

PART I.

THE ORGANISATION OF A SECONDARY SCHOOL

IN 1538,

- A TRANSLATION OF JOHN STURM'S EDUCATIONAL TREATISE,

"DE LITTERARUM LUDIS RECTE APERIENDIS."

pp. 1-84

PART II.

THE LIFE AND EDUCATIONAL WORK

OF JOHN STURM.

pp. 1-216.

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PART 1.

THE ORGANISATION OF A SECONDARY SCHOOL

IN 1538

A TRANSLATION OF

"DE LITTERARUM LUDIS RECTE APERIENDIS"

BY

J O H N S T U R M

RECTOR OF STRASSBURG GYMNASIUM

(1538 - 1581)

dedicated to those excellent citizens, Jacobus
Sturmius, Nicolaus Cnipsius and Jacobus Meierius,

MEMBERS OF THE EDUCATION COMMITTEE.

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CHAPTER 1.

THE IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION.

The Council's decision of 7th March to establish a new school and to effect an improvement in the education of our youth has been received with great enthusiasm. The credit of initiating this reform belongs to you; for, on the instruction of the Council, you formed and set going this excellent organisation and so laid the foundation of a pious education.

Mankind by nature is subject to many weaknesses - deep, inherent ignorance and wickedness, peculiar to certain ages, peoples, pursuits and individuals. Unless remedies are discovered for these disorders, what loyalty or stability can exist in any State? The re-establishment of the former policy of Public Education would, in my opinion, remove these errors in the habits and character of our age as well as in our own opinions and ideas. Rightly-constituted States, composed of citizens of different occupations, should have forms of training suited to each, and in most States there still survive traces of customs which, though essentially wrong, reveal the policy of earlier administrators.

Honourable conduct and a good life should be the aim of all, but especially of scholars; and nothing is so effective or so universally beneficial in training the character as culture and education. Individual citizens have realised the advantages of a liberal education for their own children, but even/

even more the safety of the State requires wise counsellors in times of danger.

Never have wickedness and ignorance been so prevalent, never have States been exposed to so many perils, never have folly and greed been so much more in evidence than prudence and piety. In former times, powerful nations gave Philosophy its true place both in war and in peace. Even amidst revolutions and political disturbances, the study of literature and philosophy should be cultivated, to ensure the anticipation of dangers and the development of a prudent policy.

*The numbers in red indicate the notes
on pp 81-84.*

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Knowledge and learning bring no great benefit to the State, unless they are accompanied by practical training in morality. True wisdom is displayed only in consistent speech, rational thought and proper conduct. Though this instruction must not be merely theoretical, close study and efficient teaching are required, before we can understand our duty in action. A virtuous life is impossible without the knowledge of public and private duties, and appreciation of noble and honourable conduct. Wrong-doing is often the result of ignorance which must be revealed, censured and removed by Education.

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Never have wickedness and ignorance been so prevalent, never have States been exposed to so many perils, never have folly and greed been so much more in evidence than prudence and piety. In former times, powerful nations gave Philosophy its true place both in war and in peace. Even amidst revolutions and political disturbances, the study of literature and philosophy should be cultivated, to ensure the anticipation of dangers and the development of a prudent policy. Frequently, even when we foresee a calamity, we fail to avoid it through fear of danger and disgrace: as Medea says, "I see and approve the better, I follow the worse."

Knowledge and learning bring no great benefit to the State, unless they are accompanied by practical training in morality. True wisdom is displayed only in consistent speech, rational thought and proper conduct. Though this instruction must not be merely theoretical, close study and efficient teaching are required, before we can understand our duty in action. A virtuous life is impossible without the knowledge of public and private duties, and appreciation of noble and honourable conduct. Wrong-doing is often the result of ignorance which must be revealed, censured and removed by Education.

Prudence and wisdom are the product of three important factors - character, experience and training. Almost all human beings possess the two former, for God has bestowed on us Intellect and life brings experience, but unless Education be added, neither can be cultivated or properly employed.

A Master of high character can improve intellect and experience with beneficial results to the State, but a teacher of depraved morals will obscure the beauty of learning and bring disaster by his wicked example. Education has supreme power for good or for evil. Philosophers have with impunity despised the threats of Kings and despots, who dared not face the hatred of poets and the attacks of orators. Instruction, therefore, must be given by proper and skilful methods. In recent years, however, the system and the arrangement of the lesson are often not adapted to the subject and the faults of long-established customs are condoned in the teaching of morality.

Our Council has very properly entrusted to you the supervision of this Education and appointed men of your enthusiasm and capacity to devise a suitable organisation. You have given me an important position in your scheme. I have, therefore, resolved to set forth my policy and views in this pamphlet and to explain the type of school and method of teaching which seem to me most expedient.

CHAPTER 11.

THE AIM OF STUDY.

THE MAGISTRATE ----- THE TEACHER.

The best schools cultivate both learning and character. Knowledge is the aim of our studies, but if literary education is not adapted to every-day life, what benefit will be gained from a skilful and liberal plan of studies? Piety should be the first object in our schools and the study of literature should assist the youthful mind to attain to this.

Knowledge is useless without graceful expression, and with decadence in speech a gloomy philosophy has become prevalent. The first years of a child's life should be devoted to language training; for man is naturally more apt in speech than in thought or judgement, and early education must be suited to the needs of the individual.

Young children are very easily trained to right speech and action. Habit has not yet firmly engrained faults, which are more easily prevented at this stage than eradicated later. Training in conduct and in language should go together in the early years to ensure progress in both learning and religion, of which the one is indispensable to mankind and the other brings the graces of culture.

Teachers must themselves be pre-eminent in learning and piety, and show the qualities which we wish to see implanted in the minds of children. High character inspires more confidence and/

and wins greater obedience than ignorance.

Our first hope, therefore, lies in the natural qualities and intelligence of our pupils, and our second in the teachers; but unless magistrates and parents show an interest in Education teachers will relax their diligence and children lose the love of study. The good of the State demands that the magistrates should display liberality to the education of our youth and that parents should desire the greatest excellence for their children and support teachers in attaining this.

In the choice of teachers, three qualities should be looked for - enthusiasm for study, high character and learning. Some men of great talent cannot be selected as examples to boys owing to their depraved character, and many able men prefer private study to public appointments. The diligence of the teacher must not be stimulated by financial inducements, but his efficiency estimated rather through a consideration of his ability and experience. Desire of gain is rarely accompanied by consistent and willing effort; greater confidence can be reposed in those who enter a profession and are inspired to do their duty by their own enthusiasm. Teachers should not only be scholars but men of high character, patriotism and public spirit.

Love of honour, praise and money are the most powerful incentives to good action, yet if there is an opportunity for a careful selection, appointments should be offered to those who/

who combine enthusiasm and learning with efficiency. Love of honour is usually a praiseworthy quality but it is often accompanied by ambition; avarice and great diligence in procuring wealth deserve the censure of all right-minded men, but the enthusiasm which spontaneously seeks virtue has always won the highest approval. Every good man should rejoice to see evidence of talent in others, for harsh criticism often damps enthusiasm. Men of ability desire both to give and to receive generous treatment and cannot be expected continually to produce good work without some appreciation. Even in the humblest sphere there is scope for a display of high qualities.

The State should show appreciation of its educators not only by favour, but by privileges, adequate salaries and marks of honour. The Council should exercise the greatest care in the appointment of teachers and display such generosity as will ensure them the necessities of life and give encouragement both to teachers and to parents and pupils. Distinction usually brings popularity; while neglect depresses even the highest excellence. Schoolmasters should possess ability to teach, but should also be inspired with public spirit for the good of the State.

CHAPTER 111.

REMUNERATION OF TEACHERS ----- REVENUES.

A definite scale of salaries must be fixed. A decision should first be reached as to an adequate minimum, and then as to the additional payments which bring distinction. Schoolmasters must be appointed in every Christian community to teach the rudiments of Latin and Greek; while towns should provide instruction in dialectics and rhetoric, larger cities should procure the appointment of professors of the higher sciences - Theology, Medicine, Law.

In fixing salaries, due proportion must be observed between generosity and extravagance. It is clear evidence of a badly regulated State when scholars, deprived of the necessities of life and proper leisure for their studies, are compelled to give up their positions, or are led to perform their duties perfunctorily with dishonour to their profession through lack of adequate salary.

The financial position of the State should be kept in view and due regard paid to the usefulness of the work and the dignity of the post.

Literary education may be said to flourish, where there is an adequate staff of teachers, capable of bringing the graces of learning to the citizens, and where no one resigns or temporarily vacates his post without leaving a successor or a depute. Each class/

class should have two teachers, distinguished by their learning and able to provide the State with a satisfactory course of education, without the need of procuring instructors elsewhere. A proper disbursement of Church funds would give sufficient resources for these purposes. I should like the education of our city to be so efficient that other States would regard it as a pattern for their imitation.

Every difficult enterprise demands the will to succeed, administrative power and executive ability. A few great States have shown the second of these but the other qualities are no less necessary. Zeal and prudence are required to promote the interests of the people. Our ancestors used the riches of the Church to conduct the worship of God with the deepest reverence and devotion. That duty may be performed even without the learning and culture which body and soul require, but it is only in barbarous times that spiritual privileges are conferred on men indifferent to the benefits of education, unsuited to undertake public duties in a Christian community and of a character more likely to bring dishonour on religion.

These evil tendencies are too prevalent in our times. Men of public spirit should unite to expel those whose conduct brings disgrace on a noble profession, and to employ the wealth of the Church in the promotion of learning through literature and in the alleviation of poverty. Such a policy would ensure the restoration of former educational methods. These are my views/

views on the duty of the Magistracy and the payment of teachers.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DUTY OF PARENTS.

In their organisation, educators should have the support of parents in the home. Disagreements between them greatly detract from the value of school education. A father should allow his children to receive not only praise, encouragement and affection, but warning, criticism and punishment. In schools as in States, rules must be laid down; the rewards of laudable actions and the punishments for wrong-doing should be fixed as by lawgivers in public assemblies. Parents, in their love for their children, are often partial judges and witnesses, object to any correction except by themselves, and, in spite of denials, dislike severe chastisement.

Corporal punishment is dishonouring. But owing to the weakness of most children, it is sometimes beneficial to the boy himself and acts as a deterrent to his fellow pupils. As pain is inflicted on the body only to improve the mind, parents should consider that this duty is being performed on their behalf. Corporal punishment should have more mental than physical effect. Cruelty and desire for punishment are always disgraceful in a teacher and any who take delight in it should be dismissed. Leniency also brings with it many disadvantages. Teachers who cannot exercise proper restraint either in severity or indulgence should be prevented from taking part in public education; parents, who are unwilling to conform to the common rules/

rules, should be refused admission for their children. Parent and teacher should be inspired by a similar aim; there is no true discipline when a child sees disagreement between them.

Home duties and distractions should not be allowed to disturb school studies. Learning requires an alert and clear brain; physical toil is injurious in this respect, for although it is healthful to the body, it dulls the mind and renders it less capable of thought.

There are four duties which a father should perform to assist the teacher when the boy is at home - he should encourage his son to a love of learning and to industry; he should impress on him the duty of obedience to the teacher from whom he is to receive instruction suited to train and educate his mind; he must arrange that the boy is not disturbed by work at home and he must prevent anything in his conversation, his physical condition or his diet which would interfere with his studies, blunt the keenness of his intellect or in any way affect his character. In fact, every parent ought so to act that, while through ignorance, unwillingness or business, he is unable to teach what is professed in school, he should appear to be inspired by the same aims and desires. An unlearned parent, in this way, may train his boy to learning.

CHAPTER V.

THE SELECTION OF PUPILS.

From the very outset parents and teachers must carefully consider the child's abilities. Boys of dull intellect must certainly not be admitted to study, many even of good ability are unsuited to instruction, while some of distinguished talent are more adapted to a military or a political life than to Science and Literature. A capable physician should be able to indicate who can marry with expectation of children; an efficient teacher should know what branch of learning is useful for each of his pupils, and by careful study of this problem be prepared to give sensible advice to parents. His aim should be to improve the quality rather than add to the number of his pupils.

For the effective organisation of education, an entrance examination should be held to limit the enrolment to those pupils, from whom good results may be expected. Judgment should always be based on mental excellence, but physical fitness - beauty, good health and a graceful figure - is a high qualification and will always increase efficiency and influence. The qualities we should look for are enthusiasm, initiative, eagerness to investigate, keenness in perception, diligence in performance and a retentive memory. The possession of these indicates that perfection of mind, of which we read in Plato as loving truth and hating falsehood. While it is much/

much to be desired that they should all be present simultaneously and equally in all men, human weakness is too variable to permit this. Those intellects which possess them even in a moderate degree should not be rejected from the mental training of school life.

A decision in this important matter should not be reached with too much haste. Some intellects, naturally keen, are at first slow in understanding, yet come with practice to display swift perception. In many, the ability seems to lie dormant through physical dullness, but by training often reaches the highest excellence. Others, again, are endowed with quick understanding but weak memory and are stimulated only by education. The Will is the most important factor, for when it is highly developed, other faculties can be trained; but if it is weak, hidden qualities must be tempted forth by praise and promises. If this method is not successful, threats and even corporal punishment must be tried before giving up the attempt as hopeless.

There is another form of ability regarding which we read in Plato's Republic as having "halting industry", devoted more to hunting and physical diversions than to literature and study. Such men Socrates would not admit to Dialectic. We also would not expect them to reach high proficiency in study, but even moderate ability must be tolerated in our schools, for the worst impulses may be improved by training and good habits.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DRESS AND SPEECH OF THE PUPILS.

Our organisation requires that attention be paid to the character of each individual pupil and that all his actions and studies be suited to school life. Students should be distinguished from the unlearned not only by their manner of life but by their dress, speech and conduct, which should be appropriate to their profession, and show commonsense, prudence, consistency and moderation. The desire for pleasure, if not completely controlled, must be hidden. If a youth is to reject or conceal passion, he must remove from himself the desire for beauty; if devotion to military service and the chase is to be corrected, we must restrain the use of dress which indicates the soldier and the hunter rather than the scholar. Flowing garments, shoulder ornaments, slashed gowns must be forbidden - such fashions deserve criticism, not toleration. Coarse and wicked speech must be eradicated by punishment.

Certain faults, however, such as clumsy bashfulness or undue hurry in speech should be corrected by words rather than blows, and should be criticised in a spirit of correction, rather than of bitterness and sarcasm. The best form of speech shows prudence, moderation and careful arrangement. Stupidity should be censured, ignorance or confusion amended, but conceit in the choice of words, obscenity or falsehood deserve more severe/

severe punishment. A boy's dress should be determined by considerations of health and the customs of the school, his speech by prudence and modesty.

Respect must be shown to all. In the presence of a magistrate, minister, master, parent or elder a pupil should rise, uncover his head, reply or keep silent as courtesy demands. Students who play during school hours in sight of the citizens show disobedience and disrespect; those who do not practice moderation in sleep, rest or play, even with permission, undermine discipline through their lack of self-control, though their fault need not be regarded as serious. The aim of every school should be high character, eager enthusiasm, unvarying industry and becoming modesty.

CHAPTER VII.

POOR SCHOLARS.

Generosity to the poor is generally considered honourable to a great State, for Christ left them to the care of his flock. Poverty, however, differs in character. Some hate work and love idleness - such are able-bodied beggars who injure the State by their criminal and thieving habits - and should be expelled. Others, again, even with bodily strength and intellect are depressed with the number of their children, the debts of their parents, the adversities of friends or private misfortunes. If these show anxiety to live an honourable life, they should be assisted in their distress, for their condition is not criminal. It is a disgrace that good citizens should be overwhelmed by poverty, if the aim of States be the happiness of their people. Then there are those whose position is due to long illness, physical disability or old age. These three classes do not come under our scheme.

There is another class, however, men of mental and physical ability, whose misfortune is the poverty of their parents, but whose character and ambitions would fit them for learning. This condition is unavoidable in our times, when the contrast between wealth and poverty, virtue and vice, generosity and greed is so sharply marked, and merits even praise and liberality. Where learning meets its due reward, scholars will be more numerous than in States where culture is less esteemed than ignorance. Most of the rich and noble, except for a few endowed/

endowed with particular excellence of character, give themselves over to effeminate luxury and other vices; and with perverted judgment seek self-aggrandisement in which it is always difficult to preserve moderation. The cunning, unscrupulous broker in finance and property is regarded with approval; but higher distinction will always be reached through religion and virtue than through desire for profit and power, even though many without learning and piety, rise to great positions of influence and wealth. Poverty comes slowly but surely, and overwhelms many who undertake great and difficult tasks.

Selection is more easily made amidst a large number of students of different character than in a few individual cases. Not many of those who are endowed with abundant wealth and distinguished lineage devote any attention to education, while poverty may be a strong incentive to love of learning and to great undertakings.

The poor, therefore, in whom burns the love of wisdom, should not be excluded. Free education for the promotion of virtue should be given not only to the children of citizens but also to foreigners and strangers, who are clearly endowed with talent and industry. This honourable generosity has always been looked on as the highest duty of a Christian people. For, while luxury and avarice entertain only the distinguished and the rich, religion opens its door wide to those from whom neither influence nor wealth nor profit can be expected.

It is the duty of our city to provide that the children of citizens do not suffer through poverty; it is its distinction to relieve the necessities of strangers. A definite number of high ability should be selected for State maintenance, the others should seek the private support of the citizens. All these students, aided by private benevolence or by public assistance, must do credit to the school. Failure should entail dismissal; for no one should be permitted to impose on the generosity of the citizens. The cultivation of virtue and religion brings honour to its benefactor, but a useless student is an encumbrance and a bad example.

CHAPTER VIII.

PRIVILEGES.

Privileges are granted not to confer impunity or to shelter wrong-doing but for the punishment of the guilty, the protection of the innocent and the consolidation of the State. The rules which are in force at Paris, Louvain and other cities, where there are schools of Science and Literature, were drawn up when the number of students was small. In the past, learning was scattered, and, to stop this weakness in education, the civil authorities offered pecuniary inducements, promotion to office and privileges even to dissolute citizens who despised the profession of learning. These rewards and regulations were designed to encourage men of talent, and to assure them due dignity and leisure.

Abuses gradually crept in and they were bestowed rather through influence and wealth than for virtue and learning. Careless selection caused confusion and privileges were sought for the impunity of wickedness, the protection of vice and the propagation of an empty, false philosophy.

But the State has the power of correction and deprivation as well as of reward. The Greeks provided daily maintenance in the Prytaneum for their public benefactors; but if at a later time any of these turned traitor to his country and brought dishonour on his privileged position, not only was he deprived of it, but by law he had to stand trial for his life.

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In this way the State rewarded honour and corrected vice. Privileges should be conferred only for the promotion of knowledge and the love of learning; dishonour, transgression of the laws and the carelessness of Magistrates who allow such conduct to go unpunished, are deserving of censure. Privileges should be maintained only with a strict observance of the original conditions.

Such is my policy briefly and generally in the promotion of Education. Its efficiency will be assured if piety and wisdom be the aim of study, if the number of pupils be so large as to permit special attention to outstanding ability, if the city grants rewards and recognition to the school, if the desires of parents and teachers are directed to the same end, if the teachers are endowed with such character and learning that they are eager to bring distinction on Education, if provision is made for poor students, if privileges and rules are maintained in their original spirit. In a word, success will be attained when each individual does his duty. God never imposes on us too heavy a burden: no prudent man undertakes more than he can carry out; and free States assign to each the work his strength and ability can accomplish.

CHAPTER IX.

ONE PUBLIC SCHOOL FOR EACH CITY.

We must now consider the organisation of schools, arrangement of classes, and methods of teaching. Progress is made only through deliberation, order and system. Protagoras, even if he is presented by Plato as a foolish orator, is right when he says, "The whole life of man requires rhythm and harmony."

As there is a single aim in all true education, a single large school is more useful than a number of small schools in different parts of the town. It would be foolish to give a separate shepherd and field to each ten sheep and similarly it is bad policy to spread over several schools what can be more efficiently done by one or two.

Man delights in the society of large numbers and few find pleasure in solitude. A large school always shows many types of excellence. From Xenophon we learn that the free assembly hall of the Persians was built in a position, central but quiet.⁵ All liberal education should have order and cooperation, system and method, so that united efforts may be devoted to the common studies. The Persians, therefore, arranged that boys, youths, men and retired veterans should all take part, on the assumption that large numbers offer more encouragement and greater opportunities for learning; as Socrates says in Plato's Phædrus, "Study is more easily pursued in cities than in/

in desert places."

Unless the number of students and the size of the city render one school insufficient, as at Paris, the policy of centralisation is advisable. Numbers and variety give incentive to both teachers and pupils, while lack of rivalry produces slackness. One secondary school should be built in a convenient and central position, if the conditions and number of students permit. It will be organised with separate classes, determined by the varied nature of the instruction and the periods of study. We must now give our views regarding this point.

CHAPTER X.

THE ARRANGEMENT OF CLASSES.

Philosophical and eloquent piety is our aim in education. Religion should be open to all, but knowledge and pure speech distinguish the scholar from the unlearned; and in our profession these should be considered worthy of emulation. Although philosophy and language are really one, it is more natural to commence with the rudiments of speech but always with a view to the training of character.

Our first efforts, therefore, being directed to language training, the arrangement of the classes must be adapted to the divisions of speech. It is generally agreed that perfect speech should be, first, pure and clear, then learned and, thirdly, appropriate to its subject. An identical or closely similar course is required for the first two, which are learned when the boy is still under the control of his teachers in school. The third is of higher quality and requires more advanced, though still organised, instruction, to which the student will bring abilities strengthened by the study of literature. In these higher courses the regulations must be so framed as to ensure respect and obedience on the part of the students and generous discipline from the teachers.

All classes, therefore, should be divided into two departments - one suited for boyhood with compulsory, continuous study, the other for adolescence, with free public lectures.

The/

The former requires nine years, the latter five, so that entry into school at seven years of age will allow completion of the course at the age of twenty-one years.

CHAPTER XI.

SCHOOL AGE.

All children do not possess the same intellectual capacity. Some show such ability that, in their fifth year, they are capable of learning and can attempt reading, others find the greatest difficulty even in their seventh year. Those who continue dull beyond that period rarely attain success. Yet the precocious sometimes fail to maintain their promise and the backward may eventually show higher ability and will-power.

We fix the period for entry to school at the sixth year. Any who, before that age, can compete with older boys give promise of that quick perception which Socrates regarded as the highest talent and a necessary qualification for the study of dialectic.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SCHOOL CLASSES.

