

Richard Mulcaster and his Pedagogic Doctrines

A Study of
the Realistic Movement in Elizabethan Education

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Ph.D., Thesis
Glasgow University
June 1933.

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Preface

In a paper read before the Dean, Canons, and Students of Christ Church, Oxford University, June 24, 1914, G.G. Williams, B.A., made the assertion: "I claim that Richard Mulcaster was, if not the most original, certainly the most far-sighted educationalist that ever lived" (School World, Aug.1914, p.297). Even if there is an element of exaggeration in this statement, it may be safely said that Mulcaster was more modern than most of the educators whose views figure largely in the history of education.

To say the least, Richard Mulcaster was one of the greatest schoolmasters England has ever produced and his light has never gone out. For nearly three hundred years he lived in the dust, indeed until R.H. Quick resurrected him by editing and publishing a new edition of "Positions" (1887) and by expounding his pedagogic doctrines in his "Essays on Educational Reformers" (1890). In this work Mr. Quick says (p.92): "There is good reason why Mulcaster should not be forgotten", and later (p.97) contends that "it would have been a vast gain to all Europe if he had been followed instead of Sturm."

It is certainly regrettable that even yet he has not received quite the attention in the pedagogical world that he deserves; and that possibly, because of his unattractive style, he may never receive the recognition which his attainments genuinely merit. This is not to say that he has been wholly neglected, for he has been given fairly generous treatment by nearly all the writers on the

history of education; but my contention is that even more emphasis than hitherto should be placed on his doctrines since it appears that he glimpsed the work of the later reformers who gave direction and vitality to modern tendencies.

Even if his theories did not greatly affect the school system of the Elizabethan age, and even if his fundamental principles were ignored by schoolmen for nearly three centuries, nevertheless, the best of his doctrines were never quite forgotten. Although there is no clear evidence that his books influenced later educational theory in England, it is noteworthy that many writers since his time have advanced ideals of reform similar to those propounded by Mulcaster. This all goes to show that he was a man of deep insight with many of the qualities of a pedagogical prophet who brought to expression the basic ideas at work in the England of his day and of later days.

At the very outset it will be clear to the reader that I do not wish to belittle Richard Mulcaster; nor, on the other hand, do I intend to exalt him unduly; I merely propose to write his life and interpret his doctrines sympathetically and yet dispassionately. I have tried to illumine his theories by concrete details and have attempted to give the work a personal touch by preserving his naiveté in expression by means of direct quotations which possess the charm of freshness and frankness so characteristic of Richard Mulcaster.

In writing this thesis I have gone first to his own ^{work} works; and secondly, to books and records pertaining to the English Renaissance

both in London and in Glasgow where the librarians have extended to me numerous courtesies and have been unusually helpful. The origins of statements are indicated by means of footnotes primarily. Other sources of information are supplied by the references in the bibliography. I am especially indebted to the editors of Mulcaster's doctrines: to R.H. Quick for his edition of 'Positions' and to Professor E.T. Campagnac who produced in 1925 a superb edition of the 'Elementarie' for the Tudor and Stuart Library at Oxford University. Both of these new and much improved editions facilitated the writing of this thesis. Finally, it is a pleasure to express my deep gratitude to Dr. Boyd who has encouraged me in what has proved to be a laborious undertaking. Had it not been for his interest - which has never flagged - this treatise would not have been written. He has not stimulated me in a perfunctory manner, but has given unstintingly in public lectures and private conferences, both critical guidance and genuine inspiration.

Ransom A. Mackie

Glasgow,
June, 1933

J. A. M.

Richard Mulcaster and his Pedagogic Doctrines

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Part I The Life of Richard Mulcaster

Chapter I His Standing and Education

The genius of Richard Mulcaster made him the precursor of many modern ideals and practices. Living and working in a great age he definitely anticipated the dynamic nature of present-day education and suggested ideas which, if taken into account by school officials in the sixteenth century, would have had a modifying influence on the traditional English education.

The enduring value of his work has justified a new appraisal. He was rather underrated by his contemporaries, and to some extent by later educationists. Very few, indeed, today however question his historical importance as the greatest of Elizabethan educators. That he should be ranked as one of the small company of great educators England has produced will surprise only those who are unacquainted with his work.⁽¹⁾

The meagre knowledge of the events of his career, make it by no means an easy task to write the life of Richard Mulcaster. Like Shakespeare, we know more of the work he did than of the man. Some modern biographers have in consequence yielded to the temptation to supply from fancy, the facts which cannot be obtained from history. This will not be done here. If the evidence is inconclusive on any point, no effort will be made to force the reader to a position which cannot be substantiated.

The date and place of Richard Mulcaster's birth are uncertain. It is a plausible surmise that he was born some time about 1532 at Carlisle

(1) "Mulcaster's advanced views on educational matters, taken with his practical success in teaching, have earned for him the title of the greatest of Elizabethan schoolmasters." M.F. McDonnell, History of St. Paul's School, p.149.

on the border of England and Scotland. (1) The blood of the hard-headed English gentry ran in his veins, and Queen Elizabeth had in him one of her most loyal, humble and obedient subjects. (2) He was "by/parentage and linial discent an esquier borne", (3) but he "did not arrogate to himself the pride of high descent ... His ancestors were people of opulence in Cumberland so far back as the time of William Rufus, where their chief care was to defend the border counties from the incursions of the Scots." (4) He accepted his social rank with gentle seriousness and perhaps with a certain amount of gravity.

He was educated at Eton under the redoubtable Nicholas Udall, a man of erudition and of very versatile gifts and energies. (5) In 1548 he went as King's Scholar to Cambridge, but how long he stayed there has not been definitely ascertained. (6) Nothing can be learned of him from 1548 until 1555 when he was elected student of Christ Church, the

(1) Gentleman's Magazine, May 1800, vol.70, p.419.

(2) His first book, Positions, was dedicated "to the most virtuous lady, his most dear and sovereign princess Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queen of England, France and Ireland, defender of the Faith, etc..." R.H. Quick asserts that "the tone of the letter in which Mulcaster addresses his Sovereign is not that of a stranger, but rather of an old acquaintance who is sure of a friendly reception." Appendix to Positions, p.303.

(3) "So he describes himself in his wife's epitaph." Positions, p.301.

(4) Gentleman's Magazine, 1800, vol.70, p.419.

(5) "At Eton 'in the long winter nights the boys acted Latin or English plays, written by Nicholas Udall, the father of English comedy.'" Foster Watson, English Grammar Schools, p.324.

(6) The course leading to the degree Master of Arts in the Elizabethan age required seven years according to P.H.Ditchfield. (The England of Shakespeare, p.161). Although it is not known exactly how long he studied at Cambridge, probably he remained there six years, for he secured the degree in Arts at Oxford University in 1556, just seven years after he entered Cambridge.

(1)
 first College established during the Reformation at Oxford University.
 Here he became distinguished as a scholar. His record as a student of
 Eastern literature was particularly praiseworthy. His work attracted
 the attention of the "great English Rabbi, Hugh Broughton" who spoke of
 him at the time "as one of the best Hebrew scholars of the age."⁽²⁾ After
 he received the Arts degree at Oxford University in 1556, nothing was
 heard of him until 1558, (the year of Queen Elizabeth's accession to the
 throne), when he secured a position in London as a "schoolmaster"⁽³⁾.

Little is known of his career until he was elected first Head Master
 of Merchant Taylors' School in 1561;⁽⁴⁾ but he must have made a good record
 in the two years of his previous teaching, for the Merchant Taylors' Com-
 pany sought his services - he did not apply for the position. There is
 no evidence, however, that he was selected because of his teaching exper-
 ience.⁽⁵⁾ Thomas Fuller in his "Worthies of England"⁽⁶⁾ holds that he was
 chosen by general consent for "proficiency in learning" and because of
 "his extraordinary accomplishments in philology" he was "appointed Sept-
 ember 24, 1561, the first headmaster of the school on Laurence-Pountney-
 hill then just founded by the Merchant Taylors' Company."⁽⁷⁾

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- (1) R.S.Rait, in Mediaeval England, p.445, Oxford University Press, 1924.
 (2) R.H. Quick, Positions of Richard Mulcaster, p.300. A similar quotat-
 ion may be found in Foster Watson, English Grammar Schools, p.528.
 (3) R.H. Quick, Appendix to Positions, p.300. Another writer asserts
 that he secured his first position as a teacher in 1559. See Gentle-
 man's Magazine, 1800, vol.70, p.419.
 (4) As just stated he became headmaster in 1561 and twenty years later, i.e.
 by 1581, when his first book, Positions, was published he avers (p.2)
 that he had taught "two and twenty years". Therefore he must have had
 two years' experience before he began his work at Merchant Taylors'.
 (5) Except a remark by H.B. Wilson in his History of Merchant Taylors'
 School, p.22, but he does not indicate the source of his information.
 (6) Edited by John Nichols, 1811, vol.II, p.431.
 (7) Gentleman's Magazine, May 1800, vol.70, p.419.

Life of Richard Mulcaster

Chapter II. Head Master at Merchant Taylors'

Richard Mulcaster was the best man that the Company could^{have} secured⁽¹⁾ as headmaster for Merchant Taylors' School. By nature, training, and experience he was worthy and well qualified to become a great school-master.⁽²⁾ He was recognised as "a man of letters" and, although scholarly,⁽³⁾ he was "not pedantic". Under humanistic inspiration he became an excellent student of Hebrew and the classical languages, and made acquaintance with "gothic spectacles".⁽⁴⁾ He had rather an austere countenance and was not very suave in manner, but in reality he was a man of real gentility.⁽⁵⁾ In an age of loose moral standards, his moral principles were firm and sharp - not that he was ascetic: his life was not spent entirely in a cloistered atmosphere, but also in the world of men.⁽⁶⁾ He was robust and sturdy and his physique was well developed. He was very energetic and notably versatile. He was interested in athletics, particularly archery, and became a member of a society of archers called 'Prince Arthur's Knights'.⁽⁷⁾

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- (1) H.B. Wilson asserts: "Nor could a better choice have been made whether we consider his extraordinary attainments in philology, the success which had now for two years attended him as a teacher, or the estimation in which he was consequently held by many excellent and learned persons who were well qualified to give their opinion and advice on such an occasion." H.B. Wilson, History of Merchant Taylors' School, p.22. See also p.551.
- (2) Ibid., p.22 and p.551.
- (3) Ibid., p.551.
- (4) Gentleman's Magazine, vol.70, p.603.
- (5) He possessed a "soul that would have shone in an age of chivalry" and "his talents were always devoted to the service of the maiden queen... Entertaining correct notions himself of the sacred rights of royalty, he was likely to inspire his pupils with those sentiments of attachment to the Queen, which would procure them admission to her Court, her presence, and her favour." H.B. Wilson, History of Merchant Taylors' School, p.551.
- (6) Professor E.T. Campagnac, speaking of Mulcaster, says: "A scholar, he desires also to be a man of the world." Introduction to Elementarie,
- (7) Gentleman's Magazine, vol.70, p.511. In Positions, p.103, Mulcaster comments on the value of archery and mentions 'Prince Arthur's Knights'.

The Merchant Taylors' School was founded "for the better education and bringing up of children in good manners and literature."⁽¹⁾ The terms of admission were generous: The sons of those residing in London were admitted. The students consisted of "all nations and countries indifferently."⁽²⁾ One hundred were taught gratuitously; the others were required to pay a very small fee.

Mulcaster threw himself into his new work with unbounded enthusiasm. It was his duty as "high master" to "direct" the work of the school "in doctrine, learning and teaching."⁽³⁾ Such was his reputation that pupils⁽⁴⁾ "poured in from all quarters" to attend the new institution of learning. The remarkable success of Merchant Taylors' under his leadership, notwithstanding the many disadvantages he had to overcome, led to the recognition of his school by both Oxford and Cambridge.⁽⁵⁾ This was not merely a temporary achievement. For more than twenty-five years Merchant Taylors' "flourished with uninterrupted prosperity."⁽⁶⁾ Annually the master⁽⁷⁾ and teachers were examined "as to their learning and manner of teaching",⁽⁸⁾ and it was ascertained "how the children had profited."⁽⁹⁾ The work of the

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- (1) H.Staunton, The Great Schools of England, (1869 edition), p.168.
 (2) Ibid., 170-171: "In this, as in other provisions for the regulation of the School, the Company followed the large-hearted example set them by Dr. John Colet" at St. Paul's School. "As both schools were for day-scholars only, the clause in question must be understood to mean, that the children of parents of any nation resident in London were eligible for admission."
 (3) H.B.Wilson, The History of Merchant Taylors' School, p.11.
 (4) Ibid., p.23.
 (5) Merchant Taylors' School "prospered well under his care, as by the flourishing of St.John's in Oxford, doth plainly appear." Thomas Fuller, Worthies of England, edited by John Nichols, 1811, vol.II, p.431.
 (6) H.B.Wilson, History of Merchant Taylors' School, p.85 and pp.553-564.
 (7) Ibid., p.85.
 (8) H. Staunton, The Great Schools of England, (1869 edition), pp.170-171.
 (9) H.B.Wilson, History of Merchant Taylors' School, p.25.
 (10) H.T. Wilkins, Great English Schools, p.203.

(1)
 school stood the examinations successfully. Both master and teachers were highly complimented. From its very inception, Merchant Taylors' under the guidance of Richard Mulcaster won marked recognition, and Mulcaster himself received extraordinary commendation for his work. (2)

Many famous students were educated at Merchant Taylors' while Mulcaster was headmaster. (3) Of these the most outstanding were Edmund Spenser and Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester. (4) The latter probably owed a good deal of his power as a linguist to Mulcaster. He always held his old teacher in high esteem, and expressed his gratitude unsparingly. It is said that he 'ever loved and honoured his Master Mulcaster.' He "used in all companies of his friends to place him at the upper end of the table." (5) "Nor did his grateful acknowledgements stop here; he many times, with a liberal hand, supplied his teacher's wants; and, when he died, caused his portrait to be hung over his study door... Nor even here did the gratitude of this pious prelate make a pause; he retained to the last hour of his life, the same veneration for the memory of his preceptor, as he had shown his person while alive, and in his will bequeathed a legacy to his son." (6)

There is abundant evidence to show that Mulcaster was an able, indefatigable worker, and a sincere and conscientious teacher. Yet, if we may believe one story told about him, we must conclude that on occasion he conserved his time and energy by resting during school hours. Thomas Fuller, who is sometimes more witty than reliable, presents in his

(1) H.B. Wilson, History of Merchant Taylors' School, p.24.

(2) Ibid., pp.25 and 28.

(3) Ibid., p.85.

(4) Lancelot Andrewes was eminently successful in later life. "Both with the Queen and the public generally he enjoyed the highest reputation as a man of piety, learning and judgment," (A.A.Wood, Athenae Oxonienses) and it is interesting to note that he is still accorded "a high, perhaps the highest, place" by writers on the history of the English Church. T.S.Eliot, Selected Essays, p.317. Faber & Faber, London 1932.

(5) Gentleman's Magazine, vol.70, p.420.

(6) H.B.Wilson, History of Merchant Taylors' School, p.658.

"Worthies of England" an account which represents perhaps the impressions of some of the students of lesser ability. Rather quaintly he tells us that Mulcaster in the morning session of his school "would exactly and plainly construe and parse the lessons to his scholars; which when done, he slept an hour at his desk, ... but woe be to the scholar that slept the while! Awakening, he heard them accurately; and Atropos might be persuaded to pity as soon as he to pardon where he found just fault. The prayers of cockering mothers prevailed with him as much as the requests of indulgent fathers, rather increasing than mitigating his severity on their offending children. In a word, he was Platygossus Orbilius, though it may truly be said (and safely for one out of his school) that others have taught as much learning with fewer lashes. Yet his sharpness was the better endured because ⁽¹⁾unpartial."

Here he is pictured as a stern schoolmaster, but perhaps he had considerable affection for his pupils without camaraderie, for he says in Positions (p.280): "Even the master must have a fatherly affection even to the unhappiest boy." Probably he felt (as many school teachers even today feel) that in order to maintain authority he had to be distinctly ⁽²⁾aloof and inscrutable. (If only he could have laughed a little more and worked and inspected a little less meticulously!) If it be true that 'example' counts for more than 'precept', it might possibly be surmised ⁽³⁾that Mulcaster inherited his views of discipline as well as his fondness

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- (1) Thomas Fuller, The History of the Worthies of England, Edited by John Nichols, 1811, Vol.II, p.431.
- (2) Mulcaster, no doubt, was a strict disciplinarian but he was certainly not as harsh as "the common run of schoolmasters described by Erasmus", who, according to Frederic Seebohm, were "too ignorant to teach their scholars properly, and had to make up for it by flogging and scolding, defending their cruelty by the theory that it was the schoolmaster's business to subdue the spirits of his boys!" F. Seebohm, The Era of the Protestant Revolution, p.84. (1875 edition).
- (3) "The vates sacer of Udal is Tusser" whose name invariably leads one to recall the lines: "From Paul's I went, to Eton sent, To learn straight-ways the Latin phrase, When fifty-three stripes given to me, At once I had. For fault but small, or none at all; It came to pass that beat I was; See Udal, see! The mercy of thee to me poor lad." Appendix to Positions, p.300. cf. Gentleman's Magazine, Vol.70, p.511.

for dramatic art from his old Eton Headmaster, the "learned" Nicholas
 (1) Udal, who was an outstanding pedagogue of the Tudor period. (2)

The play spirit was not emphasised as it is today: the gloomy
 cloisters of Merchant Taylors' School for two centuries or more, formed
 the students' only play-ground. (3) With this condition of affairs may
 perhaps be connected the keen dramatic activity among many of the best
 students of the school; and Mulcaster, who was particularly adept in
 directing the presentation of high-class plays, was able to direct and
 stimulate this student enterprise to a successful issue. He became so
 (4) proficient in coaching dramatics and entertainments that he vied with
 (5) Shakespeare in presenting plays before Queen Elizabeth, and the records
 (6) show that he was in "great favour at Court."

- (1) J.J.Jusserand, Literary History of the English People, Vol.II, p.44.
 (2) "'Though it was Udal's good fortune to send from his school to the University one of the best scholars of all our time, yet wise men do think that came to pass rather by the great towardness of the scholar, than by the great beating of the master.'" This remark is quoted by Oscar Browning in his History of Educational Theories, K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Publishers, London, 1881, reprinted 1905." "The flogging propensities which Mulcaster had imbibed from Nicholas Udal were tempered by a grim humour which the following story ... illustrates. 'He being one day whipping a boy, his breeches being down, and he ready to inflict punishment upon him, out of his insulting humour he stood pausing a while over his breech; and there a merry conceit taking him he said, 'I ask ye bannes of Matrimony between this boy his buttocks of such a parish on ye one side and Lady Birch of ye other side, and if any man can show any lawful cause why they should not be joined together let him speak, for this is ye last time of asking' A good sturdy boy and of a quick conceit stood up and said, 'Master, I forbid ye bannes'. The master taking this in dudgeon said, 'Yea, Sirrah, and why so?' The boy answered, 'Because all parties are not agreed.' Whereat the master liking that witty answer spared the one's fault and the other's presumption.'" M.F.McDonnell, History of St. Paul's School, p.151.
 (3) C.J. Robinson, Register of the Scholars of Merchant Taylors' School, Preface, xii.
 (4) "It seems that Mulcaster took part in preparing the pageant at Kenilworth in 1575." Appendix to Positions, p.304.
 (5) See Appendix to Positions, p.304. This should surprise no one who keeps in mind the fact that Mulcaster had been producing plays for years whereas Shakespeare was at this time a mere novice.
 (6) Gentleman's Magazine, Vol.70, p.603.

In directing dramatic performances Mulcaster was tremendously enthusiastic, but in the work of the school, which was narrow and formal, he was not, perhaps, so intensely interested! Indeed, if he were not actually bored at times by the tasks of his school life, he seems to have been, to say the most, only half engrossed with his educational duties. And there is a good explanation of this attitude, in the clearness with which he realised the imperfections of the schools of his day. He saw clearly the inherent weakness of the narrow humanistic curriculum: the work was confined almost exclusively to linguistic training. Latin was the "alpha", and Greek was the "omega". Latin was the subject. It was considered absolutely indispensable. Therefore most of the time was devoted to it. Greek was studied to a much less extent, while Hebrew was perhaps an elective subject. What has been said of education in general during the sixteenth century is true concerning Merchant Taylors'. The work of the school tried "to exalt the letter over the spirit and to magnify verbal study at the expense of the vital content of literature." Form, not content, was studied;

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- (1) He was out of harmony with the spirit of secondary education which prevailed during the Elizabethan age both in England and on the Continent, and his position is to be commended for according to an eminent authority writing on humanism: "The quickening impulse which inspired the scholars in the heyday of the movement - the desire for a larger and fuller life, the joy in beauty of style and thought, the craving for an illimitable range of knowledge - had largely disappeared from the schools." Wm. Boyd, History of Western Education, p.220.
- (2) H.B. Wilson in his History of Merchant Taylors' School, p.39, says that Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were taught, while Foster Watson in his English Grammar Schools, p.528, asserts that although Mulcaster was, according to Hugh Broughton, 'one of the best Hebrew scholars of the age', "there is no evidence that he taught Hebrew at Merchant Taylors' School."
- (3) Wm. Boyd, History of Western Education, p.220.

(1)
language, not literature, was emphasized.

Mulcaster has been described as both by interests and training,
(2)
a humanist. It is, to say the least, very doubtful, whether he should be so designated. Although he was versed in both the Greek and Latin languages and literature, by 1581 (when he published the Positions), if not long before, his experience had caused him to realize the fut-
(3)
ility of trying to make classical scholars of all of his students. Sir Sidney Lee, editor of the Dictionary of National Biography, comes nearer the mark when he speaks of Mulcaster in most laudatory terms as an "enlightened teacher" who "believed in physical as well as intellec-
(4)
tual training; who thought girls deserved as good an education as boys; and who urged the importance of instruction in music and singing." If he was a humanist he was so in a broad sense. He held that a variety of work promoted greater energy and activity of mind in the pursuit of knowledge. His aim was to prepare his pupils for a life of activity and service rather than to develop scholars who could write and speak like Cicero and Demosthenes.

His 'reign' at Merchant Taylors' was scarcely absolute. And he felt the restrictions imposed on him keenly at times. One of the reasons for this feeling was the fairly well founded supposition that

- (1) Professor J.J. Findlay, in dealing with the subjects taught in the English Grammar schools of this period, says: "The grammatical forms of Latin engaged the attention of the teacher rather than the aesthetic and intellectual content of classical texts. Scholarships became more and more identified with philology; the vivid interest in Greece and Rome as the sources of Western civilization lost ground and for many generations was only cherished by a few poets and men of letters. The schoolboy was set to learn his Latin as a wholesome discipline, imposed on him with all the greater rigour if he showed distaste for the exercise." J.J. Findlay, *The Children of England*, p.81, Methuen and Co., London, 1923.
- (2) W.H. Woodward in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol.III,
- (3) "The hard experience of twenty years had proved to him how difficult
p.435.
cult was the training in letters set out by the great writers from the realities of the classroom." W.H. Woodward in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol.III, p.435.
- (4) S. Lee, *Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century*, p.158.

the officers of the Company "probably thought of him as one of their
 servants" ⁽¹⁾ which, no doubt, was hard for Mulcaster to bear, ⁽²⁾ espec-
 ially in view of the fact ^{as already noted} that he was 'by ancient parentage and linnial
 discent an Esquire borne.' ⁽³⁾

It appears that Mulcaster's birth imposed on him a feeling of
 superiority in relation to people in authority whom he regarded as of
 less account than himself. ⁽⁴⁾ If this is true, there were other and per-
 haps more important reasons for complaint. A narrow humanism was
 strongly entrenched in learned circles and theories like his, therefore,
 were apt to be met with contempt. The fact that he believed in cer-
 tain ideals in education which were not put into actual operation in
 Merchant Taylors' ⁽⁵⁾ suggests that there was some influence preventing it.
 Men are always disappointed if they believe one thing and have to prac-
 tise something else. So it probably was with Richard Mulcaster. When
 he became Headmaster in 1561 he expected, no doubt, that he would have
 an opportunity of putting into operation what he considered well thought-
 out principles, but in the event his plans for achievement were frus-
 trated. His inner self and his genuine convictions were always at var-

(1) H.R. Quick, Appendix to Positions, p.300.

(2) The officers of the Company evidently made Mulcaster feel, judging from Thomas Fuller's comments, that they had a "proprietary" interest in him and "in many ways seemed to impose on Mulcaster because he was dependent on them, 'finding his scholars so to profit, they intended to fix him to his desk till death should remove him.'" The London Observer, Sunday April 17 1932, see article on "A Great Schoolmaster."

(3) This statement is found in his wife's epitaph. H.B.Wilson, History of Merchant Taylors' School, p.65.

(4) R.H.Quick, Appendix to Positions, p.301. E.T.Campagnac, Introduction to *Elementarie*, x: Mulcaster "thought" those in authority "inferior to himself and ill able to set a just value upon his work".

(5) Even as late as 1582 when his "Elementarie" appeared he was determined to practise his theories of education, for he says most emphatically: "Whatsoever I shall pen, I will see it executed by the grace of God, my own self, to persuade others the better by a tried proof." *Elementarie*, p.267.

iance with the theory and practice of the schools and schoolmasters of his time.

Little wonder that a man of sensitive insight like Mulcaster began to think of his school work as tedious and meaningless.⁽¹⁾ Gradually he began to feel too that he was surely being riveted to his position.⁽²⁾ His was a free spirit. His work could only be done properly in his own way: to live and labor under the constant direction of others no doubt fretted him occasionally beyond endurance, for he had no chance to express his deep-seated aspirations.

But this is not all. To appreciate his attitude, it is necessary to take into account his labors and the lack of opportunity for advancement. Judging by present-day standards his position was by no means a sinecure. He received a very low salary; the school hours were long (from 7 to 11 a.m., and from 1 to 5 p.m.) and there were too many students for the number of instructors employed. The teaching load was exceptionally heavy: approximately 250 students in attendance year after year were taught by the high master and three assistant instructors.⁽³⁾ But this situation Mulcaster met with unflinching fortitude. To understand his problem we must view the matter from his standpoint. He had the thought continually in mind that his salary had not been increased and that the conditions under which he was working had shown no improvement through the years, which seemed to indicate to him that his

(1) H. Staunton, *The Great Schools of England*, (1869 edition), footnote 2, p.175. Later he spoke of the fact that twenty-five years of his life were spent in "harmless drudgery." *Gentleman's Magazine*, May 1800, Vol.70, p.420.

(2) *London Observer*, Sunday April 17, 1932. See article on "Centenary of Richard Mulcaster."

(3) H. Staunton, *The Great Schools of England*, (1869 edition) p.170.

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services were not properly appreciated. This condition of affairs beyond doubt made him disgruntled and disheartened. Very humbly but candidly he petitioned the Company for a larger salary, but his request was refused. Whereupon in 1586 he resigned, and in his farewell he made the bitter remark so often quoted by those who have written on his life: "Servus fidelis perpetuus asinus."

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- (1) "Nature had formed him of a choleric temperament, and fortune had forborne to smile upon him. He was conscious of his attainments, and felt that while others with far less were daily rising with rapidity to honors and preferments, he was still doomed to toil from year to year with no other compliment beyond wages, for the fidelity with which he had acted, than what had been assured to his wife." H.B. Wilson, History of Merchant Taylors' School, p.73. In view of his "long and painful services", in case of his death, his wife was to be provided for by the Company. Ibid., p.65.

Part I The Life of Richard Mulcaster

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Chapter III High Master at St. Paul's School

The facts concerning his career during the next ten years, i.e. from 1586 to 1596, are fragmentary and on one or two points the evidence is rather conflicting. H.B. Wilson, a very competent writer, says that Mulcaster became Surmaster of St. Paul's School in 1586, but there seems to be nothing to support such an assertion.

All that is definitely known is that during the decade he held two church offices: in 1590 he was Vicar of Cranbrook in Kent, while at a later period (1594), he became the minister in the diocese of Salisbury and, on securing this position, was granted the prebend of Gatesbury through the influence of the Sovereign. He held each office for at least a year; but what he did the rest of the time is not known. There is no evidence that he had anything like steady employment either in church or school, and he may have been in somewhat indigent circumstances.

It might be inferred from what has been said by one of Mulcaster's editors that he possibly wished to publish other books at this time, but because of his financial condition was unable to do so."

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- (1) The head of the school is still called "High Master". See article on "English Public Schools" in the London "Telegraph" Supplement, Nov.14, 1932, pp.15-16.
- (2) History of Merchant Taylors' School, p.1177.
- (3) M.F.Macdonnell, History of St. Paul's School, p.147.
- (4) Ibid., p.147.
- (5) R.H.Quick, Appendix to Positions, p.302.
- (6) Positions, had appeared in 1581 and Elementarie in 1582.
- (7) Appendix to Positions, p.302: "Perhaps in this country publishing books about education was, then, as now, an expensive occupation, and Mulcaster, having lost half his income, could publish no longer."

After several uneventful years, the silver lining appeared. On August 5, 1596, when he was about sixty-four years of age, he was elected headmaster of St. Paul's School, assuming the office at a much higher salary than he had ever before received. His energies were now directed to a magnificent enterprise.

It is entirely fitting and proper to make a few comments here concerning the origin and traditions of this great public school which Mulcaster was elected to guide and inspire. It has been said that St. Paul's School had been "founded in 1512, the fourth year of the reign of Henry VIII, by Dr. John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's" Cathedral, but this is not literally true. The school was 'founded' during the Middle Ages. Sir Walter Besant in his great work on 'London' traces the origin of St. Paul's School back to the Dark Ages - to the time of the founding of St. Paul's Cathedral during the first quarter of the seventh century. That "St. Paul's was very ancient appears by the charter of Richard, Bishop of London in Henry I's time."

What John Colet actually did in 1512 was to endow St. Paul's and strengthen it spiritually. On this point the words of Frederic Seebohm are particularly apposite: "On his father's death, John Colet came

- (1) The year 1509 is given by J.H. Lupton in his Life of John Colet, 1827, p.162. See also M.F. McDonnell, History of St. Paul's School, p.150. The discrepancy in dates may be accounted for by this statement: in 1509 Colet resolved to re-found St. Paul's School, but it was not actually achieved until 1512, for it took three years to erect suitable buildings. H.Staunton, The Great Schools of England, (1869 edition) p.139.
- (2) D. Masson, Life of Milton, Vol.I, p.56. Macmillan Co.London, 1859.
- (3) "In 1504 Henry VII named him Dean of St. Paul's" Cathedral. His school "furnished a pattern to the other foundations including the grammar schools of Edward VI and Elizabeth." Wm.Barry in the Cambridge Modern History, Vol.I, p.644.
- (4) Sir Walter Besant, London, p.392. A. and C. Black, 1910.
- (5) S. Knight, The Life of John Colet, (1823 edition), p.104. D.Masson in his Life of John Milton, Vol.I, p.55, asserts that St. Paul's School "had existed from time immemorial".

into possession of his fortune, and nobly devoted it to the foundation of a public school by the cathedral - in which boys, instead of being crammed with scholastic learning, were to be trained in the new learning, and instead of being taught the bad Latin of the Monks, were to be taught the pure Latin and Greek which Oxford students had imported from Italy; and lastly, instead of being flogged and driven, were to be attracted and gently led into the paths of learning."⁽¹⁾

St. Paul's had "the proud distinction" of becoming "the first school in which Greek was publicly taught in England", during the Re-⁽²⁾ vival of Learning. It was John Colet's aim to educate a select number of youths to reflect the best influences of the humanistic movement. The sobriety of the English type of scholarship, and the association of learning with Christian life and with public duty which John Colet so conspicuously exhibited pleased even Erasmus who became interested in⁽³⁾ the school and influenced it in a significant manner in that his writings and example stimulated the teachers and students to study more⁽⁴⁾ diligently Christian doctrines and classical civilization. The bent of

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- (1) F. Seebohm, *The Era of the Protestant Revolution* (1875 edition) p.84. Also the historian, S.R. Gardiner, supports one of these contentions when he says, among other things, that St. Paul's was "founded that boys might be taught without being subjected to the brutal flogging which was in those days the lot even of the most diligent of school-boys." S.R. Gardiner, *History of England*, Vol.II (1509-1689) p.367. Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1891.
- (2) J.H. Lupton, *Life of John Colet* (1887 edition), p.171. C.R. Fletcher, in his *History of England* (1485-1660) p.41, makes a similar statement. He says: "John Colet founded at St. Paul's the first public school of the New Learning." I may add here that although Greek was studied in St. Paul's and probably in a few other secondary schools in England during the early revival in the time of Henry VIII, "it did not become a regular school subject till the reign of Elizabeth". *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th edition), Vol.24, p.368.
- (3) F. Seebohm in his *Oxford Reformers*, p.218, shows very definitely that Colet received much inspiration from Erasmus.
- (4) S. Knight, *The Life of John Colet*, pp.124-158. Oxford University Press, 1823.

the founder's mind is shown by an excerpt from the writings of Erasmus:
 "Over the master's chair is an image of the child Jesus, of admirable
 work, in the gesture of teaching, whom all the boys, going and coming,
 salute with a short hymn; and near there is the saying 'Hear ye Him'⁽¹⁾
 "Lift up your little white hands for me" wrote the Dean to his scholars
 in words which show the tenderness that lay beneath the stern outer
 seeming of the man, - 'for me which prayeth for you to God', to whom be⁽²⁾
 all honour and majesty.'⁽³⁾"

The saying that the doors of St.Paul's School, like those of Merchant
 Taylors', were open 'to the children of all nations and countries
 indifferently' is indicative of the spirit of liberality that pervaded the
 institution. Growing out of this idea, equality of opportunity for all
 was constantly insisted on by those in authority.⁽⁴⁾ Perhaps the reason
 for this was that along with Classical learning was infused into the work
 of the School the spirit of primitive Christianity. The main studies were⁽⁵⁾
 Latin and Greek, but the founder also stressed Christian doctrines because
 he felt that thereby the students' manners and behaviour would be modified
 and controlled.

