, one to the cobbler and one to the barber (tonsor), the surgeon of the day, to examine a boil (furunculus) on the leg. The father sometimes visited the school to pay his boy's board and bespeak a kindly interest in him. "What," asks his interrogator, "if he asked you to be whipt oftener!" "What then!" is the reply. "He doth not love me therefore the less, because correction is as necessary for a boy as meat." Though Cordery draws a veil over corporal punishment, he evidently held with the goodwife who told her soft-hearted friend, "The bairns maun hae their skelps," as a law of unregenerate boyhood. Cordery is equally interesting on the home influence as favourable or the reverse to learning. "Where is your eldest brother?" a boy is

asked. The information is that he is off to the war, long since weary of learning, and preferring a free life, pictured as pillaging, dicing, drinking, and worse, in spite of the objection of both parents. The good brother who stayed at school had heard his father speak thus on this kind of career, while the family were at supper. Another wayward son has just come back from Germany, whither he had been sent to study High Dutch by order of his father. But he could not bear to be away from his mother. "O tender youth!" and only seventeen! "Out of my sight!" says the angry father, while the mother is in tears. The sergeant-de-ville would have been called in, though the father is reminded that this would require the warrant of a magistrate. Meanwhile the mother, Rebecca-like, sends him off to a married daughter's till the paternal heat should cool. On the entreaty of friends the youth is forgiven, only on condition of return to Germany after the vintage. Moral: maternal affection is pernicious folly. Finally we have this account of a model father:—"As often as my father has leisure he exercises us, before and after meals, and before going to bed; questions us on the lessons of the week; looks over our themes, often giving something to write in Latin or English, or a piece of the mother tongue to be translated, or *vice versa*. Before and after meals we read out of the English Bible, have Catechism every Lord's Day, as well as admonition on table manners." Only Cordery himself could pretend to play this part. After much pious, improving reflection on the blessing of possessing so inestimable a father, the dialogue ends with this reference to the fly in the ointment:—"I go to see whether my brother be returned, for he is very ready to play the truant." Cordery is

entirely on the side of the angels. The pronounced moral tone that pervades his instructions is admirable, did it not savour somewhat of the forcing-house. More natural, more effective, but vastly rarer is the Christlike method that helps the immature character to grow, on right lines, from within outwards. It is a trite but fitting criticism of Cordery's method to say that it has the defect of its virtues.

The references to the mother are useful, since we have scarce any direct contemporary evidence on the female side of culture. Cordery's is the conventional attitude of his time and class to woman. She manages the business of the farm while the husband attends to the wider interests of a merchant. Thus the boy is called home to help her with the vintage or the garnering of the crops, the wheat, and the apples, pears, and walnuts. Asked to describe his garden in the suburbs, he replies: "My mother could answer you better about the herbs and trees, for she is often there sowing, weeding, or gathering. Besides it would signify little to reckon up the names, unless you should see the things themselves; so let us go into the garden,"—whence it is evident that Cordery had advanced notions on what is deemed the modern discovery of nature-knowledge. His boys, too, have even experience in home-nursing. Thus one gives, as excuse for a fortnight's absence, that he had been nursing his mother of a tertian ague, the father being then at the market at Lyons. The physician gave her clysters and potions. Another had spent a week at home with a sick mother, during which time he had read the Scriptures to her, the maid waiting upon her. The master asks if this be true, and is handed a note, "written by our man (noster famulus) in the name of my mother." The master

recognises the hand, as he has often had such notes. This may be evidence that writing was not a usual feminine accomplishment.

The method of Cordery held sway through the seventeenth century, doubtless because it was in sympathy with the Aristotelian system that had survived in spite of the Revival of Learning. It was in harmony with an age that loved to have its divinity logically ordered in catechism form, and its sermons in a minute subdivision of doctrinal heads. A note of revolt was heard in Locke's *Essay on Education in Grammar Schools*, and still more directly in the preface to an edition of Cordery, with a literal translation, the work of John Ward, a Hull headmaster. By 1740 this work had reached a tenth edition. Of course the editor strongly recommends translation as a cure for "the little progress made the first four or five years spent in school. So far from talking or writing Latin, after two years' work, the boy is not able to read half a dozen lines in the easiest classic put into his hands. Our blundering method is egregious trifling. When boys come to Cordery they have two or three lines construed them by the master twice or thrice over, which is thought enough to employ them for an hour or two. But, as most need more help, they either sit idle or pace up and down for help to the master or their fellows, and after all are frequently whipt. No man, with sometimes six or seven forms to care for, can keep them employed. To put them upon getting their lessons by dictation is still more ridiculous and intolerable." "Dictates" played a large part in Cordery's system. Much of the work consisted in memorising matter that was but imperfectly understood.

It is easy to follow the working of this memorising.

On one occasion leave to play till supper-time is craved. The necessary verses are given by the first and second forms, every dux in the next three saying a Scripture sentence. Then all repeat a prayer as usual. There is never more than one usher (hypodidascalus), and in Scotland at least he was a miserably paid drudge. The "capping of verses," the name apparently due to the dunce cap that fell to the failures, was the only examination test of the week's work. The winner or conqueror in each form was rewarded with a gift of walnuts. In the *Colloquies* there is not a single question raised as to a point of grammar or interpretation, nor any reference to anything that could be considered literary. If, however, we allow for the forced strain of moralising and the absence of any design to reveal schoolboy nature, we cannot but appreciate the vivacious and interesting style in which the conversation is conducted. In spite of its defects the work was undoubtedly, for many generations, accepted as a true picture of school-life under conditions which moulded the character and talents of past leaders in thought and action.

THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL IN SHAKESPEARE'S TIME

BRINSLEY'S *LUDUS LITERARIUS*

One of the wisest books on Method ever written is Brinsley's *Ludus Literarius.* He dedicates the work to Prince Henry, eldest son of James I., a prince of great promise. In another of his books Brinsley says this one was the fruit of twenty years' experience. He was the Puritan schoolmaster of Ashby-de-la-Zouche, on the borders of Shakespeare's country, and was the brother-in-law of the famous Bishop Hall, the satirist. Mr Quick puts the great merit of the *Ludus* in a phrase—It tells both what should be done and what was done. The title gives us the key to his system. His is a school or play-place (σχολη, leisure) of letters. In quite a remarkable way he anticipates the sentimental reaction of Rousseau, Pestalozzi, and Froebel. Thus he would have his scholars enter at five, for, if the *ludus* is rightly used, it will not hinder health, growth, or happiness any more than home play. He sets forth his aims in a well-ordered series of stages whereby he hopes to guide to the tree of knowledge and the plucking of its fruit. His ultimate goal is substantially that of Bacon, practical, potent, rich in the advancement of knowledge;

for his pupils "will grow in English, according to their ages and learning, to utter the same in proprietie and purity," and so be fitted to become leaders of intellect in the two great spheres of talent, the Church and the Law.