When the years of infancy are drawing to a close and boyhood comes, the child must be sent to school and gradually taken through all the classes, of which we fix the number by the period we have allotted to this elementary education - that is, nine classes, sections, forms or by whatever name you choose to call them. Seven are devote to the study of pure Latin speech; while in the two higher are taught the first rudiments of eloquence, in which a more accurate training and closer study will be given during the first years which in our opinion are required for public lectures and oratory. Pure speech and learning may be called complementary studies. In the same way, eloquence is impossible without knowledge and graceful language.

I was formerly of the opinion that six classes were sufficient, but experience has shown that nine make a more useful division. On this plan the mother has seven years to train her boy by play; fourteen years are allotted to school and college, which he need not leave until his twenty-first year, seeing that before that time he is not ready for marriage and public duties. This arrangement will, in my opinion, ensure efficiency in Education.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE ADVANTAGES OF CLASSES AND SECTIONS.

Such a scheme brings not only benefit but real pleasure to the studies of boyhood. One man cannot teach every subject, and, unless there is definite and evident progress, we may deviate from the true method through over-haste as readily as through ignorance. How few of our contemporaries have given clear proof of learning in their 21st year! Scarcely in one's fiftieth year is that excellence attained which should have been shown in youth. Cicero had not yet reached his 26th year, when he delivered his Orations for Publius Quinctius and for Sextus Roscius. Who is there nowadays who has ever composed such a speech, even in his old age? We have books, we have men of talent, we have industry perhaps but two things essential to success are lacking - the Latin language and right methods of elementary education.

Our organisation has many other benefits which need not be enumerated here, but it is pleasant to note that in some fashion it resembles a vigorous Republic. The three Scholarchs, appointed by the Council, represent the Senate, the three visitors and the Rector are the Executive, the whole body of scholars arranged in classes and sections represent the citizens in their different ranks, while the teachers supervise these, as Magistrates control the people or Masters their apprentices. The classes are divided into sections in which prefects are chosen/

chosen to supervise morals and to enforce tasks. The Rector himself controls the whole school like a gentle dictator and, being responsible to the Council, gains approval for good organisation and successful results. Two prizes are presented to each class at the yearly promotions which I must now describe.

CHAPTER XLV.

PROMOTION OF CLASSES.

The knowledge that progress is being made affords great encouragement to pupils and the conquest of earlier difficulties renders more advanced studies easier, as in the cheering words of Aeneas, "Opassi graviora, dabit deus his quoque finem."

The yearly promotion should take the form of a public function attended by the Council, the ministers, the parents and friends of the boys. In each class the two pupils who have made the greatest progress should be awarded prizes for their industry and ability. But to avoid suspicion of favouritism, the unsuccessful members of the class should have the right to compete with the prize-winners in writing, speaking and discussion, so that if any challenger prove himself equal to them, he may receive the same reward and, if inferior, return to his place without discredit.

The first of October is a suitable date for promotion. Illness is less prevalent and more easily prevented at this period between the rigours of winter and the weariness of summer, so that boys can devote their full energy to their new studies.

CHAPTER XV.

THE NINTH CLASS.

In his fifth or sixth year, the boy should be sent to school, where he will learn the shapes, connections and sounds of the letters, to which one year, in the ninth or lowest class, is devoted. Reading and writing constitute the work of this class, so that the pupil should learn by imitation of the best examples, to draw and represent the shapes of the letters neatly and to express their sounds correctly. He should be taught control of the tongue, breath and voice, so as to avoid a rough and indistinct manner of speech and a breathless, loud style. The voice should be gentle, the breath full, the sound well controlled and modulated.

The ordinary pronunciation may be employed when it is correct, but the practice of scholars should be taken as the standard. The best pronunciation usually conforms to the Greek and Italian method, but there are certain peculiarities in which Germany, though not to the same extent as England and France, requires improvement. The Italian pronunciation is the purest. Mistakes, however, constantly occur in single letters or in words.

The teaching of morality must receive close attention, through instruction in a short Catechism. Thereafter the inflection of nouns and verbs should be taken up and examples of the most general kind should be chosen. If the instruction is properly graded, a boy/

boy of average intelligence will, in one year learn to read and commit to memory the regular forms of inflection. If this course is completed before the end of the year, the easier and shorter letters of Cicero to Terentia and Tiro may be read. I have edited three books of Selected Letters, which, in my opinion, are well adapted to the early stages.

CHAPTER XVI.

EIGHTH CLASS.

On these foundations the first advance in studies will be made to the eighth class. The prize-winners will try not to lose the distinction they have won and will pave the way to new honours, while the unsuccessful will endeavour to equal or even excel the more learned. Two hours daily, during the first six months, should be devoted to more intensive instruction in grammar without, however, taking up all the exceptions to the rules.

The remainder of the four-hours' teaching-day, which I approve, should be spent in the study of Vergil's Eclogues and Cicero's Letters. These should be carefully analysed, single words changed, varied and combined again, and the form of each sentence explained. Instruction in connected speech should be postponed to the second six months. To this, two hours daily should be given, and the remaining two, as before, alternately to Cicero's Letters and Vergil's Georgics. In this way, the child will gradually become accustomed to Latin and will translate German sentences into that language; an exercise which properly precedes composition. Singing should also be taught, more by practice than by theory. Each lesson must be accompanied by the clearest explanation.

CHAPTER XVII.

SEVENTH CLASS.

On promotion to the seventh class, the pupils will commence to gain strength and to show promise of ability. Most of the declensions and inflections of nouns and verbs have now been learned and some idea of the rules of connected speech has been got. Of these there must be continued revision, so that ignorance of them may not hinder advancing knowledge. One hour daily should be given to a close study of the quantities of all words and syllables, to the forms of speech and the varieties of verse. Only a short period is required for this subject, for any unfinished portions of the scheme can be completed in the sixth class.

Cicero's "De Amicitia" and "De Senectute", which are simple and suited to the teaching of eloquence and morality, should be studied during the second hour. The third period should be devoted to poetry eg. to Vergil's "Aeneid", which has all the good qualities of heroic verse, and to selections from Horace, Catullus and Tibullus. Most of these must be taken from Horace, for the verses of Catullus and Tibullus, while unexcelled as poetry, are often inadmissible owing to their immorality. Nothing should ever enter the ears and mind of a child that is not pure and eloquent.

Composition should be taken during the fourth hour. The writing and correction of compositions is a most useful exercise to/

to which much time must be devoted. The subjects for it should be based on the pupils' own reading or lessons, so that they may easily find the proper words and sentences. Any subject that requires further explanation may then be taken up.

Poetic words and forms must be carefully distinguished from oratorical purity of speech, and the study of eloquence based only on Cicero's writings and other texts prescribed by the master. In versification much assistance will be required. Even ordinary composition is hard for beginners, and poetic language presents greater difficulty owing to the closer connection of the words. During the earlier months, therefore, the class should confine attention to the structure of the poem by the transposition of words. Afterwards free sentences should be given but in such order that the pupil is occupied only with the discovery and arrangement, not in the examination of their meaning.

CHAPTER XVIII.MEMORY - TRAINING.

These three classes require intensive training of the memory. For the instruction already given requires constant retention in the mind. The amount of reading should not be beyond the power of memory. Exceptions to rules may be merely noted at first, but there are certain points such as the forms of inflections and conjugations which must be thoroughly mastered. In the case of Cicero and Vergil, I am not sure whether it is more useful to commit to memory all that is read or only the passages that are worthy of imitation. Boys of this age are still careless and must be taught much that they would not learn of their own accord; and no subject is properly learned which cannot be reproduced when required.

Some passage should be taken every day for the exercise not only of the intellect but of the memory, though these tasks must not be beyond the strength and natural powers of the pupils. There must be constant revision of all previous lessons at moderate intervals.

The faculties of the mind become keener, the memory is strengthened, composition and practice of individual points are rendered easier by classification into subjects and by headings. Words and phrases can easily be recollected, when arranged so as to stimulate the memory without leaving a disconnected impression. The maps of geographers give us clear ideas as to position by showing/

showing the very places we have sometimes visited; similarly, our thoughts extend over a wide range and the pen cannot deal with every point even in one subject, but when they are grouped and annotated, they become clearly evident to our senses. This method of analysis, however, will be explained elsewhere.

CHAPTER XLX.

METHODS AND HOURS OF TEACHING.

Before we pass to the Sixth Class, we must deal shortly with Methods of Instruction and the Time-Table. Boys must not be burdened with long study; the teacher should not only select the finest passages, but explain them by the easiest and most helpful method.

Some teachers claim the attention of their pupils for many continuous hours and endeavour to explain the views of the author and arouse interest in the whole subject; but in their desire to gain a reputation for industry and learning they go too far in teaching everything at once and bringing forward a multitude of irrelevant points. While I admit that a pupil must always be hearing, reading, writing, considering and enquiring, I hold that continuous attention causes disgust, while variety removes weariness and brings pleasure. Further, relaxation in the intensity of school work encourages private study.

The school day should extend over not less than four nor more than five hours. The time-table should be drawn up as individual circumstances dictate. Exposition should be so clear as to ensure that the boys understand the lesson. In the lower classes, only words and groups of words should actually be taught, but sentences can be so explained that the pupils may grasp their meaning and know when to use similar forms. The higher classes should study points of history, figures of speech and the fine passages which distinguish/

distinguish a work of Art. A skilful teacher would take all these subjects at their appointed periods by a method appropriate to their nature and to the ability of his pupils. It is foolish to wish to "make a Mercury out of any kind of wood." The keenness of the intellect is injured by tedious repetition, but no less are the senses wearied and the memory confused by discursive swiftness. The experienced teacher, adopting a middle course, does not attempt more than the intellect of his pupils can grasp nor linger unnecessarily over any lesson. The subjects of the time-table should not be changed every hour nor even within the same hour but remain unaltered on the same day. An interval of several days is more useful and, in any case, no new matter should ever be taken up before the completion of a subject. The interruption of any lesson or discussion by the introduction of new points distracts the intelligence, confuses the memory, and discourages the mental powers which are always striving after completion. Not more than three subjects should be taken up in one day. Indeed, concentration on two is more useful.

Short, clear questions will easily indicate to the teachers how far the pupils have grasped the lesson. Long, complete sentences should be entirely avoided in school work, for even though a keen mind may follow them, the memory is over-taxed and the intelligence wearied by such a method, which usually requires time for consideration.

CHAPTER XX.

SIXTH CLASS.

The scheme of work, which I have outlined, including the rules of clear Latin speech, should easily be covered in three years. A pupil of ability and industry with proper methods of instruction should now have acquired some powers of composition, in a simple style. After the ninth or tenth year, promotion should be made to a class in which no new rules are taught, and, unless some part of the scheme has not been covered, only the previous years' lessons are memorised.

The exposition of orators and poets can well be used for this purpose. The study of the "Aeneid" and of the rest of the selections from Catullus and Horace can be continued during one hour. Fine passages from Cicero should be chosen, for example, some of his long discussions on important subjects, passages bestowing praise or blame, or illustrating some peculiar form of composition. Imitation can be practised with more involved sentences, showing the greater elegance and containing many figures of speech which can most usefully be committed to memory. These are often combined in a particular style and should be noted for use in composition. For this purpose, three books of selections should be made for this class.

The school books used in our boyhood were very defective; for while they certainly contained short and eloquent sentences, they/

they were selected from authors without any system. Such a method destroys the memory and weakens the desire for composition by the introduction of many foolish expressions. The greatest orators in Athens and Rome published some of their speeches and delivered others "ex tempore" after jotting down a few notes beforehand. It is the former which I wish to be carefully selected and introduced into school.

Some other authors should now be studied. Between the orators and the Tragic, Epic and Melic writers, come poets, historians and writers of comedy, who certainly are poets also, but rather in the arrangement and nature of their subjects than in their language. Historians have many of the characteristics of poets especially in words and sentences, but more of the qualities of orators; though each has his own peculiarities. Archaic words and a free style are often employed, more suited to careful study than to discursive reading. Caesar, however, was more oratorical and preferred to use the words of every-day life. I would therefore admit his books into the Sixth class, to be taken between Terence and Plautus. Sallust also could now be read, though it is advisable to postpone his books until the fourth class and to continue the study of Plautus. Terence uses such expressions as "adpellere animum" for "adplicare se", "occipere" for "incipere" and "Proh deum atque hominum fidem". In Plautus also there are similar expressions in even greater number, and each freely puts pronouns at the end of sentences. Many other points of the kind should be noted, but not used by/

by the boys, unless in a similar theme, where the master shows how it can be done with propriety.

The oratorical style displays a different form of language and a bolder use of similes. Thus Catulus in Cicero's "De Oratore II," "Timide tanquam ad aliquem libidinis scopulum, sic tuam mentem ad philosophiam adpulisti", used the same expression as Terence but with an oratorical simile.

Next to Cicero, Terence is the most useful orator, for his language is pure and truly Roman. He must be read after an orator; otherwise imitation might be improperly used, as his style differs from that of orators. Though our pupils should make use of all writers, their language should at first flow like a clear river from its true source.

Two hours should be spent on this lesson. In the third period, revision and composition should be taken. For versification, Vergil should be read aloud twice, while for letters dealing with ordinary topics, the three books of Selections are most useful. Unless under special circumstances, this time-table must not be altered. The fourth hour should be given to the correction of the compositions. I make no apology for spending a whole period over this. On certain days some reading may be done during this period and I would suggest the study of Caesar and Terence alternately each month.

CHAPTER XXI.FIFTH CLASS.

The previous year marked the end of instruction in pure, clear Latin and permitted relaxation in teaching. These methods must now be transferred to Greek. Up to this point the boys have been studying the rudiments of Latin, as if they were in Rome or Latium; now they must take up Greek, as though they were living in Rheggio or some other commercial city where the teachers, like merchants trading with the Greeks, are proficient in each language.

During the first six months, Greek grammar must be studied every day, and, owing to its likeness to Latin, the pupils will easily understand and remember it. During the next three months a few easy fables of Aesop in Greek may be taken, to be followed in the last three months by the Olynthiacs of Demosthenes. This course should occupy one hour daily during the year.

In the second period, Cicero's "De Officiis" should be studied if the three books of Selections, which were introduced into the Sixth Class, have been finished. If the third book can be completed only hurriedly, it is often useful to leave it to this class. In fact for two hours a day, Cicero is a more useful subject for study than poetry, and so, though the third period is designed for the study of Vergil's Georgics during the first three months, some speech, like/

like the "Pro Lege Manilia" or the "Pro Q. Ligario" could well be introduced during the remaining months.

The fourth hour should be given to composition, and to this should now be added books on Rhetoric dealing with Figures of Speech, to be found either in the writer's own works or from the enumeration in Cicero's "De Oratore III." Instruction in this subject should be given in full from Hermogenes. Original composition should be preceded by the practice of reading aloud, because single figures are more easily understood, and it is better when it comes spontaneously and naturally from the boys in their own writing than through set lessons.

In this way a richer vocabulary and greater power in sentence - formation is acquired, while the proper sound is secured, and ideas and subjects are supplied in ornate style. There are many people whose ordinary conversation shows care but whose Latin and Greek style is dull and uncouth. This is due not to ignorance of facts or to lack of ideas, but to poverty of vocabulary. With practice and correction of composition, we combine study of the arrangement of words and figures of speech, which should be pointed out in their various forms in the works studied by the class.

CHAPTER XXII.

FOURTH CLASS.

In the fifth year we should aim at corresponding progress in Greek and Latin, and should alternately combine the study of Demosthenes with Cicero and of Homer with Vergil during two hours. For the first six months of the third period, Greek grammar should be studied, particularly the structure of the language, and the quantities and accents of syllables.

The fourth period will be occupied with the teaching of Rhetoric and composition, which should now be more ornate, and appropriate to its subject. The most suitable of Cicero's Rhetorical works are the "Partitiones" if these are efficiently taught and committed to memory; but the first book of "Ad Herennium" can be learned more quickly at this stage.

Thereafter, Sallust and Plautus should be studied, not as models, for these should be supplied from Cicero and Demosthenes during the first two hours, but for historical narrative and style. This must be handled with judgment, but it is often used with fine effect by an orator, as with the quotations from Terence, which Cicero introduces so skilfully, that they appear not as ornamental but as essential to the subject.

The master of this class should explain the method of their/

their use and have all the lessons of the past six years properly classified, so that colloquial expressions may be distinguished from poetical and historical style.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE ANALYSIS OF ORATORY.

Every science has its own method of analysis. In the case of oratory, the student should not only know the subject and the construction of every speech he reads or hears, but should make himself capable of a similar production, by building up a store-house of such works of art, illustrating subjects, sentences, phrases and words.

This analysis involves the decomposition of an oration and the classification of its various parts and figures of speech, under headings so that we may find the appropriate phrase to express our thoughts wither in Latin or in Greek with grace and culture. This classification refers especially to the forms of sentences: for example, there are two kinds in the following, "aliquem aliqua colere: aliquem amicitiam colere."

This arrangement should follow the natural order, so that each subject can easily be found, when so classified. Everything possesses not only properties but also accidents - the nine attributes which Aristotle mentions, though these do not include the connexions and particles of speech. Everything which exists in nature is either divine or human or animal. The divine is either truly so as "deus, angelus, coelum" or falsely so - called as "Jupiter, Juno." True religion and false superstition admit of a similar classification. Nature shows/

shows either the simple, such as the four elements, or the compound. Objects without life are produced either under the sky or in the air itself such as "fulgur, Fulmen, tonitrus, nubes, pluvia, nix, grando", or formed from water and earth as "mare, fluvius, insulae, continentes." Those endowed with life, similarly, live in air or water or earth. This is the most universal class; but it is not our intention to follow out the whole subject here. Whatever undergoes growth and change, we call natural, except man who, owing to his dignity, deserves a class of his own.

Human attributes naturally start from man. God has given him life and, for his sake, has created other animals. Man, therefore, should be placed first and both sexes included, for opposites are rightly connected, as death with life. Our next heading includes body and soul with their appropriate parts and functions, into which physicians must enquire. Man surpasses all other creatures in the properties of soul and body, and in mental ideas such as "justitia, ars, sanitas, libertas". From these arise others, such as from "justitia", - "jus, judicium, hereditas, proprium", and from "injustitia", - "caedes, rapinae, adulterium" - contrasting opposites as before. All these have their individual attributes. In the mind are "cogitatio, ratiocinatio, recordatio", in the body, "ingressio, status, motus". These actions are either necessary and natural without any feeling as "crescere, marcescere" and/

and apparently necessary, as "edere, potare etc.", or they are voluntary, as "ambulatio, navigatio". They are preceded by or connected with others as "locus, tempus, facultas, instrumenta, causae" or followed by such as "utile, honestum" and also "facile, difficile". Amongst the preceding are "Multitudo, copia, varietas, paucitas, solitudo". Then there are other classes such as "novum, jucundum, admirabile etc." It would be tedious however, to give a complete enumeration. I am suggesting a path which others may easily enter.

Words, then, must be arranged according to this method of classification, and further distinguished into four classes by "substantia, quantitas, qualitas" and two others which I regard as one, namely "actio" and "passio". These names and methods are employed in philosophy, but they are useful in Oratory also and, in fact, in all sciences and learning. Everything that is "natural" may be found in these four classes.

With regard also to what we have called "Accidents" as coming under the senses, "oratio et orator" should be entered in the first class; "oratio prolixa et orator copiosus" in the second; "oratio suavis et ornata" in the third. To the fourth we should ascribe "orationem habere et dicere et perorare". In this way, all words are individually classified into things and persons. Each is simple as "oratio, lingua, eloquentia" or compound as "oratio atque lingua, vis eloquentiae/

eloquentiae, dicendi scientia". All are connected as antecedents, intermediaries or consequents, as the words "consuetudo, amicitia, benevolentia" differ. The natural order can be retained in a variety of actions as "orationem instituere, orationem facere et ornare, orationem perficere et perpolire". "Actio" and "passio" are distinguished in two intermediate classes, for they may be separated into their own divisions as "aliquem orationem perelegantem et persubtilem". Opposites must be taken in a fixed order: in "friendship" the first is "deligere amicos", then "amare", afterwards "angere", then "confirmare", from this "permanere", "florere". "Injuries" are inflicted and often the wrong-doing of friends falls on friends: hence arise "laedere", from which "offendere" and "discindere amicitiam" and finally "capitali odio dissidere".

So far we have spoken only of classes of words and things; but there are methods of connected speech, which I shall explain in my books on oratory. ^o If God grant me longer life, I shall publish these in a more complete form within a few years. The best method is, in my opinion, the acquisition of that richness and purity of speech, in which ancient writers so greatly surpass scholars of our time, who are still far from success. Criticism however, is easier than performance.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ORAL COMPOSITION.

After the digression from our subject, we must return to the fifth class and explain some points which have been omitted. Written composition alone is not sufficient; there must also be declamation of certain passages from memory. When a subject has been set for discussion or amplification, the pupils must be given time for consideration, so that during the same period, they may declaim aloud their written composition. There are three kinds of composition in schools - one written, the second "ex tempore", the third delivered after reflection.

Written composition is taken first, and then our pupils are trained in the oral exposition of set passages. Without long practice in these two, "ex tempore" composition cannot be undertaken. Well-known subjects of daily occurrence will be suitable if the pupils repeat in Latin or in the vernacular, translations from Greek, such as speeches, panegyrics, or similar passages from Homer and Demosthenes. Poetry should be rendered in a style more suited to law-courts and clubs than to theatres and musical gatherings. In Rhetoric, a free translation should be allowed so as to retain only these qualities where improvement is impossible, and to alter whatever is similar to the original or actually worse. Weak constructions and inappropriate expressions should always be/

be removed in every form of composition.

Teachers must support the early efforts of tender years. In the lowest class, as we saw, written composition was dictated to the pupils without discussion and words were given both singly and in combination; at this stage also, the passage should first be explained and the fine points indicated, both where they are similar to Latin or different. Good progress has been made if the pupil can put the passage together correctly, if his elocution is fluent and correct, and if he show himself as proficient in the spoken as in the written word.

After this practice, a further advance should be made by discussions, not only of the arguments of Demosthenes, but also of the probable arguments of a neutral party or an opponent. In all this the pupil must depend greatly on his master for assistance.

CHAPTER XXV.

THIRD CLASS.