John Colet was deeply imbued with the ideal of an education that⁽⁶⁾
 would at once affect body, mind, manners, and sentiment. He did not

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- (1) It is interesting to note that these words were suggested by Erasmus.
 S.Knight, The Life of John Colet, p.99. cf. H.Barnard, History of
 English Pedagogy, Vol. II, p. 61.
 (2) J.R. Green, History of the English People, Vol.III, p.200,(1896).
 (3) F. Seebohm, The Oxford Reformers, p.214, (1887 edition).
 (4) H.T. Wilkins, Great English Schools, p. 177, Noel Douglas,Publisher,
 London, 1925.
 (5) S. Knight, The Life of John Colet, pp. 115 and 128.
 (6) F. Seebohm, The Oxford Reformers, p.212. Longmans, Green and Company,
 1887.

try to teach morals and social behaviour merely by precept. He aspired to exhibit virtue in his own life, realizing fully that precept without example is powerless in improving the individual.

With such ideals St. Paul's School "grew and prospered" until it became not merely "the pride and admiration of London" but famous throughout England. The school had, indeed, almost an "unrivalled reputation, which was further enhanced when Richard Mulcaster was appointed to the office of high master" in 1596. Since the statutes of St. Paul's School (1518) enjoin that the "high master shall be learned in good and clean Latin, and also in Greek, if such may be gotten", his ability and scholarship must have been fully recognized by the trustees of the institution.

Judging by the standards of the Elizabethan age, Mulcaster's régime at St. Paul's was exceedingly fruitful. Just as in John Colet's time, the work of the pupils and the spirit of the school were guided by a combination of classical traditions and Christian principles. Both pupils and teachers lived, moved, and had their being in a narrow, humanistic atmosphere which was thought in the sixteenth century, to be conducive to hard study and noble aspiration. The work, which was designed to prepare the students for a profession or for the university, lacked the breadth of our present curriculum. In spite of Mulcaster's ideals and the modernity of his point of view, we have no evidence that

- (1) J.B.Mullinger in Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol.III, p.332.
- (2) Sir R.C. Jebb, The Classical Renaissance, Ch.XV of The Cambridge Modern History, Vol.III, p.582.
- (3) "Painted on the glass of each window inside, were the formidable words: "Aut doce, aut disce, aut discede"; Teach, learn, or depart. The masters were in the habit of quoting this legend against offenders, shortening it for their own sakes into 'Aut disce, Aut discede'" D.Masson, Life of John Milton, p.59.
- (4) A.F.Leach, The English Schools at the Reformation, Part I, p.105.

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 he tried to change their deep-rooted traditions. Of the Seven Liberal Arts, consisting of the Trivium (Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectic) and the Quadrivium (Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy and Music), just two studies, Grammar and Rhetoric, received anything like adequate attention. Grammar was supposed to include literature, but it meant, during the revival of learning, for most students, principally a very formal study of Latin and Greek, together with "a little ancient history and geography".⁽²⁾ In the Middle Ages dialectic practically dominated the schools,⁽³⁾ but not so during the humanistic régime. The founder of St. Paul's was especially opposed to the study, and his aversion to the subject was always respected. For this reason, scholastic logic was neglected while grammar and rhetoric were unduly emphasized. Grammar in the Elizabethan age meant Latin Grammar,⁽⁴⁾ while Rhetoric became a superficial study of literary criticism with the chief emphasis on Ciceronian vocabulary. Latin and Greek constituted the "backbone" of the course of study, and, it might be added, there was little besides the "backbone" to the curriculum. Indeed, John Colet's "original intentions ... were literally observed until recent times."⁽⁵⁾ In point of fact modern subjects "were not introduced for many generations" after the school was founded. Less than a century ago Dr. Sleath, an old St.

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- (1) Mulcaster did, however, revive an old practice: "He taught his boys music and singing" as had been done by the first headmaster. M.F. McDonnell, History of St. Paul's School, p.149.
- (2) H. Barnard, History of English Pedagogy, Vol. I, p.88.
- (3) P.S. Allen, The Age of Erasmus, p.106, Oxford University Press, 1914. In pointing out the importance that the scholastics attached to Dialectic the author emphasizes its significance in disputations.
- (4) J.R. Green, A History of the English People, Vol. III, p.200.
- (5) J.E. Sandys, Ch. VIII on Education in "Shakespeare's England", p.230: "The English grammar school of the Elizabethan age was primarily a school for learning Latin."
- (6) London "Telegraph", Nov. 14, 1932, p.16.

Paul's high master, said: "'At St. Paul's we teach nothing but the classics; nothing but Latin and Greek. If you want your boy to learn anything else you must have him taught at home, and for this purpose we give him three half-holidays a week.'" ⁽¹⁾ Although Greek is almost invariably mentioned as one of the main studies during the sixteenth century, it was not thoroughly entrenched; indeed, it was neglected ⁽²⁾ except by a few advanced students. Latin became the substantive part of ⁽³⁾ the curriculum.

The work at St. Paul's was probably broader in scope than some of the writers would have us believe. The school from its inception had especially emphasized both Classical learning and Christian doctrines and, in fulfilling the wishes of the founder, Mulcaster did not merely accept the inevitable, but became ardent in his endeavour to imbue humanism with Christian idealism and Christian practices. He trained ⁽⁴⁾ his students in morals and manners. Like John Colet, he held that mere erudition was not nearly so important as conduct and character. Ideals and attitudes were developed by means of excerpts from the classic authors and Christian scriptures. Religion was supposed to fulfil the students'

(1) London "Telegraph", Nov.14, 1932, p.16.

(2) A.F. Leach, The Schools of Medieval England, p.280, says that there is some reason to believe that Greek was not taught at St.Paul's after John Colet's time, but David Masson in his Life of John Milton, p.66, holds that Greek was merely slighted. He asserts: "In St.Paul's and in other schools Greek authors were read in fragments." M.F. McDonnell in his History of St.Paul's School, p.49 supports a similar position.

(3) This was also true of the other grammar schools generally during the English Renaissance. "The curriculum was, almost exclusively, classical. A little mathematics, some smattering of astronomy, may have been added here and there; but neither logic nor English was taught and history was simply a comment on Livy or Plutarch ... Greek was expressly prescribed in the Elizabethan curriculum", but some of the schools went "no higher than the grammar ... Chief stress was laid in every school" on the study of Latin in prose and verse. "To lay the foundations of prose style was the object of every master." W.H.Woodward in The Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol.III,p.429.

(4) A.F.Leach, The Schools of Medieval England, p.279.

highest aspirations; and for the learning pertaining to secular know-⁽¹⁾ledge, the Classical literature was deemed most important. The work of the school was well thought-out and the studies were presented with unusual discernment. For zealous devotion to Christian and Classical scholarship, St. Paul's School under Richard Mulcaster had no reason to fear comparison with any other secondary school during the English Renaissance. He believed in many-sided interests and what we today call extra curricular activities. The coaching of drama seemed to be his specialty. He was assiduous in directing student plays at St. Paul's just as he had been, during his early career, at Merchant Taylors'. "Acting was the accepted mode of training youth in speaking Latin and in grace of gesture, wherever humanists controlled education."⁽²⁾ And Mulcaster was fully in harmony with this academic custom. He thought that this particular student enterprise was worth while for himself as well as his students. Accordingly he wrote plays both in Latin and English and directed dramatic performances in an unusually efficient manner. He also helped the students to prepare orations, some of which were delivered on state occasions. It is recorded that in 1603, on the accession of James I to the throne of England, it was the privilege of his scholars to welcome the Sovereign to the capital. A Latin oration (which had been prepared by Mulcaster) "was delivered by one of the schol-

- (1) St. Paul's School was in harmony with the trend of the times for we find that "while the study of the contents and methods of the curricula of the Grammar Schools in the reign of Queen Elizabeth indicates that the aim of these schools was the development of good Latin scholars, a study of the school life of the pupils will show that the educational aim of the period was more comprehensive in that it was moral and religious as well as scholastic." A.M. Stowe, English Grammar Schools in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, p.124.
- (2) See W.H. Woodward, who says further: "At none of the English schools of any pretension was the practice neglected." The Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. III, pp.424-425.
- (3) "It is said that he composed half-a-dozen Latin plays for St. Paul's boys." Foster Watson, English Grammar Schools, p.324.

ars" at the door of St. Paul's School. (1)

Mulcaster resigned office at St. Paul's School in 1608 after twelve years of strenuous service, and took up his work as rector at Stanford Rivers in Essex. This position he had secured through the influence of Queen Elizabeth in 1598 but, on account of his school duties, he was unable to attend to the services regularly. The position was probably merely honorary, if not almost a sinecure until his retirement from the headmastership. He held the rectorship until his death in 1611 at the age of seventy-nine. It might be added that his work as a minister was not particularly praiseworthy if Thomas Fuller's statement is true. He says: "I have heard from those who have heard him preach that his sermons were not excellent; which to me seems no wonder, partly because such who make divinity not the choice of their youth but the refuge of their age seldom attain to eminency there!" (4)

If his sermons were poor, it may possibly have been due to his poor health; and his poor health, it has been suggested, was due largely to the death of his affectionate wife with whom he had lived for fifty years (5)

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- (1) J. Oliphant, Writings of Richard Mulcaster. Cf. M.F. McDonnell, History of St. Paul's School, p.150: "The boys of St. Paul's on two separate occasions during Mulcaster's high mastership made speeches to James I when he passed the school in state. Following the precedent set in the case of his two predecessors, Queen Mary and Elizabeth, on the first occasion when the King was proceeding to his coronation 'the Quiristers of the Church having finished their anthem from the lower battlements of the Cathedral Temple, a Latin oration was viva voce delivered to his Grace by one of Master Mulcaster's scholars at the dore of the Free-schole.'"
- (2) "In 1598 Elizabeth, who had always shown a kindly interest in his welfare, had presented him to the rectory of Stanford Rivers." Dictionary of National Biography, Vol.39, p.275. Cf. M.F. McDonnell, History of St. Paul's School, p.150.
- (3) R.H. Quick makes a similar statement to that found in the Dictionary of National Biography. He says: "Elizabeth ... gave Mulcaster a living. This was not till near the end of her reign, but he seems to have been long in her favour." Appendix to Positions, p.303.
- (4) Thomas Fuller, Worthies of England, Edited by John Nichols (1811) Vol.II, p.431.
- (5) H.B. Wilson, The History of Merchant Taylors' School, p.86.

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 in "conjugal felicity". He recorded her virtues in an epitaph which showed his remarkable devotion to her. In his church at Stanford Rivers he placed a plate near his wife's grave, bearing this inscription: "Here lyeth buried the body of Katharine Mulcaster wife of Richard Mulcaster by ancient parentage and linnial discent an Esquire borne, with whom she lived in marriage 50 years ... A grave woman, a loving wife, a careful nurse, a godlie creature, a saint in heaven in the presence of her God and Savior whom she ever dailie and dearlie served." (2) After his wife's death he was no longer as vigorous and cheerful as he had been formerly. "His health was impaired by the inquietude of his mind, which sought relief by indulging in the anguish of reflection." (3) When Mulcaster himself died two years later, April 15, 1611, he was buried by his wife's side, in the chancel of Stanford Rivers Church, but "no memorial marks the spot." (4) Thus closed "a life spent in the pursuit and diffusion of knowledge." (5) It could truly be said of Mulcaster: Poor he went among his students; and poor he went away; but he left them rich indeed. "It is to be lamented that one who had been so successful in imparting the treasures of learning to others, and thereby 'making many rich'" (6) was left "to die in embarrassed circumstances." (7)

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- (1) Gentleman's Magazing, Vol.70, p.421.
 (2) H.B.Wilson, The History of Merchant Taylors' School, p.65.
 (3) Gentleman's Magazine, Vol.70, p.421. In Notes and Queries (2nd series) Vol.III, p.219, one may find the names of his children, Peter, Silvian, Katharine).
 (4) Dictionary of National Biography, Vol.39, p.275.
 (5) Gentleman's Magazine, Vol.70, p.421.
 (6) H.B.Wilson, History of Merchant Taylors' School, p.91.
 (7) Ibid., p.91.

Part I Life of Richard Mulcaster

Chapter IV Authorship and Expression

Mulcaster lives in his books. In 1581 his major work, which he called "Positions" appeared. ⁽¹⁾ Concerning this book, approximately 300 ⁽²⁾ years later, Henry Barnard, who was an unusually discriminating critic, declared it to be "one of the earliest and still one of the best treat- ⁽³⁾ises on education in the English language."

In 1582 his minor work entitled "Elementarie" was published in ⁽⁴⁾ London, just as his first treatise was, by Thomas Vautrollier. Accord- ing to Dr. Henry Bradley, Joint Editor of the Oxford English Dictionary, Mulcaster's 'Elementarie' is one of the two most important of the Eliza- ⁽⁵⁾ bethan works dealing with grammar and orthography. Professor Foster Watson recommends it just as highly as Henry Bradley and emphasizes a broader and more significant aspect of the treatise when he asserts that "Mulcaster's 'Elementarie" is the earliest text-book on the teaching of ⁽⁶⁾ English", and "facile princeps the most important treatise not only of its

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- (1) "The late Mr. R.H.Quick produced in 1888 for the Cambridge University Press an exemplary edition of Mulcaster's Positions, a work which came from the author's hand a year before the Elementarie."
- (2) R.H.Quick, who was the first to lecture on education at Cambridge, says in his "Essays on Educational Reformers" (1890), p.91, that "Henry Barnard whose knowledge of our educational literature no less than his labours in it, makes him the greatest living authority."
- (3) History of English Pedagogy (2nd series, p.177), Hartford, Connecticut, U.S.A., 1876.
- (4) Professor E.T.Campagnac produced a new and much improved edition of the 'Elementarie' in 1925 with a splendid introduction.
- (5) See Shakespeare's England, Vol.II, p.574 (Oxford University Press,1916)
- (6) Foster Watson, The Beginnings of the Teaching of Modern Subjects,p.10.

date, but also for at least 250 years afterwards, on elementary instruction in the English language."⁽¹⁾

Mulcaster, it must always be remembered, was not merely a theorist.⁽²⁾ He was a schoolmaster, eager to expound the principles that underlay his own practice. He had taught twenty-two years when he wrote 'Positions' in 1581, and both by education and experience he was extraordinarily well equipped to bring out the significance of the education of his times. He speaks as 'one having authority', and he was conscious of the fact. He knew that he was on solid ground and often felt like saying, in effect, and truthfully, 'I know whereof I speak.' His daily professional work supplied him with the data of his conclusions. Much of his writing is the direct effect of realities working upon his mind. His books embody the results of his thinking and experience.

Mulcaster is throughout, essentially constructive. He wastes no time in fault-finding; most of his energy is devoted to what can and should be done.⁽³⁾ This, indeed, is his deliberate aim as stated at the very outset in Chapter I of his 'Positions'.⁽⁴⁾ He thinks that by pointing out shortcomings in the English system of education he would cause annoyance or even enmity which would result in more harm than good; whereas, if he has no controversies, but merely designates the course that he thinks, on "reasonable grounds", should be taken, the defects of contemporary practice would be revealed "forthwith" by comparison, and the failings would receive a "check" without "chiding."⁽⁵⁾

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- (1) Professor E.T. Campagnac speaks of the 'Elementarie' as "one of the sources of our English education"... and affirms that it "is of value to students of the English language, who care to see how in the fearless but cautious handling of a master, it was being shaped and, we may say, consciously shaping itself, to hitherto unguessed ends in a period of rapid development." Introduction to Elementarie, viii, xxii.
- (2) Positions, p.2. (4) Ibid., p.2.
- (3) Ibid., p.2. (5) Ibid., pp.1-2.

Nothing can obscure the fact of his foresight and his practicality. He exhibits a breadth of vision and an understanding of practical pedagogic principles which are entitled to ungrudging praise. His work is the clearest and most forceful call to common sense in education that had ever been given by any English writer or English schoolmaster.

His books are not slipshod in any respect. ⁽¹⁾ Most of his work is done with scrupulous care and will stand a critical inspection. The more one scrutinizes his books the more one appreciates the ideas contained therein. No doubt his writings might be considered by some loud-sounding and pretentious. No critic can help noting that he writes with ponderous solemnity and sometimes he speaks 'ex cathedra', but there is a fundamental sincerity about his work because it is invariably concerning ideals and practices which he knew something about. Admittedly his books are not impressive to the modern reader because they are written in heavy Elizabethan English, but if read in the context of his time and thought given ⁽²⁾ to their content rather than to their form, they stand out as master works.

Possessed of much energy, a joyous vitality, and an alertness of mind, Mulcaster writes with intense feeling, which generally breaks through the clumsiness of his phraseology. He lacks not clarity of thought, but directness of expression: many passages in both of his books are decidedly involved and long-drawn out, and there is an affectation in his style which detracts from the influence he might have exercised had he developed attractive methods of presenting his doctrines. He speaks of his "so careful ⁽³⁾ (I will not say so curious writing)" and admits very frankly that he

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- (1) "He deserves and demands slow and careful reading. He has the enthusiasm of a skilled practitioner for the details of his business, he is a workman who handles his tools cunningly and with the accuracy of habitual usage sharpened by alert self-criticism; he knows his own routine and recommends it." E.T. Campagnac, Introduction to *Elementarie*, xix.
- (2) "Mulcaster was the most original writer on education in the Elizabethan era." Foster Watson, *Vives on Education*, Introduction, xxxiv, Cambridge University Press.
- (3) *Elementarie*, p.267.

might not be understood. He says with implied apology: "Even some of reasonable study, can hardly understand the couching of my sentence, and the depth of my conceit."⁽¹⁾

In justification of his technique as a writer he says with Cicero: "I must define, divide, distinguish, use art, use terms of art, use judgment"⁽²⁾ and goes on to suggest that he wrote in a stiff, didactic style deliberately. He says: "Concerning the manner which I use in writing, because the manner and the handling be so near cousins, as they both be the pencils to delivery, if there be any fault for hardness therein, that also proceedeth of choice, being careful to shew from whence I come, that is from the students' forge, who being still acquainted with strong steel and pithy stuff in reading of good writers, cannot but resemble that metal in my style. In penning to prove close and always with cause, and to cause that which followeth to be suitable to that which went before, to seek more for sinews and sound strength, than for waste flesh, is seemly for a student, and chiefly there, where he penneth for perpetuity."⁽³⁾

Mulcaster does not mean that words are intended to conceal ideas, but he seems to imply that the words a serious writer uses should not make the thought too perspicuous. He thinks that what one learns by hard work is prized more highly and really has more meaning for the reader than what one gets easily and superficially. "If easy understand-

- (1) Elementarie, p.251. R.H.Quick says: "I have spent much time on what he calls his 'so careful, I will not say so curious writing' and I perfectly agree with him when he says, 'Even some of reasonable study can hardly understand the couching of my sentence and the depth of my conceit.' This, no doubt, explains why Mulcaster was so long forgotten." See Appendix to Positions, p.306. (2) Elementarie, p.283.
- (3) Ibid.,p.281. G.G.Williams says concerning Mulcaster: "He is an educationist, a writer, and an Englishman; but lacks just the brilliance which made Ascham and Rousseau welcome to the general ear." For this reason many of the other educators gained notice long before anyone thought of reinstating Mulcaster. "However, the history of education is only now being pieced together. Pestalozzi has come to his own; it should be the task of a so-called scientific age to reinstate a writer whose faults are due to the blight of an age, rather than to any individual incompetence." The School World, August, 1914, p.298.

ing be the readiest learning", he asserts, "then wake not my Lady, she learns as she lies"⁽¹⁾, and "likewise this pretended hardness, though it be proper to the matter, and the man which writeth without hardness indeed, hath his peculiar good, to whet a wit withal, and to print deep even because it seems dark, and contains a matter, which must be thrice looked on, ere it be once gotten. Labour is the coin, which is current in heaven, for which and by which Almighty God doth sell his best wares."⁽²⁾

Mulcaster, evidently, is in agreement with a common belief that one cannot really make anything his own unless he devotes much time and energy to it.⁽³⁾ Possibly he felt that one does not get credit as a deep thinker unless he can couch his thoughts in a style not too easily understood. Actually by writing obscurely he does himself and his message a serious injustice. With ponderous words he beclouds his principles and helps to maintain the tradition of a learned language established in ancient times and perpetuated by modern philosophers and psychologists, even down to the beginning of the twentieth century.

Besides his desire to write so that people would "whet" their "wits" on his ideas to make a "deep" impression, he had another fault: he was a stickler for minutiae. In his anxiety to omit nothing of importance, he wanders into so many bypaths that his sentences become, at times, so involved and overloaded with detail as to become unwieldy. Probably the inordinate length of his books and his discursive style are handicaps in a hurried age like ours, but it must be kept in mind that English prose was still only in the making in the Elizabethan age and that 'longwindedness was a characteristic of many writers whose training in expression had

(1) *Elementarie*, p.284.

(2) *Ibid.*, p.283.

(3) Cf. T.H.Pear, *Expression of Personality*, *The British Journal of Educational Psychology*, June 1932, Vol.2, p.144.

been in Latin. This thought had led to a reaction from its conciseness to wordiness in vernacular speech. Even if Mulcaster, in a large part of his work, lacks colour and passion; and, even if his ideas are clothed in a strange style which would be considered today, verbose and uninteresting, nevertheless he should not be criticised too severely on this score. It was not due to any lack of clarity in thinking but rather to the undeveloped condition of the new speech medium in which he was working. Not all of the prose authors of the sixteenth century were quite so prolix and clumsy as Mulcaster, but several of them who wrote on education incline to be affected and awkward in expression, and there were many like them in other fields.⁽¹⁾ And against much ponderous and prolix writing on the part of Mulcaster must be set those occasional passages in which he reaches the heights of genuine eloquence.

It is true that Mulcaster would have been more impressive had he developed a better technique in the presentation of his ideas, but this point should not be stressed unduly. The importance of Mulcaster must be measured not by his pedantic style, but by the doctrines which he expounded. The modern reader may be repelled by his archaic vocabulary and constructions, but he cannot doubt the breadth and sincerity of his convictions or the freshness of his contribution to educational progress. After all the turgid English with all its defects was a fitting instrument for the expression of a point of view which had its roots deep in the ex-

(1) R.W.Church, who was for many years Dean of St.Paul's Cathedral, asserts that writers of that time were "usually clumsy and awkward, sometimes grotesque, often affected, always hopelessly wanting in finish, breadth, moderation and order which alone can give permanence to writing." R. W.Church, Edmund Spenser, p.3, Macmillan & Co., 1888. See also excerpts from the great writers in W.W.Skeat's Specimens of English Literature, which deals with the period from Chaucer to Edmund Spenser. Oxford University Press, 1890 edition.

perience of English educators. Except for the fact that the study of Plato and Aristotle probably helped him somewhat to break up his self-complacency towards the education of his time, he was not, to a very marked extent, influenced by the ancient writers and certainly not by those English predecessors in pedagogy who were limited in outlook by overmuch study of classical traditions.⁽¹⁾

It is interesting to note that his practical work as a schoolmaster accentuated Mulcaster's resentment of the compromise that the realists of his time were making with 'humanism'. He was peculiarly situated with reference to this movement: he was not a humanist in the sense that any of his contemporaries were. On fundamental points, indeed, his views were strikingly different from those of any great educator of his time. During the Revival of Learning many leaders looked backward, whereas Mulcaster looked forward. Profoundly unlike the earlier humanists in ideals and temperament in regard to things traditional, he separated himself from humanism and developed a new orientation to life and learning. He was the prophet of a new day. One author calls him the "uncouth prophet of the new order"⁽²⁾ in education. This appellation is quite justified, for while Mulcaster is uncouth at times, his books contain invaluable hints and suggestions, which took centuries to fulfil. In his own way he had glimpsed a new education based on the necessity of attaining a knowledge of human motives, of gaining an insight into the realities of nature and of

(1) Sir Sidney Lee is a trifle too generous to Plato, More and Ascham when he says: "Spenser's headmaster had imbibed the spirit of pedagogy as Plato first taught it, and More and Ascham had developed it in the light of the Renaissance." S. Lee, Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth century, 1904, p.158.

(2) W.H. Woodward in The Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. III, p.436, asserts: "Mulcaster is the uncouth prophet of a new order. He sees the problem in a modern way. He has shaken himself free of traditional platitudes. He is conscious of a new world, and of the need of a new education adapted to it."

of human institutions. In that matter he was one of the first realists. His "work antedated that of both Ratke and Comenius", and, the theories he stood for "became the fundamental ideas of modern educational thought."

It has been said that Mulcaster did not affect education in his own day to any appreciable extent. This is true, but no one should depreciate his work because its influence was not immediate. To get a proper perspective one must look at the question from the historical point of view. Those who know the temper of the English people and their attitude toward innovations must realize that it was too much to expect that Mulcaster or any other man could revolutionize education by practice and precepts. England has rarely made abrupt changes. From the earliest times to the present, progress has been remarkably gradual. Speaking of England, Professor Dibelius asserts: "Nowhere have the forms of the past so tenacious a hold upon the present."⁽¹⁾ "No other country in Europe shows so steady a cultural development", he continues: "England has never embarked upon a course that represented a sharp break with the past."⁽²⁾ Mulcaster's fate is really no different from that of any other of the great English educators; the failure to influence the immediate course of education is common to them all.

His efforts indeed were not utterly futile. Even in his own time there is evidently some approach to practical sense in education. But for Mulcaster, Bacon might have preached to deaf ears. However, with such novel points of view as Mulcaster had, he was like 'one crying in the wilderness'.⁽³⁾ And this he fully realized. Indeed, no one recognized the impossibility of immediate achievement more than he.⁽⁴⁾ Very explicitly he indicates that he has no slight misgivings concerning whether or not

{1} W. Debelius, England, p.152.
{2} Ibid., p.152.

{3} Elementarie, p.3.
{4} Ibid., p.7.

his doctrines would be made practicable in his generation. He realised that the time was not propitious for the practices which his theories required. (1) He knew, exactly, where he stood; and one can scarcely read

his statements bearing on this point without a sympathetic interest.

There is pathos in his words. He says that he may be told that he stands alone; that what he advocates is new-fangled; and further that he cannot turn the course which is well established. In reply to this he holds that such objections are invariably raised whenever people attempt to make bad conditions good or good conditions better. The remarks which he thinks will probably be made should not, he maintains, thwart his good intentions and turn him from his course. (2)

Here we see him in his true light as a man of unconquerable endeavour, and one can scarcely do other than admire his forthright, aggressive personality. He realised that he was hazarding his "own credit and estimation" in advocating certain changes, but he held that it is more honourable to do this than to yield timorously to public opinion and leave a good cause undefended. (3) In this speaks the undaunted reformer. He asserts with conviction that "to win a resolute good, one must wrestle for it both in speech and writing against the corruption of his age, against the aloneness of attempt, against prejudice of parties, against the difficulties of performance." (4) It is refreshing to see a man ready to take this determined stand in spite of all opposition. One cannot but admire Mulcaster's tenacity of purpose in standing practically alone in advancing his constructive suggestions towards a new education.

Happily for himself he was not greatly perturbed by the thought that his theories would find little favour in his own day. (5) He was philosopher

(1) Elementarie, p.7.

(2) Ibid., p.8.

(3) Ibid., p.8.

(4) Ibid., p.7.

(5) Ibid., p.3.

enough to find comfort in the thought that in the distant future his work ("a thing so passing good") would be accepted by "posterity."⁽¹⁾ He makes it plain later in his "Peroration" that he foresaw both the neglect into which his books would fall and their subsequent resurrection. He says on this point: "Which kind of writing though it want estimation in some one age, by slightness of the time, yet may win it in another, when weight shall be in price."⁽²⁾ He goes on to say that "some hundred years"⁽³⁾ may pass before saints are enshrined or books receive their full authority. Precisely what he predicted came true. Three centuries after he wrote his books his "labour" became "fruitful":⁽⁴⁾ the doctrines which he advocated became practicable during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and today he is receiving merited recognition.⁽⁵⁾ Almost without exception, the leading authorities who have written on the history of education give Richard Mulcaster generous appreciation as one of the pioneers to whom the educators of today look back with reverence as a master of their craft and a prophet on their mysteries.

(1) Elementarie, p.8.

(2) Ibid., p.286.

(3) Ibid., p.286.

(4) Ibid., p.3.

(5) For example, Wm. Boyd, R.H.Quick, F.P.Graves, S.P.Duggan, Paul Monroe, Foster Watson, Henry Barnard, James Oliphant, Ernest T.Campagnac and Ellwood P.Cubberley.

Part II The Doctrines of Richard Mulcaster

Chapter V. Bases of Theories.

At the outset of the 'Positions' Mulcaster manifests a rare good sense in stating the principles by which he proposed to be guided in presenting his doctrines. With forceful directness he asserts that in the substance of his argument, he will appeal only to nature, reason, custom and exper-
(1)
ience.

He makes a trenchant attack on the use of authority in the statement that "matter is the main, and not the man's name."⁽²⁾ In other words, what makes an argument significant is not who advanced it, but rather what is the intrinsic value of the thought propounded.

He says further: "I do honour good writers, but without superstition."⁽³⁾ Rather naively he continues: "It is not so because a writer said so, but because the truth is so, and he said the truth."⁽⁴⁾ The position here which Mulcaster took may seem very obvious to us at present, but it was no slight matter to reject authority in those days. It was nothing less than a revolt against the spirit and method of nearly all the great writers of his age. Not that he is invariably opposed to the use of authority: what he is against is the abuse of it, or what he calls "overruling the circum-
(5)
stance and overstraining authority."

The ideals of great authors must, he forcefully argues, be used with considerable discretion. In explaining his point of view he asserts that because Plato and others commend a certain practice, that does not prove that it should be adopted in England, for the special circumstances of the
(6)
country may not admit the proposed change. In connection with this prin-

(1) Positions, p.7.

(2) Ibid., p.12.

(3) Ibid., p.13.

(4) Ibid., p.13.

(5) Ibid., p.8.

(6) Ibid., p.11.

principle, he touches on the ethics of writing. Apart from any consideration of local circumstances, he would never put forward a theory to uphold some contention which the author quoted would not support. He aimed to be honest and conscientious in quoting the views of other writers in supporting his own ideas. Actually he was impatient of the prevailing practice of quoting great men, for in his Positions he contends in an unabashed manner that he will not busy himself with citing authors, either to show what he has read or how far he is in agreement with others. Yet though he does not intend to waste time quoting authors or comparing his views with various writers, he says he will give credit for noteworthy ideas, especially if "the ground of the example is so excellent ... as it were too much unkindness not to let the person be known, where the fact is so famous."

In spite of his attitude toward authority and in spite of the fact that he held that he would support his beliefs with "reason", Mulcaster cannot properly be called a rationalist in the Voltairian sense, even in education, for we find that he did not rely entirely or unduly on "reason" as did Voltaire and some of his contemporaries. There were other fac-

(1) In his time slavish regard for the opinions of eminent men - especially classical authors - too often took the place of a direct appeal to rational judgment. Peter Ramus (1515-1572) was perhaps the most active and ardent representative of those who "resented the uncritical appeal to authority." Wm. Boyd, History of Western Education, p.233. Cf. F.P.Graves, Peter Ramus and the Educational Renaissance.