It will be well here briefly to epitomise the thirty points Brinsley aims at for his pupils, reading them at the same time in the light of Bacon's great maxim. His basis is fluent reading and true orthography, on which he raises his superstructure of accidence and grammar rules, enabling the pupil to construe truly and give the right reason why every word in the several authors is so and not otherwise, thus combining the Baconian fulness with exactness. Next he applies these two vital accomplishments to their end and aim—facility in the use of Latin in speech and writing. He makes great use of translation and re-translation, evidently aware how helpful and fruitful two languages are when their light is turned on the same train of thought. On many points his is a counsel of perfection. Could such a high standard as this be reached in the writing of Latin?—To make pure Latin and prove it from good authors, and to do this in ordinary moral matters (fables, and the popular "emblems," or "wise saws and modern instances") by the time they have been but two years in construing, to make epistles imitating Tully in Tully's Latin, to turn a piece from a familiar author, grammatically, *i.e.* literally translated, into good Latin so as hardly to discern the one from the other.

A higher test is that of original composition. Brinsley aims at writing "themes full of good matter in pure Latin"; nay, more, he will "enter to make verse with delight, and so imitate Ovid and Virgil as hardly

to discern the difference, and to write verses extempore of any ordinary themes." It would require a professor to secure for himself a creditable pass on such conditions as these—" to be able in each form, at any time, apposed of a sudden, to construe into English and turn back into Latin, to answer most of the difficulties in all school authors, Terence, Virgil, Horace, Persius, to construe any author extempore." In the highest region of scholarship, the use of Latin as an instrument of literary criticism, who in these days would pass muster? But what does Brinsley require of us?—" to oppose scholler-like in Latin of any grammatical points, in good forme of words, both objections to Lillie's rules and their defence; to answer in Latin concerning any matter in the Lectures on the authors read from the lowest forms up; to take all the substance of the sermons heard and set down afterwards in good Latin, and read them extempore in Latin out of English, and make without Book a brief repetition of the sermon." And yet all this was in " Merry England." Think too of the " spacious times " that could admit, even for the middle-aged, of such reading as this—"rightly to use authors and Colloquies from the beginning so as to furnish us with the best moral matter and imprint the Latin so as hardly to be forgotten." On one point even the highest form, the professorial, would produce a painful crop of failures—" to pronounce naturally and sweetly, without vain affectation, and begin to do it from the lowest forms."

While admiring the emphatic optimism of Brinsley, it is but fair to give his conditions of attainment:—" God's blessing, such proceed in each form as are apt and industrious, masters competent and careful, scholars enter in good time and so continue on, with books and

all other aids. Thus will they be made absolute grammarians and every way fit for the university by the age of fifteen, and all this with delight and certainty to masters and scholars." Floreat Ludus Literarius! And all this was dedicated to Prince Henry, who died nigh three centuries ago (1612), and only now, with the help of the vast resources of the British treasury and a curriculum crowded to repletion, are we beginning to organise secondary education, wreathing ourselves the while in the cheery optimism of Brinsley. While he is planning at his obscure little desk, Chancellor Bacon, equally solitary, is laying out each altar and hall in the Temple of Science to be, devoted to that Technical Education which now commands the admiration of two continents. Truly may we speak of the great Elizabethans.

Brinsley's system is detailed in a long but pleasantly handled dialogue between Spondens, a country schoolmaster, and Philoponus, evidently Brinsley himself. The former represents the conventional, *laissez-faire* school, whereas the latter is brainy, progressive, hopeful. Spondens perhaps shows himself unduly susceptible in making but moderate argumentative fight, but his opponent is conciliatory and sensible. Philoponus rightly recognises that the preparatory or elementary stage is the crux of the situation. That the education of the toiling masses could ever become a factor in the industrial wealth of nations, is a doctrine of the most recent growth. Sufficient had it been, for centuries, to satisfy the modest demands of the Church in inculcating the mere elements of religious belief. Brinsley himself never contemplates going into the highways and by-ways, but his outstanding merit is his recognising the place of

the mother tongue, so long tabooed in the grammar school. Instead of entering the pupil at the usual age of seven or eight, he would begin at five, preferably in another place for the purpose. He at once grasps the key to true progress in reading and spelling when he insists on careful and constant practice in right enunciation, uttering every syllable by itself, and especially the last. The characteristic feature in English phonetics is to seize the word by its head and proceed to mouth or mangle the rest of it. As Latin, German, and French consistently sustain the effort to the close, the early introduction to these at school should form a valuable corrective to slovenly utterance. Brinsley calculates on getting over, the first year, the ABC, Primer, Metrical Psalms (in parts), and New Testament (in parts). That a man so level-headed should believe this possible for a child of six, is simply appalling. At this mature age he introduces the neophyte to Latin accidence.