In the last year of boyhood promotion takes place to the third class, where the subjects of study are Dialectic and Rhetoric and where, through discussion, greater freedom in speaking must be acquired. Dialectic will be based on the works of Aristotle and illustrated by examples from philosophy and theology; but passages dealing with teaching-methods should be omitted. This excellent instructor inspires in us the greater confidence because of the learning and skill of his opponents, in his own times. Now he is supported by all true scholars. His writings should be studied in such a way as to provide a short, clear and easy explanation of his meaning.

In Rhetoric our study should be based on books dealing with the art of discussion, such as Cicero's "Topica". In this class also, the opposing speeches of Demosthenes and Aeschines should be translated, but, owing to their length, they should perhaps be divided and Demosthenes' speech postponed to the second class. As in the fourth class, complete passages should be repeated by heart after an explanation of their difficulties and time for reflection. This may be given as a subject for study at home.

In the fourth period, Sallust or Caesar may be read, to be followed by the study of Livy, who is not only a great writer but a close observer of his own times, with a style differing from/

from the oratorical more than that of Caesar or Sallust. Livy took Thucydides as his model, while Caesar followed Xenophon. Sallust atones for the brevity of his work and his use of peculiar words by the clearness and aptness of his style. The works of Hermogenes are possibly preferable to Cicero's "Topica" and his "De Statibus" should certainly be studied here in place of the Second Book "Ad Herennium". The First Book was introduced into the Fourth Class and his Fourth into the Fifth Class, but his Third dealing with Memory need not be studied; for this would interfere with our course, and, in any case, attention to the proper methods and principles of Dialectic will have a more stimulating effect on the memory.

CHAPTER XXVI.

SECOND CLASS.

After one year in the Third Class, our pupils advance to the Second, where instruction in graceful speech should be finished and the study of true Oratory taken up, with the continuation and co-ordination of recent lessons in this subject. Cicero himself only discovered appropriate diction and the meaning of "remos inhibere" after long and close study. When he permitted Tiro to revise his works, he showed him the weakness of such an expression as "fideliter inservire valetudini". Our pupils should practice on these lines, always keeping to the arrangement and method we have already prescribed.

Demosthenes' "Pro Ctesiphonte", if not studied in the third class, should now be read; otherwise some other suitable speech may be selected. Instruction in Dialectic should still be based on Aristotle and for two years should be practical rather than theoretical in method. During the same period, one of Plato's or Cicero's dialogues should be introduced, in which the proper methods of teaching imitation and declamation may be illustrated, while the "Partitiones" should be explained simply with the object of strengthening the memory.

Oral and written compositions should be continued and be very carefully corrected, for they will now be submitted to the criticism of all the classes. After the "Partitiones", Cicero's "Orator" should be read, especially for its brief explanation of/
of/

of the language and methods of Oratory. This year lays the foundation of the Education, which we desire to see completed at the age of twenty-one.

CHAPTER XXVII.

FIRST CLASS.

The pupils, now in their fifteenth year, are advancing towards the highest and most important studies, but, even at this stage, they must try to acquire that appropriate style of Oratory to which I have already referred. Their language must be literary, learned and adapted to subject and person. This demands a knowledge of the most important and, in fact, of almost all, branches of knowledge. Although a liberal education in Arts and Philosophy is required to produce eloquence, the student can hope in this way to attain the higher ideal. An analysis should be made of all the works of a philosopher or other distinguished author so as to extract full benefit from them and to reach the highest efficiency. While school methods should still be maintained during this year a commencement should be made with University subjects.

Aristotle's "De Interpretatione" and "De Mundo" are easily covered in the same year by one hour's daily study. Other subjects should include Arithmetic, Geography, Geometry and the elements of Astrology in the books of Mela and Proclus. The study of Demosthenes, Homer, and Cicero's oratorical works will be continued, as well as written and oral composition. This introduction to higher studies should not preclude careful revision of all previous work.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

HOLY DAYS AND RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION.

We have now described the organisation of the school classes. But as piety has been laid down as the real aim of education, we must deal similarly with Religious Instruction. This is taken on holy days set aside for the purpose and takes the two forms of private instruction in the classes and public celebration by the whole school in church.

Public assemblies render school discipline impossible, but modesty, silence and close attention should be shown and all cause of annoyance avoided. School training is reflected in the behaviour of the pupils; piety and industry bring honour, unseemly behaviour disgrace, to the city.

Before attending public worship, our pupils must know the story of Christ and the Apostles as well as some passages from the life of Moses, in which is given a record of ancient history, essential to the knowledge of Christianity. On the day before, the German catechism should be taught in the lowest class and a suitable Latin translation in the three following classes; Greek should be employed in the next three and Hebrew in the two highest, so that as early as possible the story of Moses may be read in that language.

Thus the first and the last day must be dedicated to God/

God; on the intervening days, the study of Rhetoric and Philosophy should be revised with the object of illustrating religion. On the afternoon of the last day in the week, all pupils must be trained in Music, for the knowledge and practice of this accomplishment cultivates the mind, and, if not learned in boyhood, cannot be taken up in later life.

CHAPTER XXIX.

PUBLIC LECTURES.

A University is like a free State, in which the people have passed their own laws, while the teachers of the lower classes resemble fathers who give the children whatever instruction they think right. But Law governs the Universe and nothing can be entirely outside its scope. This education, while free as a people is free, must be marked by definite rules. Pupils who are next to the highest class may be admitted to the lectures, for they are near the goal of their studies.

We have laid down as the aim of our studies, Lettered Piety which, however, is of many kinds and can be practised in many ways. It can be found not only amongst theologians but also amongst lawyers, doctors, and in fact, in every profession. The exposition of religion, the defence of the innocent, the care of the sick all display love and Christian spirit.

Every student should consult his teachers, parents and friends, and consider carefully his future profession. When he has made a choice, he should devote all his thoughts, reading, writing and studies to its honourable and successful attainment.

The practice of a profession of which one is ignorant, whether in theology, law, medicine or education, is a crime and brings irreparable injury to soul, property, health and mind.

No/

No man can justify himself in the eyes of the public who fails to live up to his profession. In theology, however, as in other forms of learning, high moral character and religious spirit are of the greatest importance and even ignorant men, endowed with these, do less harm than learned men who despise virtue; each is wrong but the one less so than the other, for any man is especially deserving of blame who, professing what he is unable to carry out, displays shamelessness, folly and laxness.

The student who is selected for such a higher education and its liberal training must be so excellent that he is ready, so industrious that he is able to undertake the study and possess such enthusiasm that he will not practice his profession until he has thoroughly mastered it. This is the spirit in which a youth should enter the University.

CHAPTER XXX.

PUBLIC LECTURES AND PRIVATE STUDIES.

In each subject a choice must be made amongst the various authors and methods of instruction. The thoughtless immediately have recourse to books, but the matter should be approached with more deliberation and judgment. It is a common but mistaken opinion that no book is so bad that it does not contain some good point.

We have now reached studies of the most advanced character and the greatest difficulty, without which we may not enter our profession. Schools and colleges cannot undertake the whole of even the most useful instruction, so that a master must select the best from the best authors and leave the rest to private study, which is required to assist and complete his efforts. Commentaries on authors are most usefully studied at home. Lawyers would be foolish to read Bartolus and neglect Justinian as some teachers have done in lecturing on Scotus and Thomas. The same principle applies to Professors who, in explaining the aphorisms of Hippocrates, discuss the commentaries of Galen. In the sacred writings, only the Evangelists, the letters of the Apostles, the books of Moses and the prophets need be explained. Even Chrysostom, Basilus and their contemporary Gregorius I would leave to private study. This is my opinion regarding all philosophical studies.

The more difficult poets should be studied after Vergil
and/

and Homer, who are most useful for our purpose. Almost all Ovid's poems are easy and should be left to private study, but the "Fasti" and the "Metamorphoses" might be read in full, on account of their difficulty and their practical value, though this would occupy too much time in the school curriculum. All the Tragic writers, Euripides, Sophocles and Aeschylus, though not necessarily their complete works, must be studied for their splendid style; but of the Comic writers I would banish Aristophanes from the schools owing to his "Clouds" and the slanders he invented and circulated against the great philosopher Socrates, were it not for the benefit to be derived from a comparison of his works with those of the best writers. The hymns of Pindar and the Odes of Horace, the Eclogues of Vergil and the Idylls of Theocritus should be studied together, even though Vergil is more suited to the school and Theocritus to the University. Hesiod should follow ~~Homer~~, but I would leave Aratus and Dionysius to the mathematicians. Lucretius deserves study not only for his poetry but for his philosophy. His archaic style and beautiful language-structure, especially when he deals with Divinity and Nature, show many oratorical qualities. Formerly, grammarians explained the works of poets who read aloud their own compositions, but now the same man must be both grammarian and poet.

History is easily read, and if Thucydides, Herodotus and Xenophon are understood, the other writers may be taken at home/

home without explanation. Thucydides enriches us by his dignified style and noble diction, Herodotus by his graceful and flowing composition, and Xenophon by his pleasant and pure language. Of these three, Thucydides is of the greatest value for imitation. Caesar and Sallust, whose works I allocated to the lower classes, should also be studied, while Livy requires some consideration. Selections should be made from their writings for I do not desire their works to be read continuously, but wish to see a new subject introduced after the study of each book.

Philosophical subjects, which have come up in Dialectic, Ethics, Politics and Physics, or in Mathematics and Medicine, such as Aristotle's books on the soul or on natural objects, and Plato's "Phaedo" should now be studied. Natural History, Anatomy, Botany in Plato's *Timaeus* and similar books can be taken in the Medical classes. Aristotle's treatises on the Heavens and the Universe should be the subject of study not only for Mathematicians but also for students of Philosophy, who, while they cannot be expected to have the power of teaching all subjects, should have some knowledge of them.

The Professors of Law do not require to give an exhaustive analysis of Justinian and can leave some passages to the private reading of their students, but they must deal with every point that is necessary and useful to them. These students must know not only the customs and laws of States but/

but also their philosophical explanation. When some advance has been made in this subject, philosophy can be introduced during a part of the five years' course.

Divinity Professors also must not confine themselves to their own subject, but explain to their students the proper attitude of a State towards Religion, and the public and private behaviour becoming to each individual.

CHAPTER XXXI.

ARISTOTLE, PLATO, CICERO.

The standard text books in every University subject can easily be selected, for each has its own writers about whom there is no mistake. Theology has two distinct types of authors, Medicine has Hippocrates and Galen. Law can show none better than Justinian. In Philosophy, which is employed in all learning and in every discussion, Aristotle, besides giving a complete exposition of so many important subjects, has established an excellent system of oratory.

Plato in his noble works supplies many examples and great assistance in the art of Dialectic, and offers to orators many passages for imitation. Philosophers praise his eloquence and orators his wisdom. The dialogues of Socrates are so compact that nothing could be omitted without loss, for he teaches as if he wished to learn, he yields to conquer, and overcomes without desire of victory. After the preliminary training, therefore, his dialogues should be studied in full, though a careful selection may be made to promote the advance of study and benefit the organisation of our College.

Cicero, the wisest orator, the most eloquent philosopher, the brightest light of all language and the great exemplar of all students, occupies the same position amongst Latin writers as Plato does amongst the Greeks.

These three writers have, and always will have, the
highest/

highest reputation. Though all their works deserve study, one Professor cannot expound them all, but each must undertake what is required for his own subject. Even then, they cannot all be read, but first the essential works, then the finest should be selected and the remainder be left to private reading.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE ORGANISATION OF UNIVERSITY LECTURES.

If Professors make a proper allocation of their teaching-duties and a good foundation has been laid in school, the rest of the course is easily completed. In a University, there are nine branches of learning. The first and highest duty is the exposition of the Scriptures; then there is the study of civil law and, thirdly, medicine. Human life is bound up in these three. For all actions are performed either for the mind and soul, which should be devoted to God, or for the protection and continuance of life, or for the safety, increase or bequest of property.

In recent years, the Professors of these subjects have been called Doctors - a new word in this meaning - for each science has its own doctors as Hermes and Hermagoras in Rhetoric and Aristarchus in Grammar.

Some students, however, find these subjects too difficult or distasteful and they prefer to follow a more leisurely course, devoting their time to Mathematics or to History, by which they hope to benefit humanity through their interest in antiquity. Others again, men of high intellect and swift perception, give pleasure by a rhythmical form of speech - that is, Poetry. Some are the servants of Philosophers - that is, Dialecticians, some of Orators, as rhetoricians, others of poets and historians, namely grammarians, who are loaded with/

with the most troublesome tasks and are the least amongst scholars, though once theirs was a great profession. These I have already discussed. I must now deal with the other eight.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE HARMONY OF ALL KNOWLEDGE.

THE NUMBER OF LECTURES.

Amongst these eight professors should be included the philosopher and the orator. Each of these seems to profess universal knowledge, but the one is concerned with facts, the other with speech and graceful expression. We wish these two to take part in all the studies, so that a smaller number of Professors will be sufficient. No one has ever gained complete knowledge of any single subject who is ignorant of others. Everything that is in Nature and subject to birth and death, is continually and eternally bound together. Similarly there is the closest connection in all learning, so that any student who knows one branch well is not ignorant of the others.

By bringing these eight subjects together, we may organise our college with a smaller staff. The master, who teaches poetry in the school, can give lectures on history and grammar. The seven Professors, by the arrangement of their lectures, will prevent overlapping of hours or text books; and their courses will ensure the attainment by the students of a high standard of learning.

In Law, Medicine and Divinity, any student who cannot acquire the rest for himself, after studying the subject for one hour daily during five years, is unfit for a profession. Similarly/

Similarly, a student of poetry and history, with the elementary school training which we have outlined, should make such progress during the course, that he can easily translate all the authors without assistance.

The Professor of Dialectic has a more difficult task. He is the assistant of the Philosopher, who alone professes all knowledge, and, therefore, should lay down a complete method of discussion, perception and judgment, and introduce us to the teaching of the wisest philosophers on conduct, life and nature. In this, he is aided by the Professor of Rhetoric, who is the assistant of the Orator and who should not only give complete instruction in language, but also indicate passages, where the graces of style and gifts of oratory are displayed. Aristotle should be taken as our authority in Dialectic.

Several books on Rhetoric are available of which the best are Aristotle's three books on this subject, Cicero's "De Oratore" and Hermogenes' "De Formis Orationum". Plato and Aristotle will supply further instruction regarding Conduct and Character; but the Theologian has the most beneficial influence on public and individual morality.

These are my views briefly regarding the seven Professors; other details it will be easier to arrange than to explain in writing.

CHAPTER XXXIV.LECTURES IN DIVINITY, LAW, MEDICINE AND OTHER SUBJECTS.

Students of these three subjects must not, in their enthusiasm, neglect the other Arts and literature on which they so largely depend. The theologian, who is the interpreter of God and the herald of heavenly things must not be ignorant of Oratory, History or Politics.

A lawyer worthy of the name must know the views of philosophers on States and on Morals; and have studied the history of all ages, especially of his ancestors who formed the laws. A Christian State should reflect the will of God; therefore he must understand the records of Scripture. Many lawyers become the counsellors of kings and administrators; so he should be trained in rhetoric; and he must be a trained logician because he will often discuss the law.

A physician, also, requires wide knowledge for the perfection of his science. In his course, he must study philosophy and mathematics, and he will find the art of Oratory of the greatest service.

It must not be thought that the curriculum I am suggesting, is unattainable. After the school course is completed, the human mind can grasp an inconceivable amount of knowledge during five years of University study. Six hours daily, I admit, is too long a time for the study of philosophy/

philosophy, but every student should give at least four hours. In University as in school, anyone who wishes to excel in divinity, medicine or law should find an attendance at lectures of from four hours daily quite sufficient.

The Professors should so arrange their time-table that they will deal with those portions of their subject, which do not greatly assist other studies, at times when members of their classes are attending other lectures. In medicine, for example, divinity students need not attend lectures on the Eye or on Galen's Pulses, but students both of literature and of divinity should be present at the lectures on Anatomy when the human body, its movements and shape are described and when an animal is dissected in the opposite order from that in which it was formed. In Law, he need not study the details of Justinian's works but he must not absent himself from the lectures on Civil Law. In every science there are some parts which are not of general interest, and these should be introduced without disturbance to the curriculum as a whole.

What has been said regarding these three courses applies also to students who are not preparing for any profession, and who devote themselves to the pleasures of learning without restriction; for even they must show themselves consistent in their studies. Often through the very freedom of their course, they can acquire greater knowledge.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE TWO METHODS OF TEACHING.

Schools and Colleges must follow a double system in studying a subject - a general treatment of the whole without any discussion, and a particular investigation and explanation of individual points, dealing with peculiarities and exceptions. The first method is the more useful especially in schools; sometimes a subject is taught without the study of any particular text-book, when the master can give a shorter and clearer explanation: sometimes a book is read in which both methods may be employed.

Either every point is analysed individually or only the more important are explained, as may be done with many passages from Aristotle, Galen and other writers, who, in attacking the opinions of their opponents, did not confine themselves entirely to a scientific treatment of their subject. This general method should be employed daily for the benefit of all the students; but those who ~~are~~ specialising in any branch of study throughout their course, should attend to particular points within the narrow limits of their profession. In this way, we shall attain our ideal, the harmony of all culture and of all knowledge.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

PRIVATE STUDIES.

Little benefit can be obtained from school or University without private study. No subject can be completely mastered without the stimulus of a teacher, but public education needs to be supplemented by home work.

Each method has its advantages and its draw-backs. The boy, who is educated in a large school, has this benefit, that by a short lesson he can understand what would have caused him much difficulty and labour at home, more definitely and completely than if he had relied on his own enquiries. But enthusiasm may be dulled and the mind distracted to irrelevant thoughts in school. This may happen sometimes in private also, but all our studies, enquiries and discoveries there, being individual and original, are more firmly implanted in our minds. Each system has many other advantages; only by combining them are we likely to make great progress in learning.

Amidst large numbers and at public lectures, careful application and retentive memory are required, even in simple tasks: in private study, two points especially demand attention - revision by the pupil of subject matter discussed in school, to ensure clear understanding and proper classification, and individual reading of passages to assist the school work and to complete what has already been noted. Illness or unavoidable business may sometimes prevent attendance at a lecture; we should not/

not have to study in school any comedy, speech or history when we have time for better books. These disadvantages can be overcome by private study, if the same method is employed there as in school.

Distinction in learning can be gained only by constant enquiry, attention, reading or discussion; and since this strain wearies the mind, variety must be employed, so that a difficult lesson may be followed by an easy one, the sad by the pleasant, the old by the new. Our pupils should pass from reading to writing, from writing to games, from games to learned conversation and literary discussion.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

DISPUTATION AND DECLAMATION.

We have now described the organisation of school education and the methods by which it may be crowned by University study for five years. We must next explain the practical exercises to be employed in Disputation and Declamation.

The former should be taken twice a month. To arouse interest the parties in the debate should be arranged beforehand - the respondent and his supporters, the opponent and his advocates, and finally the judge of the whole discussion. These really consist of two groups - the disputants and the judges. One student should set forth the main points in the debate and he alone should be questioned by the other side. A suitable answer, however, does not always occur to the mind immediately, and so there should be three supporters, to whom the controller or master of ceremonies may allot the duty of reply.

The first speaker should have the right to cross-examine twice before the final decision is given by the judge, who should realise that his duty is to weigh the evidence, not to criticise. The discussion should be carried on keenly and respectfully without the fear or diffidence, which is apt to confuse thought and delivery. On the other hand, enthusiasm often suggests ideas at the moment which do not occur in private.

The subject for debate should admit reasonable opinions on either/

either side and we can easily find even established beliefs which allow contrary views. Clear, short, simple arguments and conclusions, and single questions are more useful to beginners than long continuous speeches and a wealth of evidence, which should be employed only when greater efficiency has been attained. Even then, whether in written compositions or "ex tempore" speeches, short, clever epilogues should be used to ensure intelligent discussion. Arguments which can avoid the traps of an opponent are more suited to disputation, for a mass of propositions, the device of the ancient Sophists, merely arouses suspicion. Indeed, Socrates wittily "damned with praise" Protagoras, because he could discuss any point either fully or briefly, and, on being asked short questions, could spin out a long speech.

Declamation requires not only the practice of "ex tempore" speaking, but the study of philosophy, so that the oration may show both cleverness and wisdom. There are three methods of attaining this - unprepared delivery, considered speech and written composition.

The first two demand a quick and ready memory: the third should be read aloud. I approve of the method by which the student not only delivers his speech but explains the plan of its composition. This is of greater value to his hearers and demands more care in writing. The recitation of graceful, witty poems and songs should be permitted, as of great service in a liberal education/

education and in promoting oratory.

In my opinion, these are the right methods to be pursued in Declamation and Composition, and without them no real efficiency can be obtained in the study of literature.

Speeches must be short and their style simple and careful, displaying cleverness and keenness as well as strong and graceful composition. Both should receive constant practice, though success should be estimated not by length but by ornate style and closely reasoned argument. Industry is shown by a cultured, even if brief, attempt but a harsh, false style deserves censure. The subjects chosen must permit of clever, keen discussion and fine diction, within the knowledge of the students. Otherwise no opportunity is given for the display of talent and graceful expression.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.THE GOOD-WILL, MODESTY AND DILIGENCE OF THE
PROFESSORS AND MASTERS.

In all studies the industry of the students should be supported not only by the diligence but by the good-will and modesty of their instructors. Disorderly quarrels and unbridled pride are usually the result of greed and ambition, which are unchristian and unworthy of great talents. Learning has too often been disturbed by jealousy, and religion by ambition.

We have shown that there is harmony and unity in all sciences and knowledge: similarly, the Professors should be united by ties of friendship, so that in this college there may be coordination in studies, plans and aims. Jealousy and selfishness do not arouse confidence, or produce good results and admirable qualities. When we consider the number and power of our opponents, surely our times require shining examples of piety.

Quarrels should not find a place in colleges where a strict form of training brings general benefit. As Nobles usually imitate the desires and customs of kings, pupils copy even the most foolish speeches of their teachers, who in this way do not impart learning, but implant and nourish a crop of vices. There must, therefore, be harmony of learning and cooperation/

cooperation in aim.

We must keep ourselves up-to-date in our own subjects and gain as much knowledge as possible of other subjects taught in lower or higher classes, which should be retained or anticipated by our pupils along with their present studies. This is of the greatest assistance to the work of the master, whose duty consists in teaching, correcting, encouraging and dissuading. All these benefits are modified by dissension amongst the staff.