(2) Positions, p.12.

(3) Ibid., p.12.

(4) F.P.Graves asserts in his History of Education, Vol.II, p.311, that the rationalist movement, which had started in English philosophic thought, was popularized and put into actual practice in France in the eighteenth century. He then mentioned Locke's rationalism which he says was "greatly developed" by Voltaire, Diderot and the other encyclopedists. Of course John Locke well deserves the credit Dr.Graves gives him but Richard Mulcaster too, (if we were generous), might possibly be considered one of the forerunners of the later rationalistic movement because of his attitude toward the use of authority and because he boldly based his theories almost entirely on reasoning.

tors which he took into account in solving the problems of education. As already stated, in addition to 'nature and reason' he recognized 'custom and experience' as fundamental criteria of the worth of educational theory and practice. Although he says he accepts custom as one of the bases of his theories, anyone who is willing to make a study of Mulcaster's works will find that he has little deference for it - not nearly so much as his contemporaries. While he took account of 'Nature' (and this move was very significant), his wisdom was due almost entirely to 'reason' and 'experience.' He was not fully content with the four bases of his theories: he was empirical in his point of view and, as he stood for experimentation, he might perhaps be considered one of the forerunners of the modern scientific movement. The very essence of his views was what we today would call a pragmatic position, implying that theory can not be divorced from experience and the truth of a theory is tested by its power to work. In this spirit, Mulcaster upheld this doctrine for he maintains that 'experience' or 'trial' is the best 'proof' of the real worth of a pedagogic principle. Moreover he avers that "practice is able to overthrow even the best meditation." He would try out and evaluate fresh approaches to situations, for he affirms further that his theories are to be put into operation and are "to be reproved" if not found practicable. He kept close to earth. In

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- (1) He has a true regard for 'custom' in dealing with the education of women, but in discussing the "imperfections in the writing of our tongue" he maintains that custom sometimes hinders progress considerably. *Elementarie*, pp.93-94.
- (2) *Positions*, p.12.
- (3) The only way in which any idea ... can be justified is by trying it out against the facts of experience. The truth of anything reveals itself ... in its consequences." Wm.Boyd, *America in School & College* p.
- (4) *Positions*, p.12. (5) *Elementarie*, p.253. (6) *Ibid.*, p.253.
- (7) "Time and trial must justify and enforce his doctrines, he knew: the best precepts must be tested by obedient practice, and practice must be directed by intelligent and unwearying thought. 'Good things', he says, 'grow on very hardly at their first planting', and it is a part of statesmanship to await their development with patience, and to protect them against the assaults of ignorance and of prejudice." E.T. Campagnac in *Introduction to the Elementarie*, xi.

his book, he deals, not with ideal conditions but practical situations. He says: "I mean to proceed from such principles as our parents do build on, and as our children do rise by, to that **mediocrity** which furnisheth (1) out this world, and not to that excellency which is fashioned for another"

It is evident that he was no visionary, but far-sighted in his enunciation of principles. His conception of the unity of human nature, for example, is unmistakable and it is clearly evident that he would, in his scheme of education, develop the whole personality. (2) He recognises the inter-relations of mind and body; and while it is true that he regards the body and mind as separate entities, there is more than a germ of modern thought in his insistence upon the importance of bodily health. It may easily be inferred that Mulcaster holds that 'learning' and 'behaviour' are dependent upon physical fitness. (3) He says: "The soul and body being co-partners in good and ill, in sweet and sour, in mirth and mourning, and having generally a common sympathy and mutual feeling in all passions, how can they be, or rather why should they be severed in training?" (4)

(1) Positions, p.15.

(2) Mulcaster here seems to be in harmony with the new educators. See Wm. Boyd, Toward a New Education. This idea no doubt was inherited from Aristotle who held that the mind and body make up an 'inseparable unity'. On this point Professor L.P.Jacks in an address which appeared in The Lancet, Nov.26 1932, p.1148, asserts: "The idea I have touched upon is one that comes down to us from Aristotle, and is really only another version of the body's inseparable unity with the mind; I mean the conception of the human body as a creative instrument, adapted for skilful activity in a thousand forms, and never complete as a body, never in health as a body, until it finds an outlet for the skill-hunger that animates every fibre of it. The health of the human body is impossible so long as its creative aptitudes are suppressed and its hunger for skill left unsatisfied."

(3) Elementarie, p.4.

(4) Positions, p.40.

He is modern, again, in that he seems to think that education should be based partly on the psychology of the individual.⁽¹⁾ But his psychology is very rudimentary indeed. He presents his views pertaining to the function of the brain, and suggests a very naive conception of the learning process. "To serve both sense and motion", he says, "nature has planted in the body a brain, the prince of all our parts which by spreading sinews" through our frame produces all the effects through which sense passes into motion.⁽²⁾

Connected with this is the recognition of the part played in the 'capacity to perceive'. "We have a perceiving by outward sense to feel", he says in the *Elementarie*, "to hear, to see, to smell, to taste, all sensible things, which qualities of the outward, being received in by the common sense, and examined by fantasy, are delivered to remembrance and afterward prove our great and only grounds unto further knowledge."⁽³⁾ Thus he anticipated John Locke's dictum that there is nothing in mind that was not first in sense.

But though appreciating the basic work of the senses, he did not think of all knowledge as coming from sense perception. He speaks of the function of the 'soul' which he says is to "conceive and comprehend."⁽⁴⁾ Continuing, he asserts: "Last of all our soul hath in it an imperial prerogative of understanding beyond sense, of judging by reason, of directing by both, for duty towards God, for society towards men, for conquest in affection, for purchase in knowledge",⁽⁵⁾ and for such other things as

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- (1) *Positions*, p.27. John Locke (1632-1704), writing a century later, contends that "there can be no true education which does not adapt itself to the nature of the learner." Wm. Boyd, *From Locke to Montessori*, p.27, George G. Harrap & Co., 1917.
- (2) *Elementarie*, p.36.
- (3) *Ibid.*, p.36.
- (4) *Positions*, p.25.
- (5) *Elementarie*, p.36.

minister to the varied uses of our mortal life, and prove its title to continue beyond the sphere of this 'roaming pilgrimage.'⁽¹⁾ He mentions the innate or 'ingenerate' abilities: wit, memory, and discretion, and assigns a purpose for each of these three main powers of the mind, viz.: "wit to take" ... "memory to retain", and "ability to discern".⁽²⁾ Along with discernment he mentions 'discretion' or judgment, but does not develop the idea.⁽³⁾ What he says concerning it will be presented later in connection with the teaching of morality.

He had keen insight into the meaning of childhood and what should be done educationally. He holds that the 'ingenerate' abilities of each child should be studied so that the school work and physical exercises might be adapted to his interests and capacities.⁽⁴⁾ Comenius is generally given credit for this significant principle, but it must not be forgotten that Mulcaster expounded the same doctrine in a most convincing manner half a century earlier. His attempt to use nature as one of the bases of education is praiseworthy. He says: "Nature makes the boy toward: nurture sets him forward."⁽⁵⁾ Nature "is the best guide",⁽⁶⁾ and "seems to crave the help of education."⁽⁷⁾ Again he asserts: education must not force or thwart nature, but must be in harmony with it.⁽⁸⁾ This is the one principle which runs through all his thinking: nature should guide the process of education both in teaching and in learning. Thus he seems to think of education as a natural rather than an artificial process, and believes that the laws or principles upon which education should be based are discoverable in human nature.⁽⁹⁾

(1) Elementarie, p.37.

(2) Positions, p.27; Elementarie, pp.15-19.

(3) Positions, p.28.

(4) Ibid., pp.25-27; Elementarie, pp.38-39.

(5) Elementarie, p.39.

(6) Ibid., p.30.

(7) Positions, p.27.

(8) Elementarie, p.30.

(9) Ibid., p.31.

His works have implicit in them the conception, now commonplace and universally accepted, but then novel, that the individual pupil should be the centre of interest for both teachers and educators. Montaigne drew the attention of the teacher from the subjects to be learned to the learner. Mulcaster advocated practically the same doctrine. He holds: "The end of education and training is to help nature to her perfection, which is, when all her abilities be perfected in their habit ... Consideration and judgment must wisely mark whereunto nature is either evidently given or secretly affectionate, and must frame an education constant thereto." ⁽¹⁾ He contends that the natural abilities and tendencies should be discovered early (even in infancy) and developed and trained assiduously. He insists that these natural capacities "being once espied" must be "followed with diligence, increased by order, encouraged by comfort, till they come to their proof" or fruition. ⁽²⁾

If this ideal is not fulfilled, those who are responsible must be charged either with ignorance or negligence. ⁽³⁾ It is for the benefit of the state as well as the individual that mental diversities and "natural inclinations" ⁽⁴⁾ should be cultivated and not suppressed. The school, according to Mulcaster, is called on to secure the physical well-being of the child, to provide him with a certain amount of knowledge, ⁽⁵⁾ and above all, to promote morality and develop character. There are

(1) Elementarie, p.31.

(2) Positions, p.27.

(3) Ibid., p.25.

(4) Ibid., pp.25-27. Plato held a similar position. In effect his theory is that the individual enjoys most that intellectual labour for which he is most fit; and the state and society are best served when every person's peculiar skill, faculty, or aptitude is developed and utilized to the highest possible degree.

This theory was discussed more explicitly by Rousseau (1712-1778). See Wm.Boyd, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Chs.VI and VII. A brief statement from this work will indicate the tendency of his thought: "The education for life in society, when brought into accord with nature by Rousseau, is found to be in the long run the best education for personal life." Ibid., p.217.

(5) Later this triple function was assigned to education by John Locke (1632-1704). See his Thoughts Concerning Education.

in each individual certain capacities which if discerned and developed by parents and teachers, may eventually be made very profitable both to the individual and the commonwealth. (1)

Mulcaster has much to say concerning physical well-being as indicated in Chapter VIII of this treatise, but he is by no means a materialist: he believes in the spiritual values of life and not in a mere "bread and butter" existence. He says: "To live, to feed, to multiply, to use the senses, to desire, to have natural and unimproved reason - what great thing is it, though it is something more than the beasts have, if the other divine qualities that build upon these are not diligently followed." (2) He stresses the utility of 'virtue' and 'learning' when he contends that the aim of virtue is to guide behaviour; the purpose of knowledge is to increase understanding. (3) Both virtue and knowledge were considered essential for individual development and the obligations of citizenship. (4) The final test of education is whether it is of use to those who receive it and of "service to the country". (5) He recognizes that a synthesis of the two principles is necessary. Account must be taken of the needs and liberty of the individual on the one hand; (6) and the demands of society and the commonwealth on the other. He emphasises especially the welfare of society. (7) "The chief regard" is the "maintenance of the state." Individual needs are evaluated in the light of the well-being and security of the Monarchy. (8) In upholding this position he asserts:

(1) Positions, p.25.

(2) Elementarie, p.37.

(3) Ibid., pp.5, 27.

(4) This idea is still supported. Just recently Lord Irwin, President of the British Board of Education, said that the purpose of education is to train the next generation so that they will be able to fulfil the duties of citizenship. The Times, London, Educational Supplement, August , 1932.

(5) Positions, p.26.

(6) Elementarie, p.19.

(7) Ibid., p.15.

(8) Positions, p.142.

"consider the end wherefor they are to serve when they are once learned, and then their qualities whereby they are proved to be fit for learning. In the end they consider whether he that is learned do live privately to himself or publicly for others. For as those which serve in public function do turn their learning to public use which is the natural use of all learning: so such as live to themselves either for pleasure in their studies or to avoid foreign trouble do turn their learning to a private ease which is the private abuse of a public good. For the commonweal is the measure of every man's being which if any one respect not, he is not to live in it. If he is able to serve and do not, his choice condemns him... Wherein Cicero's opinion seemeth to be sounder than Plato's for the not leaving of philosophers to their private study, if they were fit to serve in any public room. But I do take it that Plato meant the higher public services, such as the chief magistrates and head officers be, which places he still reserveth to his chief philosophers, and in the Monarchy he saveth even the very crown and principality for them. Which so great a charge in any estate the philosophers did seek always to avoid, as being either too troublesome, or too much subject to the people's fury, chiefly in a popular government, such as that of Athens was, where the most philosophers were. In the choice of these wits for this private end, because they could not guess aforehand, what their end would be, they used the same mean for their first train, and fitting of their wit, which they did use for the best, and the most public end."⁽¹⁾

To sum up: He would improve the state by educating each individual for the work he could do best. The peace and perpetuity of the state, he seems to stress as one of his main objectives in education.⁽²⁾ The aim

(1) Elementarie, p.14.

(2) Ibid., pp.257-259.

of education is to help nature to her perfection by developing all the
 various abilities ⁽¹⁾ whereby each person shall be best able to perform all
 those functions in life which his position shall require, whether at home
 or abroad, in the interest of ~~the~~ ⁽²⁾ country in which he was born, and to
 which he "oweth his whole service." In a word, for Mulcaster, education
 is not merely for the good of the individual; it is also for the benefit
 of the commonwealth. ⁽³⁾

(1) Elementarie, p.31.
 (2) Positions, p.185.

(3) Ibid., p.25; Elementarie, p.15.

Part II The Doctrines of Richard Mulcaster

Chapter VI Stages in Education

There are three distinct stages in Mulcaster's scheme of education: (1) elementary, (2) secondary, (3) university instruction. "The Elementarie stretcheth from the time the child is set to do anything till he be removed to his Grammar"; secondary education, "while the child doth continue" to study "learned tongues till he be removed for his ripeness to some university." There is implicit in his plan a genuine 'ladder' system of education, open to all students of ability, and leading from the A.B.C's through the university.

Although Mulcaster recognises that education should begin in infancy, he devotes all his attention solely to the school age. Elementary education, he thinks, should extend to about twelve, but he does not lay down any hard and fast rule to follow with reference to the age for entering school. Both physically and mentally, he indicates, the child must be ready for school work before beginning which shows that he believes that the mental and physiological age of the child should be considered rather than the chronological. He says that when a child should enter school will depend "jointly" on his mental capacity and physical strength. Later he repeats the thought when he asserts that "we must consider the strength of the child's body no less than the quickness of his wit." "If", he says, "the child have a weak body though never so strong a wit, let him grow on the longer till the strength of his body do answer to his wit." Here we find a clear recognition of individuality foreshadowing

(1) Positions, p. 5.

(2) Ibid., p. 5.

(3) It is interesting to note that such a scheme was later commended by Thomas Huxley in speaking of the school system of the United States.

(4) Elementarie, p. 68.

(5) Positions, p. 14.

(6) Positions, p. 14.

(7) Ibid., p. 21.

(8) Ibid., p. 19.

a fundamental principle of modern educational psychology. He holds that it is the duty of the parent to determine when a child should enter school, but adds that although the parent is the best judge of this matter, he needs "council". On this point he asserts: "Yet I do not allow the parent to be an absolute judge, without some council" unless he is especially well qualified. ⁽¹⁾

Then the question arises: What shall the child study while in the elementary school? Mulcaster answers that both reason and custom demand that the subjects "be five in number": reading, writing, drawing, singing, and playing. ⁽²⁾ But all children will not study this "full Elementarie". Just the rudiments of an education in reading and writing are the common right of all. He asserts: "Sure all children may not be set to school, nay not though private circumstance say yea. And therefore schools may not be set up for all, though great good will find never so many founders both for the place wherein to learn, and for the number also which is for to learn: that the state may be served with sufficiency enough, and not be pestered with more than enough." ⁽³⁾ Mulcaster, it will be seen, is opposed to the idea of making provision for educating everybody. But immediately following the words just quoted he contends that every boy and girl should at least obtain the use of the tools of learning - reading and writing - which they could use

(1) Positions p. 21.

(2) Elementarie, pp. 5,20,58. "As to the place assigned to music in Mulcaster's scheme, it might be remarked that this subject had a wider connotation than is given to it at the present day, and probably included elocution and possibly also the theory of numbers." J.H. Lupton, in "The Educational Times", Jan.1, 1893, p.17.

(3) Positions, p. 139. Sir Michael Sadler's plea for new ideals and higher standards shows how far English educational theory has gone, in at least one respect, since Mulcaster wrote his Positions. He holds that "access to a liberal education would be the best birthright for everybody in the modern state"... The needs of the academic elite are highly important and should be safeguarded, but they should not be allowed to fetter the freedom of the secondary schools in giving effectively liberal education to everybody." From a speech delivered at Oxford University, March 27, 1932, which appeared in the Times, London, Educational Supplement, April 2, 1932, p.116.

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either in life or in school if they wish to continue their education.

He affirms that even if no school were "nigh", all - in the long period of their youth - could learn at least reading and writing in their lei-

sure time. ⁽²⁾ To help in this worthy enterprise of giving all children a minimum amount of knowledge, he would appeal to the preacher. He says:

"Every parish hath a minister, if none else, can give help in writing and reading." ⁽³⁾ Reading and writing he would have taught to all "for religion's

sake and their necessary affairs." ⁽⁴⁾ If "some misfortune" ... "suddenly cut off" the child from further training, "to read and write well which may

be jointly gotten is a pretty good stock for poor boys to begin the world withal." ⁽⁵⁾

Luther had advocated just such a training for German children, but Mulcaster was the first English educator to approach the principle of a limited democratic education. He holds that all - boys and girls, both rich and poor - should have the opportunity of receiving an education according to their natural abilities and physical strength. ⁽⁶⁾ Nature, he

thinks, will decide the kind and amount of education each individual should obtain. ⁽⁷⁾ A corollary of much importance follows from this view of

education: namely that the child must be studied and his individuality

recognized. ⁽⁸⁾ While the child is learning to read and to write, "his wit

(1) Positions, p.33.

(2) Ibid., p.139.

(3) Ibid., p.139.

(4) Ibid., p.139.

(5) Ibid., p.34. The pupils who did not intend to finish the 'Elementarie' were not to be taught Latin, but merely the reading and writing of English. Mulcaster thinks all should not devote their time to the study of Latin for he says: "I dare not venture to allow so many the Latin tongue nor any other language unless it be in cases where their trades be known and those tongues be found necessary."

Ibid., p.144.

(6) Ibid., p.175.

(7) Ibid., p.154.

(8) Elementarie, 15-19.

will betray itself whether it may venture further on greater learning." (1)
 Who should go beyond the reading and writing stage and acquire the "greater learning" will depend on the pupil's "wit to conceive" and his "disposition to be virtuous." (2) He previsioned, then, the idea of giving each pupil that sort of learning which he is most fitted to receive. (3) For those who are well qualified (4) he suggests courses in drawing, singing and playing. (5)

He justifies his enriched Elementarie by saying: "First, most of these principles be in use with us already, though not with all persons, yet sure in all places where the liking of these things, and the ability to bear charge do concur in parents", and "secondly even those who have them not yet do wish they had them, when they fall in thinking of them, upon some either pleasant or profitable object, which they find wrought by them." (6) Then he refers to Plato who knew well the things most "needful for the first education of young children." (7) Following this introductory statement, he continues: Plato "findeth out gymnastic for the body and music for the mind, where he construeth music a great deal larger than we commonly do, comprising under that name speech and harmony" in which "he comprehendeth writing and reading for the benefit of speech, as singing and playing for the utterance of harmony." (8)

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- (1) Positions, p.33. (2) Ibid., p.139. (3) Ibid., p.16.
 (4) Elementarie, p.5.
 (5) The opportunity for the "greater learning", Mulcaster contends, should be determined largely by the student's ability, physical strength, "invincible courage" and "virtuous disposition". Positions, 139; Elementarie, p.16. See Ch.V, "Bases of Education" and Ch.VII, "Choice of Scholars."
 (6) Elementarie, p.6. (7) Ibid., p.9.
 (8) Ibid., p.9. "As far as Plato's Institutes of Education served his purpose, he was careful to adhere to them; though he seems totally to have neglected the science of arithmetic, which, in Plato's Academy, was a requisite elementary." Gentleman's Magazine, Vol.70, p.604. Besides, Mulcaster refers to the views of Aristotle and Quintilian. He says the latter thought writing, reading, singing and playing were worth emphasizing. Elementarie, p.8. Professor Campagnac says that Mulcaster "claims high authority for his list of subjects and for the large interpretation which he gives to each of them. Plato, Aristotle and Quintilian are the authors to whom he turns as sponsors, few but fit." Introduction to Elementarie, xii.

Mulcaster valiantly contends that elementary education is the most important stage ⁽¹⁾ in the child's development and demands the best trained teachers, who should be paid the highest salaries. To use his own words: "The first groundwork should be laid by the best workman", ⁽²⁾ and his "reward" should be the "greatest" in view of the fact that his work demands most "pains" and most "judgment". ⁽³⁾ Mulcaster says: "If I were to strike the stroke, as I am but to give counsel, the first pains truly taken, should in good truth be most liberally recompensed: and less allowed still upward, as the pains diminish, and the ease increaseth." ⁽⁴⁾ Besides, in a striking way he urges that younger pupils should be in smaller classes than the older students. "For the first master can deal but with a few, the next with more, and so still upward, as reason groweth on, and receives without forcing." ⁽⁵⁾ It is the foundation well laid that makes the later work secure and lasting. ⁽⁶⁾ If the elementary studies are mastered, pupils will learn quickly and pleasantly in the secondary school, but if the lower work has not been thorough, "too little will be done in too long a time and the school is made a torture." ⁽⁷⁾ He was evidently keenly aware of the shortcomings of the education of his day. Lack of preparation, he holds, is a constant source of trouble both to students and teachers. The grammar school masters, he asserts, "can hardly do any good, nay scantily tell how to place the too too raw boys in any certain form, with hope to go forward orderly, the ground work of their entry being so rotten underneath." ⁽⁸⁾ He says that too many are sent to grammar school who "can scarcely read" and

(1) Elementarie, p.21.

(2) Positions, p.130.

(3) Ibid., p.233.

(4) Ibid., p.234.

(5) Ibid., p.234.

(6) Ibid., p.234.

(7) Ibid., p.33.

(8) Ibid., p.234.

too many try to learn Latin who "never wrote a letter"⁽¹⁾. "Difficulty",
 he affirms, "is a fair pretence to divert one from knowledge."⁽²⁾ The
 lack of proper grounding makes pupils "loth to learn", and incites
 teachers to be harsh in their treatment of children. If the pupil,
 says Mulcaster, "draws back, as not able to bear the burden: there
 riseth a conflict in the master, with passion, if it conquer him:
 against passion if he conquer it. If the master be very sharp witted
 in delivering, and the boy slowheaded in receiving, then the passion
 will lightly conquer. Which it cannot do, where wisdom and consider-
 ation in the master be armed aforehand with patience, or where exper-
 ience, and weariness of extremity have wrought a calmness. And as
 in the master passion breeds heat, so in the child infirmity breeds
 fear, and so much the more, if he find his master somewhat too fierce.
 Whereupon neither the one nor the other can do much good at all, and
 all through this hasty imperfection being the matter of heat in the
 one, and of fear in the other. Whereof if the boy were not in danger
 how peart would he be, and what a pleasure would the master take in
 such a perfect perteling? but when the child is weak, he himself feels
 it in his learning, and the master finds it in his teaching."⁽³⁾ A great
 number of very good students, he explains, are discouraged from ad-
 vanced study too, because of their inadequate elementary education.⁽⁴⁾
 If they are not completely discouraged many of these promising students
 are hindered by having to toil in later years at elementary subjects.⁽⁵⁾

His "Elementarie" is not merely a foundation for further learning:
 it is profitable for those who leave school before completing the
 course. "If study be the student's choice", can any difficulty

(1) Positions, p.256.

(3) Positions, p.257.

(2) Elementarie, p.47.

(4) Ibid., p.259.

(5) Elementarie, p.46.

possibly exist in his later education, provided he has "learned to read and write well", to use pen and pencil adequately in figuring and drawing lines, to judge musical sound and to handle musical instruments? "Nay what shall he find hard, though handicraft be his end? for he may well have all these principles, yea and the mathematics too, and yet aspire no higher, than the plain workman: because those helps be peculiar to such people."⁽¹⁾

Mulcaster devotes but little time to secondary education, but contends that the principles which he enunciates concerning the 'Elementarie' may "be transported afterward" to secondary education.⁽²⁾

Again and again he repeats the thought that primary education is of fundamental importance because it is the foundation of all learning.⁽³⁾ ~~He says~~ that the defects of the Elementarie "feebleth" secondary education which in turn "transporteth the weakness to the university" instructor.⁽⁴⁾

Before a pupil was allowed to enter St. Paul's, or Merchant Taylors' during the Revival of Learning, he had to be able "to read and write competently."⁽⁵⁾ Evidently Mulcaster was not satisfied with this requirement, for he contends that the child should not merely know how to read and write (which meant at that time both Latin and English),⁽⁶⁾ but he should master the other elementary studies as well before attempt-

(1) Elementarie, p.45.

(2) Positions, p.6.

(3) Elementarie, pp.44-48.

(4) Positions, p.258.

(5) St. Paul's Statutes (1512) Carlisle ii, 74.

Merchant Taylors' Statutes, (1561) Carlisle ii, 54.

(6) Positions, p.30. The pupils who, as I have said, did not intend to finish the 'Elementarie' were to be taught the reading and writing of English; whereas the children who planned to take the "full Elementarie" and later enter the grammar school, would learn both Latin and English for Mulcaster says: "I wish the child to have his reading thus perfect and ready in both the English and Latin tongue very long before he dream of his Grammar." See also Positions, p.144.

ing the study of grammar. He says: "For my Elementarie course is to have the principles perfected before the child deal with grammar."⁽¹⁾

As already suggested, Mulcaster holds that the elementary education extends roughly speaking to about twelve,⁽²⁾ but this age is by no means absolute. Since pupils differ in ability and willingness to learn, the length of the elementary course is not the same for all children: it is "determined not by years, but by sufficiency. If years could be limits to knowledge as they be very good leaders, the rule were more certain, but where wit goeth not by years, nor learning without, sufficiency is the surest bounder, to set out, wherein enough is."⁽³⁾

The amount of time to be devoted to the course will depend not on the age of the child, but rather upon his achievement. In dealing with this question Mulcaster says: "When the child can read so readily, and roundly, as the length of his lesson shall nothing trouble him for his reading: when he can write so fair and so fast, as no kind of exercise shall be tedious unto him for the writing: when his pen or pencil shall delight him with brag: when his Music both for voice. and hand is so far forward, as a little voluntary will both maintain, and increase it: all which things the second master must have an eye unto: then hath the Elementarie had time enough."⁽⁴⁾

The mind and body must be prepared for "after training" which will

- (1) Elementarie, p.255. Mulcaster was not quite so radical as Comenius (1592-1671) who "with his wide-minded contempt for petty details ... wished to abolish the formal study of grammar altogether." M.W. Keatinge, (editor), Great Didactic, p.107, A & C Black Co., London, 1910.
- (2) Elementarie, p.68. If the child is educated according to Mulcaster's theories he will learn "more between twelve and sixteen than from seven to seventeen if he begin without this training. Elementarie, 68.
- (3) Positions, p.261.
- (4) Ibid., p.261.

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 not be difficult, Mulcaster says, if his ideals are fulfilled in elementary and secondary education. "Is the compassing of tongues hard?" he asks. "Sure so it is, to one of no foretrain, that never learned grammar, that never read writer, that never proved his style, that never used the tongue. Be the mathematics hard? sure so they be to one not prepared, that never did number, that never drew line, that never knew note, that never marked motion. Be the abilities of the bodies laborious and hard? sure that they be, where no exercise goeth before, where the joints be stiff, where it is painful to prove, what the body can do, being never put to it. But where foretrain is, there ease will follow; where the body is prepared, the purgation worketh: where exercise leadeth, activity will follow, both in those and the rest. They that have these helps well grounded in their youth, as I' said before, may go forward with ease, and stand very fast, where other must needs stumble, which have no such help."⁽²⁾

In the sixteenth century, Grammar meant Latin Grammar, which Mulcaster thinks should be reserved for secondary education. During this stage of learning, he affirms that it is necessary to "have youth well directed in the tongues, which are the ways to wisdom, the lodges of learning, the harbours of humanity, the deliverers of divinity, the treasuries of all store, to furnish out all knowledge in the cunning, and all judgment in the wise, can it be but well taken, if it be well performed?"⁽³⁾ The study of "tongues" and "grammar" must not, however,

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- (1) Mulcaster says that the studies at the universities are not intrinsically hard: the difficulty is due to lack of thorough preparation. *Elementarie*, p.42.
 (2) *Elementarie*, p.44.
 (3) *Ibid.*, p.22.

be thought of as "learning" but merely as a means of gaining the substance of knowledge. Mulcaster refers to language and grammar as only the "key to all cunning", but adds that "where language doth end, there learning doth begin."⁽¹⁾ As the grammar schools were conducted in the Elizabethan era, it was necessary to learn foreign languages in the secondary school not merely to reach the substance of learning but to prepare for the professions, or for the universities. Mulcaster has profound misgivings concerning the nature and purposes of secondary education. He believes in a new type of culture for the secondary school.⁽²⁾ He says: "In time all learning may be brought into one tongue and that natural to the inhabitant."⁽³⁾ Continuing, he affirms, "We attribute too much to tongues". We "mind them more than we do matter". We "esteem it more honorable to speak finely than to reason wisely: whereas words are but praise for the time whilst wisdom wins at length."⁽⁴⁾ In spite of the fact that he thinks that too much time is devoted to tongues,⁽⁵⁾ he contends that until the course of study is modified and the 'learning' found in foreign languages is translated into English,⁽⁶⁾ the secondary school master "must be able to teach the Latin, the Greek and the Hebrew if the place require so much."⁽⁷⁾

(1) Positions, p.22.

(2) In this connection what W.H. Woodward said concerning the subject of our thesis is well worth reiterating. He affirms: "Mulcaster is the uncouth prophet of a new order. For he sees the problem in a modern way. He has shaken himself free of traditional platitudes. He is conscious of a new world, and of the need of a new education adapted to it." The Cambridge History of English Literature, vol. III, p.436.

(3) Positions, p.240.

(4) Ibid., p.240.

(5) See Ch.XI of this treatise: "The Vernacular in the Curriculum."

(6) Positions, p.240.

(7) Positions, p.235. As a rule in the sixteenth century, Latin was required, but Greek and Hebrew were optional.

^PIn dealing with secondary education, Mulcaster makes a brief statement with reference to the work of the grammar school master who has a dual task to perform: first, he must "perfect" the course begun in the elementary school; and second, it devolves upon him to prepare many of his students for further learning at the universities. The secondary school teacher should be well qualified for he has "to deal with those years" which determine the success of all the future course, as both the mind and body in this period of youth are most restless, and therefore are most in need of regulation. To fulfil his duties the master must have "skill in exercising the body", as well as in teaching the academic branches. He cannot neglect one or the other, for the training of mind and body should be "one man's charge." In supporting this position, Mulcaster asks two telling questions: "How can that man judge well the soul whose work consisteth in the body alone? and how shall he perceive what is the body's best which having the soul only committed to his care, posteth over the body to another man's reckoning?" Then Mulcaster emphasises the qualities of a first class instructor who must be "skilful" in his work, which demands good health reinforced by much exercise; he must have "a liberal courage to persist unceasingly in his work with little hope in the way of preferment; he must have a reserve of knowledge to do "that which he doth with pleasure and ease"; he must be cultivated in "manners and behaviour", both of which "require testimony and assurance"; he must have a "virtuous disposition" with a generous amount of intellectual modesty; he must be

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- (1) Positions, p.235. (3) Ibid., p.124.
 (2) Ibid., p.233. (4) Ibid., p.124.
 (5) "Your skill is small", Mulcaster says, "if you think any small skill can do anything well." Positions p.130.
 (6) Ibid., p.127. (7) Ibid., p.129.
 (8) Ibid., p.130. Mulcaster says the teacher is "praised" but "the gain is not great. The repairers get the pence, the preservers reason faire."
 (9) Ibid., p.236, "Store is the deliverer of the best effects." Ibid.131.
 (10) Ibid., p.235.
 (11) Ibid., p.161. Mulcaster says that one should not "mistrust his own power", but "it is virtue not to know all." cf. Ibid., p.236.

cheerful and "delight in the success of his labors" and be an inspiration (1) to every learner, but especially to his most promising students; finally, and above all, the teacher must have foresight and "discretion to judge of circumstances" which "if he have not his cunning is worth naught." (2) (3) Masters who exemplify these qualities in their daily lives "deserve much, but in our schools", he says, "they be not generally found, because the rewards for labour are so base and simple." He adds, however, that (4) qualified teachers could soon be secured if the compensation were adequate.