At this point Spondens presents the lay-figure that is wanted for the discussion. He notes that the mother tongue, whenever the Latin express comes along, is side-tracked incontinently. His friend is aware that the ordinary grammar school takes no pains over good expression in English. The long-drawn-out battle for the inclusion of English in the curriculum has now been won. Mulcaster, head of Merchant Taylors' School, began it in 1582. Milton's Dr Gill in Paul's and Ben Jonson as a grammarian joined in the issue, but for long little or no progress was made. It is to the credit of Ayr, among burgh schools, that its English master, Murdoch, was able to give the youthful Burns such a sound and rational course in English as Scott and all the Edinburgh literati never enjoyed. Glasgow Town

Council recognised the subject in reconstructing its High School about the year 1834. But the eighteenth century was well on its second half before so much could be said of the Edinburgh High School or the Academy. Meanwhile, however, noble pioneer work was being done by grammarians like Lindley Murray, Cobbett, and Lennie, by preachers like Dr Andrew Thomson, and by an Edinburgh band of "adventure" schoolmasters—Reid, Maculloch, Begbie, Graham, Oliphant, Douglas. No such progress had been made in England. Furnivall (*Babees' Book*, E.E.T.S.), writing in 1867, said that there was but one public school, the City of London, under Dr Abbott, studying English historically. How intelligent, thinking men could for centuries have gone on in the narrow groove of gerund-grinding and construing passeth understanding. At one time it was my fate to have to hold up the torch of English as a specific subject in a secondary school, where the raw minds of little boys were for two mortal hours daily fed on nothing but the husks of accidence, the while, for lads ready for college, I was allowed three hours a week to handle, as their complete "English," such authors as Shakespeare, Spenser, and Chaucer, men with more exegetical matter in them to feed memory, understanding, imagination, feeling, than the biggest college classic in Greek or Latin. And this 'gin-horse track, on the old conditions, was imposed on classes so unwieldy that doctrine and discipline alike had to go by the board. Brinsley would limit his "forms" to from sixteen to twenty, or at the utmost forty.

Philoponus handles this matter of English in a sensible and practical fashion. He would ground thoroughly in Lilly's rules, practising in translation,

reporting a fable, extending notes of sermons heard and in repetitions—all done in the mother tongue. Spondens never heard of any grammar school being carried on so. On other two loose joints in the grammar-school armour Philoponus is equally fresh. Scott had to go outside, when at school, for his writing and arithmetic. In Glasgow quite a number of subsidiary educational industries flourished on the skirts of the Latin school, just as if it had been a great Clyde yard, turning out warships. Philoponus prides himself on making a good penman. Spondens thinks there are few good writers in grammar schools unless they have been taught by wandering scriveners (visiting writing-masters), are themselves marvellous apt, or the master applies himself chiefly to the art. Philoponus would enter the boy at the accidence stage, and devote to the lesson about an hour daily, preferably "about one of the clocke, for then commonly the hands are warmest and nimblest." He puts his requirements precisely:—ink to be thin, black, cleere so as not to run abroad or blot; paper white, smooth, in a quarto book strait ruled, each with a bit of blotting paper. Antique requisites are a rular, plummet, ruling pen (a strong quill or of brass or iron), penknife. This last the boy is taught to use for himself in making a pen:—"Make the nebbe and cleft both about one length, something above a barley corne breadth and small, so as it may let down the inke and write cleane. Cut the nebbe first slant downwards to make it thinne, and after slant ouerthwart. Hold the right hand as neere vnto the nebbe as you can, his thumb and two fingers almost closed together round about the nebbe like vnto a cats foote as some of the scriveners doe terme it. Keep elbow close to the side and steadily, as a better

guide to the hand, especially when writing fast. Learn to glide or swimme vpon the paper, so write cleanest, fastest, fairest, and make the pen last longest. Rule with a ruling-pen and not go a hair higher or lower. Let everyone have a little copie book, not two inches broad, fastened to the top of the writing book with a thread a span long so that the copie line may almost touch each line he writes. These copie books to be graven by a cunning workman in Secretarie and Romane, four or six in a book, half of each."

To anything like arithmetic there is but one reference. Spondens reports great weakness in turning up the chapters referred to in church, apparently from ignorance of the Roman numerals. In the olden days one was not surprised, amid the droning dulness of the parish church, to hear a douce church-goer say to his Betty by his side, in a stage whisper and a peppery tone, "Twa x's and vaw, wummin!" But it quite takes one's breath away to find Philoponus asserting that scholars, almost ready for the University, can hardly tell the number of the section and chapter read in church. And then he proceeds to teach Roman numeration. All which makes one ask: Are we to take, at its face value, the old curricula, with their array of Latin authors, Greek and Hebrew thrown in—sufficient to furnish forth the cleverest Honours man of these days?

The most interesting deliverance of Brinsley is that on the speaking of Latin. We have been for so long slaves to the printed book and the hot-haste methods of the pass degree, that speaking in Latin, or understanding it when spoken, is equally a lost art. Imagine the consternation of the gallery that a Scotch professor is supposed to teach, three parts indifferent to one

interested, were he to suddenly prelect in Latin to ears so absolutely unattuned. Even at school the tired youth has been wearily dragged, eye on text, through Ciceronian periods, simply because they lent themselves to the tortures of clause construction, while the dramatic change of thought and sentiment in Terence lay unopened, with its rapid alternation of interrogation, interjection, and adverbial phrasing, all instinct with the play and colour of a human document. Yet there must have been, under the sway of universal Latin, some measure of solid attainment. Robert Boyd of Trochrig, at twenty, found himself, a raw Scotch student, called upon to prelect in Latin as Professor of Polite Learning in the Huguenot College of Montauban. Graduating in Edinburgh at seventeen, his degree of Master of Arts conferred on him the right to teach in any college or school in Europe, and this of course in the common language of scholars. James Melvill says of his famous uncle, Andrew, the great Reformer, that after two years' study in Paris, "he grew sa expert in the Greik, that he declamit and teatchit lessones, uttering never a word bot Greik."

To return to our dialogue, Spondens tells how he had striven, by *ferule* and all means of severity, yet in vain, to make his pupils utter their minds in any tolerable manner on ordinary things or so much as to put in practice among themselves the speaking of Latin easily, purely, freely. Philoponus ascribes the failure to a dread of barbarisms and the consequent delay in practising till the highest forms are reached. There is precisely the same obstacle now in the colloquial teaching of French and German. Fluent, natural utterance is sacrificed to the mint and cummin of a Parisian accent,