Some rivalry, however, is necessary, for errors must be removed from the human mind, and learning must be defended against ignorance and virtue against vice. All enquiry into truth must be pursued with a clear mind. In this respect, Socrates rightly earns the commendation of philosophers, when his pleasant conversation with the Sophists is so arranged as to show merely a desire for truth and the greatest courtesy in teaching, correcting, contradicting and even laughing at them, without anger and abuse. He appeared to disapprove rather of their faults than of the individuals themselves. Honourable rivalries should be aroused amongst boys and youths, for they promote industry and can be restrained by the teachers, when keenness goes beyond bounds. Students are not to be censured if they think defeat disgraceful and excellence in learning honourable; for it is only carelessness and idleness that are worthy of condemnation. Boys do not long retain bitter feelings: indeed/

indeed such contests often result in the closest friendships. The greatest advocates in law-suits, who declaim violently against each other in their pleas, are fast friends, after the peroration has been delivered and the verdict given; so after these boyish struggles, controlled by the teachers, the older pupils are usually inspired with feelings of affection and good-will.

Masters should show industry rather than rivalry, but, if the latter must exist, let it be in courtesy, gentleness and kindness, not in harshness, cruelty or hatred. Life in school should resemble that of the Muses on Helicon or Parnassus, where, the poets tell us, the greatest harmony reigned not only of song and music, but of life, studies and desires.

I have now briefly shown a plan for the opening of schools and the education of children. If I have not made a road, at least I have indicated a path, by which we shall readily attain the greatest benefits.

NOTES.

1. Ovid Metamorphoses VII. 21.
2. Compare Knox's First Book of Discipline. (1561).
3. Plato, Republic 535 D.
4. Plato, Protagoras, 326 B.
5. Xenophon, Cyropaedia 1.3.3.
6. Plato, Phaedrus 230 D.
7. Luther stated the number of students at Paris as 20,000.
8. Plato, Republic. Especially 537 D.
9. Vergil, Aeneid, 1. 199.
10. Early in the 16th Century it was assumed in England that the Italian method of pronunciation was correct and Italian scholars recognised English pronunciation of Latin as next best to their own. In 1542 Latin was still pronounced in England by the Italian method but after the Reformation, when it was no longer necessary for the clergy to use the common language of the Church, Latin was gradually mispronounced in England. In 1608 Coryat found England completely isolated in its pronunciation of long "i". The Erasmian pronunciation of Greek vowels was the same as that used in France and, with the exception of "u", in Italy and Germany; the English pronunciation was that of the English vowels. Sandys, History of Classical Scholarship, Vol. II. 233.
11. Ciceronis Epistolarum libri IV a J. Sturmio puerili educationi confecti (Epistolae minores) Strassburg, 1539: - This was one of the most popular school books in Europe during the 16th and 17th centuries.
12. Sturm published an edition of this as of many of Cicero's works - "Cicero, De Senectute, (with the Greek Translation of Theodore Gaza) - Strassburg, 1540."
13. Sturm is thinking of Erasmus, Adagiorum Chiliades, Munus Aptum. - "Ne e quovis ligno mercurius fiat," - "Not every piece of wood is fit for a statue of Mercury."
14. Sturm published "Ciceronis Orationum volumina tria, post postremam Naugerianam et Victorianam correctionem, emendata/

emendata a.J. Sturmio". Strasburg, 1540 - a very popular school text book. New editions were published in 1554, 1558, 1563, 1578.

15. The ancient Rhegium of Magna Graecia in Southern Italy.
16. A Greek Rhetorician of the 2nd. Century A.D. and instructor of Marcus Aurelius. His treatises on Rhetoric were for long regarded as models in the training of public speakers. Sturm had a high opinion of him, edited several of his works including "De Formis Oratorum" (1555), "De Ratione Inveniendi Oratoria, libri IV" (1570), "De Statibus" (1575) and others, and used them in his school.
17. Sturm published "In Partitiones Oratorias Ciceronis Dialogi IV." - Strasburg 1539. It was reprinted 1551 and 1565.
18. "Rhetoricarum ad C. Herennium libri quatuor" is the earliest work in Latin prose which has been preserved in its original entirety. It is the best practical treatise on Oratory that has come down to us from ancient times. The passages which reappear in Cicero's "De Inventione" are borrowed from it. After the time of Quintilian it was neglected, but came once more into notice when it was ascribed to Cicero himself by St. Jerome. It thus became one of the popular manuals of the Middle Ages. It was probably written by Cornificius about 86 B.C.

Sturm thought it was written by Cicero and included it in a collection of his Oratorical works published at Strassburg in 1540.
19. Sturm's theories were fully developed in his "Linguae Latinae Resolvendae Ratio", first published in 1581.
20. "In Partitiones Oratorias Ciceronis Dialogi IV" (1539) "Liber Unus De Periodis" (1550) and many editions of the works of Cicero and Hermogenes with notes by Sturm.
21. Sturm published "Partitiones Dialecticae" (1539) - Later editions in 1543, 1548, 1554, 1560, 1566, 1571, 1591, 1597, 1615 and 1624 testified to its popularity.
22. Pomponius Mela in 40 A.D. wrote "De Chorographia" in three books, the earliest text-book of Geography. He described the various countries of the then known world in the form/

form of a coasting voyage. His information rested not on personal inspection but on Greek sources.

23. Proclus (412 - 485 A.D.) a philosopher of the Neo-Platonic school. He wrote commentaries on the "Timaeus" and other works of Plato.
24. Bartolus (1314 - 1357), Italian jurist, Professor of Civil Law in Perugia. He revived the exegetical system of teaching Law. Two of his treatises "On Procedure" and "On Evidence" are still of value. His Commentary on the "Code of Justinian" was often regarded as of equal value with the code itself.

Justinian (483 - 565) Emperor of Constantinople and Rome, famous for his attempt to reduce all preceding Roman Law to system. His commission of Jurists published the "Justinianus Codex", the "Pandectae" and the "Institutiones" with this purpose.
25. Thomas Aquinas (1227 - 1274), the scholastic philosopher. His great work was the "Summa Theologiae". Only Augustine has had equal influence on the theological thought and language of Western Europe.

John Duns Scotus (1265 - 1308) scholastic philosopher and mathematician. His principal writings were commentaries on Aristotle. He was the leader of the Scotists or Franciscans against the Thomists or Dominicans. The main subjects of controversy were the Freedom of the Will and the Immaculate Conception.
26. Hippocrates (c. 460 B.C.) the Father of Medicine. He is often referred to by Plato and Aristotle as the authority on medicine. He wrote many medical treatises, of which his "Airs, Waters and Places" first laid down the principles of Public Health.
Galen (c. 130 A.D.) had a great reputation as a physician and writer of medical treatises, especially on Anatomy and Physiology. He wrote 500 memoirs on various subjects including logic, ethics and grammar.
27. Dion Chrysostom (c 100 A.D.) wrote a number of discourses on rhetoric, philosophy, politics and literary subjects. His best known piece is the "Rhodiacus."
28. Basil (c 329 - 379), one of the fathers of the Greek Church. He was much involved in religious controversy and opposed Arianism. Several of his commentaries on religious subjects survive.

29. Gregory Nazianzen (330 - 389) a great ecclesiastical orator. He took an active part in the religious disputes of his times. Many of his sermons and letters were published and used for teaching purposes.
30. Aratus (c 270 B.C.) A Greek poet and astronomer. Two of his works, the "Phaenomena" and the "Diosmeia" are extant.
31. Dionysius Periegetes (date uncertain) a Greek poet and geographer. His surviving work "Descriptio Orbis Terrarum", written in hexameters, was widely read and regarded as the best text-book on Geography.
32. Hermes Trismegistus, the reputed author of a variety of works, some still extant. Many treatises on philosophy and religion written by the New-Platonists were ascribed to this Hermes, from whom it was pretended that Protagoras and Plato had derived all their knowledge. The principal work in his name was "De Potestate et Sapientia Divina".
33. Hermagoras (c 120 B.C.) a writer on Rhetoric, whose works no longer survive. They were much used in the theoretical study of Oratory by the Romans.
34. Aristarchus (c 150 B.C.) a Greek scholar, whose critical editions of Homer and other Greek poets still remain the groundwork of modern scholarship.

PART 11.

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CHAPTER 1.

LIFE OF JOHN STURM.

Birth and early education - Liège - Louvain - Paris - appointment to Strassburg - organisation of gymnasium - Sturm as lecturer - religious controversy - Calvin in Strassburg - diplomatic services - success of the school - Sturm's literary work - Calvinists and Lutherans - relations with French Huguenots - friendship with Roger Ascham - reorganisation of school and college programme - faculty of Philosophy constituted - religious quarrels - Sturm's dismissal - retirement and death - Sturm's marriage and family - personal appearance - character - reputation as teacher and organiser.

John Sturm was born at Sleidan, near Cologne, on October 1st. 1507. He was the son of William Sturm, administrator of the revenues of the Counts of Manderscheid, and of Gertrude Huls, whose ancestor, John Huls, 100 years before had been architect of Strassburg Cathedral tower. He was one of fourteen children and his parents had to make many sacrifices to give him a good education. He recalled with gratitude his father, mother and other relatives. "I remember when I was a youth,

The numbers in Red indicate the notes at the end of each chapter.

by Anthony Dalberius, for whom he expressed great admiration. (3)
In 1521 his father took him, with young Frederick Manderscheid, to the Gymnasium of Saint Jerome at Liège. This was one of the best schools in the Low Countries and had been founded by the Brethren of the Common Life in 1496. Sturm mentioned Arnoldus Einatensis as one of his teachers there. He stayed for three years and in his "Epistolae Classicae VIII." he gave an interesting account of his progress. "When I was a youth at Liège, I took the part of Geta in Terence's Phormio at St. Martin's Church. I had not received any instruction from a master or fellow pupils but I was my own actor and poet. In the third year before the Peasants' War (i.e. 1522) I so acted and explained the plays that I still feel I must have been very proficient in that exercise, although at that time there was not the same staff of teachers/

John Sturm was born at Sleidan, near Cologne, on October 1st. 1507. He was the son of William Sturm, administrator of the revenues of the Counts of Manderscheid, and of Gertrude Huls, whose ancestor, John Huls, 100 years before had been architect of Strassburg Cathedral tower. He was one of fourteen children and his parents had to make many sacrifices to give him a good education. He recalled with gratitude his father, mother and other relatives. "I remember when I was a youth, that nothing kept me more in the study of literature and the duty of sticking at my work, than the hope and expectation of my father, William Sturm, about my studies." His first teacher was John Neobergius and later he was instructed at the Castle by Anthony Dalberius, for whom he expressed great admiration. In 1521 his father took him, with young Frederick Manderscheid, to the Gymnasium of Saint Jerome at Liège. This was one of the best schools in the Low Countries and had been founded by the Brethren of the Common Life in 1496. Sturm mentioned Arnoldus Einatensis as one of his teachers there. He stayed for three years and in his *Epistolae Classicae VIII* he gave an interesting account of his progress. "When I was a youth at Liège, I took the part of Geta in Terence's *Phormio* at St. Martin's Church. I had not received any instruction from a master or fellow pupils but I was my own actor and poet. In the third year before the Peasants' War (i.e. 1522) I so acted and explained the plays that I still feel I must have been very proficient in that exercise, although at that time there was not the same staff of teachers/

teachers or method of instruction as we have in our schools today."

In 1524, with his close friend Philipson, he went to the Collegium Trilingue in Louvain to continue his studies. A college had been founded there a few years before by Jerome Busleidius and it was generally agreed that Oxford and Louvain were the two most progressive Universities of the time. Amongst his teachers were Conrad Goclenius in Latin and Rudiger Rescius in Greek, to which he paid much attention. His principal study, however, was the works of Cicero. He also took up Mathematics, Physics and Astrology, and, owing to his friendship with the famous Orientalist, Glenardus, he desired to learn Hebrew. He gained the degree of M.A. and intended to study civil law but, owing to his poverty, he had to change his plans and commenced teaching. His Greek professor, Rescius, had established a printing press to publish the works of ancient authors and he took Sturm into the business, for which his father advanced him funds. By 1528, 800 volumes had been published. In 1529 and 1530 they printed two books of Chrysostom and two dialogues of Lucian as well as Xenophon's "Memorabilia" and an edition of Homer. In 1528 Sturm paid a visit to Strassburg and assisted at Bucer's lessons on the Psalms. A year later he decided to go to Paris University to sell his books and complete his education. At first he studied medicine and in 1531 published a Latin translation/

translation of Galen by Theodorico Gerard. He suffered from ill-health, which hampered his work later at Strassburg and prevented him from accepting several good offers of employment. His knowledge, methods and oratorical powers gained him influential protectors, one of whom, Margaret of Navarre, invited him to found an Academy. He now gave up medicine, as he had deserted law and book-selling before and found his true vocation lecturing at the College Royal on Cicero, e.g. the "Partitiones" and "Pro Roscio" (regarding which he consulted the famous Budaeus) and also on Dialectic. Amongst his hearers was Peter Ramus, who was amazed to find in so young a student such an eloquent logician and careful interpreter of classical authors, and who was deeply influenced by his teaching. In the preface to his "Scholae in liberales Artes," Ramus wrote, "Formed at the school of Agricola, John Sturm first made Paris recognise these splendid applications (of oratory as taught by Rudolph Agricola) and excited in the University an incredible ardour for the art of which he has revealed the utility ----- It was in the lessons of this great master that I first learned the use of logic and then taught it in quite a different spirit from the Sophists." Rabelais regarded his attendance at Sturm's lectures, in which he combined literature and philosophy, as the turning point of his life; while Maillard, doctor in the Sorboune, asked Sturm's assistance in a commentary on the "Epistle to the Romans."

In his house Sturm had many young students from
Germany/

Germany and Switzerland as boarders, including Claud Baduel who was afterwards to found a school at Nîmes according to his ideas; and he received foreign scholars, amongst them the doctor Louis Carinus from Strassburg. It was probably from them that he learned the Reformed doctrines, to which he now became a convert, and his correspondence with Martin Bucer of Strassburg confirmed his enthusiasm. His Protestant sympathies brought him in contact with the King and in 1534 he witnessed the tortures of the martyrs. He soon became an object of suspicion and his letters to Bucer and to Melanchthon, who was looking out for a post for him, show that he had decided to leave Paris. Carinus and his pupil Erasmus, Count of Limbourg, recommended Sturm to Bucer and the famous James Sturm, Mayor of Strassburg. Even in 1534 Bucer had already made an offer to him. When Sturm received an invitation to go to Strassburg, he was on the point of graduating in medicine and he left unfinished a Latin Dictionary, at which he was working with John Stressel.

Sturm had taught 8 years in all in Paris and had formed close friendships with many of the leading scholars of the time - Budaeus, Latomus, Dolet (for whom Sturm had a great admiration, unlike Calvin) Clenardus, Melanchthon and Bucer. It was in Strassburg, however, that his life work was to be done.

Sturm left Paris in December 1536 and reached Strassburg

a fortnight later. He was almost at once seriously ill, owing to the climate of the town and he meditated returning to Paris. In March, however, he took charge of the course in Rhetoric and Dialectic, at first with an exposition of Aristotle's "On Interpretation" and afterwards of the "Organon", lecturing twice daily with complete success. His salary was at first 40 florins, then 100 on condition that he would stay one year, and then 140, some months later, when it was thought he might be attracted to Bale or to Wittenberg University, where his successful work was known.

But the teaching of logic was not to be his principal duty. He was to organise the whole system of public education in the town. Strassburg was most fortunate in having as Mayor, James Sturm, a man of great reputation, whose views on education were very similar to those of John Sturm. After careful consideration of the whole position, John Sturm made proposals to the Scholarchs - a committee of Public Instruction, the appointment of which was really two centuries ahead of the rest of Europe. These proposals were adopted on 7th March, 1538 and published in his treatise, "De Literarum Ludis Recte Aperiendis." The school was solemnly opened in May 1538 in the Dominican Convent, which was given for the purpose by the Magistrates. John Sapidus composed a Latin drama on the Resurrection of Lazarus, entitled "Anabion" and dedicated it to Erasmus of Limbourg, who, though a Catholic, had recommended/

had recommended Sturm to the Council of Strassburg. In June Sturm was offered the Rectorship, which he accepted for one year provisionally. The first scholars were James Sturm, Nicolas Cnipsius and James Meierus. With the help of the professors, Hedion, Bedrot and Herlin and with Schwebel, Sapidus and Dasypodius on his staff, Sturm completed the organisation of the Gymnasium. The Magistracy and the Rector wished to crown the edifice with a University, for which Strassburg is so favourably situated, but this privilege could not be obtained from the Emperor. Sturm was still fighting against poor health but he was greatly encouraged by the sympathy of the townspeople, though the attacks of fever were aggravated by disagreements with his brothers, who wished to benefit by his success.

At this time Sturm brought himself into prominence by his correspondence with the Commission appointed by Paul III. to reform the Church. His "Epistola de emendanda Ecclesia" in reply to the Cardinals greatly increased his reputation and 300 copies of it were sold in Paris before it could be suppressed. Later, in 1559, it had the honour of being put in the Index Expurgatorius by Pope Paul IV. Sadoletus attacked Sturm, who replied in his "Epistolae de Dissidiis Religionis" in July 1539 and stated that if the Roman Church would purify itself, Protestants would rejoin it. He complained that Sadoletus evaded the issue or criticised the style of his opponents. It is interesting to note that
Luther/

Luther in a letter to Bucer (October 1539) mentioned Calvin and Sturm together with approval, "Give my hearty greetings to John Sturm and to John Calvin whose pamphlets I have read with the greatest pleasure," referring doubtless to Calvin's "Epistola ad Sadoletum" and to the above letters of Sturm, which were published at Strassburg in September of the same year.

Sturm was distinguished not only in education and religious controversies, but also in diplomatic negotiations. He was sent, as representative of Strassburg to Bâle in 1537, thence to Berne, and in February 1539 to Frankfort, where he made the acquaintance of Melanchthon, with whom he had corresponded for some time. In the same year he met Calvin who had come to Strassburg to save himself from his enemies in Geneva and whom the scholars engaged to give lessons for one year in theology at a salary of one florin per week. Calvin acted also as pastor of the French Church and from a letter written by him from Worms (14th December 1540) it would appear that Sturm was treasurer of the same church. In June 1540 Sturm and Calvin represented Strassburg at the Diet of Haguenau, at Worms in the same year and at the Diet of Ratisbonne in April 1541. In the summer of 1541 Sturm went to Lyons and returned to Strassburg towards the end of October, only to set out a few days later for Paris, where he was interviewed by the King. He had scarcely returned to Strassburg from this mission, when Bucer and he were invited to/

to Cologne to organise education there. His constant endeavour was to make an alliance between France and the Protestant States. Both in 1544 and in 1545 he was again in Paris and later in Frankfort. Sturm's reputation as a scholar and as a diplomat continued to increase.

Melanchthon in a letter to Calvin (12th July 1543) spoke very highly of him. "I have had no greater pleasure than my meeting with Sturm and I welcome him with all the greater heartiness because you accompany him -----

I am extremely grateful both to Sturm and to yourself."

But complaints began to be made owing to his constant absence. G. Fabricius wrote to Wolfgang Meurer on 17th August 1545 that Sturm had been absent from Strassburg for two months now. "We are greatly annoyed at this, for we do not know when he will resume his lectures." In spite of such protests, he was sent in 1545 as intermediary between Francis I. and Henry VIII, at whose meeting, amongst other subjects, was discussed the marriage and upbringing of Mary, Queen of Scots. It was there that Sturm formed the close friendship with William Paget which brought him into touch with English scholars. In 1546 Sturm was four times in Paris on political missions. He was well fitted for the diplomatic service owing to his knowledge of men and affairs, his connections with scholars in many countries, his moderation and his eloquence. He was ennobled by the Emperor and enjoyed pensions, which were an accepted condition of/

of public life in the 16th century, from several princes, the Kings of Denmark, the Queen of England, Francis I. of France and, during some years, his successors, the Emperors Charles V. and Maximilian II. He acted as observer and kept his patrons informed of the course of events from the reports and secret missions of other observers. Every political agent, who passed through Strassburg, visited him. In 1545 Christian III. of Denmark took him into his service with a pension of 100 florins, and in 1548, 1563 and 1566 Frederick II. continued his services and his pension. In 1572 Queen Elizabeth named him as her agent in Germany. Most of the diplomatists at this time in France, England and Germany were distinguished scholars and fluent Latinists.

Meantime the Gymnasium was flourishing beyond all expectation and Sturm was adding to his reputation by the excellence of its literary studies. Many students after leaving the Universities and several of Sturm's old pupils in Paris came to Strassburg to continue or complete their studies. In 1540, one of the terrible epidemics so common at that time attacked Strassburg and many of the teachers and pupils left the town. Sturm and Calvin transferred the school to Gengenbach in the Black Forest. Next year the plague again broke out in a more virulent form and the school was removed to Chartreuse and later to Gengenbach. Sturm himself went to Ratisbonne, where his poor health was restored by the warm baths. These epidemics carried off several/

several of the masters, amongst them Capito and Bedrottus, and many of the pupils, such as the sons of Zwingli and Hedion, five children of Bucer and others. Altogether 3208 people died in Strassburg in one year. But in 1542 the school revived and had more than 500 pupils. Owing to his multifarious duties, Sturm was now assisted in the work of lecturing on rhetoric, logic and ethics by Justus Vels, while Peter Dasypodius was appointed Vice-Rector to act in Sturm's absence. He was always striving to improve the teaching-staff and persuaded the scholars to appoint Hauenreuter as Professor of Medicine with a salary of 50 florins per annum. By 1546 the number of pupils in the school had risen to 624, distributed over nine classes as follows - 55 in the first (or highest) class, 68 in the second, 76 in the third, 40 in the fourth, 53 in the fifth, 40 in the sixth, 66 in the seventh, 86 in the eighth and 140 in the ninth.