(1) Ibid., p.236.

(2) Ibid., 131-132; 235-236. On this point Mulcaster refers to the 'master of those who know' by saying: "Aristotle the great philosopher in all his moral discourses tieth all those virtues which make men's manners praiseworthy, and be subject to circumstances, to the rule of foresight and discretion, whose commendation he placeth in skill of specialties to direct men's doings."

(3) Ibid., p.131. The teacher, Mulcaster affirms, can not depend on any rule of thumb. "What will the trainer do?" he asks, "run to his book?" and answers: "Nay, to his brains" for the teacher "must remember ... that circumstances are beyond the reach of art: and are committed to the Artificer whose discretion must help." Positions, p.132.

(4) Ibid., p.236.

Part II The Doctrines of Richard Mulcaster

Chapter VII The Choice of Scholars

In dealing with the problem, who are "fit for learning", Mulcaster shows that he has a practical knowledge both of the difficulties and the possibilities confronting his craft. He begins by pointing out that before the question can be answered satisfactorily, the purpose of education must be determined. It is first necessary, he says, to "consider the end, wherefor they are to serve, when they are once learned and then their qualities, whereby they are proved to be fit for learning."⁽¹⁾

Then he proceeds to discuss these two points. He says: "Public use" is the "natural" purpose of "all learning"... "The common good" is of prime importance.⁽²⁾ "The common weal is the measure of every man's being."⁽³⁾ "The chief regard", he says, should be for "the maintenance of the state."⁽³⁾ Each individual should be educated toward the ideal of the state's perfection. Individual needs are to be strictly subordinated to national welfare; or rather, individual needs are to be evaluated in the light of the well-being and security of the country.⁽⁴⁾ Mulcaster thinks parents and school officials have to keep clearly in view first, the needs of the state;⁽⁵⁾ and second, the ability and nature of the individual. Naturally, every parent wants his child to secure the best education possible, but he "must bear in memory that he is more bound to his country, than to his child, as his child must renounce him in countermatch with his country. And that country which claimeth this prerogative of the father above the child, and of the child above the father, as it maintained the father ere he was a father, and will maintain the child, when he is without a father:

(1) Elementarie, p.13.

(3) Ibid., p.15.

(2) Ibid., p.14.

(4) Ibid., p.259.

(5) The final test of education is whether it is of use to those who receive it and of "service to the country in peace, as best and most natural, in war, as worst, and most unnatural." Positions, p.26

so generally it provideth for all, as it doth require a duty above all. Therefore parents may upon good warrant surrender their interest to the general consideration of their common country, and think that it is not best to have their children bookish." In the last resort, it is not a question of what the parent wants, but what the state needs. The "common good" is the final criterion in deciding the kind and amount of education each individual should receive. To quote Mulcaster's exact words again, "Everyone desireth to have his child educated, but he must yield his own desire to the disposition of the country."

Continuing, he says: "In choice of wits which must deal with learning, that wit is fittest for our state which answereth best the monarchy." He holds that all should have the elements of an education in reading and writing; but all should not become scholars. After stating briefly that anyone who is "set to learning" should have, first, bodily strength, second, superior mentality; third, certain personal attributes, he goes on to expound the subject in detail. A wit fit for learning, Mulcaster says, is one who is "very likely to perform well after his learning is obtained." Such a student must have a body "able for strength and health to abide exercise", and ability to gain and retain "matters of learning" together with "towardness and constancy in matters of living."

As a prerequisite to "learning" he emphasizes the necessity of "health" for the "maintenance" of which he recommends plenty of sleep, "small diet, thin apparel and much exercise." Then he gives the "qualities of the body" most essential for students. He says: "In the body they require, that it be able for strength, and health to abide exercise,

(1) Positions, pp.142-143.

(2) Ibid., pp.143-144.

(3) Ibid., p.142. See heading.

(7) Ibid., p.19.

(8) Positions, 19, 41, 46, 52, and Elementarie, 4, 27, 39, 44.

(4) Ibid., p.142. See heading.

(5) Elementarie, p.19.

(6) Ibid., p.16.

the preserver of the both: that it be of good proportion and correspondent to the mind for travel in study, and if it may be, to have it personable withal, because personableness is an allurements to obedience, a gracious deliverer of any inward virtue."⁽¹⁾

"The qualities of the mind", he thinks most necessary for "wits fit for learning" are "a quick conceiving, a fast retaining" and "an invincible courage"⁽²⁾ to master knowledge. He especially emphasizes the idea that a "sharpness of wit to perceive soon" is indispensable on the part of the student, lest the difficulty should create distaste for learning. Mulcaster insists that a "wit fit for learning" should have "courage to go through all pains", because only natural courage could support the body and mind through the toils of study.⁽³⁾

Another quality highly desirable, he maintains, is intellectual curiosity which causes the student to confer with scholars more learned than himself. It gives him "a desire to resemble the best" and so to become praiseworthy. He touches on all of these points in a very general way when he asserts: "In the mind they consider first the means to conceive well, and to keep fast, and then those qualities, which be fittest for performance, when the habit is had. In conceiving well, first they require a sharpness of wit to perceive soon, without taint of dulness or difficulty by hard learning: because wits shrink and recoil sooner at a thing hard to learn through their dulness, than they do at any labour in the greatest exercise. For in learning the burden is the mind's alone, in exercise the body bears part with the mind. Secondly, they seek for an invincible and laborious courage to go through with all pains. For without such a courage and that naturally had, what wit could away with so much travel of body, so much toil of mind, so much tiring of both in med-

(1) Elementarie, p.16.

(2) Ibid., pp.16-17.

(3) Ibid., p.16.

itation and study? They regard also a desire to be asking, and demanding of others, which be better learned, and a delight to resemble the best, and therefor to be praised: never to be idle, but ever well occupied, though it be in play, so it be worthy praise. In the retaining of that, which they have conceived they require a fast memory to keep well, and a good foresight to continue it well, and by the same means, whereby they first learned, with all those exercises which confirm memory, and make way to further knowledge." (1) Mulcaster thought that a "wit fit for learning" (2) should be susceptible to culture and refinement. He has much to say concerning "courteous behaviour" as a natural accompaniment of a fine intelligence, like the tendency to be stimulated by praise." (3)

For "a general learner", Mulcaster likes one who honestly enjoys the company of others, causing no feeling of antagonism, despising no one, never bragging of birth or wealth. Here he refers to an example of a young man mentioned by Terence who had two characteristics: "the one for learning, the other for behaviour." (4) To use Mulcaster's own words: "For his learning he was neither too excellent to be envied, neither too mean to be condemned, but as not above all in any thing, so not beneath all in any. In behaviour towards others he had acquainted himself to bear with all companies in most variety of behaviour, to yield himself to them in honesty or delight, contrarying none, condemning none, never bragging of his birth, never vaunting of his wealth." (5)

Along with "courteous behaviour" Mulcaster speaks of other personal attributes. "The child", he asserts, "is like to prove in further years, the fittest subject for learning in a monarchy, which in his tender

(1) Elementarie, pp.16-17.

(2) Ibid., pp.17-18.

(3) Ibid., pp.17-18.

(4) Ibid., p.18.

(5) Ibid., p.18.

age showeth himself obedient to school orders, and either will not, lightly offend, or if he do, will take his punishment gently: without either much repining, or great stomaching. In behaviour towards his companions he is gentle and courteous, not wrangling, not quarrelling, not complaining, but will put to his helping hand, and use all persuasions, rather than to have either his master disquieted, or his fellows punished... If he have any excellent towardness by nature, as commonly such wits have, whereby he passeth the residue in learning, it will show itself so orderly, and with such modesty, as it shall soon appear, to have no loftiness of mind, no aspiring ambition, no odious comparisons joined withal. At home he will be so obsequious to parents, so courteous among servants, so dutiful toward all, with whom he hath to deal: as there will be contention, who may praise him most behind his back, who may cherish him most before his face.⁽¹⁾

Qualities which a good man and a good citizen should possess - attributes which decide the amount of success a person is likely to attain in practical affairs - must be taken into account in selecting those who are to be "set to learning."⁽²⁾ Anyone who is 'to go forward' in education must be well fortified with an 'honest disposition' together with "zeal toward moral virtue and civil society for honesty's sake without hope of any profit." In stressing the "foresight of conceit" Mulcaster asserts that one must have stamina so as not to be easily deceived or "soon to be removed from a right opinion by either passion in the self or persuasion of others."⁽³⁾ Neither poverty nor slavery should debar one from a liberal education, for "learning ... was never bond."⁽⁴⁾

All the foregoing considerations lead Mulcaster back to his earlier conclusion that to decide who should be highly trained, it is necessary

(1) Positions, pp.150-151.
 (2) Elementarie, p.19.

(3) Ibid., p.19.
 (4) Ibid., p.20.

to determine the personal attitude of each student toward education and
 (1) behaviour. He thinks it is most urgent to educate "wits allied naturally
 (2) to learning." Later he repeats the thought when he affirms that the people
 who are most suited for advanced education are those who have a natural
 love of learning. Mulcaster here refers to the ancients who chiefly con-
 sidered, in making their choice of minds suitable for education, "what
 affection to learning the child hath by nature."⁽³⁾

With the general objectives clearly in view, he holds that since "the
 (4) end of our being here is to serve God and country,"⁽⁵⁾ those who are qualified
 should be "set to school ... to learn how to be religious and loving, how
 to govern and obey, how to forecast and prevent, how to defend and assail,
 and in short, how to perform that excellently by labour, whereunto they
 are born but rudely by nature", and adds: "It were a great pity if such
 (6) towardnesses should be drowned in us for lack of education."²

Mulcaster deals not merely with the question, who are to be "set to
 (7) learning", but points out the dangers of producing too many scholars. While
 all children can profit by some elementary training in the vernacular, yet
 on the other hand too many seek the higher education in the classical lan-
 (8) guages which is not fit for all. It is a pernicious practice to bestow
 learning on persons unfit for it, as the training will not merely do them
 (9) no good, it will make them "unquiet and seditious" and therefore undesir-
 able citizens. There is always danger, to a state, he says, if a large

(1) Elementarie, p.18.

(2) Ibid., p.13.

(3) Ibid., p.18.

(4) Positions, p.127.

(5) Ibid., p.138.

(5) See p. 57 of this thesis.

(6) Positions, p.134.

(7) Ibid., pp.135,138,144,149.

(8) Ibid., p.144.

(9) Ibid., p.138. In interpreting Mulcaster's position Professor Campagnac says: "Learning bestowed on persons who are unfit for it is, in Mulcaster's judgment, dishonoured: it will do no good to them, but make them dangerous and injurious members of the body politic." Introduction to the Elementarie.

number of people prepared for work lack the opportunity of useful employment.⁽¹⁾ He declares: "Too many burdens any state too far: for want of provision. For the rooms which are to be supplied by learning being within number, if they that are to supply them, grow on beyond number, how can it be but too great a burden for any state to bear? To have so many gaping for preferment, as no gulf hath store enough to suffice, and to let them roam helpless, how can it be but that such shifters must needs shake the very strongest pillar in that state where they live, and loiter without living? Still seeking shifts to live as they may, though with enmity to order, which need cannot see - a perilous searcher it is abroad, to seek to fish in a troubled water, if any cause promote their quarrel, because the clear is not for them, which they have sounded already."⁽²⁾

Continuing, Mulcaster asserts: "If such regard for multitude be had in any one branch of the common weal, it is most needful in scholars. For they profess learning, that is to say the soul of a state: and it is too perilous to have the soul of a state to be troubled with their souls, that is necessary learning with unnecessary learners ... too much out of all proportion, and to have too much even of the soul, is not the soundest, where her offices be appointed and limited in certain. Superfluity and residence bring sickness to the body, and must not too much then infect the soul sore, being in a sympathy with the body? Scholars by reason of their conceit which learning inflameth, as no mean authority saith (St. Paul), become too imperial to rest upon a little: and by their kind of life which is always idle they prove too disdainful to deal with labour, unless need make them trot."⁽³⁾ Further, he boldly contends that it is a distinct loss to the state to allure students of poor ability to the un-

(1) Positions, p.135.

(2) Ibid., p.135.

(3) Ibid., p.136.

(1) practical training of letters. Besides, "each trade must be furnished." (2)
 Summarizing he says: "In all kinds of life, in all trades of living ...
 fitness and right placing of wits doth work agreement and ease; unfitness
 and misplacing have the contrary companions, disagreement and disease." (3)

Since it is found that some restriction on the number of those to be well trained would be highly advantageous, the question arises: how are the limitations to be imposed? Mulcaster thinks that just a few learned persons are absolutely necessary and the need, roughly speaking, corresponds to the supply. (4) Fortunately, he says, circumstances often prevent young people from gaining further education. As if he were talking to the parent, he remarks: "You would have your child learned, but your purse will not stretch, your remedy is patience, devise some other way, wherein your ability will serve. You are not able to spare him from your elbow, for your need, and learning must have leisure, a scholar's book must be his only business, without foreign letters, you may be bold of your own, let booking alone, for such as can intend it." (5) Continuing his advice to the parent, he says: "You have no school near you, and you cannot pay for teaching further off, let your own trade content you: keep your child at home. Your child is weak tympred, let schooling alone, make play his physician and health his middle end." (6)

He considers at some length how the number of the educated is to be kept down. If circumstances do not check those who are unfitted for advanced training, and, if another means for doing so be thought necessary, Mulcaster holds that the number of learned people might be wisely limited by law. In an argument reminiscent of Plato's Republic he suggests that

(1) Positions, p.138.

(2) Ibid., pp.143, 144.

(3) Ibid., p.138.

(4) Elementarie, p.19. "Some few will serve all."

(5) Positions, p.143.

(6) Ibid., p.144.

officials in civil society could help to determine the kind and amount
of education each individual should receive. (1) Selections for the pro-
fessions might be made by the learned and possibly by government appoint-
ees. (2) If this could be done, it would be a distinct gain. Mulcaster says:
"Contentment of mind in the party restrained" would ensue "when he shall
perceive public provision to be the check to his fantasy: and timely pre-
venting, ere conceit take root, and think itself wronged. Because it is
much better to nip disorder in the very ground, that it may not take hold,
than when it is grown up, to hack it down. He that never conceived
great things may be held there with ease, but being once entered in the
way to mount, and then thrown backward, he will be in some grief and seek
how to return gall, whence he received grief, if he chance to prove peevish
as repulse in great hope is a perilous grater. Yet in both these cases
of necessary restraint, I could wish provision were had to some singular
wits, found worthy the advancement. (3) "

Mulcaster holds that "choice" is invaluable, "which begins at the
entry of the elementary school, (4) so it proceedeth on till the last prefer-
ment be bestowed which either the state hath in store for any person or
any person can deserve for the service of the state." Further, he main-
tains that "because 'choice' is to be made by the wit and the wit is to be
applied to the frame and state of the country where it continueth, I will
first seek out what kind of wit is even from infancy to be thought most fit
to serve for this state in the learned kind. (5) Although he believes in
"choice", he adds that there are limitations, (6) depending on the nature of

(1) Positions, p.146.
(2) Ibid., p.143.
(3) Ibid., p.145.

(4) See Ch.VI of this thesis.
(5) Positions, p.150.
(6) Ibid., p.149.

(1)

the individual and the demands of the commonwealth.

When Mulcaster speaks of education he means not merely the equipment needed for a particular position in life, but learning which is broader and deeper than vocational training. (2) A person's vocation will be determined by the ability of the learner in the light of the demands of the country; the school studies will be determined somewhat by the individual's vocational needs and predilections. (3) The teacher and the government would not necessarily find vocations for all, but they would prevent boys from entering occupations for which their ability and personal attributes would clearly indicate that they were not qualified. Mulcaster suggests educational guidance, (4) for he holds that to some extent during the elementary course, (5) the child's inclinations are revealed. (6) All need to learn to read and write, (7) but, says Mulcaster, "I dare not venture to allow so many the Latin tongue nor any other language, unless it be in cases where their trades be known and those tongues be found necessary." (8) "Wits", Mulcaster says, "should be well sorted" to find out whether the pupil is "fit or unfit" for "this or that kind of life." (9) It is essential that education be adapted to the nature and ability of the individual with reference to

(1) See first part of this Chapter.

(2) Professor Campagnac says: "Mulcaster meant by learning the equipment needed for a particular 'job'; but it is clear that he is an advocate of an education broader and deeper than equipment for any particular 'job', because he desires every man to exercise himself in his special function not only for the benefit of himself and his fellow-craftsmen, but also for the benefit of the State." Introduction to *Elementarie*, xvii.

(3) *Positions*, p. 144.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 151.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 16.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 139.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 33.

(8) *Ibid.*, p. 144.

(9) See heading of Chapter V of *Positions*. It is interesting to note in this connection that Dr. Juan Huarte wrote a book in 1575 entitled, *Examen de Ingenios*, in which he stresses the need for trying the wits of children before prescribing their studies. W.J. McCallister, *The Growth of Freedom in Education*, Constable and Company, London, 1931.

his needs and station in life. "If that wit fall to preach which were fitter for the plough, and he to climb a pulpit, who is meant to scale a wall, is not a good carter ill lost and a good soldier ill placed? ... An imperial wit for want of education and ability, being placed in a mean calling will trouble the whole company, if he have not his will, as wind in the stomach: and if he have his will, then shall ye see what his natural did shoot at. He that beareth a tankard by meanness of degree, and was born for a cockhorse by sharpness of wit, will keep a canvas at the Conduites, till he be master of his company."⁽¹⁾ The teacher, who ought to be "friendly acquainted" with the parents, should take their advice after which he will decide who among his pupils have the "ability to go forward"⁽²⁾. He will also determine who are the "duller" students who are to be diverted⁽³⁾ "to some other course" more in harmony with their natural tendencies. He should, however, not "seek their diverting too soon ... for it may so prove that those wits which at first were found to be exceeding hard and blunt, may soften and prove sharp in time and show a fine edge."⁽⁴⁾ In other words, often those who are least promising at first turn out finally to be very capable.⁽⁵⁾ "Probabilities", he says, "be our guides and our conjectures be great though not without exception."⁽⁶⁾ It takes time to find out what a child's inclinations really are.⁽⁷⁾ In Mulcaster's scheme parents of wealth or position had a distinct advantage, for he says, "necessity" often decides to what extent a child may be educated.⁽⁸⁾ Moreover, a boy of poor ability whose parents are rich might be kept in school; whereas a child of "dull wit" whose parents are poor should "not be dallied with."⁽⁹⁾ To support this point of view, Mulcaster asserts: "If the parent's ability

(1) Positions, p.138.

(2) Ibid., pp.153-155.

(3) Ibid., p.154.

(4) Ibid., p.154.

(5) Ibid., p.154.

(6) Ibid., p.141.

(7) Ibid., pp.151 and 153.

(8) Ibid., p.143.

(9) Ibid., p.155.

be such, as he may, and his desire such, as he will maintain his child at school, till he grow to some years, though he grow to small learning, the master must have patience, and measure his pains by the parents' purse, where he knows there is plenty, and not by the child's profit, which he seeth will be small... But in the meaner sort the case altereth, for that as a good wit in a poor child, deserves direct punishment, if by negligence he for slow the obtaining of learning, which is the patrimony to witty poverty: so a dull wit in that degree would not be dallied with all too long, but be furthered to some trade, which is the fairest portion to the slow witted poor." ⁽¹⁾ Mulcaster's attitude in this might seem to be aristocratic, but that is not so; for he goes on to say that poor children of good ability who cannot afford to go to school should be aided by "public or private patronage." ⁽²⁾ He believed ⁽³⁾ in equality of opportunity based on ability, not on class distinctions. In accordance with this view he thinks that endowments for the encouragement of higher learning, should go chiefly to poor boys who manifest marked ability, while at the same time, they should be open on equal terms to the rich who will study that such ⁽⁴⁾ benefactions may not be degraded in general estimation to a form of ~~charity~~

(1) Positions, pp.154-155.

(2) Ibid., p.145.

(3) He affirms that "Nature and need be the chief grounds of this choice for learning" (Elementarie, p.19), and refers to Plato who "in his wished commonwealth" holds that "nature deserveth by ability and worth not where fortune friendeth by birth and boldness, though where both do join singularity in nature, and success in fortune, there be some rare jewel." Positions, p.138.

(4) Positions, p.156. Mulcaster's proposal is not nearly so far-reaching as one suggested by John Ruskin: "I hold it indisputable that the first duty of a state is to see that every child born therein shall be well housed, clothed, fed and educated, till it attain years of discretion." The Stones of Venice, Vol.III, p.232, George Allen, London, 1903.

Part II The Doctrines of Richard Mulcaster

Chapter VIII Method in Teaching

As method in teaching cannot be considered apart from Mulcaster's views concerning physical education, it is necessary at the very outset of this chapter to discuss the training of the physique in relation to intellectual development. Since the natural abilities are to be systematically studied, and since they are developed partly by plays, games and physical exercises, such training is a component part of a well-rounded education.⁽¹⁾

(1) R.H.Quick asserts in the Appendix to Positions, p.307, that the "treatment recommended" by Mulcaster "will surprise some Continental authors who seem to think that physical education had hardly been considered before the appearance of Locke's Thoughts."

In regard to one aspect of this subject, Foster Watson says: "Mulcaster advocates, with irresistible force, the importance of physical training as a basis for mental development, and urges that it should be of such a nature as is fitted to the child at each stage of growth." The Educational Times, Jan.1., 1893, p.15.

The same author, in speaking of Elyot, Ascham and Mulcaster, says: "The Public School traditions of athletic training can trace their line of justification to these eminently English sources." See Introduction to Elyot's Book named the Governour.

For his views pertaining to physical education Mulcaster is indebted in general to the Greeks and Romans, but in particular to Galen (A.D.130-200) and to an Italian physician, Mercuriale, who lived in Mulcaster's own day. Galen in the field of education was indebted to some extent to the Stoic and Epicurean schools of thought as well as to the Platonic and Peripatetic philosophies. In the field of medicine he acknowledged his deep obligations to Hippocrates and the Alexandrian anatomists. The Encyclopedia Britannica (14th edition) Vol.9, 973-4.

With reference to the origin of Mulcaster's theories of physical training, James Oliphant asserts that "it has been pointed out by Schmidt (Geschichte der Erziehung, Vol.III,Pt.I, 374-6) that Mulcaster followed closely, though without special acknowledgment, the De Arte Gymnastica of Girolamo Mercuriale, a contemporary Italian physician. As the science is mostly of the traditional and somewhat fantastic character then prevalent, the discussion is not particularly profitable from a modern standpoint." Writings of Richard Mulcaster, p.17.

Both Schmidt and Oliphant do the subject of our thesis an injustice for Mulcaster says very plainly in Positions, 129-130: "In which kind, for the professed argument of the whole book,I know not any comparable to Hieronymus Mercurialis, a very learned Italian physician now in our time, which hath taken great pains to sift out of all writers, what so ever concerneth the whole gymnastic and exercising argument, whose advice in this question I have myself much used, where he did fit my purpose."

Whenever Mulcaster speaks of education he refers to the training of both mind and body which, he thinks, must develop together. He holds that one must recognize the supremacy of the mind over the body, but since all organs of the body are dependent on each other, if the mind or "soul which is the fountain of life and the quickner of the body" is active, the body will be stimulated; and conversely he says, if the body is exercised the mind will be strengthened. Mulcaster supports these two ideas with the statements that the mind directs the bodily activities, while play and physical exercise stimulate the mind in learning and improve the disposition. "The temperature of the soul smelleth of the temperature of the body." The mind being healthy will draw on the body for all that it needs; the body "assists the mind in all its executions" and "necessities". To have a healthy body, one must have a healthy mind. Healthy thoughts tend to produce a healthy body.

Since health and mental vigour are dependent to a large extent on the growth and development of the physique, Mulcaster insists that all people "sorely" need systematic exercise as an "ordinary discipline", but "particularly" those whose life is in leisure, whose brains be most busied and whose wits are most wearied." Continuing, he contends: "Greatest of all" students need it to counteract the influence of the sedentary work which the school provides together with the unnatural stillness of the classroom. Mulcaster avers that exercise is essential to all teaching and learning. Physical training, he perceives, is indispensable to mental efficiency

(1) Positions, p.124. Elementarie, pp.16 and 27.

See also pp.37 and 54 of this thesis.

(2) Positions, p.25.

(3) Ibid., pp.43 and 45.

(4) Ibid., p.40.

(5) Ibid., pp.23 and 125.

(6) Ibid., pp.43 and 45.

(7) Ibid., p.25.

(8) Ibid., p.22.

(9) Ibid., p.126.

(10) Elementarie, p.27.

(11) Positions, p.25.

(12) Ibid., pp.125-126.

(13) Ibid., p.41.

(14) Ibid., p.41.

(15) Ibid., pp.41-42.

(16) Ibid., 19, 41, 46, 52.

"chiefly in the student whose trade treads it down. Yes, surely, a very natural and a healthful course there is to be kept in exercise, whereby all the natural functions of the body be excellently furthered."⁽¹⁾

Mulcaster believes that students should have plain food and scanty clothing to harden the body,⁽²⁾ for he says: "Parents and masters ought to take such a way, even from the beginning, as the child's diet, neither stuff the body, nor choke the conceit, which it lightly doeth, when it is too much crammed. That his garments which oftentimes burden the body with weight, sometimes weaken it with warmth, neither faint it with heat, nor freeze it with cold. That the exercise of the body still accompany and assist the exercise of the mind, to make a dry, strong, hard, and therefore a long lasting body: and by the favour thereof to have an active, sharp, wise, and therewithal a well learned soul."⁽³⁾ "I do take this train by exercise which I wish to be joined with learning to be a marvellous furtherer."⁽⁴⁾

Mulcaster urged physical training for all boys and girls and teachers as well as students. Even a child of seven years of age should have a little exercise, but "too much mars their growing... Youth from seven to one and twenty", however, "will abide" a great deal of training and should exercise vigorously.⁽⁵⁾ He recognizes the importance of following nature in physical education just as he does in intellectual development. He asks: "Is the body not made by nature nimble to run, to ride, to swim, to fence, or to do anything else which beareth praise in that kind for either profit or pleasure? And finally he wants to know if his plan of education "doth not help them all forward by precept and training."⁽⁶⁾ He draws up a very thorough-going system of physical exercises both indoor and outdoor; and specifies the exercises most helpful in developing health and strength of

(1) Positions, p.22.

(2) Ibid., 46 and 52.

(3) Ibid., p.22.

(4) Ibid., p.46.

(5) Ibid., 119-120.

(6) Elementarie, p.39.

mind and body, on the field, on the playground, and in the systematized gymnasium. Loud-speaking (including recitations and reading), singing, laughing, weeping, holding the breath, dancing, wrestling, fencing, walking (which he considers the best exercise of all for health), running, leaping, swimming, riding, hunting, (which combines all exercises), shooting, handball and football - these exercises our author says will prevent disease, promotes health and learning.

Mulcaster advises moderation in all things, but especially in eating, drinking, and exercise. "Too much liquor drowns, too little dries, both corrupt the carcase. Heat burns, cold chills, in excess both too much, in defect both too little, and both causes to decay", and adds that excesses

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- (1) Reading aloud, which must be soft and calm, exercises the voice, heats the body, and improves the health. Positions, 56, 60, 61.
- (2) Mulcaster stresses the importance of breathing properly. Ibid., 68-69.
- (3) "Show" and "delight" were the purposes of dancing during the Elizabethan age, but Mulcaster would emphasize an entirely different aspect. Dancing, he says, is not merely for "show" and "delight"; it develops poise and is conducive to health and strength. Ibid., 72-73.
- (4) Mulcaster says: "I dare say that there is none, whether young or old, whether man or woman, but accounteth it not only the most excellent exercise, but almost alone worthy to bear the name of an exercise. When the weather suffereth, how empty are the towns and streets, how full be the fields and meadows, of all kinds of folk? which by flocking so a-broad, protest themselves to be favourers of that they do, and delight in for their health... And sure if there be any exercise, which generally can preserve health, which can remedy weakness, which can purchase good behaviour, considering it is so general, and neither excludeth person nor age, certainly that is walking." Ibid., p.82.
- (5) "Moderate running doth warm the whole body, strengthneth the natural motions, provoketh appetite, helpeth against distilling of humours and catarrhs, and driveth them some other way." Ibid., p.48. It not only maintains health but produces pleasure. Ibid., 89-90.
- (6) Mulcaster especially recommends swimming in cold water, which, if done in moderation, "strengthens the natural heat", aids digestion, breaketh superfluous humours, warmeth the inward parts, serveth as a preparative to sleep" and promotes health. "Yet", he says, "long tarrying in the water" hurts the sinews and takes away hearing." Besides, he points out other dangers in this exercise, but adds that "nothing at all ... be it ever so good ... can be gotten without peril in proving." Ibid., 95-96.
- (7) Ibid., 46, 52.
- (8) Ibid., 44, 45, 51, 121.

are unwise in these matters as in everything else. He believes in outdoorplays and games principally, for he says that the "place" should "be open, not closed or covered to have the best and purest air at will where-⁽¹⁾ by the body becometh more quick and lively."⁽²⁾ But as a last resort he would have the students play in the gymnasium for he says: "Whether the weather be fair or foul, the exercise in some kind may never fail."⁽³⁾ He definitely anticipated the playground movement, and suggested that the games and exercises should be under the direction of parents and teachers.

Because Mulcaster thoroughly recognizes the transcendent importance of health and consequently spends much energy in discussing physical education as essential to mental efficiency in school work as well as for the battle of life,⁽⁴⁾ it would seem, perhaps, that he over emphasizes the⁽⁵⁾ subject, but this is a superficial view. He is just as insistent in his advocacy of intellectual development. He stresses the careful regard that he thinks should be had, not less for the pupil's physical development than for his intellectual progress. Indeed, conceiving the intimate relation existing between the mind and body,⁽⁶⁾ he holds that mind-culture and body-culture should be coordinated.⁽⁷⁾ He emphasizes the desirability of exercising the whole nature on the ground that "the soul and body" are "co-partners" and have "a common sympathy and mutual feeling" and therefore cannot be and should not be severed in education.⁽⁸⁾ "The one" should not be "made strong", he says, "and well qualified" while the other "is left

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- (1) Positions, p.45. (2) Ibid., p.115. (3) Ibid., p.53.
 (4) Ibid., 51-52; Elementarie, 27, 44.
 (5) Mulcaster devotes more time to a discussion of physical training than any other educator of the early modern period except possibly John Locke.
 (6) "The idea" of educating wisely the mind and body together" is by no means new." It was familiar "to the ancient Greeks who thought that body should participate with mind in the process of education." L.P. Jacks in The Lancet, Nov.26, 1932, p.1145.
 (7) Elementarie, 15-19.
 (8) Positions, p.40.

feeble and a prey to infirmity? Will ye have the mind to obtain those things which be most proper unto her and most profitable unto you when they be obtained? Then must ye also have a special care that the body be well appointed, for fear it shrink while ye be either in course to get them, or in case to use them." Although he would reinforce the usual academic training with much physical education, each would be kept in proper proportion. To ensure that the "care" would be "equally distributed" he demands that the work be delegated to the same instructor who would "join exercise of body with the principles of the mind."

By principles he means work or study so "fit" in both quality and quantity that "they may take a sure hold of all natural inclinations."

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- (1) Positions, p.40. (2) Ibid., p.126.
- (3) Ibid., p.124. Mulcaster says: "In this my train I couch both the parts under one master's care. For while the body is committed to one, and the soul commended to another, it falleth out most times, that the poor body is miserably neglected, while nothing is cared for but only the soul."
- (4) Elementarie, p.67. This theory which Mulcaster here glimpsed is just now beginning to be expounded with force and enthusiasm by eminent authorities. Professor Jacks, for example, last year declared that educating the mind and body separately "should never have occurred" for, as he says, it "was the putting asunder of two things which God has joined together. It were hard to say whether the human mind or the human body has suffered more from that unnatural divorce. Many of the failures of our present educational system, some of a lamentable kind, can be traced to it." In speaking of what should be done, he points out that there are difficulties to be overcome. For one thing, he says "there is a great dearth of teachers who understand the art ... of coordinating the education of the body with the education of the mind ... The majority (of teachers) know of course, that the body must be kept in health and needs exercise. But very few of them have grasped the fact that the body needs positive education, (a very different thing from mere exercise), as well as the mind and that unless you educate the two together, your education of either is bound to fail of its best results." Teachers "ought to understand the inseparable unity of body and mind and the subtle ways in which the functions of the two penetrate at every point. The play hunger ... under skilful guidance may bring an immense reinforcement to his mental and moral development and double the value of what is taught in the classroom." L.P. Jacks, in The Lancet, Nov.26, 1932, 1147-1148.
- (5) Elementarie, p.33. See p. 40 of this thesis.