a procedure as stupid as that of Scholastikos in refusing to enter the water till he had learned to swim. Philoponus is here more than modern. He would from the first teach colloquially, and have the reading chosen to suit, as the *Sententiæ Pueriles*, *Confabulatiunculæ*, and, but this gives us pause, Cordery's *Colloquies*. Nor does he see any reason why the grammar as well as the accidence should not be in English. In this Scotch youth were badly served. Ruddiman's *Rudiments*, in English, came two centuries after Lilly had shown the way. Philoponus would have every bit of the grammar work, rules, accidence, and parsing, done both in Latin and English. "What the boys can't express, the master is to, just," he says, "as the mother or the nurse teaches the child to speak," thus anticipating Gouin by centuries. On this head he commends Cordery. "The dialogues at the end of the first book will much help, because principally written for the purpose. The four books are very sweet and pleasant for all ordinary scholars' talk." The rule for the boys speaking Latin to each other proved, according to Spondens, as futile as the regulations in a continental boarding-school. With a wink or a nod they will easily evade the master's eye and ear. Monitorial oversight was equally faulty. *Custodes* were appointed to catch speakers of English, give the idle the *ferule*, or make those *custodes* who failed to answer; but they could hardly attend to their own work for "harkening" to hear others' English, accusations led to wrangling and recrimination, while it was unmeet for one scholar to use the *ferule* on another. As this disagreeable duty was shifted on to the dullest and most facile, no wonder the *custodes* were often dubbed *asini*. Philoponus meets the case with a fairly well-conceived

plan—senior boys of each form to have a charge, the master's eyes and ears to be constant *custodes*, weekly monitors for speaking out of school, practice for half an hour daily, each in turn reading everyone a little piece out of Cordery, Latin into English, then back again. Where one failed another was to help, the book or the master being resorted to for correction.

Brinsley tells us what he was able to accomplish on his plan. Short anecdotes from the *Pueriles Confabulatinunculæ* and *Sententiæ Pueriles* aroused incipient interest. Then followed the moral teaching of Cato's Distichs, Cordery, Esop, Tully's Epistles collected by the great educator, Sturm, and Tully's Offices, while imagination and taste were fed on Ovid and Virgil. The pensive melancholy of all ancient culture is singularly impressive. The moral aspects of human conduct, considered in abstract fashion through the medium of improving tale or suggestive emblem, these formed profitable study for the young. Whether it was due to the neat, pointed rhetoric of the classical moralists, to the mathematical precision of the scholastic philosophy, to the thin and bald homiletics of an ignorant, formalist clergy, to a belief in innate human depravity over which the fear of hell fortified the weak arm of civic justice—whether any of these, or all combined, who shall say? With all this was the grammar school saturated. English writers commiserate the blighting effect on Scottish life of the supposed morbid Puritanism under the rule of the Kirk Session. But hear the good Brinsley, writing for the youth of merry England: "Every Saturday, before breaking up, spend half an hour in learning the Catechism. In church cause everyone to learn and note something of the sermon, the very lowest forms to bring notes as

Without God we can do nothing, or *All good gifts are from God.* Monitors see that all attend to the preacher, the higher forms noting, also, the text, setting down every doctrine and proof, with the reasons and uses of them. Turn all next day, instead of an exercise, into Latin, or read it into Latin extempore. This, he says, they will do after a year's practice with Cordery!

The great point of the system was its excessive dependence upon the memory. Constant dictating, memorising, repetition, quoting of authority, text, or rule dwarfed initiative and bred the docile pedant, the petty controversialist. On the other hand Brinsley, like Bacon, aimed at fruit. He was averse to the mere threshing and grinding of husks. The understanding he aimed to cultivate first and foremost. One of his chapters he heads—"Causing all Things to be done with Understanding." He quotes the maxim—*Legere et non intelligere negligere est*, fitting parallel to Bacon's "Read, mark well, and inwardly digest." The system had all the strength of concentration on a limited field and with implements sharpened by the experience of centuries. But it had its limitations. While the moral world had been exploited in every direction, the vast realms of persons, places, and things, that is, of history, geography, and science, were practically untouched. Instead, the inquiring schoolboy could only memorise the hexameters of some puerile onomasticon.

There remains only to consider the daily routine of the grammar school. Brinsley's begins at 6 A.M. All who write Latin work the exercise, given out for the evening before, and hand it in by seven. The usher has to attend, though he may pass the time over his own study. As a reward for punctuality places on the forms

are assigned in the order of arrival. This is the only recognition of place-marks. At stated intervals the boys were placed in order of merit on the forms, each forward remove counting for righteousness in the absence of prizes. Virtue was its own reward. At 9 A.M. and again at 3 P.M. came an "intermission" of a quarter of an hour or more with a long mid-day recess between 11 A.M. and 1 P.M. No bell is mentioned, all taking their places merely to a knocking on the door. At 5.30 P.M. a portion of a chapter was read, followed by the singing of two staves of a psalm and the master's prayer. Play was not on this liberal scale. An afternoon weekly was granted, when the boys resorted to the Campo, presumably the playing-field. Brinsley speaks, in this connection, of a *club*, but too vaguely for us to know what he precisely means. Apparently it was a bat for something akin to tod-in-the-hole or rounders. He allows of such sports as are meet for gentlemen, not clownish. As in Cordery, a walk in the fields seems to him the most attractive form of relaxation. These views of schoolboy nature were of the "Sandford and Merton" type.

The old-time schoolboy had certainly not caught the mania for sport. Our forefathers may not have worked much, but they went about their labour leisurely. Like the slow train, they gave value in time, not in distance. Possibly relaxation came in at frequent pauses, like the spadesman's survey of the landscape in the intervals of stooping. Fitzgerland records the London boys' sports in the thirteenth century, partly on church days, partly on casual holidays. Shrove Tuesday brought cock-fighting and the master's "casual" gifts. At Easter came water quintain or charging a target, which, if missed, soused the erring knight in the water. Every

Sunday in Lent witnessed a sham fight, some on horse, some on foot, the king and queen looking on. After dinner there was football in the suburbs, probably Smithfield. On holidays and in summer there was exercise in archery, running, leaping, wrestling, casting of stones and flinging to certain distances, and lastly, with bucklers (probably fisticuffs). On winter holidays the boys saw fights with boar, hog, bull and bear. They slid on the ice and skated on leg-bones, using the sharp edge of the shin-bone of a sheep, just as Ovid saw the natives of Tomi doing on the frozen Danube. At this sport they punted themselves along with an iron-shod pole, charging one another with it as in the tilt-yard.