During all this time, besides his teaching and organising duties and his diplomatic work, Sturm was busily engaged in writing and editing books suitable for use in school or University. His earliest work was his "De Amissa dicendi Ratione, libri duo", published in 1538, in which, using Cicero's "Pro Plancio" and other illustrations, he investigated the causes of the decay of eloquence and the proper methods of re-establishing it. He was, of course, referring/

referring only to Latin. This book, like others of Sturm's, was widely studied through Europe and was reprinted several times. In the same year he brought out his "De Litterarum Ludis Recte Aperiendis" which is translated here. In 1539 was published his "In Partitiones Oratorias Ciceronis, dialogi LV", in which he incorporated his college lectures in the form of dialogues with his pupils, and also the "Partitiones Dialecticae" in four books, dealing similarly with Logic. His letters on the religious disputes have already been mentioned. At the same time, Sturm was frequently invited to write prefaces and commentaries on Classical works, e.g. Phil. Melancthon's *Dialectica* (1538), M.T. Ciceronis *Orationes Tres* (1538), *Homeri Interpres* (1539), Ciceronis *Orationum Volumina Tria* (1540), Cicero's *De Senectute* (1540), Plato's *Apology* (1540), Aristotle's *Ethics* (1540), Cicero's *Letters to Atticus and Familiares* (1541), Cicero's *De Officiis* etc., (1541), Ciceronis *Librorum Philosophicorum Volumina Due* (1541), Plato's *Gorgias, Apology and Crito* (1541). This list which, however, is not exhaustive will give some idea of Sturm's tremendous energy. The most interesting of his school books at this period was his "Ciceronis Epistolarum libri LV. a J. Sturmio puerili educationi confecti (1539)", which was one of the most popular of the century and for many years afterwards, and which was used in nearly every school in Europe, amongst others Eton and Edinburgh High School. In 1544 he wrote a preface for "De Arte Supputandi libri quatuor",
an/

an Arithmetic book by Cuthbert Tonstall, an Englishman.

In his preface Sturm said, "Cuthbert Tonstall has taught Arithmetic by clear methods and in pure Latin, so that while this author lives, no other teacher is required."

Tonstall had written his book through annoyance at being cheated by money-lenders and had dedicated it to Sir Thomas More. Sturm published it in Strassburg and adopted it for use in his school, where the text-book previously employed had been, "Elementa Arithmetices" by George Peurbachius (1534).

In 1549 the religious quarrels broke out, which were to bring so much trouble to Sturm. Bucer and Fagius were banished from Strassburg and went to England where Sturm commended them to Cranmer and his other friends. He himself left the town and lived for a time in retirement in Saxony, but a little later he was carrying on his duties as before. In these disputes between Protestants and Catholics, and later between Lutherans and Calvinists, Sturm showed great moderation and deplored the cruelties practised by both sides. "I pardon the magistrates of our times and our religion, who are severe in defending their religion..... but with groans and tears, and with the desire of a better mind and judgment. Why do we not stop for a little and reflect that it is possible that our savagery is displeasing to God, or that our judges, our theologians, our customs are wrong and that those who suffer are happier than those who condemn them." But he was impatient against the "Interim", by which, as he believed, it was/

was sought to put down learning and reintroduce Catholicism. He continued his diplomatic work and it was intended that he should go on a secret mission to England in 1552. The treaty of Passau in 1555, having assured freedom to Protestants, in whose interests Sturm had so often acted, now gave him more time to devote to his scholastic and literary work. His most important writings at this period were his "Nobilitas Literata" (1549), in which he amplified many of his educational theories, discussed in his earlier works, his "De Educatione Principis" (1551), in which he followed the general fashion of prescribing the proper training for a prince and seems to have been influenced by Elyot's "The Governour", and his "De Periodis" (1550) which was dedicated to Princess Elizabeth of England. He brought out more editions of Cicero, Aeschines and Demosthenes, Aristotle and Hermogenes. His works, especially in explanation of Aristotle, whose principles he restated in his "Partitiones Dialecticae," were now so highly esteemed that Valentinus Erythraeus, one of the lecturers at Strassburg, published Tables of his Dialectic and Oratorical lectures, while Michael Toxites, a medical doctor, who had settled in the town to study under Sturm, collected all his Prefaces, thirty in number up to this date, under the title of "Prolegomena". Sturm was constantly in correspondence with the leading scholars of the day, Erasmus, Melancthon, Calvin, Budaeus, Le Fevre d'Etaples, Ramus, Bembus, Sadoletus, Ascham, Manutius and others. He intended to write the life of Bucer, who/

who died in England, and even twenty years later had not abandoned the idea, though he was unable to obtain materials for the purpose. His "Life of Beatus Rhenanus" (Bâle 1551) prefaced to an edition of that author's "Rerum Germanicarum libri tres" won high praise. Reference is made to poems written by Sturm but apart from some short epigrams none of these survive. He had also proposed publishing twenty books of Commentaries on Aristotle, to be called "Rhetor Aristotelicus" - his Magnum Opus, - but this great scheme was never completed.

Sturm had early shown a preference for Calvin's teaching. It was in Strassburg that Calvin had published the Second Edition of his "Christian Institutes", and when the Third Edition was brought out in 1543 Sturm added a short eulogy of Calvin's talents. He used his influence to secure the appointment of Calvinists, such as Baudouin, Hotman, Peter Martyr and Zanchi to posts in Strassburg. It was this enthusiasm which caused most of Sturm's troubles during the rest of his life, for the geographical position of the city compelled it to join the Lutherans. The resentment of this party turned against him, especially when it was known that he and Sleidan, the historian, were translating Bucer's Catechism into Latin for use in the Gymnasium and into French for the refugees. Sturm took an active part in the dispute and by his lectures on Chrysostom in 1559 and 1560 offended the pastors. When Melancthon died in the latter year, the Lutherans described him/

him, in a pamphlet, as a Calvinistic heretic and Sturm retaliated by having its sale forbidden. The subjects under dispute were the Lord's Supper and the Ubiquity of the body of Jesus Christ. Sturm republished some treatises of Bucer on the Holy Supper and in a preface to Anthony Cook made a violent attack on the Lutherans. The Magistrates interdicted its publication, but Sturm circulated it privately and in a letter to Queen Elizabeth mentioned a book which he was sending her containing his "Sententia de Coena Domini" - apparently these treatises and preface. Sturm again thought of leaving Strassburg but in 1563 agreement was reached between the disputants.

Just before this, an event happened which greatly added to Sturm's troubles. Madame de Roye, mother-in-law of Condé, visited Strassburg and flattered Sturm by asking his help and advice on behalf of the French Protestants. He advanced to her 10,000 florins, his whole capital, and ordered his bookseller to give her as much more as she required. From time to time Sturm procured other large sums for Condé's agents in Germany. When Madame left Strassburg in 1563, nothing had been repaid. Sturm appealed and complained to everyone he could think of, - to the King of Navarre, Queen Catherine, Coligny, Calvin, the Elector Palatine - and especially against the unjust charge of exaggerating his claim. At first he lost interest in all his work. Queen Elizabeth, Ascham and others urged him to continue his/

his literary pursuits and for a time he resumed his study of Aristotle and Cicero. A small part of his claim was repaid in 1564 and again in 1566, while in 1576 the Archbishop of Canterbury tried to help him, but no settlement was made in Sturm's life-time and not until 1622, when a sum of 80,000 livres was paid to his heirs. There is no doubt that Sturm brought on his own misfortunes by his subservience to the rich and powerful. He was continually boasting of their friendship and of the number of noble pupils in the school.

One bright spot in Sturm's life at this time was the close friendship between himself and Roger Ascham. Sturm writing to Paget declared, "I have a wonderful affection and love for Ascham, for I know **his** literary ability, prudence and learning", and Ascham in every letter expressed his great admiration for Sturm. A voluminous correspondence passed between them, in which frequent reference was made to the high repute in which Sturm was held by Queen Elizabeth, (who wrote to him as "Beloved friend"), Paget, Cheke, Knolles, Hales, Morrison, Lady Jane Grey and Lady Ethelreda Cecil. Sturm never visited England, though he had frequently been invited to do so; on the occasion of an embassy to Germany, Ascham stayed three days in Strassburg but unfortunately found that Sturm was absent from the city. In a letter of 24th June, 1554, Sturm twitted Ascham about his approaching marriage and expressed a desire to be present at the ceremony or/

or at least to send a "Thalassium". Ascham's third son was named Sturm "in lasting memory of our friendship." They exchanged gifts: Sturm sent two books by Toxites, and Ascham a coin of C. Caesar. Partly through Sturm's influence, Ascham obtained the post of Latin Secretary to Queen Mary, and it was at Ascham's request that Sturm dedicated his "De Periodis" to Elizabeth, whose education he described in a letter to Sturm. Ascham's death filled Strassburg with great grief. In Elstob's edition of his works published in 1703, the frontispiece contained portraits of scholars who had influenced Ascham - they were Demosthenes, Cicero, Edward VI, Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth, Lady Jane Grey, Sir John Cheke, Bishop John Elmarus, John Sturm, John Sleidan, Lord William Cecil, Thomas Smith.

At this period Sturm assisted in the foundation of several schools, and in particular of that at Laningen in Bavaria, for which he wrote "Scholae Lavinganae" (1565). In this treatise he restated and revised his educational theories with special reference to the circumstances of this school. He showed his ardour for study by mastering Hebrew himself at the age of 57.

A severe epidemic swept over the city later in the same year, carrying off 4318 of the inhabitants and causing the school to be closed. Sturm himself was very ill and several teachers and pupils died. For this and other reasons, mainly the advance of the Jesuit colleges, Sturm took the opportunity of reorganising the plan of studies by the publication of his "Epistolae Classicae"/

"Epistolae Classicae" - the principles of which were adopted by the scholars for the management of the school. But the Lutherans still found cause for complaint in the exclusive use of Latin for teaching purposes and the consequent slow progress in other subjects, the acting of unexpurgated plays and the singing of Latin chants, and they carried their point against Sturm in the replacement of Bucer's Catechism by that of David Chryteus, a Lutheran. At the same time Sturm advised a reorganisation of the higher courses, which were not properly coordinated with the school classes and did not enjoy University status. A request was made to the Emperor that a faculty of Philosophy should be constituted with power to grant Degrees in this subject. In a continuation of his "Epistolae Classicae" Sturm set forth the constitution of this faculty. The privilege was granted and in June 1568 the Scholars accepted Sturm's suggestions and confirmed his appointment as Rector for life.

It was at this time that Peter Ramus visited Strassburg and was entertained by Sturm, who had hoped to attach him to the school. Though Ramus had the highest admiration for Sturm, he preferred to preserve his independent position and continue his journeys through Germany and Switzerland.

The remaining years of Sturm's life in Strassburg were embittered by constant quarrels with the Lutherans who continued to accuse him of being a heretic, of having connections not only with/

with Calvinists and Zwinglians but also with Papists, of praising the school founded by the Bishop of Saverne⁶², and of proposing that in the Turkish war Protestants should join Catholics. Other charges against him were that the school was a hot-bed of unorthodox opinions, that he wished to make himself absolute Dictator in Education, that he appointed poor professors, Calvinists and friends of his own, opposed the magistrates, neglected his school duties and wasted his time over politics or in the country.

These quarrels did the school much harm and for some time Sturm gave up his duties and retired to Bâle. He was still corresponding with Beza, with the chief Huguenots and with many English scholars, especially William Paget, Anthony Cook, John Hales, William Cecil and Francis Walsingham. In 1572 he published, with a preface⁶³, the "Diallacticon de Veritate, Natura et Substantia corporis et sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia" of John Poynt, Bishop of Winchester, a refugee who died in Strassburg during the reign of Mary. In 1573 the Duke of Leicester, through Sir John Wolley, Secretary to Queen Elizabeth, asked Sturm to obtain for him advice on the sacerdotal dress of ministers. He was corresponding also with the refugee reformers of Spain and Italy, and with the theologians and Princes of Germany.

The religious quarrels, however, were still raging, now around the "Concord"; and both sides descended to vulgar abuse.

One of his opponents called Sturm a "bat", probably with reference to the blindness from which he was now suffering, and Sturm with a flash of wit, not common in these miserable disputes, signed a letter to Bersmann, "Joh. Sturmius, vespertilio, dictator." The discourses which Sturm published were afterwards collected under the title "Antipappi Tres contra D.J. Pappi charitatem et condemnationem Christianam." There followed a perfect battle of pamphlets in which Sturm and his opponents Pappus, Osiander and Andreas degraded themselves. The charges brought against Sturm were that he did not go to Church himself and prevented his wife, boarders and servants from going, that he taught the singing of Latin Psalms in school, disturbed education by his obstinacy, fought with the preachers and spread heresies, that he contracted debts in favour of Calvinists and did not pay his creditors, and that he was bribed by Elizabeth of England to carry on the controversy. Bills were posted in the streets attacking him and he did not dare to leave his house without an escort of devoted students. The fate of Dolet, Ramus and Servetus, approved by both Reformers and Catholics, showed the danger to Sturm. He bitterly resented these attacks and replied to them in "Pappus Elenchomenus Primus" and "Quarti Antipappi Tres Partes", both published in 1581. He indignantly denied the charge of bribery and especially the accusation of non-payment of his creditors. "Name one creditor", he wrote, "who during sixteen years can truly say that I have cheated him of one farthing. For sixteen years/

years and more I have suffered misery; bring forward one creditor who justly complains that, on my account or in my name, he has lost one farthing, in spite of the fact that I have been exhausted by such heavy interest for so many years." Osiander called him "a detestable blasphemer, an open enemy of Christ." "Sturm", he said, "excels in Grammar, Rhetoric, Dialectic; he is learned in languages and in the other parts of philosophy; but he has not the power to deal with matters of theology and ought not to attempt to explain Scripture, if he does not wish to expose himself to the ridicule of the whole Christian world." Andreas spoke of "the horrors taught by this impious Calvinist."

The Senate finally ordered Sturm to desist from theological controversy. In July 1581 he retired to Neustadt, where Duke Casimir offered him a refuge. He was invited to resign the Rectorship, refused and was dismissed "because of his great age and for other reasons." Thus after more than 40 years service he was sacrificed to the bitterness of his enemies. Sturm appealed against his dismissal, but no decision had yet been given at the time of his death.

Even during this troubled period Sturm continued the production of educational treatises and editions. He said, "Although owing to age and weakness I ought to give up these studies, I prefer action to silence. I would rather follow the advice of my friends than consider my own strength." His works/

works included the "Neanisci" (1570), a collection of dialogues for school use, "De Imitatione Oratoria libri tres", "De Exercitationibus Rhetoricus liber Academicus" and "Linguae Latinae Resolvendae Ratio" (1581), editions of many of Hermogenes' books on Oratory, editions of Cicero, Horace, Pindar, Cato, Plautus and Aristotle, a selection of Latin Poetry in six volumes with notes, prefaces to many educational works, such as Oelinger's German Grammar (1574), Hauenreuter's Adagia Classica, Dolet's Phrases et Formulae Linguae Latinae (1576) etc. The intimation that Sturm would write the preface seemed to establish the success of any book. His industry was astonishing. He left unfinished many other books, which he had commenced such as "Liber Poeticus, Dialogus de Immortalitate Animorum, ut alia aliqua," and he withheld his name from some of his books.

Sturm continued to deny the validity of his dismissal and planned improvements in the higher courses, demanding the appointment of a professor to give instruction in Anatomy, Botany and Materia Medica and designing an extension of the University Library. But he never again returned to Strassburg. The Emperor Maximilian gave him a country seat at Northheim and here in his declining years, though ill with gout and almost blind, he worked at a treatise on his favourite subject - the War against the Turks, - on which he had been engaged for some years. He had already complained, "Though Rhodes has long since been stormed; Belgrade occupied; Buda-Pesth, Hungary and Pannonia/

Pannonia over-run; and the French and Belgians are exhausted, we Germans do nothing." The first three books were found amongst his papers at his death and published ten years later. He wished all creeds and classes to unite in driving out the Turk and advocated the establishment of a Military Academy for the instruction of all the youth of the country. In 1583 Sturm was offered a Professorship in Heidelberg and later a refuge in England, but he was compelled, owing to old age, to refuse. One of his last efforts was to write, in 1586, a preface to a Lexicon Trilingue (a Latin - Greek - German Dictionary) compiled by Schelling and Emmel, two of his pupils.

Sturm died on March 3rd. 1589, at the age of 82 years. At the Easter promotions in the Gymnasium, Melchior Junius, the Rector, delivered a funeral oration in his honour and dedicated it to Queen Elizabeth, his constant protector and friend.

John Sturm was married three times, to Joanna Ponderia, to Margaret Wigand and to Margaret of Hohenburg, by whom he was survived. He had five children, all of whom died in infancy. Sturm's appearance is known through several portraits. The oldest, of which there is record, was printed in two of his books - "De Statibus Causarum Civilium Universa Doctrina Hermogenis" (1575) and "De Elocutione Rhetorica" (1576). Another, graven in wood, appeared in the "Manes Sturmiani" (1590). Verheiden in his "Praestantium Theologorum Effigies" (1602)/

(1602) printed an excellent portrait of Sturm entitled "The German Nestor." From these and others we learn that he was of middle stature, with a beard reaching nearly to his waist, - black in his youth but later pure white, with a dark bright expression.

Sturm was a man of great goodness of heart and immensely popular with his students, many of whom showed him the greatest devotion. The Polish Count of Ostrogor was a pupil with him for two years and on leaving Strassburg delivered an oration in which, after praising the great teaching ability and high character of Sturm, he said, "This one man France respects, Italy admires, England honours, Scotland loves, Denmark reveres, Hungary esteems and Bohemia worships..... Ask, if you wish, the young students of foreign nations, why they undertook the hardships of a long journey. They will say, "For Sturm's sake," Ask Hungarians, French, Danes, Poles, Bohemians or any others you wish for whose sake they came here. They will all reply "For Sturm's, For Sturm's." He was the most famous teacher in Europe and this was due not only to his learning but to his modesty and his devotion to the interests of his students. His impulsive generosity to Madame de Roye and the French Huguenots, his kindness to the children of the famous printer John Oporin, who died burdened with debts, and to the widow and children of Sevenus, one of his staff of teachers, his hospitality to any and every visitor to Strassburg, his recommendation of refugees to Queen Elizabeth in England, all these/

these show the open-handed, large-hearted man of the world. Famous people of his time without distinction of religion, position or race showed him affection and admiration. His death was mourned as a great blow to the cause of Education.

Beza's epitaph well expressed the general feeling.

"Ecquis te, Sturmi, vixit felicior? Ecquis
Te mortuo beatior?
Non igitur, Sturmi, te luges, lugeo nullos
Superesse nobis Sturmios."

NOTES.

1. Aeschinis et Demosthenis Orationes Duae Contrariae, Preface by Sturm.
Also, M.T. Ciceronis Orationum Volumina Tria, Vol.1, Preface by Sturm. "Patriae meae Solidae gaudeo."
2. Sturm: Scholae Lavinganae:- Preface.
3. Sturm: Classicae Epistolae 1.
4. M.T. Ciceronis Alterum Epistolarum Volumen, Preface by Sturm.
5. ibid. "Ego cum Louvanii essem, placeretque mihi Cicero, et audirem removeri multos ab harum lectione propter obscuritatem, volui videre in quo illa esset....."
6. "Rhetoricorum ad C. Herennium libri IV." Preface by Sturm. "Docui Louanii annos duos, Lutetiae Octo."
7. Copies of these bearing the names of Rescius and Sturm may be seen in the Christie Collection at Manchester University.
8. Sturm: Antipappi 1. 10.
9. "Epistolae Latomi et Sturmii de dissidio Germaniae."
10. Sturm: Dialogi in Partitiones Oratorias Ciceronis: ll. 10. where Bartholomaeus says "Memini haec ex te Lutetiae ante annos quatuor (i.e. four years before 1539) audivisse atque tum etiam exempla attulisse ex Rosciiana."
11. Ramus: De conjungenda Eloquentia cum Philosophia: Preface "Tanto doctore logicam istam ubertatem primum degustavi." (referring to Sturm.)
12. Melanchthon - Corpus Reformatorum, ll. 874. - Melanchthon to Sturm April 1535 - "In his curis mihi crede, mi Sturmi, valde de tua salute etiam sollicitus fui, quem, etsi scio maxime abhorrere ab omnibus absurdis opinionibus et seditiosis consiliis, tamen in communi odio literarum nostrarum tibi quoque nonnihil periculi esse vereor." - Melanchthon stated that he had been asking Bucer to have Sturm summoned to Augusta or Tübingen, and enquired whether he himself should come to France.
also Mel. C.R. IV. 1029. Sturm (to Melanchthon 9th July 1535) urged him to come to Paris and declared that he was not in any anxiety.
13. On June 29th 1536 Bucer wrote to Margaret Blaurer "Amicum pium et longe doctissimum nacti sumus, Joannem Sturmium."
- 14./

14. Letter from Bartholomaeus to Sturm (1540) "Tu ad medicinam te recte adjunxeras, si perrexisses et puto optimum consilium fuisse, tametsi pergasne an ad Jus Civile, tu quoque transieris, ex quo certe quantum non solum utilitatis ad Rempublicum sed etiam dignitatis afferatur, vides."
15. "Rhetoricorum ad C. Herrennium, lib IV." Preface by Sturm.
16. Sturm: Classicae Epistolae: 1.8.
17. Sturm: Pappus Elenchomenos, 106.
Also Sturm: Consolatio ad Senatum.
18. In his "Consolatio de morte Jacobi Sturmii"(1553) John Sturm paid a high tribute to him, "Inter auctores constituendi gymnasii princeps fuit," and recounted his great interest in and services to the school.
19. Bayle: Dictionnaire Historique et Critique (1720) wrote that the following inscription was to be seen in Strassburg - "Anno post Millesimum 538 depositis Armis et parata gravi inter Carolum V Imperatorem Rom. et Franciscum I. Galliarum Regem, discordia, S.P.Q. Argentin. juventuti Christianae religione et liberalibus disciplinis instituendae ludum literarium aperuit.
Praefecto primario Jacobo Sturmio
Rectore Joan. Sturmio."
20. Annual Brochure of the programmes of the Protestant Gymnasium of Strassburg (year 1881).
21. Sturm: Classicae Epistolae. 1. 5.
22. Ströbel "History" p.128 cited a letter of Sturm's to his father in which he declared that owing to the kindness of the Magistrates and the people he would never return to France unless the Church were reformed.
23. M.T. Ciceronis Epistolarum, libri tres. Preface by Sturm - to his brother James.
24. Joannes Sturmius Jacobo Sadoleto "Cardinali "Defecimus a vobis, sed non Ecclesiam deseruimus."
25. Corpus Reformatorum, X. 402.
26. Corpus Reformatorum, X.b 402.
27. C.R. X b 320.
Also Sturm - In Partitiones Oratorias Ciceronis: Preface.
- 28./

28. C.R. XI: 90. 103.
29. C.R. XI: 113.
30. *Miscellanea Groningana* V. ii. 193 "Rector fuerat et communis Germaniae magister, Johannes Sturmius."
31. C.R. Vol. XI. 594
32. G. Fabricii *Epistolae* (Leipsig 1845) p.21.
33. In a letter C.R. XVIIII 53 "Sturmius Regi Daniae Frederico II," 15th April, 1560 and headed "Relatio Conjuratationis Amboisiana," Sturm disclosed the conspiracy of Amboise to his patron.
34. Letter from Cecil to Sturm: 15th September, 1572.
35. Sleidan *Comment. de Statu religionis et Reipublicae* (1555) "Brevi tempore sic effloruit diligentia doctorum ut non solum extremi Germani sed exterarum quoque nationes eo confluere."