Mulcaster avers that "there is too much variety in teaching" which results in "too much ill teaching," and adds: "In the midst of many bypaths there is but one right way."⁽¹⁾ He realises the difficulties involved: the discretion of teachers, he says, is not a criterion of what should be done for most of them are not especially enlightened; while the best instructors are hampered by customary practices in education. This indeed is regrettable, but it is not all. There is another barrier in the way of improvement. Any change, he says, even for the better, is considered a heresy and approval is determined by personal prejudice.

Mulcaster does not believe in coddling, but maintains that the work of the school should be made "so fit" for the child's "years" and "so easy" and interesting that it would stimulate learning and foster intellectual development.⁽²⁾ The content of education, he thinks, should be adapted to the capacity of children and it should be taught to them gradually, step by step, in a reasonable order.⁽³⁾ In regard to the child's abilities, he says: "Being once espied, in what degree they rise because there are odds in children by nature ... they must be followed with diligence, increased by order" and "by wary handling", they may be "drawn on by courage" till "they come to their proof" or fruition.⁽⁴⁾ Thus he saw that there is an order in which studies should be taught, determined not merely by the relation of the subjects to each other, but also by the

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- (1) Positions, p.263. Here he anticipated Pestalozzi's position that "there cannot be two good methods, there is only one, and this is based on the eternal laws of nature." Continuing the statement, he asserted that neither he nor any other man could attain the ideal: "we can only approximately reach it." A.Pinloche, "Pestalozzi", 179. Cf. Wie Gertrud ihre Kinder lehrt, X, sec.22.
- (2) Elementarie, pp.61-62.
- (3) Positions, p.27.
- (4) Ibid., p.27.

capacity of children to understand. When he says that things should be so taught that that which goes before may lead on to that which follows he is only stating the sound principle of 'sequence in teaching'.

Mulcaster thinks that the teacher should not make the school work a "torture" and the pupils fearful for fear impedes learning. (1) He holds that it is the duty of the instructor to guide and stimulate the children's natural activities (2) and suggests that he should teach so clearly and with such system that the pupils will learn quickly, profitably, and pleasantly. (3)

Although Mulcaster has a contempt for slackness and idleness, and holds that the student should be "ever well occupied", (4) even in play, he thinks, nevertheless, that punishment as a goad to learning ought to be eliminated and the stimulus of sympathetic encouragement should take its place. On this point Mulcaster's own words are interesting. He says: "For gentleness and courtesy towards children, I do think it more needful than beating, and ever to be wished, because it implies a good nature in the child, which is any parent's comfort, any master's delight. And is the nurse to liberal wits, the master's encouragement, the child's ease, the parent's contentment, the banishment of bondage, the triumph over torture, and an allurements to many good attempts in all kinds of schools. Give me mean dispositions to deserve, they shall never complain of much beating: but of none I dare not say, because insolent recklessness will grow on in the very best, and best given natures, where impunity prefers pardon, ere

- (1) Positions, p.257. This view is almost modern as that propounded by Comenius who thought that children should be taught to love and reverence - not to fear their teachers. W.S. Monroe, Comenius, p.34.
- (2) It seems that in this respect Mulcaster anticipated Rousseau and Pestalozzi.
- (3) Positions, p.33. Elementarie, 53, 58, 59, 61.
- (4) Elementarie, p.16.

(1)
the fault be committed."

As an incentive in education he recommends "praise", for he says:
"praise never wearies" (2) and since the tendency to be stimulated by it is
(3)
a natural accompaniment of fine intelligence, he would encourage the
child by this means to do his "best" while he would "dissuade him from the
(4)
worse by misliking and frown."

(5)
"Virtue" and "learning" are essential, but if not attained by the
pupils alone voluntarily, the teacher "must use correction and awe." (6)
He thinks that older and younger children should be treated differently,
but he is not very explicit in the matter, except that he insists on
obedience on the part of the pupils and holds that appeal must not be made
to the supreme faculty too early, for young children while "yet under the
(7)
rod" learn the "elements more by rote than by reason, without feeling
themselves either much pains or any profit." The work, although "easy

- (1) Positions, 278-279. Generally speaking in the sixteenth century "corporal punishment was used not only as a corrective for evil, but as the chief incentive for study." Paul Munroe, Textbook in the History of Education, p.38.
Cf. W.H. Woodward: "It is a standing puzzle to us today that men of strong intelligence, knowing however little of boys, should assume, without question, that a rigorous course of grammar, construing, composition and conversation in Latin, and that only, must appeal to youthful minds. They do not seem to have understood that, to win effective attention to arid and meaningless material, nothing less than the most harsh pressure could be expected to succeed with the average boy." Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol.III,435-6.
- (2) Positions, p.30.
(3) Elementarie, 16-17.
(4) Positions, p.27.
(5) Elementarie, p.18.
(6) Positions, p.67.
(7) Mulcaster says: "By the rod I mean correction and awe." p.273. He doubts the wisdom of whipping very young children, for he says: "We that teach do meet with too much toil, when poor young babes be committed to our charge, before they be ripe. Whom if we beat we do the children wrong in those tender years to plant any hatred, when love should take root, and learning grow by liking", which is not unlike the view of Pestalozzi. Positions, pp.23-24.

and pleasant", will not be appreciated by the pupils until later when "they can judge what they do" It will be helpful, however, as a foundation for "further learning"⁽¹⁾

It will be seen from this that Mulcaster believed that the practice of the best in conduct may be enforced by the teacher until the child is old enough to appreciate moral values.⁽²⁾ To use his own words: "children profit more by practice, than by knowing why, till they feel the use of reason."⁽³⁾ Reason directs years, rote rules in youth; reason calls in sense and feeling of pain, rote runs on apace and mindeth nothing else but either play or a little praise."⁽⁴⁾

It is evident that Mulcaster thinks that obedience and social conformity, if insisted on in childhood, will be valuable in manhood. "That child", he says, "is likely to prove in further years, the fittest subject for learning in a monarchy, which in his tender age sheweth himself obedient to school orders, and either will not lightly offend, or if he does, will take his punishment gently: without either much repining, or great stomaching. In behaviour towards his companions he is gentle, not wrangling, not quarelling, not complaining, but will put to his helping hand. At home he will be so obsequious to parents, so courteous among servants, so dutiful towards all, with whom he had to deal: as there will be contention who may praise him most behind his back, who may cherish him most before his face."⁽⁵⁾

He would have the child do what he ought of his own free will and accord without thought of punishment, for he says that the "best way" to ensure "good speed" in learning so that "wit may conceive" well, so that "memory" may "retain and hold fast" so that "discretion" may "choose and

(1) Elementarie, p. 43. See Ch.VIII of this thesis.

(2) Elementarie, pp.27, 43.

(3) Ibid., p.43.

(4) Positions, pp.31 and 170.

(5) Ibid., 150-151.

discern" the best, is "to ply them all, as they may proceed voluntarily, and not with violence, that will may be a good boy, ready to do well, and loathe to do ill, never fearing the rod, which he will not deserve. "⁽¹⁾

When Mulcaster suggests that force is "not the best means" of instilling virtue or promoting learning,⁽²⁾ he seems to recognise the importance of the innate urges in human nature. "Beating", as he points out not merely dulls the child's wit, but discourages the teacher and thereby retards the child in the learning process.⁽³⁾ The rod is necessary however, as a last resort in the home as well as at school, if only as a means of punishing the children for lewdness and laziness.⁽⁴⁾ Speaking of pupils who misbehave, he says: "We must needs then beat them for not doing well where nature is corrupt"..⁽⁵⁾ "For the rod may no more be spared in schools, than the sword may in the Prince's hand. By the rod I mean correction, and awe: if that sceptre be thought too fearful for boys, which our time devised not, but received it from ancients, I will not strive with any man for it, so he leave us some means which in a multitude may work obedience. For the private, whatsoever parents say, my lady birchely will be a guest at home, or else parents shall not have their wills."⁽⁶⁾

(1) Positions, p. 28.

(2) Ibid., pp.67. This view reminds us of John Locke's theory that 'beating' is the worst, and therefore, the last means to be used in the correction of children.' W. Boyd, in The History of Western Education, p.290. Mulcaster thinks that the pupils by their own free will and accord, primarily, achieve the two main objectives of formal education, for he asserts that "free will is the principal standard to know virtue by (which is voluntary and not violent)" yet he contends that force should be used if necessary.

(3) Ibid., pp.33 and 257.

(4) Ibid., pp. 274-275. "If Mulcaster retained the rod he used it only for "lewdness and laziness". W.J.McCallister, the Growth of Freedom in Education. p. 277.

(5) Ibid., p. 67.

(6) Ibid., pp.273-274.

Mulcaster contends that children should not be whipped for inability to learn. However, if they are capable but neglect to use their natural gifts, he thinks they should be punished for their negligence. To use his own words: "Sure to beat him for learning which is willing enough to learn, when his wit will not serve, were more than frantic: and under the name of not learning to hide and shroud all faults and offences, were more than foolish: and what would that child be without beating which with it can hardly be reclaimed? in whom only lewdness is the let, and capacity is at will? the end of our schools is learning: if it fail by negligence, punish negligence; if by other voluntary default, punish the default.⁽¹⁾"

In the matter of punishments, Mulcaster insists, there is need for understanding between home and school. In his day as in ours, the parents were not always as wise as they might be, and the teacher needs discretion if the effects of his discipline are not to be nullified by contrary influences from the home. "Certainly it is most true", he says, "that the round master which can use the rod discreetly, though he displease some who think all punishment indiscreet, if it touch their own, doth perform his duty best, and still shall bring up the best scholars: As no master of any stuff shall do but well, where the parents like that at home, which the master doeth at school: and if they do mislike anything, will rather impart their grief and displeasure with the master privately, to amend it, than moan their child openly, to marr that way more than they shall make any way. The same faults must be faults at home, which be faults at school, and receive the like reward in both the places, to work the child's good by both means, correction as the cause shall offer, commendation as need shall require."⁽²⁾

He returns to his general principle that justice must be tempered

(1) Positions, p. 274.

(2) Ibid., p. 275-276.

with mercy and severity with courtesy. "They that write most for gentleness in training", he says, "reserve place for the rod, and we that use the term of security recommend courtesy to the master's discretion. Here is the odds: they will seem to be courteous in terms, and yet the force of the matter makes them confess the need of the rod: we use sharp terms, and yet yield to courtesy more than even the very patrons of courtesy do, for all their curry favour."⁽¹⁾

Here he speaks from personal experience, "my self had thousands under my hand, whom I never bet, neither they ever much needed: but if the rod had not been in sight, and assured them of punishment if they had swerved too much, they would have deserved: And yet I found that I had done better in the next to the best, to have used more correction, and less courtesy, after carelessness had gotten head. Wherefore I must needs say, that in any multitude the rod must needs rule: and in the least paucity it must be seen, howsoever it may sound. Neither need a good boy be afraid, seeing his fellow offender beaten, any more than an honest man, though he stand by the gallows, at the execution of a felon."⁽²⁾ The master must make clear to parents and students the exact punishments to which he will resort and therefore he will be compelled to make "a catalogue of school faults, beginning at the commandments, for swearing, for disobedience, for lying, for false witness, for picking, and so throughout: then to the meaner heresies, truancy, absence, tardiness, and so forth." For each of these offences a certain number of stripes ("not many" but "immutable") should be administered.⁽³⁾ For Mulcaster, the certainty, not the severity of the

(1) Positions p.276.

(2) Ibid., p.279.

(3) Ibid., p. 274. Despite the fact that he advises the teacher to "keep the young in awe", and recommends severity rather than laxity, he says, that the master must always "have a fatherly affection even for the unhappiest boy", and must consider "the school as a place of amendment". p. 280.

punishment was significant.

In all this discussion of disciplinary punishment there is no clear indication that Mulcaster realised that the teacher in his punishments is expressing the judgment of the school community. But it is worth adding, in order to complete the discussion that he was not altogether blind to the need for enlisting the co-operation of the pupils in dealing with what is fitting and proper in the classroom and on the playground. In support of this point of view he says: "The Master is to take good heed, that the fault may be confessed, if it may be, without force, and the boy convicted by verdict of his fellows, and that very evidently"⁽¹⁾ If the fault is not confessed without compulsion, and the wrongdoer convicted beyond doubt by his fellow students, the culprit will rely on the credulity of his parents and complain at home that he has been beaten⁽²⁾ "without cause."

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- (1) Positions, p.275. There is a striking contrast between Mulcaster's position and a modern conception of school discipline held by Dr.W.C. Bagley who asserts that "to compel anyone to do anything is about as far from the present-day ideals of good teaching as anything could be" "Editor's Introduction to P.E. Harris' Changing Conception of School Discipline (1928) p.XI.
- (2) Ibid., p. 275. In the Elizabethan age, the studies were "not such as to arouse in the pupils a spontaneous interest", therefore, "recourse had to be made to various external motives. While prizes were offered and other appeals were made to the sense of pride and ambition in the pupils, the strongest was furnished by fear. Supreme confidence appears to have been placed in the rod or bundle of switches. Not infrequently, the schoolmaster was a severe taskmaster, who relied upon his rod to inspire his pupils to be regular and punctual in attendance, to memorise and recite their lessons, and to speak Latin in and near the school. While some of the pupils may have had 'their diligence heightened' by such treatment, not a few came to thoroughly dislike both school and learning". A.M. Stowe, English Grammar Schools in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. p. 140-143.

Part II The Doctrines of Richard Mulcaster

Chapter IX The Problem of Learning

Until the pupil is about twelve years of age the course of study should be easy and pleasant and this ideal can be fulfilled if Mulcaster's principles are generally followed. ⁽¹⁾ His easy course will, he says, prove of more lasting benefit to the child than the usual toil. Indeed, it will produce even better results in the long run, because the pupil will not be 'set against learning.' ⁽²⁾ So when the time comes for more advanced and difficult study, he will enter into it more readily and more whole-⁽³⁾heartedly.

In this connection he re-states Plato's theory of learning as reminiscence. He asserts: "Our learning is but a calling to remembrance of foreacquainted skill, the soul having in it naturally, and from her first being all manner of learning, though never uttering it, but when it is moved by foreign occasion, confirmeth this opinion of facility in learning, after these principles be once laid. For if the general conceit in nature by way of principle do make all knowledge to seem of old acquaintance, and the things themselves to be no sooner named, than straightway perceived, ~~as of no new~~ familiarity, no sooner heard but straight called to remembrance." ⁽⁴⁾

It is this discovery of the essential ideas in all learning that ⁽⁵⁾ makes study in its very nature both enjoyable and profitable. The reason that these ideals can be made practicable is that true learning in any form leads to self-realisation and the development of the whole person-

(1) Elementarie, 47-49.

(3) Ibid., p.44.

(2) Ibid., p.53.

(4) Ibid., p.45. Dr. Boyd, interpreting Plato's view on this subject, says, concerning education: "It is a turning or conversion of the soul as a result of which all the powers which it possessed from the beginning develop and mature." Wm. Boyd, Introduction to the Republic of Plato, p.154, Allen and Unwin Co., London, 1904.

(5) Elementarie, 47, 49.

(1)
 ality. "Why is it not good", he asks, "to have every part of the body
 and every power of the soul fined to the best?" (2) The idea here expressed
 is an anticipation of the modern doctrine of wholeness: the necessity
 of thinking in terms of the whole life of the child with chief emphasis
 on his natural tendencies and the recognition of the fundamental importance
 of utilizing all activities and natural "towardnesses". (3) It is this idea
 that leads Mulcaster to aim at making the scheme of learning conform to
 the development and working of the human mind, and take into account the
 various interests and natural tendencies of the individual. "We must
 seek for natural inclinations in the soul, which seem to crave the help
 of education and nurture, and by means of these may be cultivated to ad-
 vantage." This implies that a variety of subjects should be studied,
 corresponding to the various natural abilities possessed by each individual. (4)
 For every ability there should be work or study, (what Mulcaster calls an
 artificial principle). (5) The elementary education he suggests "resembleth

(1) Elementarie, p.31.

(2) Positions, p.34.

(3) Mulcaster here seems to be in harmony with a modern writer who asserts that "it rests with us ... to press the idea of the whole man as the guiding principle of educational reform." L.P. Jacks, The Education of the Whole Man, p.73, London University Press, 1931.

(4) Elementarie, p.262. Mulcaster would not willingly limit the range of the pupil's capabilities. "Nature" he says, "offereth a variety of gifts" and "industry ought to use ... that which is offered." Ibid., p.41.

(5) Mulcaster says: "I call those artificial principles which man's wisdom having considered the entendment of nature doth devise for himself, so many in number, and so fit in quality, as they may take sure hold of all natural inclinations and abilities, and bring them to perfection by the like mean, and the like ascent, in training them to that end, which policy doth shout at, as nature sheweth herself to be very well willing to follow the hand of any such a trainer, by such a mean as is devised, to such an end, ad she desireth: As in the former examples of the hand to hold sure, and the mind to foresee, which be natural abilities, artificial principle is to use such exercises, and so considerate experiments, and with such preciseness in the use of them both, as the hand may hold best, and surest with all, the mind foresee most, and furthest withal. Where nature grounded only bare holding, and simple foresight, direction intended the best in them both, as nature did not seem to be very forward in either, whose perfection lies in both." Ibid., p.33.

nature both in number of abilities and manner of proceeding" in teaching, (1)
 and this makes it desirable to take "nature" for the "best guide" in elementary training as in the later stages of the educative process. On this point his archaic expression is interesting: "As nature is unfriendly, wherever she is forced, so is she the best guide that anyone can follow, whenever she favoureth." (2) Mulcaster believed that education must neither force nor repress the child, but should "help nature" to her perfection. (3) He is very insistent on this fact that nature shall guide any effective learning process. "It is hard to pull against the stream", he says, "as it is wondrous easy to row with it." (4) He postulates that for the natural abilities there must be provided an educational content and method or "artificial principles" in harmony with individual development. (5)

In order to get the pupils to learn well at this stage, Mulcaster would appeal to the senses. He asserts: "We have a perceiving by outward sense to feel, to hear, to see, to smell, to taste all sensible things, which qualities of the outward, being received in by the common sense, and examined by fantasy, are delivered to remembrance and afterward prove our great and only grounds unto further knowledge." (6) "The hand, the ear, the eye, be the greatest instruments, whereby the receiving and delivering of our learning is chiefly executed, and doth not this Elementarie instruct the hand to write, to draw, to play? The eye to read by letters, to discern by line, to judge by both. The ear to call for voice, and sound with proportion for pleasure, with reason for wit? and generally whatsoever gift nature hath bestowed upon the body, to be brought furth or bettered by the mean of train, for any profitable use

(1) Elementarie, p.30.

(2) Ibid., p.30.

(3) Ibid., p.31.

(4) Ibid., p.18.

(5) Ibid., 30-42. See Chapter V of this thesis.

(6) Ibid., p.36.

in our whole life, doth not this Elementarie both find it, and foresee
 it?"⁽¹⁾ Here he reiterates practically the same thought as stated pre-

viously, when he says "that for every ability in nature to have us to be
 such there is some principle in this Elementarie to make us to be such."⁽²⁾

And finally he emphasizes one of his favourite ideas, that there are
 no natural gifts that cannot be helped forward by training and most pains
 should be taken where nature is most lavish. If teachers and parents do
 not see these innate qualities, or if they see them and do not "nurture"
 them, both the state and the individual are thereby weakened.⁽³⁾ According
 to Mulcaster, there are "two parts" to learning": "virtue" and "knowledge".⁽⁴⁾
 He stresses virtue and behaviour; knowledge and understanding. "Learning"
 is not divorced from "behaviour."⁽⁵⁾ The aim of virtue is to guide behaviour;
 the purpose of knowledge is to increase understanding⁽⁶⁾ and both help the
 individual to perfect the commonwealth.⁽⁷⁾ He defined virtue as "a remorse
 to do ill and a desire to do right according to necessity."⁽⁸⁾ Virtue is
 not merely to be taught: it must be practised.⁽⁹⁾ Mulcaster would emphasize

(1) Elementarie, p.39.

(2) Ibid., p.38.

(3) Positions, p.25.

(4) Elementarie, p.27.

(5) Ibid., p.18.

(6) Ibid., p.27. Professor Campagnac avers that "it would be hard to find a sounder and wiser statement of the value of knowledge and the significance of conduct than this of Mulcaster, whose pithy philosophy is compact in a kernel of commonsense and carried in plain, strong words." Introduction to Elementarie, xii.

(7) See Chapter VII of this thesis.

(8) Elementarie, p.18.

(9) Ibid., 27, 29. For these ideas he might have been indebted to Aristotle, who held that 'well being' is the goodness of intellect, while 'well doing' is the goodness of character, and that virtue does not consist of mere knowledge but the functioning of knowledge.

manners and morality "both by precept and performance." He says "Practice (1) that in deed, which is commanded in word... Honour is in action." (2) Vir-
tue is not private: people must be virtuous in their association with others. His idea of goodness does not consist merely in thinking good thoughts: he would link virtue to the conduct of life.

For this reason parents have their part in the educative process. For as Mulcaster says, the pupils may learn "those things" easily which are really essential if "their parents will be careful a little more than ordinary." (3) The upbringing of a child is too serious an obligation to be thrown entirely upon the teacher. (4) Since parents have more "authority over children" than teachers, they must assume the burden of responsibility. (5) From his viewpoint it is the duty of the parent primarily to lead the child to the highest principles of morality, but the teacher also can do much in this direction. He believes that moral standards should be based on Christian doctrines, and insists that children should practise what they are taught. (6) In supporting this view, he says: "This concordance between the parent at home and the teacher in school for the virtuous training up of their little young ones, is in very deed, to bring them unto

(1) Elementarie, p.27. "Cannot one imagine with what care Mulcaster taught his boys deoprtment before they went with him to Kenilworth to perform their masques and to take part in Leicester's pageant in honour of Queen Elizabeth." H.T.Mark, History of Educational Theories, p.132.

Here Mulcaster is more advanced than Roger Ascham (1515-1568) who, "like the other humanists, saw in education the social instrument for developing virtue and enhancing cultural attainments through literary study. Like them he failed to analyse his basic terms, virtue and culture, and sacrificed the aesthetic and social values for the purely linguistic aspects of literature. Education was never directed to participation in life." Paul Klapper in the Encyclopedia of the Social Science, Vol.II, p.267.

(2) Elementarie, p.27.

(3) Ibid., p.5.

(4) Ibid., p.25.

(5) Positions, p.28, and Elementarie, p.5.

(6) Elementarie, p.26.

Christ, as we be bid in Scripture. For what else is it, I pray you, for a child to come to Christ? or of what other force is it to be a Christian child? Sure not to be baptised only in the name of Christ, but both for truth in religion, and matters of knowledge, both for virtue in demeanour, and matters of living, to be brought up so, as he may truly resemble Him, whose name he beareth, and faithfully serve Him, whose conscience he carrieth.⁽¹⁾ Mulcaster contends that all should take an "interest" in the moral behaviour of young people: "Parents by nature, masters by charge, neighbours of courtesy, all men of all humanity."⁽²⁾

In other realms of learning aside from conduct and morality, Mulcaster exalts the doer as well as the learner, and recognizes the constructive side of work. He believes thoroughly in the dictum: 'Learn to do by doing' and refers to the "rule of Aristotle ... that the best way to learn anything well" which has to be done after it is learned, is always to be "a-doing" while we are "a-learning."⁽³⁾ In dealing with the learning of grammar, for example, he says, "the end of any art is wholly in doing."⁽⁴⁾ Besides perception, Mulcaster stresses the significance of imitation, memory, judgment, and understanding.⁽⁵⁾ The fact that children are prone to imitate those around them leads him to suggest the necessity of good companions. In regard to the other factors in the learning process, Mulcaster says, that the best way to secure real progress so that the intelligence may conceive clearly, memory may hold fast, and judgment may choose and discern the best, is to ply them all that they may proceed voluntarily and not with violence."⁽⁶⁾ Knowledge, he holds, should not over-burden the memory, but should increase understanding. In speaking of the duties of

(1) Elementarie, p.26.

(2) Positions, p.28.

(3) Elementarie, 248-249.

(4) Ibid., p.248.

(5) Positions, 25-27.

(6) Ibid., 27-28

the grammar school instructor, Mulcaster says that in teaching he ought to "give notes by the way", but insists that it is a serious mistake to (1) "burden the child's memory with any more" than is absolutely necessary. He thinks a student should "commit a part of his work to memory" and merely "study the other part". (2) If the work is within the pupil's capacity, (3) it will provide him with some delight and appeal to his memory, which should be furnished with the best material, seeing it is a "treasury". The portion of the work to be memorised ought to be "pithy, short, and apart... no more than needful." (4) But learning calls for more than memory, Reason is supreme in man and ought to be used aright in the child's education. "Our soul hath in it", he says, "an imperial prerogative of understanding beyond sense, of judging by reason" (5) which "is our difference in comparison with beasts though we use it but meanly: so is it our excellency in comparison with men if we use it to the best." (6) In accordance with this he lays considerable stress on the development of judgment which functions in morality, in order that children may learn "to discern that which is well from ill, good from bad, religious from profane, honest from dishonest, commendable from blameworthy, seemly from unseemly."

Like J.L. Vives, to whom he refers, he made a strong protest against a contemporary practice of over-haste in the task of educating young people. (7) A child of good ability should not be allowed to begin his training too early, nor should he be pushed on too rapidly. If either is done there are two grave possibilities: his health will be impaired or he will be surfeited with

(1) Positions, p. 236.

(2) Elementarie, p. 68.

(3) Ibid., pp. 61-62.

(4) Ibid., p. 68.

(5) Ibid., p. 36.

(6) Ibid., p. 38.

(7) Positions, p. 259.

(1) knowledge." Speaking of the 'Elementarie' he says that "insufficient skipping from thence too soon makes a very weak sequel... Haste is such a foe" while "ripeness is such a friend."⁽²⁾ If pupils are rushed "head-long" through the school, they are not able to grasp the essentials of the subject matter. "Therefore pushing forward at first ... mars all" after learning. Mulcaster is resolutely opposed to the cramming process and deplors "haste" in secondary training as well as in elementary education.⁽³⁾ Education cannot be a hurried process; learning must have leisure.⁽⁴⁾ It takes time for growth and development. His dictum: "Lack of time ... brings lack of learning"⁽⁵⁾ applies with equal force to all stages of education from the Elementarie to the university.⁽⁶⁾ "Time", he says, "perfecteth all"; "it is the mother to truth, the touchstone⁽⁷⁾ to ripeness, the enemy of error" the true support and help of man.

Mulcaster believes in public rather than private training, for he holds that learning is a social enterprise. Students can advance by their own efforts, yet their learning is nothing so sound as under a teacher. "Education", he says, "is the bringing up of one not to live alone but among others (because company is our natural cognisance) ... Friendship makes things to be most common by participation."⁽⁸⁾ The interest stimulates intercourse with the teacher and with fellow students, makes for fluency in speech and facilitates the learning of language. On this point, says Mulcaster: "If the private pupil chance to come to speak, it falleth out mostwhat dreamingly, because privacy in training is a punishment to the tongue: and in teaching of a language to exclude companions of speech, is to seek to quench thirst, and yet to close the

(1) Positions, 19-20.

(2) Ibid., p.5.

(3) Ibid., pp.5, and 258-260.

(4) Ibid., p.143.

(5) Ibid., p.259.

(6) Ibid., p.260.

(7) Ibid., p.260.

(8) Ibid., p.184.

mouth so as no moisture can get in. If he come to write, it is lean, and nothing but skin, and commonly betrays great pains in the master, which brought forth even so much, being quite bereft of all helping circumstance, to ease his great labour, by his pupils' conference, with more company. Which is but a small benefit to the child, that might have had much more if his course had been changed. He can but utter that which he hears, and he hears none but one, which one though he know all, yet can utter but little, because what one auditory is two or three boys for a learned man to provoke him to utterance?"⁽¹⁾ "The child is not alone, and there must he learn that which is laid unto him in the hearing of all and censure of all."⁽²⁾ Association with fellow students is indispensable in developing the best qualities in the individual. Comparison of one's own progress with that of others is⁽³⁾ salutary. He thinks a good student will "delight to resemble the best". To quote again, "Comparisons inspire virtue, hearing spreads learning." If a child does "something at home, what would he do with company?" The pupil needs "an adversary to quicken the spirits, to stir courage, to find out affections."⁽⁴⁾ Since people have to live with each other in later life, why should he not begin in a natural situation during childhood?⁽⁵⁾ The group with superiors, inferiors, and equals in it, is a stimulus to mental activity, A student, as Mulcaster says, should "have one companion before him to follow and learn of, another beneath him to teach and vaunt over, and a third of his own standing with whom to strive for praise of forwardness."⁽⁶⁾

In summing up, Mulcaster says: "To knit up this question of public

(1) Positions, p.188.
 (2) Ibid., p.186.
 (3) Elementarie, p.16.

(4) Positions, p.190.
 (5) Ibid., p.191.
 (6) Ibid., p.191.

and private education, I do take public to be simply the better: as being more upon the stage, where faults be more seen, and so sooner amended, as being the best mean both for virtue and learning, which follow in such sort, as they be first planted. What virtue is private? wisdom to foresee, what is good for a desert? courage to defend, where there is no assailant? temperance to be modest, where none is to challenge? justice to do right, where none is to demand it? what learning is for aloneness? did it not come from collection in public dealings, and can it show her force in private affairs, which seem afraid of the public?"⁽¹⁾

The learning process, as Mulcaster realises, is wider than the life of the school. Parents as well as teachers come into it.⁽²⁾ Both are essential in providing the proper stimulus for learning, and even the neighbours have their share in it.⁽³⁾ Mulcaster would take advantage of this natural situation. He urges that it is most essential, if the pupils are to be effectively trained, that meetings of parents and teachers be arranged so that they might confer from time to time concerning the welfare of the children while they are in school and college.⁽⁴⁾

Mulcaster has much that is wise to say about the organisation of school life. Among other things he held that school hours were too long, and he was right, for they lasted from seven to eleven o'clock in the morning and from one to five in the afternoon. Likewise he believes that there would be more facility in learning if "there were no admission into schools, but four times in the year" and students promoted in an

(1) Positions, p.191.

(2) Ibid., p.155, and Elementarie, p.25.

(3) Positions, pp.281-291. Mulcaster "while constant at his post and bound to his task, perceives the meaning and value of what he has to do in relation not only to the school, which it is his immediate business to serve, but to the larger community in which he and his school have their part and place." Professor E.T. Campagnac, Introduction to the Elementarie, xix-xx.

(4) Positions, p.281. Mulcaster was probably indebted to Juan L. Vives for the idea of conferences between parents and teachers. Cf. Foster Watson, Vives on Education, p.xxxv.

orderly fashion "quarterly, that the children of foresight might be matched, and not hurled hand over head into one form as now we are forced, not by substance, but by similitude."⁽¹⁾

School regulations, in his opinion, should be definite. Both parents and children should know about the times of admission, the text-books, the method of teaching, the intervals of play, the hours of work, the conditions of promotion, and all other matters of vital importance into which uniformity can be introduced and fixed by authority.

Although he would have the student study several subjects corresponding to the diversity in natural abilities,⁽²⁾ that does not mean that the student would have a large number of books. Indeed, if Mulcaster had his way, the pupil would have fewer but better text-books,⁽³⁾ of small compass, selected by specialists in their respective fields. He thinks that plans relating both to matter and method of education should be formulated so that standards of efficiency may be established for the best ordered schools. If uniform content and method were fixed by authority pupils could move from one school to another with little inconvenience. Overseers and patrons generally could enforce the regulations; but in difficult cases they might secure the services of learned men who would be willing to bring pressure to bear on the offending teachers to uphold the accepted standards.

At times, Mulcaster encourages an insular complacency and nowhere

(1) Positions, p.234.