The contemporary mind, as a rule, shrinks from being communicative in regard to the familiar details of the everyday life around them, greatly to the disadvantage of the student in after ages. Doubly welcome then is an undesigned picture of a seventeenth century playground. In the year 1693 Robert Sanders, a well-known Glasgow printer, published an improved edition of a long-established school classic, the *Dunbar Rudiments*. It was the work in which Andrew Simson[1] did so much to set up practical education in Scotland on new lines after the Reformation. He deserves to be remembered as the first, and for long the greatest, among Scots schoolmasters. His grammar was always known as the *Dunbar Rudi-*

[1] School-books have always been short-lived. There is no copy of "Simson" in the Advocates' Library, nor in Edinburgh or Glasgow University Libraries; nor is it in the British Museum Catalogue. Dickson and Edmond (*Annals of Printing in Scotland*) place it among "doubtful and spurious works." Yet Row, the church historian, says that Simson "made that Rudiments, whilk for that were called 'Dunbar Rudiments'"; and Ruddiman informs us that he learnt grammar from it.

ments, from the town in which Simson was long head-master. This improved edition, so soon to pale before Ruddiman's work (1714), was put together by a Glasgow schoolmaster, David Williamson. A great feature of all these grammars was their lists of vocables, to supply material for the speaking of Latin and to take the place of the dictionary. The first stage in the weary journey towards the goal of perfect Latin had included, along with the accidence and grammar, lists of vocables, phrases, and familiar dialogues. In *Love's Labour's Lost* Sir Nathaniel and Holofernes, in a discussion on *cœlum* and *terra*, illustrate the work of the boy over his "dictates" in noting words and phrases and in finding as many English equivalents as possible. Williamson's "Vocabula" section of his grammar is now the only novel and interesting part of it.

Williamson, in giving the outlines of talk in Latin during play-time, introduces us to the sports of archery, football, bowls, and golf. "Let us go to archery," a boy suggests, and forthwith we have the correct vocable for the string, quiver, bow-case (corytos), feathers, mark (scopus). His renderings of the Latin are fresh bits of dialect—*crena* is the nock or nick of the arrow. In vivid phrase we follow the sport :—"I like archery with all my heart—He's a brave archer—Ye missay—He hath shot over the butt—Ye are too far to the right—His arrow hath lighted upon the earth, not in the butt." What the *metæ* or butts were comes out in the phrases: "The metæ have fallen—Where will the maker of the gols have turfs?" Football (pila pedalis) has still more of life in it: "Let's draw for sides—You choose (pick) first—All come hither of our side—How many are you?—Throw out the ball that we may begin—You will

keep goal—Snatch the ball first from him if you can—Come, charge him—Return the ball—Very well played—Ye do nothing—Give the hail—This is the first hail—Aha, the victory is almost ours—He's an excellent ball-man—Had he not been, you had won."

These games have suffered little change as the years rolled on. Not so what Williamson calls Globi and Baculus. The phrasing under the former is as follows: "What will be the reward?—Let none play for silver" (counters of leather were often used)—"Let your bowl play first—I won, so you ought to throw—You incline too much to the right (bias)—Ah, you've overshot the hole (foramen)—The bowl has gone farther, or shorter, than I expected—I gave it no pith, or more than enough—Keep straight for the scrobiculum (or little trench)—Aim here, gently and lightly (sensim) send it into the hole—Ah, it's too wide—Alas, it's slipped out of the hole—I'm down (bene teneo)—I have one more upon you—Now two, play one more, a second, a third—I've thrown the bowl across the mound (montem)—Play alike to me—Now, we are equal—I've sent the ball beyond the bounds—The umpire has decided for me—It hath lucked evil with me—this game has ended agreeably (commode)." We have here probably such a game as Drake and his mates were playing on Plymouth Hoe when the Armada hove in sight—kiles, the popular German kiegel. The ball has to be put into the hole (foramen) in the fewest throws. Though no club is used, the play is like that of golf on the putting green. As in modern bowls there is a ditch or trench, and there are bounds as in curling, but the mound is peculiar as a hazard.

Still more interesting is golf. The dialogue enables us very clearly to understand what was meant by the

name in old books. The game had few features in common with modern golf. But one club (baculus) was used, though in a difficult hazard an iron, such as we see in Dutch pictures, is brought in. The modern bag and battery of weapons were unknown. An indifferent player, all action and no go, was doing badly in spite of his array of "notions." An onlooker asked his over-laden slip of a caddie what his "man" did with all these clubs? "He gars me cairry them," was the significant reply. Head and shaft were respectively named, in the old game, though in one piece, *caput* and *caulis*. *Baculi manubrium* is the handle where the "wippen" is, what we now call the grip; *baculi filum*, the wippen. The club was like a hockey stick. The ball, most likely of wood as in croquet, was called *pila clavaria*, a gouf ball. The course was but a defined space round the one hole, with a naturally undulating surface. Let us follow the ball:—"Percute pilam baculo—strike off. Nimis curasti hunc missum—this is too short a stroke," too softly taken. Through the green there are hazards, sand, bog, ditch, to enliven the play. "Statumina pilam arena—teaze your ball on the sand," unpardonable proceeding under the circumstances. It was not a success. "Frustra es—that's a miss," remarks the candid friend. [The word teaze here may be our *tee* with a Dutch suffix -je, pronounced softly as a *y*, though generally printed *z*.] More troubles lie in the path. "Immissa est in paludem—it's in the myre. Recta evolavit—it hath flown directly on," for the ball will take the bit in his mouth, even out of Ireland. The worst hazard is the *fovea* or goat, a gut or ditch (cp. gut-ter). "Immissa est pila in foveam—the ball is goated. Quomodo eam hinc elidam—how shall I get it out? Cedo baculum ferreum—let

see the buncerd club." This must be the Dutch iron-shod club. The player then, as now, had his own conception of the friend in need:—"Iam iterum frustra es—that's the second miss, the third, the fourth." What human tie of friendship could fail to snap here, in more than one sense? The excitement increases round the hole:—"Percute pilam sensim—give the ball but a little chap. Apposite—that's very well. Bene tibi cessit hic ictus—that's well striken. Huc recta pilam dirige—this is your dead line. Dirige recta versus foramen—strike directly upon the hole. Percute pilam sursum—strike up the hill. Ah, prætera lapsa est foramen—ha, ha! you've missed! Factum quod volui — I could not wish a better stroke"—which seems ever to be the way those Christian partners love one another on the putting green.

In *Love's Labour's Lost* Holofernes quotes with gusto from one of the most popular of grammar-school authors, Baptista Mantuanas, the Carmelite monk who was held to have run a good second to Virgil. "Good old Mantuan!" exclaims Holofernes, and so we may praise, in this connection, David Williamson. It would be hard to find anyone, in his day or long afterwards, condescending to show any interest in the trifling details of schoolboy sports.