Also - Sweertius *Athen. Belg.* 75.

Also - Sturm "Partitiones Dialecticae" (1539) Preface.
36. For reference to this - "Johannis Sturmi et Gymnasii Argentoratensis Luctus ad J. Camerarium."
37. Fabricius wrote to Wolfgang, "Sturmius Argentorato exulare audivi et agere in Saxonia Brunsvigi."
38. Sturm: *De Educatione Principis*, 6.
39. "Interim" was the name given to certain decrees passed by diets during the Reformation in Germany to regulate differences between Protestants and Catholics, until a general council should meet. The reference here is to the "Augsbourg Interim," drawn up in 1547 by Roman Catholic and Protestant theologians. It proved unacceptable to either side.
40. In a letter to Ascham 15th June, 1551 he wrote, "Nihil tutum habemus praeter cogitationes, preces, vota, quae si gemitum aut voculam edant, suspiciosum est."
41. Sturm: *De Periodis*. Dedicatory Letter - "Tibi, Elizabetha, illustrissimo exemplo virginalis industriae et claritudinis mitto.....neque dubium mihi est quin ubi haec industria est; ibi lateat egregia quaedam indoles maximarum cogitationum."
42. Hallbauer (1727) "De Meritis Johannis Sturmi."

43. Toxites had to leave Strassburg later, because he would not submit to the "Interim". He carried Sturm's ideas to Brugg in Switzerland, where he was appointed school-master.

44. "Scripta Anglicana M. Bucerii" - Preface by Sturm to Walsingham (1577).

45. Gesner's Bibliotheca (1583) "Joannis Sturmi extant poemata varia et aliorum ad eundem."
also Sturm: Quarti Antipappi Pars Tertia - "versus quosdam quibus Argentinensi Episcopo gratulatus sum adventuro."

46. Letters to Ascham in 1550, 1551, 1553 and again in 1568 show that Sturm was at work on this and he complained of lack of time to complete his plans. "As for the books on Latin conversation, I am most eager to produce them but even if I had the talent, I have not the time and it is uncompleted with other works." (1550).

Gesner Bibliotheca (1583) "Sturmius nunc in manibus habet novem dialogos in Aristotelis Rhetoricam et resolutionem operum Ciceronis atque quae brevi edenda speramus."

P. Manutius writing to Sturm from Italy expressed the hope of soon seeing this great work.

47. This commenced "Johannes Calvinus, homo acutissimus, judicio summaque doctrina et egregia memoria praeditus est."

Sturm Antipappi ll. 3 "Ego meam sententiam in fronte ejus libri de Calvino affixi."

48. He had been tutor to Edward VI and during the reign of Mary took refuge in Strassburg.

49. 13th February 1561.

50. In a letter to Ascham (1564) he wrote, "Literae et musae non solum silent sed lugent etiam."

51. Compare letter from Lewin to Sturm, Sept. 8th 1576.

52. Ascham, letter to Sturm, 29th January 1552. "Ego tanquam Teucer clypeo tectus Sturmiiano."

53. He referred to Strassburg as "Veterem Spartam." (Ep. Oct. 20, 1552).

54. Ascham: Letter to Sturm, Oct. 20th 1562, "I pray God and shall pray every day that he will do honour not only to your name but to your learning and genius."
55. Ascham: Letter to Sturm, 21st August, 1551: asked him "aliquid dedicare lectissimae virgini tui semper (quod ego novi) et tuorum studiosissimae."
56. Ascham: Letter to Sturm, 2nd September, 1555.
57. Ascham: Letter to Sturm 4th April, 1550; entitled "De Nobilitate Anglicana."
58. Sturm: *Classicae Epistolae*, 11.8
59. C.R. XLV. 179.
60. Sturm: *Antipappi* 1V. 1. 23.24
61. It was 1621 before the University of Strassburg was established.
62. Sturm: *Linguae Latinae Resolvendae Ratio* (1573) p.139. In 1579 he saluted Bishop John of Manderscheid in Latin verse, rejoiced in the foundation of Catholic schools and wrote a preface to the treatise, by which his old friend Henry Schor inaugurated the Bishop's school at Saverne.
63. Sturm: *Antipappi*, 1V. 3, 176.
64. Wolley: to Sturm, 24th July, 1573.
(Zurich Letters - Cambridge (1845) 11. 135)
65. In 1565 Sturm welcomed the Italian, Alexander Citolinus, and in 1569 recommended to Queen Elizabeth, Cassiodorus the translator of the Bible in Spanish.
66. Sturm: "*Epistola Apologetica contra Jacobum Andream, alterum flagrum Aegyptium*" p.26.
67. Sturm protested vigorously against the charge of arrogance; in his "*Quarti Antipappi Pars Tertia*" he wrote, "I taught at Louvain, Paris and Strassburg from 1526 to this day. Ask, if you wish, write to any you please: you will not find one good man who will say that I am or ever was a proud dictator..... Not a few thousands have heard me teaching from 1526 until this time: name one who would call me arrogant."
68. Sturm: *Antipappi Quarti Pars Tertia*, "*Et mihi objicias viginti annorum neglectas conciones, cum una disputatiuncula/*

disputatiuncula, cui vix interfui, me prope perdidit."

69. Sturm: Epistola ad Siffertum 65, 66. "Quod psalmodias latinas reprehendant, cur impium sit in Latinis scholis ea modulari latine quae pium est in Germanicis concionibus germanice personare."
70. Sturm: Pappus Elenchomenos Primus.
71. Sturm: Quarti Antipappi Pars Tertia 148.
72. Jansen, History of the German People Vol. VIII. gives the following - "Andreas, who was much hated, drank a goblet of wine at one gulp without injury to himself, and boasted of his disgraceful drinking, in print, to Sturm. Sturm replied; "The Devil entered into Judas Iscariot as soon as he had eaten the sop, but his accursed belly did not burst, nor did his treacherous robber heart break until he had hung himself on the rope which he had carried long before in his bosom."
73. Sturm's edition of "In Artem Poeticam Horatii - Scholae -"
74. These are no longer extant since the burning of the library at Strassburg.
75. Teissier, Les Eloges des Hommes Savants Vol. IV. p.10 "Andrew Dudith was accustomed to say that Sturm with his Hermogenes had infatuated Germany."
76. Sturm: De Elocutione Rhetorica, Preface.
77. His testimonial to John Jonas of Moravia is signed by his Secretary Rogerus owing to his own blindness.
78. Sturm: "Psalmorum Explicatio Conradi Heresbachii." Preface.
79. Its title was "De Bello adversus Turcas perpetuo administrando, ad Rudolphum II. Imp. Commentarii sive Sermones Tres." (Jena 1598).
80. Sturm: Quarti Antipappi Pars Tertia 107.
81. There is an excellent copy in the National Library, Edinburgh.
82. Under the portrait is the epigram:-
"Corporis effigiem potui producere sculptor:
Mentem non potui: quam documenta docent."
83. At the age of 80 he is described as having "senilis in honesto vultu macies, ampla frons sed rugosa, prolixa/

prolixa barbae canicies, oculi rugis adductiores,
 nasus a supercilio depressus, in medio paulum
 prominens, e summitate rotundior, suavitas oris,
 cetera decora." Crusius Annales Suevici, 1596, ll. 828.

84. "Oratio Illustris et Generosi Domini, Joannis Comitiss
 ab Ostrorog..... " 9th March, 1581.

85. "Aeschinis et Demosthenis Orationes Contrariae" - Preface
 by Sturm. "Non solum non orator sed ne magister quidem
 sum ejus artis: neque non modo non magister sed ne quidem
 discipulus eruditus: studiosus tamen ejus cum artis tum
 etiam facultatis."

86. Sturm describes himself as willing to be the Horatian
 whetstone "qui alios acuere coner, exors ipse secandi."

CHAPTER 11.EDUCATION BEFORE THE TIME OF STURM.

Education in the Middle Ages - The Renaissance in Italy and in Germany - Erasmus and Vives - the Brethren of the Common Life - Liège - early German humanists - Melanchthon - Luther - education in Strassburg.

Before describing the organisation of education which Sturm effected in Strassburg, it is necessary to consider the state of school education at the time when he reached the city and the influences which affected him.

During the Middle Ages the Church wished to drive out all Classical learning but had nothing to put in its place. Dialectic and Rhetoric became the principal subjects of study and stagnation of Latin learning followed. Still Scholasticism was a perfectly logical system well suited to the times, in which it flourished, and producing men of great ability, but, like the Latin Renaissance, it outgrew its usefulness. Sturm himself says, "We ought not to despise Thomas Aquinas nor Lombardus nor even Scotus; for they were keen logicians. Every thorn has its rose and serves some purpose." At the close of the Middle Ages, nearly every town in Germany had one or more schools - cathedral schools for the clergy and parochial schools to prepare for the duties of Church membership. In most commercial cities, secular education was quite independent of the church. The Nobles and citizens were often well-instructed in Grammar, Rhetoric, Dialectic and in Latin; and town schools paid special attention to the mother tongue, history and geography.

The Renaissance, following on the re-discovery of the literature of Greece and Rome, resulted in a quickened and more general interest in education and in the spread of its benefits/

benefits to countries and people who had never before known them.

Yet the literary Revival was only one evidence of the great change from Mediaeval to Modern which was coming to Europe, - a change due to three discoveries and one invention - the discovery of Greek Literature, of the Western World, of Copernican Astronomy, and the invention of printing. Italy first welcomed the ancient literature for its new ideal of life. The aim of education swung back to the earlier Graeco - Roman desire for the perfect citizen and to the belief in a liberal education. Humanists thought that the present could be regenerated by a study of the past and that the teachings of classical literature should be held as authoritative in all relations of life. Great stress was laid on the training of the young to proper habits. Cicero became the model for 15th and 16th Century humanists and he has influenced higher education, especially in France and England, to this day. His aim was the perfection of the individual - the Roman orator as against the Greek Philosopher. Quintilian, who was not only a writer on education but a professional teacher, greatly influenced the practice of education. His "Institutio Oratoria" was not rediscovered until the year 1481, but all humanists were steeped in it. In many ways his influence on Sturm and other humanist educators can be seen. He was strongly in favour of public schools as against private teaching; he condemned corporal punishment as servile; he held it to be the duty/

duty of the teacher to ascertain the ability of each of his pupils, shown mostly by imitation and memory; he insisted on correct speaking and the art of composition; he believed that examples are always better than precept and regarded the use of Imitation as essential in Composition. High moral character, was, in his view, all important in a teacher, for whom he held up the ideal, "minime iracundus, simplex in docendo, patiens laboris, assiduus potius quam immodicus." The whole system, in fact, was directed towards individual self-culture through the reading and study of Latin and Greek authors. Though it soon tended to degenerate into formalism in its devotion to style rather than to content, the education of the Italian Renaissance established the methods of Classical education and of the training of the governing classes, which have continued to the present day. The Renaissance spirit, when it crossed the Alps, was directed more towards the improvement of social life than to the perfection of the individual and, from the beginning, was closely connected with the idea of promoting a purer form of religion in place of the ignorant superstition, which everywhere prevailed. Germany and the rest of Western Europe were 100 years behind Italy socially and politically. There the Renaissance had not reached the masses of the people, but the Reformation, to which it was now linked, was a popular and national movement. At the beginning of the 16th Century, the Universities were doing very elementary work. All instruction was given in corrupt/

corrupt monks' Latin; Greek and Hebrew were ignored and Latin Classics little read. Aristotle's philosophy was taught through poor Latin translations; scholastic theology was studied, but little attention was given to composition and rhetoric; disputation was the only method of teaching. In the library of Paris, at the beginning of the 14th Century, there was not one copy of Cicero's works. The University authorities were bigoted and intolerant. In fact, pure Latinity roused suspicion. "It is not for the dignity of holy writ and our profession, that we should be compelled to follow any grammar rules." Barbarous Latin was sufficient for University degrees, which were despised. It was not until 1520 that Humanism triumphed in the Universities and even then not in the University of Paris.

All writers on education insisted on piety and learning as the aim of education. As in Italy, the reformers believed that this could be attained only through a close study of Latin and Greek Literature, and a knowledge of the ideals of Rome and Greece. Erasmus was mainly responsible for the spread of humanistic theories of education throughout Western Europe. His views, like those of his contemporary Vives, were largely based on Quintilian and Plutarch. He wished attention directed to the spirit, not merely to the form of Classical literature and was firmly convinced that through its study a Universal church, a Universal Empire and a Universal language could be established. He laid great stress on the training/

training of character "through a liberal Christian education, on intellectual as opposed to physical excellence, and advocated a uniform curriculum for all up to the age of 18 years, by a private tutor or in a small school.

The most distinguished teachers of the time owed their system and practice largely to the Brethren of the Common Life. This body, first established in Holland by Groote during the 14th century, had, in 1470, 50 schools where they introduced an organised curriculum in place of the confused and uncontrolled assembly of pupils, which had characterised the Middle Ages. The features common to both Catholic and Protestant Secondary Schools of the Renaissance and Reformation period are to be traced to them - the careful grading of pupils into 6 or 8 or more classes; prescribed readings for each class from the best classical authors; general supervision by a Rector; the employment of skilled teachers; the division of the school into two sections, an elementary for reading, writing, grammar, Arithmetic and a higher for Literature, Rhetoric and Dialectic; the study of the Scriptures; the germs of Modern subjects. One of their most famous schools was that of Liège which had a curriculum of eight classes as follows:- In the first (or lowest) class the pupils learned to read and write, to decline and conjugate in Latin grammar. In the next three classes, the different parts of Latin grammar were learned, with the explanation of some Latin authors and exercises on style. In the fourth, the elements of Greek were taught. In the fifth/

fifth, Greek Grammar was completed and lessons on rhetoric and dialectic were commenced. These studies were continued and completed in the sixth and stress was laid on the imitation of classical authors. The "Organon" of Aristotle and some treatises of Plato were read in the seventh class; elementary mathematics following Euclid, and the elements of Law were also studied.

In the eighth, the course was completed with theology and exercises in composition, declamation and disputation. The junior classes had, each, one single teacher, but, in the two highest, specialists were engaged. At this time, each class had 200 pupils; these were divided into groups of ten, each under a section leader or decurio, who had to supervise the studies and conduct of his fellow pupils. There was yearly promotion from one class to another and to prevent suspicion of partiality, any pupil, not allowed to advance, could question the others. The two first pupils in each class received rewards and, from time to time during the session, book prizes were given, bought from money contributed by the pupils. Theatrical performances, either of classical plays or dramas written for the occasion, were frequently held to provide recreation and improve Latin speaking. Sturm himself, while a pupil at this school, had been greatly impressed by the thoroughness of their methods. When he came to put forward his own plan for a school curriculum, he deliberately chose the scheme of the Brethren of the Common Life in preference to/

to the reactionary tendencies of the University of Paris.

Germany was one of the last of the countries of Europe to be influenced by the Renaissance, which, probably owing to the invention of printing, here took a more bookish form. The earliest humanists in Germany were all classical teachers who saw in Classical education the promotion of theology and piety. The Renaissance not only improved the University but created Secondary Education and the Reformers joined with Humanists in demanding the propagation of public education, and the founding of colleges and of primary schools. In the rise of towns, interest began to be taken in the foundation of schools under the patronage of the local Councils. Towards the end of the 15th century nearly every large town had its own school. In some cases, these developed into State systems, of which Saxony was the first (1528). The earliest of the German humanists were probably Johan Wessel (1420 - 1489) who studied in Greece and Italy and knew Latin, Greek, Hebrew; Johan Muller (1436 - 1476) and Rudolph Agricola, who learned Greek in Italy and lectured on the Classics at Heidelberg. His treatise on Education (1484) did much to advance the study of classics in Germany. Reuchlin published his Hebrew Grammar in 1506. These scholars did not concern themselves with methods, leaving these to teachers and pupils, but their ideas were later formed into more or less complete systems. Philip Melancthon by his lectures, text books, organising power and personality, rightly/

rightly gained for himself the title "Praeceptor Germaniae." Of his own education he says, "While yet a boy, I was sent to the University, but the young men were taught scarcely anything except "garrula dialectice" and "particula physice." Inasmuch as I had learned to write verse, with a kind of boyish avidity, I began to read the poets, and also history and the drama. This habit gradually led me to the ancient classics. From these I acquired a vocabulary and style, but we boys had no instruction in composition. We read everything without discrimination, but especially did we prefer modern works like those of Politian. My style took its complexion from these and reproduced these harsher and less polished authors rather than the grace and beauty of the ancients." It was in 1518, in his inaugural address at Wittenberg, that he proclaimed the great need of classical studies in Germany to regenerate society and lead to a better theology. "Rude and uncultured men," he said, "declare that classical studies are more difficult than useful; that Greek is studied only by disordered intellects and, that too, for display; and that Hebrew is of little account. All public and private life is profited by a study of history. Homer is the source of all learning among the Greeks and Vergil and Horace among the Romans. Theology must be studied by the aid of Greek and Hebrew..... Cultivate the old Latins and embrace the Greeks. To the inculcation of such studies I now devote myself." His programme for Eisleben (1525) is/

is the oldest Protestant school curriculum extant. In it he advised three classes. The first class formed the elementary school - with reading and writing; the second was devoted chiefly to grammar, Terence and Vergil, and in the third class, Rhetoric and Dialectic, Erasmus's "De Copia," Livy, Sallust, Vergil, Horace and Cicero were studied, while some pupils took up Greek and Hebrew. All through the school Music was given one hour daily, religious instruction was taken on Sundays, and Mathematics was considered desirable but ruled out through lack of time. The chief object was the ability to read, write and speak good Latin. Melanchthon inaugurated the first State system of Education in Saxony on the same principles. He gave advice to 56 cities concerning the foundation of schools. Amongst others, Trotzenberg's school at Goldenberg in 1531 was directly based on his ideas and used his text books. Its aim was the speaking and writing of Latin. Grammar, Rhetoric, Dialectic were taken with the study of Terence, Plautus, Cicero, Vergil and Ovid. Religious instruction and Music appeared in the curriculum, but Arithmetic and Natural Philosophy were looked on as novelties. All over Germany, a demand for higher Education was arising and though for a time Luther, in spite of his advanced ideas on compulsory education, actually depressed learning, the Reformers generally realised that only by its help could the principles of the Reformation be spread. Luther insisted that good schools alone would remove monkish ignorance.

"Had I children," he said, "I should make them learn not only languages and history but also singing and mathematics." In 1524 he wrote an open letter, "To the Burgomasters and Town Councillors of all German cities urging them to establish and maintain schools", owing to their decline through the religious revolution.

Strassburg, before the Renaissance, had a Franciscan school, which was celebrated especially for theology and Architecture, but the Revival spirit did not at first penetrate and among humanists this line was commonly quoted, "Doctrina vacuis est urbs Strassburgia mater." Jacob Wimpheling, the first humanist in Strassburg, published short treatises on Grammar and Rhetoric, and in 1501 endeavoured to found a lay school but without success. The demand was renewed in 1504 and in 1507. He gave the true impulse to education in Alsace by insisting on a moral, national and literary instruction, serious supervision of conduct and a practical tendency in study. In 1509 a Latin school was attached to the Cathedral and a new Latin grammar published by Guebwiler, its teacher. In 1515 a teacher of Greek was procured. The Reformation took place at Strassburg without trouble owing to the wisdom of its leading men, especially James Sturm. One of its first results was the establishment of preparatory schools for the people and higher schools leading to the church and public service. In 1524 Otto Brunfels, a well known humanist, and the author of/

of several pamphlets on Education, founded a Latin school in place of the Cathedral school. The subjects of study with him were religion, philosophy and eloquence, and he insisted on the reading of classical authors, but his ideas lacked plan or method. Texts were explained and Rhetoric taught without preparing pupils by lessons on Grammar, so that they were unable to write correctly or speak with ease in pure Latin. No discrimination nor progressive order was observed and Cicero especially was neglected. No connection existed between the classes and discipline was very lax. At the same time public lectures were given by some of the pastors and canons of St. Thomas - Hedion taught history and theology, Herlin Mathematics, Geography and Rhetoric, and Caselius Hebrew; but still there was no organisation or unity. Later, Brunfels' scheme was reorganised, and classes were separated - one for Latin Grammar, and two others for the explanation of Latin and Greek authors, composition, declamation, plays, music and physical exercises. Two other Latin schools were afterwards opened and attracted many pupils. In 1534 the Council began to think seriously about the proper organisation of education, forbade the opening of new schools and appointed visitors to inspect existing schools. Their report showed that the teachers had too many pupils and that the same master was compelled to teach too many subjects. They advised that the Latin schools should be united into one school large enough for the needs of Strassburg, so that all who could already read and write the/

the mother tongue might be admitted, and that the lower schools should be kept as they were. The Council then carefully considered the appointment of a learned man with the title of Rector to undertake the organisation of the public education of the city. This was the state of education in Strassburg on the arrival of Sturm. He found a free field, happily prepared by the efforts made through his predecessors, for his energy and ability, and for the ideas he had gained in the Belgian schools and matured in the University of Paris.

NOTES.