(2) Elementarie, 35, 41, 262. A variety of subjects may be justified also by the fact that it eliminates ignorance and prejudice. "Ignorance knoweth nothing and therefore is no friend to an unknown good; prejudice knoweth us in knowledge a thing of more price." The evil of this hindrance is that pupils are finished with school before being introduced to the wide field of knowledge, to which it is the teacher's first duty to direct them. Elementarie, 57.

(3) Elementarie, p.261. Mulcaster refers to "an infiniteness of books" which "cloys up students and weakens with variety."

does he reveal this attitude more conspicuously than in dealing with foreign travel as an incentive to learning. He asks, "May not labour and employment work as great wonder in the English wits at home, as the air can do abroad?" His own reply is: "Nay sure, wits be sharp enough everywhere, though where the trading is less, and the air more gross, the labour must be greater to supply that with pains, which is wanting in nature.". Which when you have done, the more you be bold to take that two worded and thrice worthy question, 'Quid non?' to be your posie. But grant it were an heresay, seeing our training up is in the four tongues, even to wish all in English." ⁽¹⁾ Concerning the value of foreign travel as a means of gaining an education, Mulcaster propounded a theory diametrically opposed to the views of some of his contemporaries Michel de Montaigne, and other writers on education, for example, were insistent in their advocacy of the idea that travel in foreign countries is almost indispensable for students seeking to become liberally educated. Mulcaster holds that this position needs qualification. He asserts that in ancient times to travel was very desirable for men like Solon and Plato, "who sought cunning where it was, in order to bring it where it was not", ⁽²⁾ but for the young men of his day, Mulcaster flatly denies that foreign travel was necessary. He affirms, "We have no need to travel in their kind for learning. We have, thanks be to God for the pen and print, as much in this day as any country needs to have. Nay, even as full if we will follow it well, as any antiquity itself ever had. And young gentlemen with that wealth, or their parents in that wealth, might procure and maintain so excellent masters and join into them so choice companions, and furnish them outwith such libraries, being able to bear

(1) Elementarie, p.275.

(2) Positions, p.209.

the charge, as they might learn all the best far better at home in their standing studies, than they ever shall in their stirring residence, yea though the desire of learning were the cause of their travel. Which rule serveth even in the meaner personages, which love to look abroad and allege learning for their show, which might be better had at home, with their good diligence and confirm itself by sufficient persons, which never crossed the sea. Let them favour their own fancies never so much, and defend that stoutly, which they have begone youthfully; yet the thing will prove in the end as I have said. And if there be defect, we should devise as those philosopher travellers did, to help it here at home in our own country, that we be not always borrowers, where it is but of wantonness because we are unwilling to strain out our own, which of itself is able enough to breed and need no more help than the general study, if it be studied in deed and not be dallied with for show, as I wish it were not.⁽¹⁾"

Mulcaster contends that travel "interrupts" education and raises the question, "whether young gentlemen, while they use travelling, do use that, which is best both for their country and themselves. What is it to travel? It is to see countries abroad, to mark their singularities to learn their languages, to return from thence better able to serve their own country here with much furniture, as they provided, and such wisdom as they gathered by observing things there.⁽²⁾"

Some probably gain all these advantages, but those who do so "be not any general patterns: in whom, some excellency in nature, and virtuousness in disposition doth turn that to profit and good, which the thing of itself doth assure to be dangerous: because it may prove to be both perilous and pernicious in those and to those, which for heat are

(1) Positions, p.209.

(2) Ibid., p.210.

impetuous, for years to foreward for wealth to rachelesse: and proceeding from them maybe contagious to others, as cankers will creep, and the ill taches of every country do more easily allure, and obtain quicker carriage to enlarge themselves, than the good and virtuous do." ⁽¹⁾ Concerning the value borrowing from other nations "to serve the country", Mulcaster says: "With foreign fashions? they will not fit. For every country sets down her own due by her own laws and ordinances appropriate to herself... That which is very excellent good abroad and were to be wished in our country upon circumstance which either will not admit it, or not but so troublesomely, as will not quiet the coast nor agree with the state is and must be foreborne here. I do not deny, but travelling is good, if it hap to hit right, but I think the same travel, with mind to do good, as it always pretendeth, might help much more, being bestowed well at home. He that roameth abroad hath no such line to lead him, as the tarryer at home, unless his conceit, years, and experience be of better stay, than theirs is, which be causes of this question, and bring travelling in doubt." ⁽²⁾

"Foreign things be for us in some cases, but we were better to call home one foreign master to us, than they should cause us to be foreign scholars to such a forraging master as a whole foreign country is, to learn so by travelling, and not by teaching." If those who travelled "were excellent known learned men, that all cunning would creep to them and honour them with intelligence and notes of importance: or if they went in the train of the one, or in the tuition of the other, where authority and all might enforce their benefit, and save them from harm, I would not mislike it, to breed up such fellows, as might follow them in service: but for any of the particular ends, which be better had

(1) Positions, p.210.

(2) Ibid., 210-211.

at home, I cast-off comparisons. Good plain and well-meaning young gentlemen in purse, strong in years, weak to travel at a venture in places of danger to body, to life, to living, though our own country be also subject to all the same perils, but not so far from succour, and rescue. Drive me to such a trance as I know not what to say." (1)

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- (1) Positions, 212, 213. Mulcaster was not alone in his position against foreign travel. Roger Ascham held similar views for in commenting on Castiglione's Book of the Courtier he declares that this work if "advisedly read and diligently followed, but one year at home in England, would do a young gentleman more good, I wist, than three years' travel abroad." Continuing, he asserts, "Time was when Italy and Rome have been, to the great good of us who now live, the best breeders and bringers up of the worthiest men, not only for wise speaking, but also for well-doing in all civil affairs that ever was in the world. But now that time is gone; and though the place remain, yet the old and present manners do differ as far as black and white, as virtue and vice. Virtue once made that country mistress over all the world; vice now maketh that country slave to them that before were glad to serve it. Italy now is not that Italy it was wont to be; and therefore not now so fit a place as some do count it for young men to fetch either wisdom or honesty from thence. For surely they will make others but bad scholars that be so ill masters to themselves." Roger Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, (Edited by E. Arber) p.72. One of the "English Reprints" published by Constable & Co., London, 1923.

Part II The Doctrines of Richard Mulcaster.

Chapter X Education of Young Women.

Mulcaster attacks the problem of the education of women with
 intense vigour. ⁽¹⁾ Though he was no revolutionist, no English educator
 of his time was so advanced in his thinking in regard to the education
 of women as Mulcaster. He declares that he is "tooth and nail" for women
 in matters of education. ⁽²⁾ He establishes the necessity of providing for them
 upon four grounds: "1. The first is the manner and custom of my country,
 which allowing them to learn, will be loathe to be contraried by any of her
 countrymen. 2. The second is the duty which we owe unto them, whereby we are
 charged in conscience, not to leave them lame, in that which is for them.
 3. The third is their own towardness, which God by nature would never have
 given them to remain idle, or to small purpose. 4. The fourth is the
 excellent effects in that sex, when they have had the help of good
 bringing up; which commendeth the cause of such excellency, and wish us
 to cherish that tree, whose fruit is both so pleasant in taste, and so
 profitable in trial. What can be said more? Our country doth allow it,
 our duty doth enforce it, their aptness calls for it, their excellency
 commands it: and dare private conceit, once seem to withstand where so
 great, and so rare circumstances do so earnestly commend. ⁽³⁾"

Mulcaster is more modern in his thinking concerning women's

- (1) It is not necessary to apologise for Mulcaster (1532-1611) as it is for his great contemporary Michel De Montaigne (1533-1592). Concerning the latter it has been said recently: "If any explanation of Montaigne's omission of woman in his treatment of education is necessary, let us be fair and ascribe it to the century rather than the man." F.C.Ficken, Montaigne's Anniversary Message to Modern Education, School and Society, Feb.25, 1933, Vol. 37, p.234.
- (2) Positions, p. 167.
- (3) Ibid., p. 167.

education than Comenius (1592-1670), who thinks that girls up to the age of twelve should have the same education as boys, and so far Mulcaster agrees with him, but he does not stop here: he suggests higher studies for girls as well as for boys. Behind this is a truer insight into their ideals and potentialities, the inspiration for which is evident when he points out that Plato suggests that "all virtues be indifferent, nay all one in man and woman save that they be more strong and more durable in men, weaker and more variable in women,"⁽¹⁾ and intimates that each should be educated in the light of their abilities, needs, and aspirations.

In the Elizabethan era the nature and extent of a girl's education depended upon the status accorded to women in society. In deference to the custom of his age and country he does not propose that girls be admitted to public grammar schools or the universities, but he is an ardent advocate of the higher culture for women which was represented by the attainments of the Sovereign. He says: "I set not young maidens to public grammar schools, a thing not used in my country, I send them not to the universities, having no precedent thereof in my country, I allow them learning with distinction in degrees, with difference of their calling, with respect to their ends, wherefore they learn, wherein my country confirms my opinion."⁽²⁾ Public education is, in Mulcaster's judgment, best for boys, "because of their use"; whereas private training is best for girls "because of their kind."⁽³⁾

(1) Positions, p.170.

(2) Ibid., p.167.

(3) Ibid., p.184. In the sixteenth century, public opinion did not admit women to full equality with men in educational matters. Nevertheless, "the woman of the Renaissance was in no sense of the word an inferior creature. She no longer occupied the fictitious position she had held during the Middle Ages, when, lifted by convention to a false height, she was in reality degraded." Women were "noted in divinity, in philosophy, in physics, in music, in painting, and in all the sciences." L. Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England*, 86-88.

In supporting his contention that the 'custom' of his country alloweth women to be trained, Mulcaster points out that girls not merely learn to read well, to write legibly, to sing sweetly and to play entertainingly, but "they learn the best and finest of our learned languages, to the admiration of all men. For the daily spoken tongues and of best reputation in our time, who so shall deny that they may not compare even with our kind in the best degree, they will claim no other combat, than to talk with him in that very tongue who shall seek to taunt them for it...May do we not see in our country, some of that sex so excellently well trained, and so rarely qualified, either for the tongues themselves, or for the matter in the tongues: as they may be opposed by way of comparison, if not preferred as beyond comparison, even to the best Roman or Greek paragons be they ever so much praised: to the German or French gentlewomen, by late writers so well liked: to the Italian ladies who date write themselves, and deserve fame for so doing? whose excellency is so geason, as they be rather wonders to gaze at, then precedents to follow...I dare be bold therefore to admit young maidens to learn, seeing my country gives me leave, and her custom stands for me."⁽¹⁾

Concerning the second of the bases or "proofs" of his views on women's education, he declares: "The duty which we owe them doth straitly command us to see them well brought up."⁽²⁾ If women are to be men's closest companions as well as the mothers of their children they most certainly should be well trained. "Are they not the natural frye, from whence we are to choose our next, and most necessary friends? The very self-same creatures, which were made for our comfort, the only good to garnish our aloneness, the nearest companions in our weal or woe? the peculiar and

(1) Positions, pp. 167, 168, 179.

(2) Ibid., pp. 168.

priviest partakers in all our fortunes? born for us to life, bound to us till death? And can we in conscience but carefully think of them, which are so many ways linked unto us? Is it either nothing, or but some small thing, to have our children's mothers well furnished in mind, well strengthened in body? which desire by them to maintain our succession? ... They are committed and commended unto us, as pupils unto tutors, as bodies unto heads, nay as bodies until souls: so that if we tender not their education dutifully, they may urge that against us." (1)

Mulcaster's "third reason" for insisting on the education of women is "their natural towardness." (2) Since Nature has given them abilities which, if developed, will not interfere with "their most laudable duties in marriage and matches but rather will beautify them with most singular ornaments, are not we to be condemned of extreme unnaturalness, if we guide not by discipline which is given them by Nature?... That as naturally every one has some good assigned him, whereunto he is to aspire and not to cease until he has obtained it, unless he will by his own negligence reject that benefit, which the munificence of nature has liberally bestowed on him: so there is a certain mean, whereby to win that perfectly, which nature of herself doth wish us frankly. This mean they call education, whereby the natural inclinations be gently carried on, if they will courteously follow, or otherwise be hastened, if they must needs be forced, until they arrive at that same best, which nature bends unto with full sail, in those fairer, which follow the train willingly, in those meaner, which must be beat unto it." (3)

(1) Positions pp, 168-169.

(2) Ibid., p. 169.

(3) Ibid., p. 170.

The fourth reason given by Mulcaster for the education of "young maidens" is the pragmatic one of "excellent effects of those women who have been very well trained." Here he calls to witness "the learned and honest Plutarch" in support of his contention that in days past "not only private and particular women, but also great princesses and gallant troupes of the same sex have shewed forth in themselves marvellous effects" ⁽¹⁾ And then Mulcaster goes on to cite the obvious case of his own patroness, Queen Elizabeth. "That young maidens can learn, nature doth give them, and that they have learned, our experience doth teach us, with what care to themselves, they can best witness, with what comfort to us, what foreign example can more assure the world, then our diamond at home? our most dear sovereign lady and princess, by nature a woman, by virtue a worthy, not one of the nine, but the tenth above the nine, to perfect in her person that absolute number, which is no fitter to comprehend all absoluteness in Arithmetic, than she is known to contain all ~~perfections~~ ^{perfections} in nature, all degrees in valour, and to become a president to those nine worthy men, as Apollo is accounted to the nine famous ⁽²⁾ women, she to virtue and virtuous men, he to muses, and learned women." If no story did tell it, if no state did allow it, if no example did confirm it," he goes on, "that young maidens deserve the training, this our own mirror, the majesty of her sex, doth prove it in her own person, and commends it to our reason. We have besides her highness as undershining stars, many singular ladies and gentlewomen, so skilful in all cunning, of the most laudable, and lovable qualities of learning, as they may well be alleged for a president to praise, not for a pattern to prove like by: though hope have a head, and nature be no niggard, if education do her

(1) Positions, p. 172.

(2) Ibid., pp.172-173.

duty, and will seek to resemble even where presidents be passing, both hope to attain to, and possibilities to seem to. Wherefore by these proofs, I take it to be very clear, that I am not far overshot, in admitting them to training, being so trainable by nature, and so notable by effects."⁽¹⁾

After expounding the four reasons for advocating the education of women, he discusses the functions of such training. He suggests that education be adapted to their nature and the demands of society. The subject matter of a young woman's education is to be limited in comparison with a young man's only in so far as her functions in life are limited. "The training" of men, he says, "is without restraint for either matter or manner because their employment is so general in all things; women's "is within limit and so must her training be."⁽²⁾ "The bringing up of young maidens in any kind of learning, is but an accessory by the way."⁽³⁾ Mulcaster realizes that the ordinary duties of women are domestic and that anything which may prove an ornament to life in the home ought to be encouraged, but he is willing to admit that woman is entitled to preparation for some career. As he points out, she may have to earn her own living; she may be called to some high position in which extraordinary accomplishments are desirable; she may be destined "for government", which may be offered to her by men, and "not denied her by God... Wherefore having these different ends always in eye we may point them their training in different degrees."⁽⁴⁾

Underlying the whole argument is a realization of the common nature of men and women. They have the same virtues and vices; they be our mates and sometimes our mistresses;.. they join always with us in number and nearness, and sometime exceed us in dignity and calling: as they communicate

(1) Positions, 173-174.

(2) Ibid., p.174.

(3) Ibid., p.134.

(4) Ibid., p.174.

(5) Ibid., p.174.

with us in all qualities, and all honours even up to the sceptre, so why ought they not in any wise but be made communicants with us in education and training, to perform that part well, which they are to play, for either equality with us, or sovereignty above us?"⁽¹⁾

Broadly speaking, the girls, like the boys, will be trained according to their natural abilities and physical strength. How much education girls should receive, must be determined by these two considerations and their financial circumstances. Mulcaster says: "Concerning those which are to be trained ... this is my opinion. The same restraint in cases of necessity, where they conveniently cannot, and the same freedom in cases of liberty, when they commodiously may, being reserved to parents in their daughters, which I allowed them in their sons, and the same regard to the weakness and strength of their wits and bodies, the same care for their womanly exercises, for help of their health, and strength of their limbs, being remitted to their considerations, which I assigned them in their sons, I do think the same time fit for both."⁽²⁾

Whatever differences may be made in the education of the two sexes, no limitations need be placed on women's abilities in educational matters on grounds of native ability, for as he says: "Women can learn if they will and may learn what they wish if they bend their wits to it."⁽³⁾ For this reason he concludes that boys and girls should have practically equal opportunity in the elementary school period. He holds that all who have "wit to conceive without tiring, and strength of body to travel without wearing", should receive a good elementary training in writing, reading, music, and physical exercise,⁽⁴⁾ with both men and women as their teachers.⁽⁵⁾

For this stage of learning Mulcaster considers books of history and

(1) Positions, p.183.

(2) Ibid., p.175.

(5) Ibid., p.182.

(3) Ibid., p.176.

(4) Ibid., 175-180.

those pertaining to religion giving guidance for life most suitable. He says: "Reading if for nothing else it were, as for many things else it is, is very needful for religion, to read that which they must know, and ought to perform, if they have not whom to hear, in that matter which they read: or if their memory be not stedfast, by reading to revive it. If they hear first and after read of the self-same argument, reading confirms their memory. Here I may not omit many and great contentments, many and sound comforts, many and manifold delights, which those women that have skill and time to read, without hindering their housewifery, do continually receive by reading of some comfortable and wise discourses, penned either in form of history, or for direction to live by."⁽¹⁾

By way of complement when Mulcaster comes to consider writing he recognizes a woman's business capacity and states that it is in that sphere that writing is likely to prove most convenient. "Writing", he says, "is not refused where opportunity will yield it" which "though it be discommended for some private carriages, wherein we men also, no less than women, bear oftentimes blame, if that were a sufficient exception why we should not learn to write, it hath his commodity where it filleth in match, and helps to enrich the goodman's merceriè. Many good occasions are oftentimes offered, where it were better for them to have the use of their pen, for the good that comes by it, than to wish they had it, when the default is felt: and for fear of evil, which cannot be avoided in some, to avert that good which may be commodious to many."⁽²⁾

Music is one of the arts which Mulcaster would have studied if possible by all young maidens, but with his usual good sense he stresses the need for a thorough training in it so that it may always be possible for them to recover it after any lapse due to their domestic situations. "Music is much

(1) Positions, 176-177.

(2) Ibid., p.177.

used, where it is to be had, to the parents' delight, while the daughters be young, more than to their own, which commonly proveth true, when the young wenches become young wives. For then lightly forgetting Music when they learn to be mothers, they give it in manifest evidence, that in their learning of it, they did more seek to please their parents, than to pleasure themselves. But howsoever it is, seeing the thing is not rejected, if with the learning of it once, it may be retained still (as by order it may) it is ill let go, which is got with great pains, and bought with some cost. The learning to sing and play by the book, a matter soon had, when Music is first minded, which still preserves the cunning, though discontinuance disturbs. And seeing it is but little which they learn, and the time as little wherein they learn, because they haste still on towards husbands, it were expedient, that they learned perfectly, and that with the loss of their penny, they lost not their pennyworth also, besides the loss of their time, which is the greatest loss of all.⁽¹⁾

Mulcaster tries his best, as far as it was consistent with loyalty to an established system, to correct the faulty ideas of his countrymen concerning the education of women on the physical side.⁽²⁾ Bodily training, he points out, is as necessary for girls and women as for boys and men. Indeed,⁽³⁾ since maidens are naturally weaker in body, even more attention should be paid to them in this regard than is necessary for the opposite sex. Girls'

(1) Positions, p.177.

(2) In Elizabethan times, "the 'new woman' with her love of manly sports was by no means unknown"; she would "play at tennis, ride, hunt and do (in a manner) all the exercises that a gentleman can do." There were, nevertheless, conflicting ideals of what a woman should be. "Many, for example, were opposed to her practising manly exercises, wishing her to preserve womanly grace and beauty. A description of the perfect woman has come down to us from the pen of more than one writer of the Renaissance. As a conversationalist she should have sweetness of voice, gravity of expression, and purity of meaning, and although knowing a subject perfectly, should only speak of it with modesty. She must possess, however, numerous other accomplishments." L.Einstein, The Italian Renaissance in England, 86-88.

(3) Foster Watson, The Educational Times, Jan.1, 1893, p.15.

bodies are not to be overstrained and, as in the case of boys, the time for the commencement of education will depend on mental and bodily fitness. Physical exercise is an essential part of a girl's education for its effect on the mind as well as the body. "The time hath tied itself to strength in both parts, for the body to travel, for the soul to conceive. The exercises pray in no case to be forgot as a preservative to the body, and a conserve for the soul." ⁽¹⁾ Mulcaster, remembering his Plutarch, commends one of the Spartan practices. In speaking of leaping and other forms of physical exercise he says: "The women ... used to leap so their heels did hit their hips, which manner of leaping doth both purge and dry. But methinks I hear some gentlewomen say, fie upon them Rigs. Not so. The laws and customs of their country did allow, nay did command them to run, to leap, to wrestle, and to do all such exercises, both as well as men, and also with men. Their reason was. They did think the child lame of the one side, whose mother was delicate, dainty, tender, never stirring, never exercising, notwithstanding the father were never so naturally strong, never so artificially trained. And to prevent that infirmity in their own youth, they exercised their ~~women~~ ⁽²⁾ also, no less than their men." "That some exercise of body ought to be used, some ordinary stirring ought to be enjoyed, some provision for private and peculiar trainers ought to be made: not only the ladies of Lacedaemon will swear, but all the world will sooth, if they do but wey, that it is too much to weaken our own selves by not strengthening their side. Virgil saw in a goodly horse that was offered unto Augustus Caesar an infirmity unperceived by either looker-on or any of his stable, which came as he said by some weakness in the dam, and was confessed to be true." ⁽³⁾

It is the English positive common sense and aptitude for getting to

(1) Positions, p.176.

(2) Ibid., 93-94.

(3) Ibid., 169.

the heart of things which distinguishes Mulcaster. This is conspicuously evident at this point in his discussion of this subject. He believes that young women should be taught by their parents what is necessary in the conduct of a home and family responsibilities. But that does not fall within the teacher's province. "I meddle not" with skill in needlework and housewifery", he says, "I deal only with such things as be incident to their learning," however, "I think and know it to be a principal commendation in a woman: to be able to govern and direct her household, to look at her house and family, to provide and keep necessaries, though the goodman pay, to know the force of her kitchen, for sickness and health, in herself and her charge: because I deal only with such things as be incident to their learning. Which seeing the custom of my country doth permit, I may not mislike, nay I may wish it with warrant, the thing being good and well beseeming their sex." (1) He believes a wide education of this sort in relation to a woman's concerns which will strengthen girls in mind and body, would make them better mothers and companions of men.

The well-to-do and capable young women must have instruction which will fit them for their place in domestic life or in the world of affairs. He was especially desirous that all girls of good abilities should receive a higher education suited to their interests and capacities, regardless of the rank of the parents in society. At the same time it seemed to him necessary to insist that unless the girl has especial ability, she should not secure an education which would make her dissatisfied with her station in life. "In such a case those overwrought qualities for the toyousness thereof being misplaced in her, do cause the young woman rather to be toyed withal, as by them giving sign of some idle conceit otherwise than

(1) Positions, 177-178.

to be thought very well of, as one wisely brought up. There is a comeliness in each kind, and a decentness in degree, which is best observed when each one provides according to his power, without over-reaching. If some odd property do work, preferment beyond proportion, it commonly stays there, and who so shoots at the like, in hope to hit, may sooner miss: because the ways to miss be so many, and to hit is but one, and wonders which be but once seen, be no examples to resemble. Every maid may not hope to speed, as she would wish, because someone hath sped better than she could wish.⁽¹⁾

If then the question "how much a woman ought to learn" is raised, Mulcaster replies: "The answer may be, so much as shall be needful", and leaves it at that.

Taking for granted that all women should be taught to read well, to write legibly, to sing sweetly, and to play entertainingly, what are the branches of higher learning to be pursued by those who are well qualified and in good circumstances? Mulcaster would not recommend as studies for these women, "geometry and the sister sciences." He would not "make them mathematicians", or lawyers, or physicians "though the skill of herbs has been the study of nobility." Nor would he suggest that they should study 'divinity' with the idea of preaching, but rather for the purpose of helping them in virtuous living. Besides music and drawing he believes that logic, rhetoric, philosophy and a knowledge of tongues would be helpful to those who have leisure for study. Touching briefly on all these subjects, Mulcaster says: "I fear no workmanship in women to give them Geometry and her sister sciences: to make them mathematicians, though I mean them Music: nor yet bars to plead at, to leave them the laws: nor" would I make them physicians, "though the skill of herbs have been the study of nobility, by the Persian story, and much commended in women: nor pulipts

(1) Positions, 178-179.

to preach in, to utter their Divinity: though by learning of some language they can talk of the living: and for direction of their life, they must be afforded some, though not as preachers and leaders: yet as honest performers, and virtuous livers. Philosophy would furnish their general discourses, if their leisure could extend it: but the knowledge of some tongues, either of substance in respect of deeper learning, or account for the present time may very well be wished them: and those faculties also which do belong to the furniture of speech may be very well allowed them, because tongues be most proper, where they do naturally arm. If I should allow them the pencil to draw, as the pen to write, and thereby entitle them to all my Elementarie principles, I might have reason for me. For it neither requireth any great labour to fraye young maidens from it, and it would help their needle, to beautify their works: and it is maintainable by very good examples even of their own kind... And is not a young gentlewoman, think you, thoroughly furnished, which can read plainly and distinctly, write fair and swiftly, sing clear and sweetly, play well and finely, understand and speak the learned languages, and those tongues also which the time most embraceth, with some logical help to chop, and some rhetoric to brave."⁽¹⁾ "There is no better means to strengthen their minds, than that knowledge of God, of religion, of civil, of domestic duties, which we have by our training, and ought not to deny them, being comprised in books, and is to be compassed in youth?"⁽²⁾

Finally, Mulcaster says; "There is nothing left to end this treatise of young maidens, but where and under whom, they are to learn". This question, he goes on to say in a passage which deals with the matter clearly and comprehensively, "will be sufficiently resolved, upon consideration of the time how long they are to learn, which time is commonly till

(1) Positions, 180,181.

(2) Ibid., p.169.

they be about thirteen or fourteen years old, wherein as the matter, which they must deal withal, cannot be very much in so little time, so the perfecting thereof requireth much travel, though their time be so little, and there would be some show afterwards, wherein their training did avail them. They that may continue some long time at learning, through the state and ability of their parents, have also their time and place suitably appointed, by the foresight of their parents. So that the time resting in private forecast, I cannot reduce it to general precept, but only thus far, that in perfectness it may show how well it was employed. The places wherein they learn be either public, if they go forth to the Elementarie school, or private if they be taught at home. The teacher either of their own sex or of ours. For public places, because in that kind there is no public provision, but such as the professors of their training do make of themselves, I can say little, but leave them to that and to their parents' circumspection, which both in their being abroad, during their minority, and in bringing them up at home after their minority, I know will be very diligent to have all things well. For their teachers, their own sex were fittest in some respects, but ours frame them best, and with good regard to some circumstances will bring them up excellently, well, especially if their parents be either of learning to judge, or of authority to command, or of both, to do both, as experience hath taught us in those, which have proved so well. The greater born ladies and gentlewomen, as they are to enjoy the benefit of this education most, so they have best means to prosecute it best, being neither restrained in wealth, but to have the best teachers, and greatest helps: neither abridged in time, but to ply all at full. And thus I take my leave of young maidens and gentlewomen, to whom I wish as well, as I have said well of them.⁽¹⁾

(1) Positions, 181-182.

Part II The Doctrines of Richard Mulcaster

Chapter XI The Organization of Universities

Concerning his ideas of university education Mulcaster has left us little more than a sketch of his proposed reforms. His plan of re-organizing the universities, he says, "resteth on these four points: 1. what if the colleges were divided by professions and faculties? 2. what if they of the like years, and the like profession, were all bestowed in one house? 3. what if the livings by uniting were made better, and the colleges not so many, though far greater? 4. what if in every house there were great pensions, and allowances for continual and most learned readers: which would end their lives there?"⁽¹⁾

He suggests that colleges should be divided into faculties so that all students studying one of the larger subjects or preparing for one of the learned professions would be brought together.⁽²⁾ There would be a distinct advantage from an educational point of view if students of approximately the same age who are pursuing the same branches of knowledge, should be required to live under the same roof. It would particularly encourage emulation, because "emulation to the better doth beseeem like years. The Greek poet says, that God draws always the like to the like, and therefore men may well follow the precedent."⁽³⁾ In accordance with this scheme he would set up seven colleges in the universities: a college for each of the three subjects of general learning - languages, mathematics and philosophy - and a college for

(1) Positions, p. 237.

(2) Ibid, p. 237. "Mulcaster may have made more timely suggestions; he never made a more far-reaching prophesy." G.G. Williams in The School World, Aug. 1914, p. 298.

(3) Ibid, p. 250.

each of the four professional vocations - law, divinity, medicine, and education.

With reference to "the college for tongues", Mulcaster says: "If there were one college, where nothing should be professed, but languages only, (as there be some people which will proceed no further) to serve the realm abroad, and studies in the universities, in that point excellently and absolutely, were it not convenient? nay were it not most profitable? That being the end of their profession, and nothing dealt withal there but that, would not sufficiency be descried by witness of a number? and would not daily conference and continual applying in the same thing procure sufficiency? Whereas now every one dealing with everything confusedly none can assuredly say, thus much can such a one do in any one thing, but either upon conjecture which oft-times deceiveth even him that affirms: or else upon courtesy which as oft beguiles even him that believeth. These reasons hold not in this point for tongues only: but in all other distributions, where the like matter and the like men be likewise to be matched. For where all exercises, all conferences, all both private and public, colloquies, be of the same argument, because the soil brings forth no other stuff, there must needs follow great perfection. When tongues, and learning be so severed, it will soon appear, what odds there is between one that can but speak, and him that can do more, whereas now some few finish words, will bear away the glory from knowledge without consideration that the gate is without the town as dismantling bewraies, though it be the entry into it."⁽¹⁾

The use of words and study of tongues, of course, should be well advanced in the grammar school,⁽²⁾ but they need to be perfected in college.⁽³⁾

(1) Positions, p. 238-239.

(2) See pp. 52-53 of this Thesis.

(3) Positions, p. 244.

Mulcaster says: "The tongues" being keys to the treasury of knowledge, "without the perfect understanding of them what hope is there to understand matter? and seeing words be names of things applied and given according to their properties, how can things be properly understood by us, which use the ministry and service of words to know them by, unless the force of speech be thoroughly known? And do you not think that every profession hath need to have a title of the signification of words, as well as the civil lawyer? I do see in writers, and I do hear in speakers great defects in the mistaking of meanings: and evident errors through insufficient herein... And what if some will never proceed any further, but rest in those pleasant kind of writers, which delight most in gain of their language as poets, histories, discourses, and such, as will be counted general men?"⁽¹⁾

In suggesting that a college for mathematics be organized, Mulcaster surmises that he will be opposed "by some good wits" who "not knowing the force of these faculties because they never thought them worthy their study as being without preferment, and within contempt, do use to abase them, and to mock at mathematical heads, because in deed the study thereof requireth attentiveness, and such a mind, as will not be soon carried to any public show, before his full ripeness, but will rest in solitary contemplation, till he find himself flidge."⁽²⁾ Those who belittle the study of mathematics would, he thinks, change their opinion and recognize the real value of this branch of knowledge if they but knew in what high esteem the "mathematical sciences" were held by Socrates, and especially by Plato who would not allow anyone to enter his Academy "if he were ignorant of geometry and arithmetic."⁽³⁾ For Mulcaster, Mathematics

(1) Positions, p. 244.

(2) Ibid, p. 239.

(3) Ibid, p. 239.

includes the "arts and sciences" which he thinks are more important than the languages, for he says: "In time all learning may be brought into one tongue, and that natural to the inhabitant, so that schooling for tongues, may prove needless, as once they were not needed: but it can never fall out, that arts and sciences in their right nature, shall be but most necessary for any common weal, that is not given over unto too much barbarousness."⁽¹⁾

At this point, after referring to the views of Master Ascham - "an authority of great and well deserved countenance among us" - who upheld "the credit of the mathematical sciences", Mulcaster speaks of the work and influence of Sir John Cheeke (1514-1551) "provost of King's College in Cambridge... in the time of his most honored prince...and pupil the good King Edward brother to our gracious sovereign Queen Elizabeth." Here Mulcaster mentions that Sir John Cheeke "sent one Master Bukley" to give instruction in geometry and arithmetic at Cambridge; and, to encourage the students, he "gave them a number of Euclides of his own cost". Then Mulcaster mentions a personal incident. "My self", he says, "am to honour the memory of that learned knight, being partaker...of his liberal distribution of those Euclides, with whom he joined Xenophon, which book he wished, and caused to be read in the same house, and gave them to the students, to encourage them as well to the Greek tongue, as he did to the mathematics."⁽²⁾

Then he compares the value of Latin and mathematics. "The speaking of Latin", he contends, is no evidence of "deeper learning"⁽³⁾ but the

(1) Positions, p.240.