In two respects the grammar school of Brinsley and of Williamson compares favourably with its modern representative—the cultivation of good manners and of that piety without which they are naught. Brinsley includes in the first year's study a type of text-book that is now unknown — *The Schoole of Vertue and The Schoole of Goode Manners.* Mr Furnivall printed for the Early English Text Society a large collection of such *apparatus ethicus* in use in Old England under the

name of *The Babees' Book* (1868). It forms a quaintly human storehouse of information as to how the "gentil folks" of Old England were nurtured in all noble qualities. We have perhaps outgrown such gracious tutelage. These amenities have permeated lower down in the social scale. It is not manners so much as money that counts now. Woman, again, has taken a vastly more elevated place as in herself a school of virtue and of good manners, while the lower and menial orders, with which the mediæval youth were surrounded, have long ceased to be regarded as but "human bestial." In such a minor matter as personal cleanliness the age of Cordery was by no means one of soap. How far we have travelled since may be judged from Furnivall's extract from the *Liber Niger* of Edward IV.—"This barbour sal have every Saturday at nyght, if it please the King to cleanse his head, legges, or feet and for his shaving, 2 loves (loaves), 1 picher of wyne; and the usher of the chambre ought to testyfye if this is necessarily dispended or no." The Duke of Norfolk, of Flodden fame, was taught, as a page at Court, how mannerly to eat and drink, and not to spit or swite before his Lord the King, or wipe his nose on the tablecloth. The religious tone of the grammar school, too, is conspicuously shown in Cordery and in Brinsley. Sunday was by no means a *dies non* for the schoolboy. For our humbler brethren of the elementary school we insist on Creed and Catechism, but religious instruction is hard pressed for room in a secondary curriculum. I have worked in three large, well-organised secondary schools for boys, where, above the elementary stages, neither Bible teaching nor any kind of devotional exercise had a place. The old Latin grammar was a poor thing, badly printed on ugly paper, in matter and

presentation entirely unattractive ; but its prayers, and graces, its *rudimenta pietatis*, its moral distichs were clothed in simple, beautiful, devotional Latin. Erasmus, Sturm and such shining lights of the Renaissance left the schools an unhappy legacy in their devotion to Ciceronian Latinity and its exclusive standard of so-called purity. The result has been the worship of style at the cost of living human interest. Hence school and college would never countenance now the use of the old-fashioned religious aids, or of those beautiful Latin hymns which are the common inheritance of the Christian Church. Why, again, should not boys be introduced, as a recognition of the religious element, to the Confessions of St Augustine or his City of God? But above all there is the Greek of the New Testament. Be it in the simple, straight-forward narrative of the Gospels, or the exquisite phrasing of the Pauline Epistles, the true spirit of Hellenism is there. A banquet of good things would disclose itself in unfolding the hidden metaphors of St Paul's words and their varied associations with Greek thought, social and national life. Two bugbears lie in the path : the dread of so-called "barbarisms," that Brinsley exposed, and the crucial question—"Will it pay in University examinations?" Here, just as in the colloquial teaching of the classics as living tongues, and of Greek and Roman life as pregnant for present-day lessons, the dead hand of the past lies heavy on us.

A SCOTTISH SCHOOLMASTER OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

JAMES KIRKWOOD[1]

Of but one schoolmaster of the century do we get an intimate view, and for this we have to thank the good man's peck of troubles and his own frank loquacity in detailing them. Coming of a well-to-do family, James Kirkwood was reared at Prestonpans, in the school which Hume, the grammarian, had made notable. He had the good fortune to go to Glasgow as tutor to Lord Bruce, son of the second Earl of Kincardine—always deemed in the history of pedagogy a sure path to fortune. Kincardine deserves to be remembered as the bosom friend and correspondent of Sir Robert Moray, first President of the Royal Society. They had much influence with their friend, Lauderdale, in the early days of his rule. Seconded by Leighton and Burnet, they advised tolerant compromise with the "outed" Presbyterians, but Lauderdale threw them over, and the unhappy "dragooning" began. Kirkwood lodged with his pupil, a lad of twelve, in the College under the care of Gilbert Burnet, then a professor in the College, but better known as historian and Bishop of Salisbury. Several offers of

[1] For bibliographical information bearing on Kirkwood I am indebted to a learned article by Dr David Murray on "Some Early Grammars in Use in Scotland," 1905.

preferment Kirkwood declined, among the rest the grammar school of Linlithgow, which last he was ultimately induced to accept under the persuasion of the Earl of Kincardine. The salary was to be 400 marks yearly, and the tenure *ad vitam aut culpam*, though his predecessors had always been limited to a term of years. But this fixity of tenure availed him nothing when the day of trial came. At the Revolution of 1689 the attitude of emancipated Presbytery was nowhere more uncompromising in the day of triumph than in the smaller burghs. Kirkwood, nominally an Episcopalian, was really a philosophical Opportunist, loyal to constituted authority as long as it lasted. He regarded religion as non-political, essentially consisting in sobriety, justice, and devotion. He was prepared to *comply* whenever the law ordered and Parliament decreed a change. When the wretched prisoners after Bothwell were marched (1679) through Linlithgow, to the number of 1200, they were penned in the fleshmarket, weary, starving, and helpless. Through interest with the officer in charge of the escort, Kirkwood got access to the captives. He had recognised in the captain an old fellow-student. From three o'clock in the morning till ten in the forenoon he stood on the wall of the market and let down by a rope, in barrels, over three hundred suits of clothes, along with meat and drink. To him we owe this graphic sidelight on the persecution under the party in power. He has to remind his Presbyterian enemies of this when they turn against him and proceed to oust him from his school. The proceedings were very much a repetition of what the town's pedagogue of the Old Faith, worthy Mr Winzet, had been treated to at the Reformation in 1560. They began, as Kirkwood tells

us, with a friendly invitation from the new provost to drink a glass of wine in a social way at his house. It proved to be an informal meeting of the councillors, who ordered him to engage to attend the Presbyterian meeting-house instead of the Episcopalian St Michael's, at his door, where he had been wont to worship, and this on pain of dismissal. The case speedily came before the Court of Session in Edinburgh, where the schoolmaster won. It was but a Pyrrhic victory for poor Kirkwood. In those days the Court proposed, but a dour defendant disposed. The "Information," or plea for the town, called Kirkwood a "Malignant and a Reviler of the Gods of the People," a phrase which he seized upon in one of those rare flights of humour which our grave forebears indulged in. He calls the story of the case that he published long after the event (1711) *The Twenty-seven Gods of Linlithgow*, meaning thereby the local autocrats whom he had offended. In this work he becomes autobiographical. In the introduction he addresses his booklet to Sir David Dalrymple, better known as the learned historian, Lord Hailes, and then Lord Advocate. "Viscount Stair, your father, shortly after I was chased from Linlithgow," he tells him, "gave me help. Your brother, the late earl, sent his son, the present earl, to me as a boarder in my house; and, when I was chased to Edinburgh, he put his younger son under me."