1. Sturm - Ratio Linguae Latinae Resolvendae p.140.
2. Erasmus: Encomium moriae.
3. Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum ll. 46. 58.
4. Erasmus in "Ratio Verae Theologiae" wrote that to understand the scriptures, "I have no hesitation in saying we must master Latin, Greek and Hebrew."
5. Sturm paid a strong tribute to Erasmus in his Preface to M.T. Viceronis Orationum Volumina Tria.
"Fuit in eo incredibilis memoria..... Quid de diligentia in elaborando, constantia in perseverando, prudentia in iudicando dicam?..... Quis vero illo tempore, quo ille scribere coepit, acutius iudicavit, quis etiam copiosius et politius scripsit, cujus exemplo atque autoritate non solum Germania, sed etiam Gallia, Italiaque partim excitata, partim confirmata, multos habuit et patronos et studiosos literarum."
6. Sturm: Vita Beati Rhenani. "Quamquam in Germania eo tempore infantia adhuc studiorum et literarum erat. Nam praeter Rudolphum Agricola, Alexandri Hegii magistrum et Erasmum Roterodamum, Hegii discipulum, Germania nihil magnum atque praeclarum in literis viderat."
7. Sturm: Academicae Epistolae l. 8.
"Philippus Melanchthon, quem honoris causa nomino, cum alia multa scripsit praeclare, tum in exemplorum explicatione et acutus fuit et perspicuus: quos tu libros discipulis commendabis, ut domi legant; non enim explicatorem maximopere requirunt, lectore contenti diligentiores."
8. Sturm: De Educatione Principis, 3. "Nam quae nostrorum fuit temporum infelicitas, vel potius miseria, quam multa nobis proposita pueris fuerant, quae non erant necessaria? quam inutilia? quam mala? quam barbara? quam etiam nullo ordine? quam nulla via et ratione?"
9. Melanchthon, Corpus Reformatorum lV. 715.
10. Melanchthon, Corpus Reformatorum. XXVI. 90.
11. Hartfelder: Melanchthonia Padagogica.
12. Zwingli in "The Christian Education of Boys " (1523) advocated/

advocated Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Scripture, and also nature study, arithmetic, music, physical exercises.

13. Sturm: *Academicae Epistolae* l. i. "Litterae in nostra urbe restabant, quas contenti puerili instituto..... majores nostri a vicinis academiis, eo liberis vestris missis, maluerant accipere, quam domi perfectum aliquid instituere, ut tunc ferebant tempora."
14. Wimpfeling's "Germania" (1501) was an appeal to the town council of Strassburg to promote education by the institution of a school, in which the New Learning would be recognised.
15. Wimpfeling wrote, "The better education of the young is the foundation of all true reform, ecclesiastical, national, domestic," and "Let study be for the quickening of independent thought."
16. Herminjard: *Correspondances des Reformateurs* l. 404, 433, publishes two letters dated December 1525 and June 1526, which show that higher teaching already existed in Strassburg. In the latter there is the sentence, "On a commence à s'occuper ici de la création d'une école supérieure, comme tu dois le savoir, et l'on a nommé un professeur pour le grec et un autre pour l'hébreu; en attendant, Capiton et Bucser continuent avec les trois derniers."
17. Brunsfels wrote "Aphorismi Institutionis Puerorum" (1519), "De Corrigendis Studiis" (1519), "Catechesis Puerorum in Fide, Litteris, Moribus" (1528) - a complete treatise on the principles and organisation of public education.

CHAPTER 111.THE AIM AND ORGANISATION OF EDUCATION.

Aim of humanist educators in Germany - Sturm and educational psychology - organisation of public education in Strassburg - the school plan in nine classes - higher courses - management of the school - subjects of the curriculum - promotion - prizes - conduct and health of students - size of classes - elementary education - school and University - education of women - reorganisation of 1565 - the Laningen Scheme - the Military Academy - Sturm as organiser.

The Renaissance reformulated the idea of a liberal education, but, while in the South of Europe this meant self-culture, in Germany less attention was paid to the physical, intellectual and aesthetic side and more to the moral and religious. This is shown by the changed attitude of the 16th century compared with the 15th. The latter was a period of appreciation, with literary and aesthetic interests; the former combined criticism with ethical and theological controversies. From the 15th century onwards four tendencies can be observed, - (1) an endeavour to make education practical and natural instead of abstract and theoretical; (2) care of the body, formerly so neglected; (3) the extension of learning to all classes, not merely to the clergy; (4) gentler methods of teaching and discipline. German Protestant Educators stressed the sense of duty to self, to the community and to God. The period, therefore, had the conception of a liberal education, embracing character, manners and instruction, self-expression rather than mere fact-knowledge, the training of a citizen of the world who could "perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices, both public and private of peace and war." German schools have always advocated the promotion of a better and purer religion and their ideal is stated as the making of "God-fearing, patriotic, self-supporting citizens." There was the danger, however, that the Humanistic aim might become narrow and connote Education in/

in terms of language and literature rather than of life.

Sturm gave clear expression to the views of German Humanism. The aim of education he stated unhesitatingly as "Pietas Litterata" - first, Religion, because it contains all other virtues, and second, learning; or again as honourable life, learning, a ready pen, pure, graceful speech; or as "Dei cognitio, sapientia, virtus" - good life, good thought, good speech. He regarded learning as of little use without training in morality and strove to direct the will of his pupils towards God, to develop their intelligence and so contribute to the general good. Like Erasmus, he regarded education as the principal factor in moral, religious and social reform, and, with that object, endeavoured to inspire charity, desire for peace, devotion, love of good, modesty in dress and behaviour. In founding the new school at Strassburg, the Council set forth its aim as Religion, Learning, Discipline. Sturm, however, encouraged by his own success, laid stress on education for men of affairs and the relation of moral and intellectual training with the facts of every-day existence, to be shown in consistent speech, well-grounded opinions and proper conduct. For practical purposes, eloquence, in the widest sense which Quintilian gave to the term, was regarded by Sturm as of the highest importance and it has often been alleged that with him "Eloquentia" triumphed over both "Sapientia" and "Pietas". The high aim for education, which

Sturm placed before himself, was consistent with the practical requirements of his time.

Vives was the first educator, who systematically employed psychology in education. Sturm, though not making such a claim, showed in his writings that he was alive to many of the problems of Educational Science. Like other humanists, he fully realised the importance of the early stages, he recognised that young children learn largely through imitation, that methods must be easy and pleasant, and that tasks must not be beyond the strength and natural powers of the child. He declared that pupils must be possessed of natural intelligence, for intellect and ability come by nature and birth and it is only inherent character, experience and training that bring wisdom. The nature of each child must be carefully studied and the methods adopted should be appropriate to the individual pupils.¹³ He believed that the authority of the teacher and practice at school could do much, for native ability must be supplemented by training and its lack could be compensated by skill and energy. Progress must be definite, because pupils could take no pleasure in learning until they saw what advance they were making, and all methods should be simple and short without unnecessary teaching. Anything grasped by the senses could be understood by the intelligence but continuous, intensive study would only cause disgust. He was anxious that all learning/

learning should be spontaneous so that the pupil might act rightly of his own accord. Desire of praise, might, at first, be used as an incentive through prizes and promotion, but it should not be encouraged as the student advanced to the higher subjects. All teaching should follow the course of nature and commence with language-training, while keeping clearly in view the close connection of all knowledge. The aim of learning should be regarded as not merely knowledge but the power of action.

Sturm's broad outlook saved him from the narrow theological aims of Calvin. He was inspired by the same enlightened spirit as Erasmus and Vives, whose educational ideas he carried on and put into practical effect; but he went further than they, in the stress he laid on self-expression in speech and writing.

The scene of Sturm's life and work was the city of Strassburg, the home of broad-minded reform, open to the most recent thought and learning of the time, and he was fortunate in having, as his warm supporter, the famous James Sturm, whose enlightened zeal in the interest of education he so often acknowledged and praised. John Sturm set to work to organise ideas, which were as yet scattered and to inspire into them the spirit of the Brethren of the Common Life. He formed a complete programme of studies, aroused the interest of the authorities and had/

had in the Scholarchs a real Committee of Public Instruction. He had quite a definite conception of his purpose - piety, knowledge and eloquence -, and his organisation was directed to that end. He advised that all the smaller schools, except in some outlying parts of the city, should be suppressed and all the scholars concentrated in one large school; and he called on the Council to provide teachers and to finance the school from Church funds. His work, generally, was to substitute a progressive scheme for disorganised confusion, a language for a jargon, and the natural expression of human thought in place of the stupid mechanism of formulae.

For his purpose, he adopted the school plan, which he had seen so successful at Liège, based on the scheme of the Brethren of the Common Life, and he proposed that it should be completed by a higher course of University subjects - the whole dependent on progressive instruction in the Latin language. Such an organisation was quite in accord with the social, moral and religious requirements of the time; in fact, the Classical Secondary School or Gymnasium as fully supplied the popular demand then, as the Modern Technical School does now. In his "De Ludis Litterarum Recte Aperiendis" (1538) Sturm gave an exhaustive account of his school and college plan. Boys entered at the age of 6 or 7 years and for the nine years of boyhood followed a uniform course through nine classes. The Ninth (or lowest) class/

class was taught writing and drawing of letters, reading and control of the voice, proper pronunciation, the Catechism and morality, the inflection of nouns and verbs, the easier "Letters of Cicero." In the Eighth, a more intensive study of Latin Grammar was taken during two hours daily for six months. Vergil's "Georgics" and Cicero's "Letters" were studied during the other two hours of the school day throughout the session. In the second six months, instruction was given in the rules of connected speech. The Seventh class studied the quantities of words and syllables with a view to verse-making, and read Cicero's "De Amicitia" and "De Senectute" for eloquence and morality, Vergil's "Aeneid" and selections from Horace, Catullus and Tibullus, Composition based on the pupils' reading, Nonsense Verses. These three years Sturm wished to be devoted to the study of clear, Latin speech. In the Sixth Class, all the previous work was revised. The authors now studied were Vergil, Horace, Catullus; Terence, Plautus, Cicero and Caesar - two hours daily being devoted to this during the whole session, while the remaining two hours of the school day were given to Composition, based on imitation of Vergil and Cicero especially. In the Fifth Class, Greek was started and by one hour's study daily the regular grammar, Aesop's "Fables" and the "Olynthiacs" of Demosthenes were overtaken during the year. Two hours were given to the study of Cicero's "De Officiis," "Pro Lege/

lege Manilia" or "Pro Q. Ligario" and of Vergil's "Aeneid", while, during the remaining hour, composition was taken and Rhetoric studied in Sturm's own works or in those of Cicero and Hermogenes. The same subjects were continued in the Fourth Class - Demosthenes and Cicero during the first period, Homer and Vergil for the next, Greek Grammar in the third and Composition and Rhetoric through Cicero's "Partitiones" and the "Ad Herennium" Book 1. in the fourth. In the Third Class, Sallust, Caesar and Livy occupied one period and a closer study of Rhetoric was carried on through Cicero's "Topica", Hermogenes' "De Statibus" and the speeches of Demosthenes and Aeschines. A commencement was made with Dialectic in Aristotle's works. The Second Class continued the study of Rhetoric, Dialectic and Composition (oral and written) and read Cicero, Aristotle and Plato. In the First Class, the same authors and subjects were studied as in the Second but more intensively, and Arithmetic, Geography, Geometry and Astrology were learned from the books of Mela and Proclus. In all classes considerable attention was given to Religious Instruction in the story of Christ, the Apostles and Moses and to the Catechism in German, Latin, Greek or Hebrew, according to the class. Rhetoric and Philosophy were used to illustrate the teaching of religion, singing was taught to all pupils by Hymns and Chants, and Gymnastics was taken throughout the school. In the Higher Courses, all that could be done by the/

the students themselves was left to private study. In the Arts course, which all students took, the reading of classical authors was the principal study - Cicero, Caesar, Sallust, Horace, Vergil, Ovid and Lucretius in Latin, and Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Euripides, Sophocles, Aeschylus, Homer, Hesiod, Pindar and Theocritus in Greek. Philosophy included Dialectic, Ethics, Politics, Physics, Mathematics, Medicine, Natural History, Anatomy and Botany. The study of Law was based on the books of Justinian and later commentaries on his works. Professors were to be appointed to teach Divinity, Law, Medicine, Mathematics, History, Poetry, Dialectic, Rhetoric and Grammar. Sturm insisted that the student of any one branch must devote some time to other subjects; for example, in Divinity, Law and Medicine, the student must, during his daily studies extending over four hours, give some attention to general instruction as well as to his own special department. In both school and public courses, Declamations and Disputations were held twice a month.

In the management of this organisation, the Rector was to be chosen from the Professors and, subject to the scholars, arrange the Time Table, so that all confusion would be avoided. He was to preserve the rules of the Academy and supervise the choice of authors and the methods of teaching. He must be a scholar of repute and dignified enough to maintain discipline with students and professors, and/

and he must prevent the school falling into barbarism by the use of Epitomes instead of the Classical authors themselves, the only sources of philosophy and eloquence. The Doyen assisted the Rector, taking charge especially of the examination of candidates for degrees and supervising the exercises in declamation and discussion. The three Visitors were designed to aid the Rector and Doyen in maintaining good methods of teaching and to visit all classes and subjects daily. The Masters and Professors, with the Visitors, formed the School Council (Conventus Academicus), which the Rector had the right of summoning, to discuss all questions relating to studies and discipline and to recommend candidates for vacant posts.

It will be seen from the scheme that Latin and, to a less degree, Greek formed the main part of the curriculum and that Sturm's practical object was Eloquence, that is, the skilful use of Latin for writing or speaking. While Religious Instruction, Music and Gymnastics were taken by all pupils, Mathematics and Science were evident more on paper than in practice. A Report on the school was issued in 1556 by Peter Dasypodius, one of the Masters, and this shows that the range of study was not so wide as Sturm claimed, even in the reading of Latin and Greek authors, particularly in the lower classes. Sturm insisted that three subjects, or better still only two, should be taken in/
in/

in one day, in the belief that more progress would thus be made than by dissipating energy over seven or eight different subjects. Promotion might take place twice annually, the main period being October, which was carefully chosen as not having the disadvantage either of summer or of winter. Two prizes were awarded to the most proficient pupils in each class, but any who were dissatisfied with the decision, might challenge the prize-winners. If successful, they also received prizes; if defeated, they returned to their places without any discredit. Reports on the work and conduct of the pupils were sent to their parents every three months, and, if students were permitted to visit other Universities, they had to submit certificates each year as to their progress. Sturm believed that a boy was more injured by being promoted prematurely than by remaining in the same class, even if fit for a higher; but on the recommendation of teachers, he would authorise exceptional promotions at any time. Prayers were taken morning and evening and careful attention was paid to the morals and religious observances of the pupils. The conduct and manners of school boys have been described as very bad at this period, especially in Germany, and Sturm devoted himself to the improvement of these not only by rules forbidding the use of weapons, bad language, luxurious dress, but by the supervision of the houses, in the which the pupils lodged and the establishment of hostels in the city/

city under the school authorities. Unpunctuality and absence without excuse were looked on as serious faults, to be met with corporal punishment. The Germans were not alive to the advantages of fresh air and ventilation, but Sturm preserved the health of the students by physical exercises, excursions into the country, limitation of home lessons and the regulation of morning and afternoon studies. School Fees were paid three months in advance and Sturm made a special appeal for maintenance grants either from the State or private citizens on behalf of poor students. It must be remembered, however, that he was thinking not of the actually poor but of the relatively poor of the middle and upper classes. Sturm did not consider universal education for all classes - in fact, it would not have been possible under his scheme. Education of the people, as a whole, was an idea of much later birth. Even Locke considered that the labouring classes did not require education. But such school programmes, as that of Sturm, did make a much wider provision for education than was given until quite recent years. In Germany, at this period, there was one Gymnasium to every 10,000 inhabitants and in recent years one to every 100,000 of the population, and in England the figures were one to every 8000 in 1546 and one to every 23,000 in 1865.

Classes of 100 or 200 pupils were quite common in the large schools, such as Strassburg, Geneva or Bordeaux.
This/

This was met by having several sections in each class, supervised by a pupil acting as "Decurio" and taking some part in the instruction of his section. At first the numbers in Strassburg were not so great, but later, owing to the increasing popularity of the school, two teachers were appointed to each class. Sturm was strongly of opinion that not all boys were suited for higher education and he wished to exclude the unfit, after taking careful means of testing talent and trying every incentive, even corporal punishment, to arouse latent ability. He declared that he gave his plan a thorough trial in all the classes, before putting it fully into operation, and that every day he was reading, hearing or teaching something throughout the school. For the success of his scheme, he claimed the support of magistrates and parents and required a close study of the Latin language and a sound preparatory education. Elementary Education, in the sense in which we know it, did not exist at that time and was the outcome of ideas set loose by the French Revolution.

It was only in the nineteenth century that a hard and fast line began to be drawn between the school and University. Sturm's pupils passed naturally from the First Class of the school to the public course for a further five years' study during adolescence, when, as Sturm said, "the human mind can grasp an inconceivable amount of knowledge." In these courses, each student specialised in his own subjects but also gained a general knowledge of all; in particular, Sturm/

Sturm stressed the importance of Oratory for all destined to a public or professional career. The whole edifice, he realised, depended for success on the Professors and teachers, for whom he asked generous treatment at the hands of the Council.

This was the dominant type of grammar school during the Renaissance-Reformation period. A comparison with other school plans during this time, with, for example, the sketchy schemes of Crammer and Wolsey in England, shows how highly organised and efficient Sturm's arrangements were.

This school with its single uniform curriculum, a day school under State control and largely free from ecclesiastical influence, was the model for the Renaissance period and for about 300 years after. Like other educators of his time, Sturm had no thought for the higher education of women. Though Christianity had improved their position and outlook, there was no demand as yet for such education. Many women, especially in Italy and England, such as Queen Elizabeth, Lady Jane Grey, the daughters of Sir Thomas More and Ethelreda Cecil in the latter, won renown for their scholarship but through private teaching. The schools were open only to boys.

The competition of the Jesuits and the criticism of the Professors compelled Sturm to re-organise this plan 27 years later, in 1565, when he issued his "Classicae Epistolae sive Scholae/

Scholae Argentinenses restitutae" and his "Epistolae Urbanae." These took the form of letters to the Council and to his staff, prescribing changes and improvements. "Although," as he said, "I shall write nothing different from what I laid down in the book, "De Litterarum Ludis Recte Aperiendis", yet I shall go a little higher and proceed further." Objections had been raised to the attempt to reach perfect Latin, to the use of Latin plays and psalms, and it was said that the exclusively Latin system made progress in higher subjects very slow - Sturm replied that this was due to the faults of the teachers who, through lack of proper methods, had not given his plans a fair chance, but he realised that his early programme was insufficient to revive classical Latin and modified it so as to give a richer vocabulary, more rapid progress in grammar, rhetoric and dialectic, more reading and practice. He added a 10th class to the school and arranged for regular promotion twice yearly, that the bright pupils might advance more quickly. He systematised text-books, increased the exercises in Latin conversation and declamation, and made further efforts to improve the manners of the pupils by stricter rules of discipline in both school and college. Greek was studied, but not to as high a point as Latin, and more attention was given to Mathematics and Science - subjects, which were claiming a greater share in school and University work. Sturm took a first step towards the training of teachers by/

by advocating more advanced and intensive study of Latin and Greek for those who intended to enter the profession, deplored the neglect of poor scholars and expressed regret at the quarrels of Professors and ministers, which were injuring the prestige of the school. He realised that there was overlapping between the school and the higher courses, and he endeavoured to develop and coordinate the public lectures. This reorganisation required the appointment of additional teachers of Dialectic and Rhetoric, and more attention to the Inductive Sciences of Medicine, Physics, Astronomy and, especially, Mathematics. While Peter Dasypodius had reported in 1556 that this subject was quite neglected, Conrad Dasypodius, from 1565 onward, taught it very fully in the First and Second Classes and throughout the University Course.

In the same year, Sturm was invited to found a Gymnasium at Laningen in Bavaria. In his "Scholae Lavinganae", he has left a record of the arrangements he made there. He had to compress the work into five classes, so that the speaking of Latin and the writing of Greek might be learned in five years. There was the same promotion throughout the classes and the same higher courses with lectures on theology, jurisprudence, politics, dialectic, rhetoric, physics and mathematics. In the fifth class pupils learned to read Latin, the fourth and third classes were devoted to grammar and exercises in style, in the Second, Greek was commenced with rhetoric/

rhetoric and dialectic, to be completed in the first class.

Sturm was constantly trying to improve the education of the city. Even in 1580, just before his dismissal, he wished to develop the medical course by lectures on Anatomy, *Materia Medica* and Botany, and to form Botanic Gardens, for which, however, the Council refused funds. He arranged for the proper housing of James Sturm's library and the opening of an improved lecture room. Even his last years, when his blindness prevented him from reading and writing, were devoted to a treatise on the institution of a Military Academy, which boys were to enter at the age of 12 and where they were to receive instruction in law, history, medicine, ancient literature, rhetoric, and dialectic, besides the use of arms and physical exercises. He believed that this "lettered cohort" would give an example of courage, devotion and discipline, which would soon free Europe from the Turkish menace. This scheme which was published after his death but never put into practice, though it probably influenced Milton's "Tractate on Education," Sturm referred to as "*Delicium et dulce decus meum*."

The Strassburg Gymnasium had too many subjects to be a Secondary School and too few to be a University. When, after many requests, the Emperor gave the higher courses the status of an Academy in 1565, the power of obtaining degrees was confined/

confined to students of philosophy. In spite of this, Sturm's school became the most influential in Germany and probably in Europe. His general administration, his improved and systematised methods of instruction, his well-graded text books, his efficient pupils, whom he had put in charge of other schools, won for him the highest reputation as a schoolmaster and attracted students to Strassburg from every country in Europe. He was inspired by a conviction of the permanence and usefulness of his organisation, which was justified by the immense power exercised by this one school in the history of European education. He well deserved the title conferred on him by Morhof, the Polyhistor,

"Suo tempore communis fere scholarum moderator."

NOTES.

1. Luther wrote, "Had I children, I should make them learn not only languages and history but also singing, music and mathematics. If parents refuse to send their children to school, they must be made to do so." (Letter to the Magistrates.)
 2. M.T. Ciceronis Orationum volumen Tertium (Strassburg 1558).
Sturm in his preface wrote, "Si enim artes non solum propter utilitatem sed etiam propter honestatem discendae sunt....."
 3. Milton, "Tractate on Education." i.e. "Of Education to Master Samuel Hartlib" p 6.
 4. Luther's advice was, "See to it that your children above all things are instructed in divine things, that you first dedicate them to God and then to worldly matters."
In England, too, the aim of education was distinctly religious. Colet wrote in St. Paul's Statutes (1519), "My intent is, by this school, especially to increase knowledge and worshipping of God and Our Lord Jesus Christ."
 5. Russell: German Higher Schools XI.
 6. "Aristotelis De Moribus." (Strassburg 1545).
Sturm in his preface - "Sed dux actionum prudentia est et doctrina..... Itaque quid agas, quid honestum turpeque sit scire oportet."
 7. Sturm: "Nobilitas Litterata": 12
 8. Hermogenes, De Ratione Inveniendi Oratoria libri iiii. Preface with notes by Sturm.
 9. Sturm, Scholae Lavinganae, Laws of the School -
"Scholae... quae officinae sunt virtutis, bonorum morum, pietatis, doctrinae, religionis."
 10. Sturm; Classicae Epistolae III. 2
 11. Sturm: Classicae Epistolae I. 1.
 12. Sturm: De Amissa Dicendi Ratione 18.
- M.T. Ciceronis Orationes (1578) with preface and notes by Sturm. In preface he says, "Vim magnam ars habet, ubi animum acrem et industrium semel erudivit."