(2) Ibid., p. 241.

(3) Mulcaster says that Mathematics had its "place" in the scheme of education long "before the tongues were taught, which though they be now some necessary helps, because we use foreign language for continuance of knowledge: yet they push us one degree further off from knowledge." Positions, page 244. See Ch. XII of this thesis.

study of mathematics not merely gives the first rudiments in education, but instils in the students' attitudes and habits of mind of immense value for later life and provides a means of direction for all skilled workmen who "without them go by rote, but with them might show cunning".

The third college which Mulcaster thinks should have a special faculty is that of philosophy in all of its "three kinds", each of which would help a student to prepare for a particular profession - natural philosophy for medicine, political philosophy for law, and moral philosophy for Divinity. "But", some may ask, "in this distribution, where is Logic and Rhetoric?" In reply Mulcaster asks another question, "What is the place of grammar in higher education?" and answers that it is "A director to language. And so Logic, for her demonstrative part, playeth the Grammar to the Mathematical, and natural Philosophy: for her probability to moral, and politics, and such other as depend not upon necessity of matter. Rhetoric for purity without passion doth join with the writer in any kind, for persuasion with passion, with the speaker in all kinds, and yet both the speaker deals sometimes quietly, and the plain writer waxes very hot."

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- (1) In upholding this contention he declares: "For the while this shall suffice that these sciences, which we term the Mathematical in their effectual nature, do work still some good thing, sensible even to the simple, by number, figure, sound, or motion: In the manner of their teaching they do plant in the mind of the learner, an habit inextinguishable by bare probabilities, and not to be brought to believe upon light conjectures, in any other knowledge, being still drawn on by infallible demonstrations. In their similitudinary applications, they let one see by them in sense the like affection in contemplative, and intelligible things, and be the surest grounds to return unto in replies and instances, either upon defect in memory or in check of adversary, contrary to the common similitudes. For when you compare the common weal to a ship, and the people to the passengers, the application being under sail, may be out of sight, when you seek for your proof. But in these sciences the similitudinary teaching is so certain in applying, and so confirmed by effects: as there is nothing so far from sense, and so secret in understanding, but it will make it palpable. They be taken from the sense, and travel the thought, but they resolve the mind." Positions, pp.242-243.
- (2) Ibid., p.242. (3) Ibid., p.243. (4) Ibid., p.244.

In considering the order in which these studies should be taught, Mulcaster points out that contrary to the customary practice of requiring young students to study Moral and Political Philosophy first, we should rather follow the advice of Aristotle and place Natural Philosophy next to the Mathematical Sciences because it is more "intelligible to very young heads" while Moral and Political Philosophy "being subject to particular circumstances in life are to be reserved for elder years."⁽¹⁾

Mulcaster shows unusual discernment in presenting the claims of a definite and comprehensive curriculum in general learning to the attention of those preparing for professional work.⁽²⁾ No one could doubt the advisability of giving a broad, general education to all those who plan to enter the professions except the man who "desireth to show himself ripe in his own, though raw in other men's opinion... as he that means to turn before, may limit his ascent" he says, "so he that will be perfect in the end and last profession ought at the least to have the contemplative knowledge of all that goes before, though he practise but at pleasure. The general gain thereby is this, that while the students' youth is wedded to honest and learned meditation, the heat of that stirring age is cooled which might harm in public, and set all on fire: ripe judgment is got, to stay, not to stir; and all ambitious passions marvelously daunted through resoluteness of judgment... And sure till the young professors be made to tarry longer, and study sounder, neither shall learning have credit, nor our country be but sick. It is not my complaint, though I join with the complainants. If ye mean to take learning before you, you will never move the question. It is not he that has, and knows, which moveth the question, but he that knows not and

(1) Positions, p.247.

(2) Ibid., pp.243, 254, 255.

should. What should a divine do with the mathematics? why was Moses trained in all the Egyptians' learning? Nay in one reason for all, why will you condemn in divinity or execute in law, the sciences which you know not, but find the name condemned? and I pray you with what warrant? what if that be not the name? or what if the thing be not such? a condemnation without evidence where the judge presumes, and knows not the skill, which he says is naught. The physician should have all, and if he have not, he is most to be blamed, because the parents of his profession durst not profess without them, and make them under means. To be short I wish they had them, which mislike that they have not, and give ignorance the reins. For if they had them, we should hear no speech, but praise and proof, admiration and honour.⁽¹⁾

Mulcaster allows for no distinctions between the training which he thinks should be given to the 'nobility' and to the 'commonality' respectively. What vocation a student should follow will depend on a number of factors for he says: "Diversity in matters of learning" proceedeth from differences in ability, in upbringing, in intelligence, in judgment - all of which are "a great deal finer in some than in others: so it worketh very much harm in the peace of any state, chiefly where the leaders thereof, though they fall not out, and do but utter their opinions yet divide studies according to their favourites, which consider not so much the weight of the arguments, as the liking of the authors."⁽²⁾

There are two criteria to be used in determining what should be studied: first, the need, and second, the capacity of the individual.⁽³⁾ He holds that the needs of the students at particular periods should be

(1) Positions, pp.254-255.

(2) Elementarie, p.262.

(3) By 'need' he refers to the needs of the state and the needs of the student in the light of the relation of the individual to the commonwealth. See p.43 and also Ch.VII of this thesis.

considered. As he himself says: Those things should be put unto scholars which are "most necessary and most proper to be learned in those years."⁽¹⁾ The elementary studies are most important because they lay the foundation for further education and personal development.⁽²⁾ Our author makes a strong plea for education when he asserts that the capacities when well trained, "fine the senses, and the instruments thereof to their best perfection, and their longest endurance. They restrain desire to the rule of reason, and the advice of foresight. They so enrich the mind and the soul itself, as they lay up in the treasury of remembrance, all arts, all forecast, all knowledge, all wisdom, all understanding, whereby either God is to be honoured, or the world to be served in honest and wise sort, which so heavily a benefit is begotten by education, confirmed by use, perfected with continuance, which crowneth the whole work."⁽³⁾

Mulcaster suggests that young gentlemen should be encouraged to pursue any trade or worthy occupation. He advises those who are well qualified, to study Law, Divinity, Medicine, or Literature,⁽⁴⁾ and recommends that they be educated publicly at the universities so that they may have the benefit of mixing with others.

Mulcaster's criterion of nobility is worth, not wealth.⁽⁵⁾ If poor boys of good ability want to gain a higher education, they should not be prevented from doing so; indeed they should be helped by means of bursaries.⁽⁶⁾

(1) Positions, p.31.

(2) Elementarie, p.25.

(3) Ibid., p.38.

(4) Positions, pp.197-206.

(5) Ibid., p.205.

(6) Ibid., 156,157,161,162. He believes that natural towardness should be recognized regardless of the social distinctions or financial circumstances of parents and children. He says: "I do not think the livings in colleges be peculiar or of purpose meant to the poorer sort only, whose want that small help could never suffice, though there be some prerogative reserved to them, in consideration of some great towardness which might otherwise be trod down, and that way is held up: but that they be simply preferments for learning, and advancements to virtue as well in the wealthy for reward of well-doing, as in the poorer for necessary support. And therefore as I give admission scope to choose of both the sorts, so I do restrain it to honest and civil towardness."

The financial aid, however, should not be solely for those unable to pay their own expenses, but rather for anyone who is worthy and well qualified. His theory is based on the doctrine that the intellectually elite are the only proper recipients of the benefits of a college education. The opportunity for advanced education, he holds, ought to depend, as (1) already stated, on the student's bodily strength, mental capacity, and certain personal attributes, including an 'invincible courage' and 'virtuous disposition'.

To further learning at the universities, Mulcaster suggests that the students' livings should be improved. He says: "None of them will be against me, which for a better living will change his college. Neither

(1) See Ch.VII of this thesis. See also Introduction to *Elementarie*, xiv. "When Mulcaster says that fit persons must be chosen for learning, he puts before us a very large problem. The State or Society, as he conceives it, is made up of parts, as a machine or a living body is made up of parts. And each part must fulfil its proper function in its proper place, a function and a place of dignity and of usefulness in service to the whole... Now according to Mulcaster the State at any time needs only so many learned persons - more of them would be too many... A certain number of learned persons are enough for a State. But we may ask, is 'learned' a synonym for 'educated'? Can a State have too many 'educated' members? Is there a limit to the number of persons who can be 'educated'? It is quite clear that a Society might have too many lawyers or physicians or schoolmasters - more than it could employ; and it might well be that if it had too many people in any or all of these occupations, it would have too few in some other occupations, and that its life would be weakened and perhaps seriously injured by excess here and deficiency there. And the members of these overcrowded professions would suffer from insufficient employment. If they were all completely equipped for the work of their profession, the result would be that they would be working at less than their highest pressure, that each one would be doing less than he was capable of doing - not to earn a living but to serve society. And if they were not all so equipped, the service of the competent would be damaged by the interference and rivalry of the incompetent. Mulcaster makes two assumptions; first, that at any time a definite number of learned persons, so many and no more, are needed by the State for its service; and second, that not more than that number of members of the State are fit to receive learning. From these assumptions, he draws the conclusion that it is foolish, to offer learning to more than a limited number. Should we accept his premises, we could scarcely reject his conclusion. But once more the question arises, does Mulcaster mean by learning what we mean by education?" Professor E.T. Campagnac, Introduction to the *Elementarie*, xv-xvi.

will he think it any great loss to leave his old poor place, for a fatter room, which for such a one will abandon the university and all. Sure the livings in colleges be now too lean, and of necessity force good wits to fly ere they be well feathered. More sufficiency of living will yield more convenient time and furniture to study, which two be the only means to procure more sufficiency in learning, more ripeness in judgment, more stay in manners. The necessity of students may thus be supplied of their own, and they not forced by accepting of exhibition at some hands to admit some bondage under hand. Restraint will rid needless number: sufficient livings will maintain, and make the needful number sufficiently well learned. I need not stay any longer here. For methinks all those good students join with me in this form of the university, whom want, and bareness of living will not suffer to tarry long enough there, and better it were for our country to have some smaller means well trained, and sufficiently provided, than a loose number, and an unlearned multitude." ⁽¹⁾ Rather abruptly Mulcaster declares: "Three foreign points for the furtherance of learning be, choice for wits, time for furniture, maintenance for direction: what shall be peculiar to the party, himself must tender, as therein being debtor to God, and his country. Diligence to apply his wit, continuance to store his time, discretion to set forth his maintenance, are required at his hands." ⁽²⁾

Along with the reforms already discussed, Mulcaster suggests that men of learning, maturity, affability and discretion should be appointed "Readers" or instructors to direct and inspire the students in their endeavour to master the various branches of higher learning. He says: "For readers of years, of sufficiency, of continuance, methinks I durst enter into some combat that it were beyond all cry profitable, and nec-

(1) Positions, pp.250-251.

(2) Ibid., p.251.

essary, to have whom to follow, and of whom to learn how to direct our studies, for years ancient fathers: for sufficiency most able to instruct: for continuance cunning to discern persons, and circumstances: for advice skilful to rule rash heads, which run on too fast, being armed with some private opinion of their own petty learning.⁽¹⁾"

Students can, of course, advance by their own efforts but "no one man's labour ... is comparable to the help that comes by a teacher or a cunning reader"⁽²⁾ of ability, experience and judgment who "has read and digested all the best books" pertaining to the subject "whereof he maketh profession... He that is not acquainted with such an excellent reader or teacher (for both the names import one thing) and that with repetition, but pleaseth himself with his own private study, as he taketh more pains undoubtedly, so getteth he less gain I dare assure him, having in one lecture the benefit of his reader's universal study, and that so fitted to his hand, as he may straightway use it, without further thinking on: whereas when he hath beaten his own brains privately about a little, for want of time to digest, being too forward to put forth, he uttereth that which he must either amend upon, better adduce, or quite revoke when he finds he is over shot. Wherefore such readers, or rather such nurses to study must needs be maintained with great allowance, to make their heaven there, where ye mean to use them. Neither must they be souls, as we term them, though of great reading, neither is it enough to have read much, but they must be of great government withal, which are to bring up

(1) Positions, p.251. "What was Plato to the Academics? Aristotle to the Peripateics? Xeno to the Stoics? Epicure to the Epicureans? ... and other such fathers to the families of their professions, but readers? It is a marvel to think on, how long those fellows continued in their profession... It should seem that Plato taught about fifty years, reckoning the time ... during his travel into Egypt and that way: whereby both himself proved an excellent master, and his hearers proved most excellent scholars. They that have been acquainted with cunning readers anywhere will subscribe to this, I know."

(2) Elementarie, p.46.

such a fry of governors. And therefore that great sufficiency doth still call for great recompense to be tied to a stake for it all one's lifetime." They should "find better and fuller maintenance for such excellent readers, which the more cunning they be, the more affable they be, and thereby the fitter to satisfy any student's doubt in that which they profess."⁽¹⁾

In Elizabethan times, educators for the most part had not realised the need for the training of teachers, but in this as in so many more matters Muleaster was a man of independent judgment.⁽²⁾ His courage, vision, and faith stood out in bold relief in his plea for the establishment of a college for teachers. His scheme anticipated some of the developments in the universities in the nineteenth century,⁽³⁾ but even yet its most outstanding feature remains unrealized, namely that teachers should be trained in a separate college on the same professional basis as doctors, lawyers, and clergymen.⁽⁴⁾

The suggestion for such a college or "seminary for excellent masters ... within the university" may "seem strange at first" and "make some men muse, yet hereafter upon better consideration"⁽⁵⁾ it be thought praiseworthy, because "not only schoolmasters, but all other professors also shall be made excellently able to perform that in the common weal which she looketh for at their hands, when they come from the universities... Some difficulty there will be to win a college for such as shall afterwards teach in schools... By the way, I protest simply, that I do not tender this

(1) Positions, p.252.

(2) He is the first English educator to grasp the significance of the training of teachers. W.H. Woodward.

(3) "The sixteenth-century prevision awaited the close of the nineteenth century for its fulfilment." Paul Monroe, Textbook in the History of Education, p.467.

(4) Positions, p.248.

(5) Ibid., pp.236-237.

wish, as having any great cause to dislike the current, which the universities be now in: but granting things there to be well done already, I offer no discourtesy in wishing that good to be a great deal better." (1)

Mulcaster in upholding the dignity of education as a profession, and the need for training of teachers, makes an earnest and thoroughgoing exposition of a position which is now accepted by an increasing number of leading educationalists throughout the English speaking world. Mulcaster affirms that the teacher ought to be well prepared for his work from the very beginning of his career. In his opinion, "time and experience" will do much to "polish" the teacher's method, but he should acquire most of his knowledge of subject matter in school and college before accepting a position. Besides a good general education in the College of Philosophy is quite as indispensable as a preparation for the teaching as for any of the professions. He says: There is no diverting to any profession till the student depart from the college of Philosophy, thence he that will go to Divinity, to Law, to Medicine, may, yet with great choice, to have the fittest according to the subject. He that will to the school is then to divert. In whom I require so much learning to do so much good, as none of the three, (honour always reserved to the worthiness of the subject which they profess) can challenge to himself more: either for pains which is great: or for profit which is sure: or for help to the professions: which have their passage so much the pleasanter, the more forward students be sent unto them, and the better subjects be made to obey them: as the schooling train is the track to obedience. And why should not these men have both this suffic-

(1) Positions, pp.236-237. "Difficult as the attainment of Mulcaster's ideal of the position of teachers may have been, he was undoubtedly on the right path to seek it, when he advocated that their training should be entrusted to the university."

iciency in learning, and such room to rest in, thence to be chosen and set forth for the common service? be either children, or schools so small a portion of our multitude? or is the framing of young minds, and the training of their bodies so mean a point of cunning? be schoolmasters in this Realm such a paucity, as they are not even in good sadness to be soundly thought on? If the chancel have a minister, the belfrey hath a master: and where youth is, as it is everywhere, there must be trainers, or there will be worse. He that will not allow of this careful provision for such a seminary of masters, is most unworthy either to have had a good master himself, or hereafter to have a good one for him. Why should not teachers be well provided for, to continue their whole life in the school, as Divines, Lawyers, Physicians do in their several professions? Thereby judgment, cunning, and discretion will grow in them: and masters would prove old men, and such as Xenophon sitteth over children in the schooling of Cyrus.⁽¹⁾

In the absence of any requirement of training, many teachers entered the profession who were totally unfit, or took it up merely as a makeshift until some more remunerative or congenial occupation offered itself. He says: "Whereas now the school being used but for a shift, afterwards to pass thence to the other professions, though it send out very sufficient men to them, itself remains too naked, considering the necessity of the thing."⁽²⁾ He concludes therefore "that this trade requireth a particular college for these four causes: 1. First the subject, being the

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- (1) Positions, pp.248-249. Dr.Boyd, in dealing with Mulcaster's ideals, says: "The teacher should get a proper training for his work at the universities, beginning like the students of medicine, law and divinity in a college of philosophy, then going on like them to a special college of his own, where he can get the requisite knowledge and the right professional spirit. Even then he will need to acquire good methods of instruction such as Mulcaster indicates for his guidance, in the actual work of teaching." Wm.Boyd, History of Western Education, p.246.
- (2) Positions, p.249.

means to make or mar the whole fry of our state: 2. secondly, for the number, whether of them that are to learn, or of them that are to teach: 3. thirdly for the necessity of the profession which may not be spared: 4. fourthly for the matter of their study which is comparable to the greatest professions, for language, for judgment, for skill how to train, for variety in all points of learning, wherein the framing of the mind and the exercising of the body craveth requisite consideration besides the staidness of the person.⁽¹⁾"

After stating that he believes that, if the reforms which he suggests had been adopted in the beginning, the public would now uphold the policy and the wisdom of those who originated the proposals,⁽²⁾ he asks the question: "May not that be now" achieved which, if it had been done at first would have received "great honour" and when accomplished "deserve everlasting memory", and, since "we have all things needful for the welldoing ready, why should it seem strange to wish such an alteration, seeing greater changes have been both wished, and wrought within this our time? Sad and lingering thoughts, which measure common weals as buildings grounded upon some rocks of marble, find many, and sober difficulties: resolute minds make no bones: there is stuff enough, the places be ready, the lands be neither to be begged, nor yet to be purchased, they be got, and given already: they may be easily brought into order, seeing our time is the time of reformation. Before my wish be condemned, I desire my reader to consider it well, and mark if it may take place, and whether it may not with great facility."⁽³⁾

Mulcaster thinks that his proposals, if fulfilled, would benefit the country incalculably, since they would give a new - "a rarer and

(1) Positions, p.249.

(2) Ibid., p.249.

(3) Ibid., pp.249-250.

fairer" - aspect to the work at the universities which would result in bringing them into greater favour with the people everywhere throughout the kingdom. "And may not the state of the realm do this by authority?" in view of the fact that it has already approved the making of foundations "with a reservation of prerogative to alter" them for sufficient reason. (1) "In the first erection of schools and college, private zeal inflamed good founders"; in "altering" these in the light of the common good, the State may make improvements in accord with the "founder's meaning" and which they would very gladly embrace. (2)

This suggestion is in harmony with one of Mulcaster's fundamental principles, for in another place, speaking of changes which he thought ought to be made in the larger educational policies, he says: "The amendment resteth upon two great pillars: The professors of learning" who ought to give "intelligence of error and on the principal magistrate, may the very sovereign prince, to cause the redress in so necessary a piece, as the course of learning is, being God's great instrument to work out quietness for souls, bodies, goods, and doings." (3) The prince may "cut off" what is in excess, reconcile "diversities", "expel dissensions, whose lawful authority is a great commander, and no where more than in a general good, where everyone will follow, because everyone is bettered ... which proveth Plato's sentence to have kings, philosophers, that is, all magistrates learned, to be marvellous requisite in any good government. It is a great corrosive to the whole province of learning, which is the regiment of peace, where such as must direct, are but experienced wise, though that be very much, but yet both experience, and learning together make the better consent. It is an honourable conceit be-

(1) Positions, p.237.
 (2) Ibid., p.237.

(3) Elementarie, p.264.

sides the incredible good, for a learned virtuous prince by the assistance of a like counsel, to reduce the professors of learning, by choice in every kind to a certain number, to make choice in points of learning necessary for the state."⁽¹⁾

He wishes the State to have a free hand in controlling the use of private endowments according to the special needs of each generation. It is for each age or generation to decide what is best for that age or generation and the State must exercise wisdom in fulfilling policies in view of all the circumstances. Supporting this point of view, Mulcaster says: "The nature of time is upon sting of necessity, to inform what were best: and the duty of policy is, advisedly to consider how to bring that about which time doth advertise. And if time do his duty to tell, can policy avoid blame in sparing to try? And why should not public consideration be as careful to think of altering to fortify the state now, as private zeal hath than to strengthen that which was then in liking?"⁽²⁾ In view of the liberal nature of higher education, Mulcaster thinks that the colleges should be directed by those who have regard for the common welfare, unhampered by depending on charity or controlled by those who act from personal considerations.⁽³⁾

(1) Elementarie, pp.264-265.

(2) Positions, pp.237-238.

(3) Ibid., pp.250-251. Mulcaster says: "There were two questions more worthy the resolution, than all Iohannes Picus, the earl of Mirandula his nine hundred propounded at Rome: the other whether it were agreeable to the nature of learning, being liberal in condition to be elemosinarie in maintenance: the other whether it were for a common weal to have the conceit bound to respects, because of private exhibition, which ought to direct simply, without respect, saving to the State alone. For sure where learning grows up by pprops it leaseth her property: where the stock of itself will bear up the bowes, there it must be best, if choice be made leader, and fit wits bestowed on books."

Part II The Doctrines of Richard Mulcaster

Chapter XII The Vernacular in the Curriculum

The last vestige of classical exclusiveness was not swept away, as some have thought, when the great writers like Spenser (1552-1599) and Shakespeare (1564-1616) began to write in the vernacular. There was, as Mulcaster indicates, a feeling of antipathy toward English as the language of scholarship. This, indeed, was traditional. For two or three hundred years after the Norman Conquest "the French language remained superimposed upon the English." The prevailing attitude of scholars toward the vernacular is clearly conveyed in a remark cited by Jusserand: "People of a lower sort, 'low men', stick to their English; all those who do not know French are men of no account." Under the influence of Renaissance scholarship Latin took the place of French as the language of the learned classes. The feeling the English humanists had for the Latin, and the contempt they had for the vernacular, might have been expressed in almost identical terms: "All those who do not know Latin are men of no account." Since Latin was the language of the

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- (1) Even after the middle of the nineteenth century lectures were delivered in Latin at Oxford University. Matthew Arnold was one of the first teachers to break away from the custom. "He lectured in English" beginning in 1857 "and excited the academic world." C.H. Harvey, Matthew Arnold, p.102. James Clarke & Co., London, 1931. "The old, narrow traditions of the Renaissance lingered on in the latter half of the eighteenth century - as indeed they linger still here and there in both England and America." H.C. Bowen, Froebel and Education by Self-activity, p.2. William Heinemann, Publisher, London, 1893.
- (2) Elementarie, p.270.
- (3) J.J. Jusserand, A Literary History of the English People, pp.116-117.
- (4) "By sending his son to learn Latin, an uncultured parent immediately raised him into a higher sphere of society and placed in his hands a passport which secured admission where the language of the country invited rebuff." M.W. Keatinge, The Great Didactic of John Amos Comenius, p.104.
- (5) This practice of course had a disastrous effect on the development of our own language. All good histories of English literature tell how the English vernacular was retarded by the use of other languages especially Latin and French. See H.A. Taine's History of English Literature.

clergy and of religion, of the courts and of lawyers, of the schools and of the universities, and was demanded in travelling in foreign countries and required for diplomatic negotiations, naturally it had the most important place in the curriculum. ⁽¹⁾ Indeed, more time was devoted to it than to all the other studies combined.

But though English was not held, by scholars at least, in high esteem, ⁽²⁾ much progress had been made between Chaucer's and Spenser's time in the perfecting of English as a literary language, and it only awaited the coming of an outstanding genius like Shakespeare to reveal its mighty potentialities. "When Caxton died in 1491, he had fixed, in the rough, the character of modern English... But it had never yet been ⁽³⁾ the object of serious study." However, a few scholars had begun to recognize the vernacular by writing treatises in the English language. ⁽⁴⁾ There were two great forces at work which led to the new-born temper and spirit: the growing sense of nationalism and the Protestant Reformation. The latter movement "itself an assertion of Teutonism against Latinism, led to numerous English versions of the Bible; and when the English prayer book had also accustomed the nation to daily reading of their mother tongue, English, instead of Latin, had become the language of religion." ⁽⁵⁾ Many people in England were, even in the fifteenth century, "proud of

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- (1) A.F. Leach in his *English Schools at the Reformation*, Part I, p.105, very explicitly states that Latin was almost a practical necessity for nearly all fairly well educated classes, not merely for the professions or as a preparation for the universities.
- (2) J.W. Atkins in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol.III, p.444.
- (3) *Ibid.*, p.444.
- (4) Before the *Positions* (1581) and *Elementarie* (1582) of Richard Mulcaster appeared, several authors wrote or translated books in English. Among the most important writers were Wycliff, Chaucer, Langland, Sir Thomas Elyot, Sir Thomas More, and Roger Ascham.
- (5) J.W. Atkins in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. III, p445.

(1)
 everything English" and during the Elizabethan age this new spirit was accentuated tremendously. Mulcaster sensed the meaning of what was happening and dared to make it known. He was imbued with that pride of race and speech which characterized the English people during the 'spacious times' of the great Queen Elizabeth.

He was highly critical of the attempt to retain Latin as the language, par excellence, of English scholarship, and protested vigorously that English was not to be regarded as subsidiary to Latin. (2) It was a bold step to take this position, because there was considerable danger of his losing caste among the scholars of his time, but he was never a coward in expressing his views. He came out unequivocally for new ideals and progressive attitudes. He dared to challenge the outstanding pedagogical practice of his day. His work at this point becomes increasingly interesting.

The topic of supreme importance, to Mulcaster, is the fundamental place of the English culture in education. In the first part of Positions and the last chapter (i.e. in the Peroration) of the *Elementarie*, he expounds his favourite subject. Here he has a real theme and a real message and this is one of his chief contributions to educational thought. He anticipated the modern practice of emphasizing the vernacular in the curriculum. (3) Differing from the custom of his time, he would have the

- (1) J.J. Jusserand, *A Literary History of the English People*, Vol.I, p.518.
 (2) He considered the study of English far more important than either the Greek or the Latin language. *Elementarie*, 274-275.
 (3) A good student of the history of education, A.F. Leach, does "not understand that Mulcaster himself actually taught English, but rather recommended the study as a council of perfection." See *Educational Times*, Jan.1, 1893, p.17. We have no knowledge that English was seriously taught in any public Grammar School until after the middle of the seventeenth century. "Yet", asserts Foster Watson, "if one school can be singled out as likely to have had more attention paid to English, that school would probably be St. Paul's School, for there Richard Mulcaster was Head Master from 1596 to 1608." *The Beginnings of the Teaching of Modern Subjects*, 41-42.

mother tongue made the language in which the child should be first taught.⁽¹⁾ Mulcaster contends that the study of the vernacular should precede both in time and in importance the study of Latin. He very truly says: "We understand that tongue best whereunto we are first born, as our first impression is always in English before we do deliver it in Latin."⁽²⁾ Then he adds the comment: "He that understands no Latin can understand English, and he that understands Latin very well, can understand English far better, if he will confess the truth."⁽³⁾ Very adroitly he continues the argument with an assertion which today seems self-evident, that we should learn "to read first, which we speak first, and to care for that most, which we ever use most: because we need it most ... both in our living and learning" and in beginning our studies where we have the best chance of good progress.⁽⁴⁾

According to the scheme of education established by the humanists whom Mulcaster criticised, as soon as the elementary subjects were mastered, the student of necessity had to learn foreign tongues in order to reach the substance of knowledge.⁽⁵⁾ He concedes that since Englishmen

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- (1) Mulcaster was the first to advocate the teaching of English. S.S.Laurie, in his History of Educational Opinion, p.58, asserts that Brinsley and Mulcaster deserve this honour. We have no desire to belittle Brinsley's work, but his treatise was published three decades after Mulcaster's. "English-speaking peoples have been more backward than the Spanish, German or the French in recognizing the importance of the vernacular in instruction." S.G.Williams, The History of Modern Education, p.427. Juan Luis Vives, the Spaniard, has the distinction of leadership in this matter of reform. He was the first to urge the use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction. See Foster Watson's Introduction to Sir T. Elyot's The book named The Governour. J.M.Dent & Co., Publishers, London, 1907. See also Foster Watson's The Beginnings of the Teaching of Modern Subjects, 2-3.
- (2) Positions, p.3, and Elementarie, p.274. This is in harmony with the position of an alert modern thinker who asks this pertinent question: "Is not the baby mind better nourished by its mother's milk than by less natural food?" P.B. Ballard, The Changing School, p.220.
- (3) Positions, p.3.
- (4) Ibid., p.30.
- (5) Ibid., p.5.

got most of their learning from foreign countries, if they did not understand their languages, they would "lack the hope" of attaining their

knowledge. ⁽¹⁾ In the light of these facts he asserts that the study of foreign languages was essential for the work demanded by the schools of his day. ⁽²⁾ "Yet", he declares, "it hinders us" not merely in time, but in gaining useful knowledge, which is far more important. ⁽³⁾ The soundness of this contention is loudest when we consider the almost insurmountable difficulties which faced the students of Latin and Greek literature in Mulcaster's day. Even four or five decades later, when Comenius began to propound his new method of language learning, "there was still no suitable class-book from the study of which could be obtained a fairly comprehensive vocabulary, and a knowledge of the structure of sentences sufficient to enable a boy to attack a classic author on his own account." ⁽⁴⁾

(1) *Elementarie*, p.56.

(2) Dr. M.W. Keatinge very aptly states: "To write English fluently and well is now of infinitely more value to a man than to have acquired the same proficiency in Latin; but in the sixteenth century the advantage was greatly on the side of the Latin scholar." Introduction to *The Great Didactic*, p.104.

(3) *Elementarie*, 57 and 274.

(4) M.W. Keatinge, Editor and Translator of the *Great Didactic*, p.18, A. & C. Black, Publishers, London, 1912. "Comenius's complaint that the beginner in Latin was compelled to learn the unknown through the medium of the unknown, does not apply with very much force to England. As early as 1495 we find a block-letter treatise 'Pervula' by name, giving the rules of syntax in English." *Ibid.*, 110. In spite of the truth of Dr. Keatinge's statement, the masters in secondary schools had much difficulty in teaching Latin. Just a year after Mulcaster's death, John Brinsley in his *Ludus Literarius* (1612) complains that "it is an extreme vexation that we must be toiled among such little pettys, and in teaching such matters, whereof we can get no profit, nor take any delight in our labours... It were much to be wished that none might be admitted to the Grammar schools, until they were able to read English... Yet notwithstanding; where it cannot be redressed, it must be borne with wisdom and patience as a heavy burden... The trouble is this. That when as my children do first enter into Latin, many of them will forget to read English, and some of them be worse two or three years after that they have been in construction, than when they began it." John Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius*, The Grammar School, Edited by E.T. Campagnac of Liverpool University, 1917.