It is unnecessary to follow all the details of the case, though they are certainly instructive evidence in regard to civic manners and the law's delays in those times. The narrative, however, has its quaint features. His opponents drew a nice distinction between *deprivation* and *demission* of office. The former, they confessed,

was beyond their powers, as it would imply that they could keep him from getting another position. They did their best, however, to force demission, and succeeded. In defiance of the order of the Court to stay proceedings, his wife and six children were turned into the street. He himself "held by his arms about the stoup of a bed,' but had to let go to save his limbs. His wife was ironing at the time, and had "to leave one iron in the fire and the other hot on the table. She was refused a minute to dress, for, it being morning, she had only her night-clothes on." She belonged to a good Dutch family. Kirkwood had won her while they both were in the family of the Earl of Kincardine at Culross, she probably as lady companion to the Countess, who was herself of the Dutch nobility. Her brother, Captain van Beest, and "now," says Kirkwood, "Lieut.-Col., was wounded and a prisoner at Killiecrankie, and lay long at Blair Athol, where great kindness was shown him by Robertson of Struan, himself at one time my scholar." Kirkwood seems to have belonged to quite a superior class, so that we can imagine his chagrin at being bullied by a set of paltry hucksters calling themselves "merchants." During an angry discussion the provost had taunted him with getting all he had in the town, to which he replied: "I had a tolerable good portion from my parents about thirty years ago, and to this day I have spent nothing of it. I also got money with my wife. I came not here like a beggar." His attitude all through is one of dignified self-restraint and conspicuous fairness. The provost, one day heated over the case, called him "Sirrah," a term too disrespectful to be tolerated. "What would he to a boy, from keeping sheep, in a blanket and a pair of hoggers, for

lower he could not go? And this to one who had been in office in the town for fifteen years. I taught him Latin and some Greek, and now I ought to teach him manners." There are two points of interest here. We find the provost of a small Scotch burgh enjoying such an education as Shakespeare is said to have got at Stratford Grammar School; and we see the wretched peasant of the olden time in habit as he lived. Still another note is this: "Hovering his hat above his head, as our shepherds do when spoken to by a gentleman," an art long lost in Scotland.

After Kirkwood had been secured in the prison of the Tolbooth, and his wife had found shelter with a friend, the machinery of enforced "demission" was put in execution. The former magistrates used to boast that they had built the best house in Scotland for their master. Kirkwood holds that he had made it the best in the kingdom for his profession, having brought all his furniture from Holland and London. The house, of four storeys, was exceptionally large, and occupied what must have been the site of Winzet's, being quite near to the church and palace. Some of his goods were thrown from the upper windows into the churchyard and there carried off by the crowd. The wreckers flung into the street, as a negligible asset, 1800 copies of his grammar in sheets, which he had got printed in London, along with many loam (delft) vessels, porcelain, bottles, and glasses, all doubtless collected by his Dutch wife. They pulled from the walls the hangings of beds and chambers, and flung the whole into the street, and not into the close (yard) "which was so far private and not very nesty." One feature of his boarding-house equipment marks him as an educator far in advance of his age. In

dismantling the house, the wreckers pulled down maps and cartes above forty of the newest and best, many rare pictures of famous men, curious cuts of the historical parts of the Bible, and chronological tables, ornaments in the house and at the same time of great use to his scholars. Nor did he practically waste these, as the modern schoolmaster does. As familiarity blunts curiosity, he took care to expose a fresh set every month. From ten o'clock in the morning till six the work of demolition went bonnily on, all the rooms being cleared out except the study. His careful wife was not allowed to put any of her treasures for protection into her great Dutch "coffers." She went away to petition for some milder treatment, but in vain; and to shun observation in the dress she was in, was fain to go and return by "a loch-side where she wet her feet and legs too." Kirkwood spent the night in his study, the only corner of the house left to him, but in the early morning slipped into the palace, about twenty paces off. The keeper, the Earl of Linlithgow, to whom Clavers sent his military reports as being Commander of the Forces, was absent, but the fugitive got supper ("a dish of good collops") and a bed. However, he thought it wiser to seek safer quarters, so before daybreak he got up and walked to Edinburgh, "through the fields, without cloak, staff, or coat." Here he took a house and tried to make a living by school-keeping, with such success that he had at one time 140 pupils. He says he was much sought after for further employment, but now we lose sight of his movements, except that he was for a while in the grammar school of Kelso, held in a part of the ruined Abbey. Here was Walter Scott a pupil for a time with, worse luck for him, the brothers Ballantyne as fellow-pupils. Presum-

ably, in 1711, he found himself stranded again in Edinburgh, but deriving some comfort amid the gathering dusk of life in the preparation and launching of his "Case" against the Divinities that had ruled him out of Linlithgow. The upshot of the case was that, though the Court of Session had always decreed against the town council, it had to be brought before the Privy Council, and disposed of by compromise on the question of damages (1692). For three years and a half the suit had left the parties little time to think of anything else. The bill of costs ran thus:—To three years' salary, £800; casual profits, £1800; loss on house and boarders, £500; goods lost, £1500; expenses of plea, £1200; in all £5800 Scots. This is equivalent, on Professor Masson's computation, to the modern purchasing power of £2000. The finale is melancholy in the extreme:—"Till this day I have never recovered a farthing."