Mulcaster wanted to see English given pre-eminence, not merely because it is an indigenous product, but because too much time was wasted on the mere form or grammar that should have been devoted to the content

- (1) Erasmus (1466-1536) had urged during the early renaissance that not the form but the content of the ancient authors should be studied. But of course he maintained that a student had to know the "form" (the language) in order to understand the "content" of the classical literature. Since the time of Erasmus, humanism had degenerated into "Ciceronianism." Even prior to the great scholar's death the tendency to make the new learning narrow and formal was plainly evident. Erasmus himself was one of the first men to detect and to depreciate the lack of steadfastness on the part of the schoolmasters in upholding their ideals. His dialogue, *The Ciceronian*, (1528) is a scathing indictment of the short-sighted humanists for their insistence on a lifeless study of Latin Grammar and Ciceronian vocabulary. He ridiculed in a remarkably effective manner those who mistook the form for the spirit of the Greeks and the Romans. The ideals of Erasmus seemed plausible in the "early revival", but difficult to attain even in the best schools with excellent students under the most favourable conditions. In dealing with the later renaissance which came in Mulcaster's own day, Dr. Boyd very cogently says: "The quickening impulses which inspired scholars in the heyday of the movement - the desire for a larger and fuller life, the joy in beauty of style and thought, the craving for an illimitable range of knowledge - had largely disappeared from the schools... But though the attempt to create educational institutions embodying the principles of the Renaissance had in large measure failed, the leaven of the modern spirit was all the time at work in the minds of men, making the best of them discontented with what had been accomplished, and urging them on to a more adequate expression of their ideals in a new renaissance. So far as education was concerned, the task of the reformers who were the pioneers in this second renaissance was immensely more difficult than that of their predecessors. The latter had found a comparatively simple solution for their problems by going back to the past and seeking to adapt all that was best in it to the needs of their own times. But the reformers, even when in sympathy with the general trend of the Renaissance, had a vision of something better than before, which made it impossible for them to be quite satisfied with a reversion to the past. They were more or less conscious of possibilities in human nature, to which the knowledge and ideals recreated from ancient sources of wisdom failed to do complete justice. They wanted an education differing to some extent both in subjects and methods, from any past education."
- Wm. Boyd, *History of Western Education*, 220-221. A. and C. Black, Publishers, London, second edition, 1928.

(1) of education which is really the thing of importance. He regretted that students had to "linger over language" for they are "removed and kept back from sound knowledge."⁽³⁾ This fact was more to be deplored because the hindrance comes in the student's "best learning time." If the masters were worthy and well qualified, the students could get more real knowledge directly from the teachers than indirectly from text-books written in foreign "tongues", for most of the students' time is devoted to the language whereas it should be spent in mastering thought which would help them in their vocations, and prepare them for citizenship.

- (1) Francis Bacon (1561-1626) avers that "words are but the images of matter." Advancement of Learning. Like Mulcaster, he held that the substance of things, not the form, could provide nutrition for the mind.
- (2) Dr. J.K. Hart aptly speaks of the learning of the later Renaissance as the "dry rot of the intellectualism." He very pertinently asserts that "not all the moderns were completely taken in by the glories of the Renaissance. John Ruskin, for example, was not deceived. In his Stones of Venice, he gives a somewhat bitter, but on the whole well-deserved criticism of the later Renaissance. "The men of this period discovered suddenly that the world for ten centuries had been living in an ungrammatical manner, and they made it forthwith the end of human existence to be grammatical. And it mattered thenceforth nothing what was said, or what was done, so only that it was said with scholarship, and done with system. Falsehood in a Ciceronian dialect had no opposers; truth in patois no listeners." J.K. Hart, Creative Moments in Education, 216-218. Henry Holt & Co., N.Y., 1931.
- (3) Over three centuries after Mulcaster took this position, Dr. C.W. Eliot, who for forty years was President of Harvard University, advanced practically the same argument. He says: "It is a waste to society and an outrage upon the individual to make the boy spend the years when he is most teachable in a discipline, the end of which he can never reach, when he might have spent them in a different discipline, which would have been rewarded by achievement. Our literatures the world over ... are so rich, so full of thought, feeling, and action, that there is no time to waste ... upon lifeless material, when we may be occupying ourselves in those exercises and for the same purpose of discipline, with material that enriches the human mind and refines and touches the human heart. Modern education in its adjustment is bringing the child into its literary inheritance in a new spirit." C.W. Eliot, Educational Reform, p.117, Century Co., N.Y., 1905.

Plainly then, Mulcaster was not in favour of retaining knowledge as an esoteric possession of a scholarly class. For him knowledge could not be regarded in a niggardly spirit, and its acquisition be made a refined form of self-indulgence. (1) Repeatedly he stresses the obligation on instructors to be helpful. In the schools and universities he would have them study the Greek and Latin authors and present to the students any analyses or epitomes of the treatises worthwhile. (2) His own words on this subject are interesting: "For is it not an incredible benefit, to have the very flower and pith of another man's study, ... to be uttered unto you in order, by one that hath digested it in time, by his painfulness in study, to gather it from the best writers?" (3) In the schools and universities of the Elizabethan age the "good students were terrified" (or as we would say, discouraged) with the tedious work of translating Latin while the "fresh heads", i.e. the raw students, because of their "unskilfulness", (4) found an excuse for "idleness" and condemned what they could not understand, "and thus", Mulcaster concludes that "the most of our best learning which we ought to have is either suppressed by difficulty or oppressed by ignorance." (5)

In advocating the use of the vernacular, Mulcaster had no desire to "disgrace Latin", but rather to "grace his own" language. (6) He was quite ready to concede the validity of the humanists' argument that the Greeks and the Romans had treasures of permanent value, but he maintained these

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- (1) Positions, p.240. He asserts further: "We do attribute too much to tongues, which do mind them more than we do matter chiefly in a monarchy; and esteem it more honorable to speak finely, than to reason wisely: where words be but praised for the time, and wisdom wins at length."
- (2) Elementarie, 46-47.
- (3) Ibid., p.46.
- (4) Ibid., p.47.
- (5) Ibid., p.47.
- (6) Ibid., p.273.

could be reached most effectively by practically all students through competent translations. ⁽¹⁾ There was more than a good beginning in the direction which Mulcaster suggested. ⁽²⁾ Caxton's press (1475-1492) printed about one hundred works, most of which were in English. ⁽³⁾ "Classical learning, at first the possession of a favoured few, then by means of translations, the property of all people fairly educated, gradually permeated England so thoroughly that, though Shakespeare was not far distant from Chaucer by the measurement of time, when we pass from the one to the other it is as if we entered a new and entirely different world." ⁽⁴⁾ No doubt even in Mulcaster's day the students could get all of the best ideas from foreign sources through excellent translations, for "the English Press was confined to printing works in English", according to Dr. John Harvey; ⁽⁵⁾ and there were no less than fifty ⁽⁶⁾ of these presses in London

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- (1) It is interesting to recall to mind in connection with this assertion that Shakespeare seemed to have a better education than most men of his time in spite of the fact that he knew but little Latin and less Greek. Indeed, "it is unlikely" says Dr. S. Lee, "that Shakespeare knew anything of Greek at first hand. But there is a more extreme view: "Dr. Farmer, the Cambridge scholar of the eighteenth century", advanced "the theory that Shakespeare knew no tongue but his own, and owed whatever knowledge he displayed of the classics and of Italian and French literature to English translations." (S. Lee, *Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century*, 292-295.)
- (2) If Erasmus popularised the classical renaissance for scholars, Sir T. Elyot rendered it accessible to the mass of the people who had no acquaintance with the language of antiquity. His translations from Latin and Greek into English, made at a time when all were anxious to share in classical learning, and only a few possessed a knowledge of the classical languages sufficient to enable them to share its benefits, were very popular and were reprinted, over and over again." T.M. Lindsay in *Cambridge History of English Literature*, 1908, Vol. III, p.23.
- (3) S.C. Parker, *The History of Modern Elementary Education*, p.47, Ginn & Co., Boston, U.S.A., 1912. J.J. Jusserand, in his *Literary History of the English People*, Vol. II, p.34, is a little more exclusive. He says that Caxton "did not publish one single classical work in the original, but he wanted from the first to multiply copies of the national masterpieces."
- (4) T.M. Lindsay in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, (1908), Vol. III, p.24.
- (5) John Sturm: *A Pioneer of Secondary Education*, Part II, 149, Ph.D. Thesis, Glasgow University, 1926.
- (6) W.H. Woodward in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, III, p.427.

alone in the sixteenth century, besides presses at both Oxford and Cambridge.

The humanists of his time believed in teaching Latin with almost pentecostal fervour. Mulcaster was just as enthusiastic for his own tongue. No writer of his time took a more determined stand for common sense principles. He argued constantly for a clearer recognition of the intrinsic value of a diligent study of English, and he holds that English should be taught assiduously in season and out of season. He is convinced that English should be taught to children not merely first, but that the study of it in the schools and universities should take precedence over all other languages. The time has gone by, he thinks, for illusions as to the place of the study of Latin in the education of the youth of England. The Latinists looked backward; Mulcaster looked forward. To him, the Golden Age was not in the past, but in the future. To put English culture into the schools would involve making a new tradi-

(1) This is the attitude, possibly, which led R.H. Quick to contend in his work, *Educational Reformers*, p.97, "it would have been a vast gain to all Europe if Mulcaster had been followed instead of Sturm." I am quite sure Dr. Boyd would support Professor Quick, for he says with his usual discernment that although Sturm was an able man, he stressed the study of the ancient classics to an unreasonable degree. "Knowledge, apart from what might be incidentally acquired in the study of the classics, was completely ignored." Continuing his trenchant but dispassionate appraisal, Dr. Boyd says: "In accordance with the vicious principle that 'men have a nature more ready for speech than for thought and judgment' and that therefore the training of speech should come first, history, mathematics and science were deferred till the school course was over and the higher course begun. Time was not even found to teach the elements of arithmetic ... The native language of the pupils was forbidden both inside and outside the classroom, and ordinary conversation and teaching alike were supposed to be carried on in Ciceronian Latin... So once more, as in the latter days of the Italian Renaissance, Ciceronianism was in the ascendant, and humanism, which had entered the schools as a vitalizing force, was already on the downward path towards a soulless preoccupation with verbal forms." Wm. Boyd, *History of Western Education*, 206-207, A. & C. Black, Publishers, London, second edition, 1928.

tion in the writing of English, but Mulcaster was willing to take that step. At the same time he believed that the accepted tradition in language must be respected, and recognized that no violent revolution in the use of words would be tolerated by the English people. Proposals like those of Cheke and Smith for an entire change of the alphabet on a phonetic basis ⁽¹⁾ did not appeal to him, though he appreciated the interest in the language which they implied. English as it was commonly written, with all its vagaries, seemed to him good enough to work on. "Certainly by so much as I have observed, I think we are as well appointed for our necessities that way, and as much bound to our general custom, for the artificial notes of our natural tongue, as any other people is, to any other language, whether ancient in books, or modern in speech." ⁽²⁾

Sudden or great changes in the form or number of letters such as the spelling reformers of his day contemplated would mean that the learning of the past would be lost, "the old charact growing out of knowledge ... And though we grant some imperfection, as in a tongue not yet raked from her troubled lees, yet we do not confess, that it is to be perfected either by altering the form, or by increasing the number of our acquainted letters, but only by observing, where the tongue of herself, and her ordinary custom doth yield to the fining, as the old, and therefore the best method doth lead us." ⁽³⁾

Uniformity in word usage did not seem to him essential. Rather he

(1) Leo Wiener says that many of Mulcaster's suggested forms are now distinctive features of American spelling, e.g. the ending or in favor, honor, labor, etc., the suffix er for re in center, the single t in perfiting. He introduced many changes of a similar nature and believed that even more might be introduced by judicious students of the language. *Modern Language Notes*, Mar. 1897, Vol. XII, 135-138.

(2) *Elementarie*, p. 110.

(3) *Ibid.*, 109-110.

emphasises an artistic quality in language and would not have one word used in one sense only with mechanical sameness. The meaning of a word (with diverse meanings) is to be interpreted in its context. "Letters can express sounds with all their joints and properties no fuller than the pencil can the form and linaments of the face, whose praise is not life but likeness: as the letters yield not always the same, which sound exactly requires, but always the nearest, wherewith custom is content."⁽¹⁾

English literature had burst into flower⁽²⁾ in Mulcaster's own time and it seemed fitting and proper that it should have due consideration from the educator. He wished to stabilise English, in order that it might be more easily learned. In fixing the form of words, sound, custom and reason were all to be considered, but art, he contended, supplies the main criterion. "For our natural tongue being as beneficial to us for our own needful delivery as any other is to the people which use it; and having as pretty and as fair observations in it as any other hath, and being as ready to yield to any rule of art as any other is, why should I not take some pains to find out the right writing of ours, as other countrymen have done to find the like in theirs?"⁽³⁾

Mulcaster recognized that language inevitably changed and though he did much to sift the principles which found embodiment in the great languages like Greek and Latin and show how they might be applied to English he did not expect that any living tongue would reach such perfection as they had attained. The living spirit in language which permitted change,

(1) *Elementarie*, p. 110.

(2) "The history of the earlier Elizabethan prose, if we except the name of Hooker, in whom it culminates, is to a great extent the history of curiosities of literature - of tentative and imperfect efforts, scarcely resulting in any real vernacular style at all. It is, however, emphatically the Period of Origins of modern English prose, and as such cannot but be interesting." George Saintsbury, *A History of Elizabethan Literature*, p. 28.

(3) *Elementarie*, p. 59.

in spite of custom, he called 'prerogative'. He says: "As all things else, which belong to man be subject to change, so the tongue also is, which changeth with the most, and yet continueth with the best. Whereupon it must needs be that there is some soul substance in every spoken tongue, which feedeth this change, even with perceptible means, that pretend alteration. For if any tongue be absolute, and free from motion, it is shrined up in books, and not ordinary in use, but made immortal by the register of memory. This secret mystery, or rather quickening spirit in every spoken tongue, and therefore in ours, call I prerogative, because when sound hath done his best, when reason hath said his best, when custom hath effected, what is best in both, this prerogative will except against any of them all, and all their rules, be they ever so general, be they ever so certain. Whereby it maketh a way to a new change that will follow in some degree of the tongue, if the writer's period be chosen at the best. I cannot compare this customary prerogative in speech to anything better, than unto those which devise new garments, and by law are left to the liberty of device."⁽¹⁾

"For what people can be sure of his own tongue any long while? doth not speech alter sometimes to the finer, if the state where it is used, continue itself, and grow to better countenance, for either great learning, or other dealing, which use to proin a tongue? And doth it not sometimes change to the more corrupt, if the state where it is used, do chance to be overthrown, and a master tongue coming in as conqueror, command both the people, and the people's speech too?"⁽²⁾ He is convinced that in the idioms of language there has been a survival of the fittest, so that in accepting what is most firmly established in our tongue we are also getting the best.

"Our custom hath already beaten out his own rules ready for the method, and frame of Art."⁽³⁾ It is this conviction which makes him reluctant to abandon the customary spelling and pronunciation. "For were it not

(1) Elementarie, p. 177-178.

(2) Ibid. 82-83.

(3) Ibid, p. 85.

in good sooth, too violent a force, to offer to overthrow a custom, so generally received, so particularly settled, nay grounded so soundly, and surely, as it shall appear shortly, with altering either all, or most of our letters?"⁽¹⁾ "For the certaining of our pen, I do follow these seven precepts, General Rule, Proportion, Composition, Derivation, Enfranchisement, Distinction, and Prerogative."⁽²⁾ Under the heading General Rule he examines "the nature of each letter."⁽³⁾

The richness of foreign tongues is to be incorporated into English by means of adaptation. "Now all words be either mere English, or incorporate strangers, which either follow one suitable sound in speech and the like resemblance in pen, or agreeing in the one, disagree in the other. For the certaining of this uncertainty, I appoint two precepts of the seven, Proportion, and Enfranchisement."⁽⁴⁾ 'Proportion' for him has reference to the relative sound value of different letters in a word. He wishes students of language to pay attention to the values in fixing the form of new or borrowed words. "I call that 'proportion,' when a number of words of like sound are written with like letters, or if the like sound have not the like letters, the cause why is shown, as in hear, dear, gear, wear, the like proportion is kept: custom hath won that writing in such adverbs of place: in mere it faileth by 'enfranchisement; because it comes from the Latin merus, ra, rum."⁽⁵⁾ "I call that a bisyllable, wherein there be two several sounding vowels, as Asur, rasur, masur, and why not lasur? farow, borough, thorough. Writing, biting. The proportion in this kind also is very commodious, because when you have found out one certain head all of the like sound may be easily re-

(1) Elementarie, p.108.

(2) Ibid., p.118.

(3) Ibid., p.118. He thoroughly examines English spelling and punctuation in Chapter XVII of the Elementarie.

(4) Ibid., p.118.

(5) Ibid., p.138.

duced thereto, unless some prerogative of private custom, or some re-
spect to the original stranger do interrupt the rank."⁽¹⁾

"This benefit of the foreign tongue, which we use in making their terms to become ours, with some alteration in form, according to the frame of our speech, though with the continuing in substance of those words, which are so used, that it may appear both whence they come, and to whom they come, I call 'Enfranchisement', by which very name the words that are so enfranchised, become bond to the rules of our writing, which I have named before, as the stranger denisons be to the laws of our coun-
try."⁽²⁾

'Composition' is the study of compound words; their spelling and pronunciation. He classifies compound words under the headings: English; Enfranchised and Mongrel.⁽³⁾

"'Derivatiōh' , he writes, "naturally succeedeth composition. For as composition handleth the coupling of several whole words which by their uniting make a new one: so derivation handles the coupling of one whole word, and some addition put to it, which addition of itself signifies nothing alone, but being put to the whole word, qualifies it to some other use, than the primitive was put to, as friend, being a primitive, receives many additions, which yet signify nothing in the sense of their addition, though they change the force of friend, as friendship, friendly"⁽⁴⁾
etc.

By 'Distinction' he means marks of punctuation and accent.⁽⁵⁾

Although the written word in English today does not bear in all cases the form which the application of Mulcaster's method of analysis led him to establish, his principles are all incorporated in the best

(1) *Elementarie*, p.154.

(2) *Ibid.*, 173-174.

(3) *Ibid.*, p.158.

(4) *Ibid.*, p.162.

(5) *Ibid.*, 166-172.

books on English language written since his time. He established the right method of analyses and formation of words. This was one of his main purposes. But his enthusiasm to effect some definite result did not allow him to rest there. The practical quality of his pedagogic instinct is evinced by his anticipation of the methods of later schoolmasters. He compiled a list of words of which he says: "I have gathered together so many of them both enfranchised and natural, as may easily direct our general writing, either because they be the very most of those words which we commonly use, or because all other, whether not here expressed or not yet invented, will conform themselves to the presidency of these. If my leisure would have served, I would have sought out more, but these may seem enough, which both serve the thing, and discharge me." (1) He writes, "I do but enter and pass leaving the perfecting to who will." (2)

He realized that his work was incomplete and suggested the compiling of a Dictionary. "It were a thing very praiseworthy in my opinion, and no less profitable than praiseworthy, if someone well learned and as laborious a man, would gather all the words which we use in our English tongue, whether natural or incorporate, out of all professions, as well learned as not, into one dictionary, and besides the right writing, which is incident to the Alphabet, would open to us therein, both their natural force, and their proper use: that by his honest trouble we might be as able to judge of our own tongue, which we have by rote, as we are of others, which we learn by rule. The want whereof, is the only cause why that very many men, being excellently well learned in foreign speech, can hardly discern what they have at home, still shooting fair, but oft miss-

(1) Elementarie, 184-185.

(2) Ibid., p.246.

ing far, hard censors over other, ill executors themselves." (1)

Mulcaster realised that every language has reached perfection by means of a process of evolution. A language is great when it has been put to great uses. He sensed that the language of his own day in England had not yet reached perfection as an instrument of expression, but he was assured that by bringing it into more general use it would become as adequate as any tongue to express all phases of human thought. He set out to discover the means by which established languages achieved their perfection, and advocated similar methods for the attainment of a standard English. (2)

At the same time he was aware of the individuality of every language, and declared that no rule could be followed universally. "Particularity will not be comprised under general precept with any other tongue, but must be directed by private observation, and particular exception against the common rule." (3)

Mulcaster was not content merely to teach English in the schools - he was specially ardent in propounding the view that scholars should make

- (1) *Elementarie*, p.187. "The first grammar by Bullokar (not the lexicographer) appeared four years after the necessity for one had been pointed out by Mulcaster. Ben Jonson composed a large Grammar but it was consumed in the fire of his study, and we possess only his lengthy notes, or probably parts of his grammar, which were published three years after his death, in 1640. From these we confidently conclude that even he was indebted to Mulcaster, for though we can only conjecture this in regard to the grammar proper, his introduction dealing with the value of letters, with accent and spelling, is only a condensation of some chapters in the *Elementarie*. Jonson did not scruple to use the same examples, nay, even to copy literally, whole paragraphs. Neither his contemporaries nor the learned of the next century could rise to his height, and the succession of lexicographers Bullokar, Blount, Phillips and Coles, made only laborious collections of unusual words in the language. One hundred and forty years passed from the enunciation of the right principle of lexicography, before Bailey's Dictionary appeared, which pretended to give all words. But neither Bailey nor Jonson has incorporated all of Mulcaster's injunctions. It was left to Webster to open unto us both the natural force, and the proper use of words." Leo Wiener, "Richard Mulcaster, an Elizabethan Philologist," *Modern Language Notes*, Mar. 1897, Vol. XII, 134-135.
- (2) *Elementarie*, 68-70.
- (3) *Ibid.*, 70-72.

English the language of scholarship. "There were but few men who dared to think of their mother tongue as fit for literary purposes, and none who were bold enough to hold learned discourse^{in English}... It cannot surprise us, then, that not a book was written to establish rules of grammar in the everchanging language, or to decide what flotsam of newly coined words was to be saved and fixed in the language that was being 'amended'. On the slightest provocation, foreign words without any change of their strange garbs were incorporated though native terms could easily have been found. Beyond spelling, English philology did not move. There was but one man in all those days of apathy for the mother tongue who loved its past, did not despair of the present, and predicted for it a glorious future, a man who indicated the road on which it must travel towards its destiny, and who himself took the initiative in improving it.⁽¹⁾ That man was Richard Mulcaster".

Mulcaster says: "Some be of opinion that we should not write of any philosophic argument⁽²⁾...in our English tongue, because the unlearned understand it not, the learned esteem it not, as a thing of difficulty to the one, and no delight to the other. For both the penning in English generally, and my own penning in this order, I have this to say. No one tongue is more fine than other naturally, but by industry of the speaker, which upon occasion offered by the kind of government wherein he liveth ~~endeavoureth~~ himself to garnish it with eloquence, and to enrich it with learning. The use of such a tongue, so eloquent for speech, and so learned for matter, while it keeps itself within the natural soil, it both serves the own turn with great admiration, and kindles in the foreign,

(1) Leo Wiener, "Richard Mulcaster, an Elizabethan Philologist," *Modern Language Notes*, Mar. 1897, Vol. XII, pp. 129-132.

(2) Mulcaster was not the first man to write a book in English, but he was the first to give a reasoned statement for so doing. Leo Wiener, however, gives him more credit. He says the *Elementarie* "was the first attempt in the sixteenth century at writing a philosophical treatise in English, and it needed courage to make the innovation." *Ibid.* p.132.

which come to acknowledge it, a great desire to resemble the like. Hence came it to pass, that the people of Athens, both beautified their speech by the use of their pleading, and enriched their tongue with all kinds of knowledge, both bred within Greece, and borrowed from without. Hence came it to pass, that people of Rome having platted their government, much what like the Athenians, for their common please, became enamoured with their eloquence, whose use they stood in need of, and translated their learning, wherewith they were in love. Howbeit there was nothing so much learning in the Latin tongue, while the Romans flourished, as at this date is in it by the industry of students throughout all Europe, who use the Latin tongue, as a common mean, of their general delivery, both in things of their own device, and in works translated by them. The Roman authority first planted the Latin among us here, by force of their conquest, the use thereof for matters of learning, doth cause it to continue, though the conquest be expired.⁽¹⁾

Mulcaster, it has been well said, "yielded to no man in his admiration of Greek and Latin, languages to which he was entitled to pay his homage because he knew them well; but he is proud of his own country and his own language. Why, he asked, should any Englishman fear to match himself against the Greeks and the Romans?"⁽²⁾ "Our brains can bring forth," he says, "our conceits will bear life: our tongues be not tied, and our labour is our own."⁽³⁾ "Why not write all in English, a tongue of itself both deep in conceit and frank in delivery?"⁽⁴⁾ Then he warms to eloquence. "I do not think", he declares, "that any language is better able to utter all arguments either with more pith or greater plainness than our English tongue ... not any whit behind the subtle Greek for couching close, nor

(1) Elementarie, p. 267-268.

(2) Professor Campagnac in the Introduction to the Elementarie, xxiv.

(3) Elementarie, p. 272.

(4) Ibid, p. 274. "Ascham had pointed out that the English language could be used for literary purposes, but Mulcaster demanded that it should".

the stately Latin for spreading fair." ⁽¹⁾ At the same time, he is not indiscriminating in his admiration of English. He recognized its imperfections, calling it 'uncouth', and admitting its 'lack of cunning'; but the Latin tongue, he points out, "had grown from a rustic speech of circumscribed limits to embrace all sciences and arts." ⁽²⁾ If that had happened with Latin, why not with English?

"There be two special considerations", he declares in a noble passage in which his whole argument for the substitution of English for Latin is summed up, "which keep the Latin, and other learned tongues, though chiefly the Latin, in great countenance among us, the one thereof is the knowledge, which is registered in them, the other is the conference, which the learned of Europe, do commonly use by them, both in speaking and writing. Which two considerations being fully answered, that we seek them from profit and keep them for that conference, whatsoever else may be done in our tongue, either to serve private uses, or the beautifying of our speech, I do not see, but it may well be admitted, even though in the end it displaced the Latin, as the Latin did others, and furnished itself by the Latin learning. For is it not indeed a marvellous bondage, to become servants to one tongue for learning sake, the most of our time, with loss of most time, whereas we may have the very same treasure in our own tongue, with the gain of most time? our own bearing the joyful title of our liberty and freedom, the Latin tongue remembering us, of our thralldom and bondage? I love Rome, but London better, I favour Italy, but England more, I honour the Latin, but I worship the English." ⁽³⁾

Here he reveals in glowing and original expression the aspirations of

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- (1) *Elementarie*, p.274-275. Sidney at a later date made a similar assertion less forcefully. He said: 'For uttering sweetly and properly the conceits of the mind... (English) hath it equally with any mother tongue in the world.' Quoted in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. III. p. 446.
- (2) Leo. Wiener in *Modern Language Notes*, Mar.1897, Vol.XII, pp.129-139.
- (3) *Elementarie*, 268-269.

many Elizabethans concerning the use to be made of their own language. (1)
 He had a patriotic attitude toward English culture and a lofty ideal for
 her future progress. (2) For many centuries before the "Revival of Learning",
 England had been developing a culture of her own, (3) which was, to some
 extent, an outgrowth of the culture of antiquity, and yet quite distinct
 from it. With discriminating enthusiasm he avers that England should
 borrow ideas from abroad, but mould them in forms of her own, determined by
 the customs and experience of the English people. (4) He was not even averse
 to the introduction of foreign words though he did not think that these

- (1) Mulcaster was not the only advocate of this position, but the most ardent and persistent representative. See Carew's Epistle on the Excellency of the English Tongue, which appeared in the second edition of Camden's Remains (1605). See also Daniel's Musophilus (1599) in which he deals in a most commendable manner with the glorious destiny of the English language. Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. III, p. 446.
- (2) What Mulcaster valiantly contended for has come true. According to that keen writer, Dr. P.B. Ballard, "All the great books of other nations have been translated into English; and there is now no reason why an Englishman who knows no language but his mother tongue may not become acquainted with the best that has been said and thought by man since the beginning of recorded time. P.B. Ballard, The Changing School, p. 209.
- (3) H.T. Mark, History of Educational Theories in England, p. 6.
- (4) See Peroration of the Elementarie. "Such were Mulcaster's practical ideas about education that many young men must have been benefited by them during the half century in which he exercised his art of teaching. But, greater yet, though silent and unacknowledged, was his influence on the development of the English language and its introduction into the schools and among the learned"... Those of his own age "did not appreciate him; the men of succeeding centuries have entirely forgotten him... Shakespeare, too, was barely noticed by his contemporaries, but the following centuries have established his fame. Mulcaster, who in a less grateful way directed the minds of the young and imbued them with a love of the English language as no one before him or after him, who has shown the right way to improve the native tongue and to keep it within well defined bounds, Mulcaster, who had dared face the scorn of the learned and the sneer of the unlearned, who had done for the language what literature and theology would never have accomplished without the aid of the schools, is not known to-day... It is now time to open for him the gates of the histories of language and literature and to enthrone him high in the place of English learning." Leo Wiener, Richard Mulcaster, an Elizabethan Philologist, Modern Language Notes, Vol. Xll, pp.129-139.

should be introduced as a display of p'dantry, but only when they were heeded to express some thought for which the English vocabulary of the time was inadequate. ⁽¹⁾ It was this type of culture that appealed to Richard Mulcaster. He had visions of its unlimited possibilities. It seemed to him that the time was ripe for not merely justifying the use of English, but for glorifying it. He thought that there was scarcely a limit to what might be accomplished by the genius of the English people in the years ahead, if only they were made conscious of their great potentialities.

No Englishman of his age held more firmly to the belief that England ought to control her own destiny in education and scholarship unhampered by foreign ideals and standards. He was not unwilling to learn from other nations, but he held that whatever was borrowed from foreign countries should be thoroughly assimilated and re-cast. He realised that the English were a serious dynamic people, capable of unusual progress. There-

(1) "Words accepted from abroad are to be spelled in their foreign way, unless they be entirely enfranchised, when they ought to be modelled on the English fashion." Leo Wiener in *Modern Language Notes*, XII, 137. Other big leaders were not quite so broad-minded as Mulcaster in regard to the desirability of borrowing words from foreign countries. The purist, Sir John Cheke (1514-1551) for example, one of the greatest scholars of the sixteenth century who at one time was Regius Professor of Greek literature at Cambridge University and who was besides a student of world affairs, takes a cautious insular attitude. He asserts: "Our own tongue should be written clean and pure, unmixed and unmingled with borrowing of other tongues. For, then doth our tongue naturally and praisably utter her meaning, when she borroweth no counterfeit from other tongues to attire herself withal, but useth plainly her own with such shift as nature, craft, experience, and following of other excellent doth lead her unto, and if she want at any time (as being imperfect she must) yet let her borrow with such bashfulness that it may appear that if either the mould of our own tongue could serve us to fashion a word of our own, or if the old denized words could content and ease this need, we would not boldly venture of unknown words."

fore, if they should devote their energies to improving their own culture, even if they did borrow ideas from Greece and Rome, the thought could be translated, and the English language and literature would thereby profit, and England would hold a high place among the nations of the world. This new culture, derived from ancient and modern sources, would be destined to develop to an extent unparalleled in the history of civilization.

- (1) The time has now come; the dream of Mulcaster is being realized. "The English language has spread as no other language, until to-day one hundred and sixty millions of people use the tongue which in the fifteenth century was spoken by hardly five millions." C.J. Hayes, *Modern Europe*, Vol. I, p. 318, Macmillan Co., N.Y., 1916. From another source we find that approximately two hundred millions of people speak the English language. *School and Society* magazine (N.Y.) Aug. 20, 1932. A more recent writer in making an estimate claims that "English is now the natural or administrative language of more than five hundred million people." C.K. Ogden, *Basic English as an International Language*, *The New Era in Home and School*, 29 Tavistock Square, London, Jan. 1933, Vol. 14, p. 15. "It may be that English has become in many ways a universal tongue... The English language is spoken in practically every quarter of the globe; and no doubt an Englishman could travel completely round the world, obtaining what he wants by the employment only of his own language", *The London Telegraph*, Nov. 11, 1932, p. 17.
- (2) In this respect the English were like the ancient Greeks. Plato boasted that "whatever the Greeks received from foreigners they in the end made more beautiful." *Epinomis*, S. 987. I. Disraeli, (the father of the famous Benj. Disraeli), in his *Amenities of Literature*, holds that "the name of Richard Mulcaster has hardly reached posterity." In this assertion he was mistaken, but in his following statements he was undeniably right: "By the elevated view", he contends that Mulcaster saw the possibilities of our vernacular in "far distant times from his own", and "had the glory of having made this noble discovery" of the potentiality of our literature when it was "yet in its infancy... We, who have lived to verify the prediction, should not less esteem the prophet; the pedagogue, Mulcaster, is a philosopher - a genius who awakens a nation. His indeed was that 'prophetic eye', which, amid the rudeness of his own days, in its clear vision, contemplated on the futurity of the English language; and the day has arrived when 'in the end it displaced the Latin' and 'foreign students' learn our language 'for increase of their knowledge.'" Isaac Disraeli, *Amenities of Literature*, pp. 19-21. Published by F. Warne & Co., Covent Garden, London, 1866.

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