Kirkwood's troubles did not exhaust his activities. While in Glasgow he published his Latin grammar. On his enforced retirement, through the influence of Viscount Stair he was called to give evidence before the Committee on Schools and Colleges, of which he gives a naïve account:—"When I was asked what grammar I thought the fittest, modesty forbade the only answer, so the preses said, 'What think you of Despauter?'—'A very unfit in the case it is. By some pains it might be made excellent.' Crossrig, a lord of session on the commission, desired me to be more plain. 'My Lord Preses,' said I, 'if its superfluities were rescinded, its defects supplied, its intricacies cleared, its errors rectified, its method amended, it might well pass for excellent'—which seemed to please all. In a few

days the preses invited me to his chamber and asked me to undertake the work." Hence Kirkwood's revised and improved Despauter (1696), which enjoyed considerable vogue till superseded by Ruddiman's *Rudiments* (1714). Despauter (1460–1520) was a famous Flemish grammarian. One cannot leave the worthy schoolmaster without remarking that he uses a clear, pointed, vigorous English style, correct even to the employment of such a distinctive idiom as "them things." Some pithy proverbial sayings are embedded in his narrative, such as—"Burnt bairns fire dread"; "Once wood (mad) and aye the worse"; "If he could not catch the goose he would take gazelings."

It was an Edinburgh printer that produced his grammar. But for the date prefixed, 1674, one might conclude that the issue had been stitched together from the 1800 sheets that got tumbled out of doors from the Linlithgow schoolhouse, the pagination is so mixed. He claims for his method the merit of being an improvement in intelligibility on Despauter, whose work had long held the field. "Despauter," he says, "will under one rule give some 200 examples, and render for the befogged pupil but one," though, of course, in naming him he means "another," his editor, for he himself had no English. His glossing of the examples is, for us, the most interesting part of his work. The frankness with which he or Despauter puts before the learner words now unfit for ears polite is significant to the social historian. The obscure terms, too, make one ask what kind of classical literature the grammar was supposed to prepare for. He would be an erudite scholar indeed who could claim familiarity with such as these:—*magil*, a mullet; *lebes*, a pan or kettle;

grossus, a green fig; *hir*, the hand; *obex*, a bar; *unedo*, the crab-apple; *udo*, a linning (linen) sock, a kind of shoe; *furfur*, bran. Some imply a minute acquaintance with Roman life and manners derived from Plautus, Martial, and Juvenal, and obscure authors, quoted by Cicero. *Indiges*, a tutelary deity, gets a special and modern meaning in "canonised saint"; *tricæ*, vexations, appears as feathers, or hairs round the feet of chickens; Cicero's *quisquiliæ*, dregs, are the sweepings of a house; *glis*, a fat dormouse, esteemed a dainty in ancient Rome, is mouse or rat; *thos*, a kind of wolf; *stips*, a penny given to a beggar; *nanus*, a dwarf—these are of little interest to the classical scholar. One wonders often where the old scientists got their terms. They must have been familiar with these grammar-school lists; witness *follis*, a pair of bellows (follicles), and *varix*, a crooked vein (varicose). But the most interesting part of Kirkwood's glossing is where he uses the vernacular: *cudo*, a leather cap, is the *cude* or *chrisom*, the holy face-cloth used in baptism; *poples* is the hogh, "the hollow of the thigh" in Jacob's dream; *termes*, an imp of a tree, again, shows a late use of an obsolete English word. Specially interesting to Scotch students are *thorax*, the bulk (muckle-boukit) of a man; *talpa*, a mole or moodie-warp (cp. taupie); *hulcus*, a byle or ulcer; *cambio*, to change money (excambion as a legal term); *nefrens*, a pig or grice; *vapulo*, to youl when beat (time-honoured term in schools for a beating). The verbs show very close observation: *conquinisco*, to bow as a bird ducking in the water; *gruo*, to gruncle like a crane; *ringo*, to grin like a dog.

The grammar follows the orthodox division into four parts. The first or Accidence is alone treated metrically,

in hexameters. The use of this device instead of the simpler paradigm shows the persistence of the primitive mnemonic discipline. The method reaches its climax in obscurity when treating Greek nouns. The Syntax or second part has some of its pages stitched at intervals into the first part, with, again, a few belonging to the third part and there repeated. In his Annotations he attempts to be philosophical, giving, for example, a subtle subdivision of nouns and adjectives on the lines of mediæval logic, but this he does not long pursue "as producing more of pains than profit." He is quaint on derivation, suggesting that *lapis* may be from *lædere* and *pes*, *i.e.* a stone is what hurts the foot. There is a little discussion over the example given under the rule that a verb may govern an accusative of quantity, "nil miror," to wit: "You say fool foolishly, since nothing does not become how much or a quantity"; to which the other replies, "You are philosophising, I am grammaticising." His Annotations are very much to the point. They note many useful idioms, but more in the way of stating the actual facts than attempting any thought-out explanation of them. On what he calls figures of construction or special idioms he thinks it well to warn against Anglicisms or rather Scotticisms. Thus the handy colloquialism for "He is not at school," viz. "Ille non est apud scholam," ought to be, in Ciceronian style, "Non dat operam literis," or "Non militat sub ferula preceptoris nostri." "Cry on him" ("Clama supra illum") is good Scotch for "Call him" ("Voca illum"). "I shall act in spite of you" ("Faciam contra dentes tuos") is more pithy than his approved phrase, "Faciam te invito." In the third part or Prosody he is concise, clear, and good. The subject lends itself to his method

of minute subdivision. After discussing quantity, he goes on to metres. His method is to give the name of each of his eight types, the formula, and a word as an example. Then follow eight hexameters, giving the same facts without the formulæ, that is, the easy before the difficult. Yet he is not without some appreciation of common sense, for he condemns a certain Alstedius for attempting to give the etymology of Pyrrhichius (Pyrrhic metre) and the rest on just grounds. "I am much mistaken but you would commit the whole grammar to memory sooner than these words alone along with their meaning, and without any doubt retain them more easily." One step more and he might have condemned the entire system, to which his methods belonged, of barren definition and the memorising of versified bundles of names and forms. As Luther turned in disgust from the climbing of those weary penitential stairs in Rome, so might we treat the arid mnemonic steps which our schoolboy ancestors had to ascend for a result that must too often have proved futile. One, perhaps, of those nameless poets we might, with Scott, long to know, the author of "Thirty days hath September."

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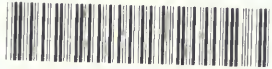

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