13. Vives advocated the educational doctrine of differences of mental ability, the necessity of discovering the capacities of each pupil, and the help of teachers and others to strengthen these capacities
14. Erasmus had laid down the principle "Homines non nascuntur, sed finguntur" and "Educatio superat omnia."
15. Quintilian XI. 11
16. Sturm - "De Educatione Principis" 7. "Quodcumque aut fieri potest aut existere, simul de sensu percipitur, intelligentia potest comprehendere et notione aliqua notari."
17. Sturm: De Amissa Dicendi Ratione: p.420.
18. Sturm: De Educatione Principis 7.
19. Sturm: Consolatio ad Senatum Argentinensem de Morte Clarissimi et Nobilissimi viri, D. Jacobi Sturmii. "Inter autores constituendi gymnasii princeps fuit. Vos ejus meministis temporis cum in Bucerii aedibus de hac re ageretur; cum quidem eas rationes explicaret quibus melior ludus litterarum fieret, scitis vos quam facile, quam libenter eam formam, ubi audivisset, crediderit meliorem esse quam nunc habemus, quam quae tum erat commutanda."
20. Aristotle fixed the 5th year, Sturm between 6 and 7, Elyot the 7th, Quintilian and many humanists did not prescribe any particular age. Most of the Latin schools, especially in Protestant Germany, took pupils from the alphabet upwards. The Jesuits insisted on ability to read and write as a condition of entry to their schools.
Sturm: De Amissa Dicendi Ratione p.496.
21. "Schola Aquitanica, Programme d'Etudes du College de Guyenne au XVIth Siecle" Preface, - Vinet is quoted as saying that the College at Bordeaux had in its time of prosperity 12 classes and later 9, but that the best number was 10.
22. Sturm was a firm believer in the limitation of the hours of school or University to four or not more than five per day. With all other educators the school hours were very much longer. The Jesuits followed Sturm in this.
23. Sturm in Scholae Lavinganæ (Preface) described the qualities necessary to the Rector as "diligentiae, studii,/"

studii, industriae, doctrinae, quasi parentem alterum in hac vita."

24. Sturm Classicae Epistolae ll. 6. "Scholarchae a principio instituti nostri tres mihi adjunxerunt adjuutores, qui absente me aut occupato, curias omnes obirent, aut quos ego mihi advocarem, propter doctrinam et virtutem et auctoritatem in caussis gravioribus."
25. Schmidt: La Vie et les Travaux de Jean Sturm p. 148
26. Dasypodius reported that the books read were as follows:-

Class 8	-	Cicero's Select Letters, Book I.
Class 7	-	Cicero's Select Letters, Book II.
Class 6	-	Cicero's Select Letters, Book III.
Class 5	-	Cicero's Select Letters, Book IV.
Class 4	-	Cicero, De Senectute and De Amicitia, Vergil, Eclogues, Aesop (selection).
Class 3	-	Cicero, Pro Marcello, Ligario, Archia. Vergil, Aeneid I. II: Lucian (selection).
Class 2	-	Partitiones Dialecticae (Sturm) III. Vergil, Aeneid (one book), Cicero, Pro Roscio, Rabirio, Milone; Plato (one dialogue); Demosthenes, Olynthiaes.
Class 1	-	Partitiones Dialecticae III. IV. Demosthenes, Homer, Partitiones Oratoriae Ciceronis dialogi quatuor.

Sturm probably gave a list from which certain books were chosen each year. He suggested that the choice of books should be left to teacher and pupils, within the limits he laid down. Classicae Epistolae I. 9. "In Ciceronis orationibus, quarum delectum tibi concedimus atque discipulis tuis, quorum voluntati saepe obtemperandum est."

27. Sturm: Classicae Epistolae, Preface: "Si testimoniorum accedet necessitudo, non annua esse debet, sed trimestris."
28. Sturm: Classicae Epistolae III. 2.
29. At Geneva assistant masters were present at church with their pupils, called the register and had absentees punished next day. (Corpus Reformatorum - Leges Academiae Genevensis - 1559).
30. The German Jesuit Fathers drew a vivid picture of 16th Century boys - their roughness and noise. "If some one is not at hand, some one whom the scholars revere, then like a herd, all in a heap, they will fill the whole place/

place with their yells and uproar, their tussling, laughter and jostling." (Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica, V. 490)

31. Sturm: *Classicae Epistolae* lll. 5.
Similar rules were made at other schools and colleges, e.g. Leipzig (1458), Hawkshead - England (1585) and Aberdeen (1641), where warlike weapons of all kinds seem to have been used by the students.
 32. In most schools at this time boys were educated under wretched conditions. The Master alone was seated; the boys lay on straw, often filthy and verminous; while corporal punishment was brutal and demoralising. There is no evidence of this in Sturm's school.
Sturm: *Classicae Epistolae* lll. 4.
 33. Sturm: *Nobilitas Litterata*: 9. "Valetudinis magnam curam geri volo, propterea quod animus in bona corporis habitudine viget magis et acutius intelligit."
 34. Sturm: *Scholae Lavinganae*, 41. "Nihil hic longum esse debet praeter quietem nocturnam, qua haec aetas fraudanda non est."
 35. Sturm: *Classicae Epistolae* lll. 2
 36. Archbishop Cranmer advised the admission of the poor man's son to the grammar schools, "Poor men's children," he said, "are many times endued with more singular gifts of nature."
- In 1564 100 poor boys were supported in Strassburg partly by the public authorities, partly lodged with the citizens.
(Maurer, *Geschichte der Stadteverfassung*, lll. 78).
- Sturm made strict rules for repayment where the course was not completed. "Qui missi facti erunt, cum per facultates poterant, sumtus et impensae pecuniam dimidiam scholarhis rependunto." (*Classicae Epistolae* lll. 2).
37. Comenius was the first to demand universal education for all classes from infancy to manhood.
 38. A.F. Leach: "English Schools at the Reformation."
 39. In Bordeaux under Gouvea, "The classes, as in Paris, were formed like Roman legions and those who composed them were named like legionaries, by their ordinal adjective/

adjective, as the "Primani" who corresponded to actual rhetoricians and "Decumani" or beginners."

Jules Quicherat, "Histoire de Ste. Barbe," 232.

40. Sturm: Scholae Lavinganae - Leges VIII. "De adolescentibus, qui ad litterarum studia non sunt natura idonei, rector et gubernatores gymnasii parentes vel alios patronos, ad quos ea res pertinet, in tempore certiores faciunt, ne illi et sumtus cum tempore sine ullo fructu perdant: et ad aliud vitae genus sero decedere cogantur: utroque modo irrecuperabile detrimentum accepturi."
- of. Vives "De Tradendis Disciplinis" ll. 4 for similar views.
41. Sturm: Classicae Epistolae: ll. i.
42. Sturm: Classicae Epistolae III. i. "Itaque diem nullam intermittam, quin de scholis cogitem, quin aliquid vel doceam, vel scribam, vel classes obeam, quin etiam, quod nunc aliquibus forsitan ^{videtur} videtur, in institutis nostris, ego ostendam, posse fieri, et facile posse fieri, idque in curiis infimis, nedum superioribus.
43. At this period there were German (Deutsch) schools in existence in which German Scripture and a little Latin were taught. La Salle (1651 - 1719), the founder of the "Christian Schools" tried first to do for the lower classes what Sturm and the Jesuits did for the middle and upper classes.
44. The methods of instruction and the subjects in the Universities were similar to those of the schools. In Leipzig (1558) the course was - First Term (half-yearly), Greek and Latin Grammar, Dialectic, Poetry; Second Term - Grammar, Dialectic and Rhetoric; Third Term - Poetry, Rhetoric, Physics and Mathematics.
45. Sturm: Linguae Latinae Resolvendae Ratio, 602.
"Magnus eloquentiae usus est, cum in legationibus et rebus publicis administrandis, tum etiam imprimis in curandis ecclesiis, in refutandis Haereticorum argumentis et detegendis eorum insidiis."
46. "Letter of Advice and Direction addressed by Cardinal Wolsey to the Masters of Ipswich School, 1528."
Compare with Sturm's, the scheme for the Fifth Class.
"And now at length you wish to know what plan of teaching we should here prescribe. Your wish shall be indulged. One point, that we think proper to be noticed as of first importance, is that the tender age of youth be never urged with severe blows or harsh/

harsh threats, or indeed with any sort of tyranny..... with regard to what this form should be taught, your principal concern will be to lesson them in some select Epistles of Cicero; as none other seem to us more easy in their style, or more productive of rich copiousness of language."

47. "In 1551 the Jesuits had no settled position in Germany; in 1566, their institutions held possession of Bavaria and the Tyrol, Franconia and Swabia, a large part of the Rhenish Provinces and Austria.
(Ranke, History of the Popes l. 415.)

48. Sturm: *Academicæ Epistolæ*: l. i. "Et quamquam nihil ab iis scribam diversum, quæ in libro "De litterarum ludis recte aperiendis," tradidi; tamen paullo altius adscendam, et longius progrediar, ut ex his adpareat, quæ tum sperarim, quæque providerim."

49. Sturm: *Classicæ Epistolæ*, ll. i.

50. Sturm: *De Exercitationibus Rhetoricis*: "Those pupils who have resolved to spend their life in teaching in schools and explaining the writers of the two languages ought to retranslate Greek put into Latin back to Greek with closed book and begin this exercise in this class." (the Third).

Teaching has been a profession in Germany since the Napoleonic wars only. In the 17th Century Comenius and Ratke urged the need of practical training for teachers. In 1707 Francke instituted the first training centre.

51. Sturm: *De Bello adversus Turcas perpetuo administrando sermones tres*. (Jena 1598).

52. Milton evidently knew and appreciated this work. His ideas often recall those of Sturm, though he did not mention him by name.

53. The full status of a University was granted in 1621.

54. Sturm: *Quarti Antipappi Tres Partes*, (1581) p. 160. "Quam diu hæc disciplina durabit, quæ nostræ Academicæ constituta est, tam diu neque magistris Academia, neque doctoribus discipuli, neque professores discipulis et auditoribus destituentur."

55. Morhof (1639 - 1690). Book l. 6.i.13.

CHAPTER IV.Teachers and their Duties.

Importance of education and good teachers - Sturm
as a teacher - the teachers' character - methods of
instruction - corporal punishment - scarcity of teachers -
salary and status - qualifications - training - women
teachers.

Every writer on education at the Renaissance period - Erasmus, Vives, Melanchthon, Budaeus, Gouvea, Baduel, Ascham - laid stress on the need of good character and learning in a teacher, his important duties, his poor pay, the hindrance to education by the drunkenness and vice of some teachers, the tedious nature of his work, and the frequent lack of method. Erasmus, who regarded teaching as the highest of intellectual careers considered the weakness of contemporary education to be due generally to an absence of real interest on the part of parents and a failure to realise its importance. He wittily remarked, "They choose trainers for their horses and entrust their sons to any one," and Ascham completed it, "God suffereth them to have tame and well ordered horse, but wild and unfortunate children."

Sturm had a great reputation as a teacher all over Europe both in his own time and in succeeding generations. He is described as "noted for his practical tendency, good taste, purity and conciseness of style," as "a man who taught with much method," as "the most distinguished pedagogue of our time." He was very proud of being a teacher. "God and my own nature," he wrote, "called me to it." "Why should I ever be ashamed of teaching grammar?" He was contented and happy in his work, writing to his father, "I have been well treated," and most enthusiastic about/

about his school duties, "Therefore I shall read or teach or write something new every day as an example, through all the classes," "a doer as well as a writer." "They seem to me," he wrote, "to deserve well of humanity who devote themselves to the education of youth."

It will be apparent that, with such a reputation and such views, Sturm laid great stress on the character of his teachers and realised that on this was based the success of any scheme of education. He declared that, "the teacher must be as he wishes his pupils to be", because of the tremendous power for good or evil which he possesses; he must be diligent for the sake of his pupils not for his own credit, and he must show virtue, prudence, faithfulness, learning, religion, moderation and enthusiasm for his work. He strongly advocated mutual good will and modesty amongst the masters and professors, and deprecated arrogance, severity or frivolity. Any teacher addicted to gambling and drinking (which, as we learn from the dialogues of Erasmus and Vives, were not uncommon in schools) must be immediately dismissed. Parents and magistrates should do everything in their power to support and assist the master in the eyes of the children, and all false complaints by pupils against teachers must meet with severe punishment.

Sturm complained bitterly of the ignorance and lack of method displayed by many teachers. Former times had better trained/

trained teachers and most of the weakness in education he ascribed to the faults of the teachers more than of the pupils. There was, he said, absolute disregard of the simplest principles in teaching. "Anyone teaches anything anyhow." In his "Classicae Epistolae" and "Academicae Epistolae" he has left a series of instructions to the teachers of the individual classes on the proper conduct of school work. "A good teacher" he said, " must very carefully study the character and ability of his pupils. There are many whose memory is strong but who can only slowly grasp what must be entrusted to the memory. Many have a keen understanding but a weak memory; others hate studies through laziness; others through social and family duties relax their zeal; there are some who are more interested in the study of other matters than learning; others become tired quickly but learn much in a short time, others can endure hard work but are unwilling to use their full powers." A teacher must consider what and how he is to teach, for teaching without practice and knowledge is worthless. With the stress laid on private study, careful selection must be made of the points requiring explanation and of those to be prescribed for home work. To promote individual research and enquiry, not everything in a lesson should be taught but only what is necessary. While Sturm did not prescribe too closely the methods to be employed by his staff, he expected them generally to adhere to the principles/

principles which he laid down, and to keep to the school Time Table. Staff meetings were held monthly to discuss methods. The teacher should lessen all difficulties by moderation, by easy and pleasant methods, acting not merely as a critic but as a helper and not overburdening the pupil beyond his strength. Teaching methods should be bright and varied, never wearisome but helping to smooth out the disgust inevitable to certain studies. While the teachers' voice is most stimulating, in oral work, he must not over-teach by long explanations, but use skilful, short methods of question and answer. Even the position of the teacher before his class was the subject of comment. Sturm insisted that due regard must be given to all the work which the pupils had already overtaken as well as that to which they were progressing, and that all teachers should be encouraged to take part in the whole scheme of studies by going on with their pupils through the classes, for the work of which every teacher should be fit. Sturm had no sympathy with teachers who complained of having to teach the lower classes. A Record of Work was kept regularly and showed clearly the work done by each class. The visitors were expected to go to each class-room daily and to see "that the masters do not neglect their duties, or enter the school or their class after the time, that the boys preserve their notes and learn their tasks, and that the daily lessons are suited to/

to the strength of the pupils."

In schools of the period, corporal punishment was generally accepted as an aid to instruction and much cruelty prevailed. Sturm did not follow the common practice. Again and again he impressed on his staff that all the work should be carried on pleasantly, and that the best results would be obtained by moral suasion and kindness. "A boy should be encouraged by praise, so that he himself may receive the reward of industry, the praise of his master, and the others may become better by the example of one..... I wish the joy of the pupils to be as great as possible and it is most desirable that the severity of the rod and cane should never be necessary..... Orbili are the plagues of schools." He had no belief in the efficiency of corporal punishment in teaching and held that any teacher, who could not carry out his work without it, should be removed from his position. On the other hand, he believed that teachers should always have the power of employing it for moral offences, for unpunctuality and absence without permission of parents, ("for that is wrongdoing of the will, not weakness of intellect,") and for inattention or distracted attention, ("for that defect of nature can be cured by severity of discipline,") though in the last case a warning should generally be sufficient. He was anxious that good discipline should be maintained through/

through the classes and public courses, but saw clearly that this did not consist in mere repression. The teacher should inspire affection in his pupils but at the same time maintain that mean between severity and leniency which earns the respect and admiration of boys. When the scholars suppressed the use of corporal punishment in the four higher classes from 1572, Sturm opposed this prohibition as ruinous to good discipline. Still he was of the opinion that the higher the conduct, learning and enthusiasm of the teacher, the less need there would be to resort to punishment.

Germany suffered severely from a dearth of efficient teachers. This was due largely to the small salaries paid even in the largest schools, to the low esteem in which the profession was held and to the hard work. Sturm's own experience throws some light on this difficulty. "Were it not for the pleasure I have found in my work for many years, were it not for my belief that God directed me to this profession and intended me to continue in it, I would long ago have given up teaching for some more profitable occupation. But I must devote myself to literature and to the vocation to which God and my own nature destined me, and bring to my pupils all the benefits my diligence and enthusiasm can procure." "There is no one who would not rather be a doctor or a lawyer than enter the teaching profession..... Schoolmasters do not generally receive a salary/

a salary of 100 crowns or, if they do, the public assert that it is excessive." Sturm frequently complained of the inadequacy of the salaries and the scarcity of teachers, through which ~~his~~ plans had not received a fair chance of full success, and deplored the effect this had on the outlook of parents and pupils. Good teachers he held to be essential in any scheme and he advocated fair but not extravagant salaries on a definite scale. He admitted that he himself had been generously treated but, with most of his staff, small salaries and menial duties were the rule. We are told that, at Strassburg, the teacher of the Ninth class had charge of the cleaning and heating, which was carried out by the pupils, and that he claimed the ashes as his perquisite: that, in 1544, David Kyber, master of the eighth class, was given money to buy clothes and a Hebrew Bible, while in 1563 Abraham Faes⁴⁷ explained that he could not buy a suit of clothes even every five or six years. Sturm complained that while the teachers were struggling against dire poverty, Marbach, the preacher, received a present of 25 gold florins for his book "De Majestate Christi," which he dedicated to a magistrate. Thomas Platter, whose autobiography throws much light on school life at this period, relates that when, in 1541, he became schoolmaster at Bâle, "The salary was difficult to arrange: I asked 200 florins, 100 for myself and 100 for the assistants. They finally promised this to me and asked that I should not tell it to anyone; for they had never given/

given so much and would never again give anyone such a salary. This was all agreed upon. The University was not consulted concerning it, which vexed them not a little."

Though a University degree was never mentioned either by Erasmus or Sturm or by any other educationist as a necessary qualification for teaching, it is evident that the desirability of it was beginning to be recognised. When the courses in Philosophy at Strassburg were constituted as a Faculty in 1567 and the power of conferring degrees was granted, Michael Beuther was appointed Doyen and bestowed degrees on all the professors who were not already Doctors.

Sturm was quite alive to the inefficiency of many of the teachers engaged in schools, but, in common with others, he believed that any man of learning and good character, with energy and enthusiasm, could become a successful teacher. He objected strongly to students learning by teaching and endeavoured to carry to a higher point the scholarship of intending teachers. "Students who intend to spend their life in school-teaching and to explain the writers of the two languages (i.e. Latin and Greek) should translate passages from Greek into Latin and then with closed books re-translate into Greek." This is the only reference Sturm made to any special provision for future teachers. In 1586 the Jesuits advised that those who were to become teachers should for two months or more be "taken in hand by some one of great experience/

experience and practised in the methods of reading, teaching, correcting, writing and managing a class," so as not to acquire skill afterwards at the expense of the pupils. Comenius and Ratke held the same views early in the 17th Century, but, as stated above, it was 1707 before the first Training College in Germany was established by Francke.

Never once throughout his works did Sturm make any reference to the education of girls or to the employment of women teachers. He appreciated the great influence that mothers and nurses have on very young children below school age, but apparently he agreed with Erasmus that women were quite unfitted to undertake the public education of boys. It was to take many years yet before educators would realise the force of the statement made by a woman writer on education in 1779, "It is a singular injustice which is often exercised toward women, first to give them a most defective education and then to expect from them the most undeviating purity of conduct." (154)

NOTES.

1. Melanchthon: Letter to Sturm, November 1542.
 "Minus est splendida scolastica vita, sed revera melius de genere humano meretur. Quid est enim utilius, addo etiam quid gloriosius est, quam teneras mentes salutari doctrina de Deo, de natura rerum, de bonis moribus imbueret?" C.R. IV. 903.
 Ascham: "The good or ill bringing up of children doth as much serve to the good or ill service of God, our Prince and our whole countrie, as any one thing beside."
 (Scholemaster, I. p.188)
2. Erasmus, "Christian Marriage."
3. Ascham, Scholemaster I. 23.
4. See references in chapter on "Sturm's Influence."
5. Nouvelle Biographie Générale (Didot), - "Sturm".
6. Dictionnaire Historique et Critique (Bayle) - (1720) - "Sturm."
7. Fritz - Systeme d'Instruction, III. 463.
8. Sturm: Academicæ Epistolæ, I. 2.
9. Sturm: De Amissa dicendi Ratione, p.4
10. Sturm: Linguae Latinae Resolvendæ Ratio, p. 70.
11. Dolet: Phrases et Formulae Linguae Latinae: Preface by Sturm in which he says, "Antepono enim hoc genus studiorum illis artibus quibus lucrum magis et quaestus quam morum humanitas."
12. Sturm: De Amissa Dicendi Ratione; Preface, "Liberaliter mecum actum est."
13. Sturm: Classicae Epistolæ III. 1.
14. Sturm: Classicae Epistolæ, I. 3.
15. Sturm: "De Amissa Dicendi Ratione," p. 110.
16. Sturm: Scholae Lavinganæ, 23.
17. Sturm: De Amissa Dicendi Ratione, 18. "Omnis ratio atque vis in illa puerili educatione sita est, in qua

qua summa magistrorum opus est diligentia, fide, prudentia, constantia."

18. Sturm: De Educatione Principis, 5.
19. Sturm: Scholae Lavinganae lll. 2. "Ebriosum praeceptorem, aut ludis deditum e scolis non ejicere, corruptae disciplinae indicium est."
20. Sturm: Classicae Epistolae lll. 3.
21. Sturm: Nobilitas Litterata, ll. "Perniciosa res in litterarum gymnasiis est doctrinam simul cum disciplina institui et esse qui docere prius incipiant quam discere"
22. Sturm: "De Exercitationibus Rhetoricis" p.371.
23. Sturm: De Exercitationibus Rhetoricis, p.370.
24. Sturm: Preface to "Aeschinis et Demosthenis Orationes Duae Contrariae."
"In gymnasiis et scholis, quivis docet quidvis docet quocunque vult modo et ratione docet, si tamen in perturbatione et temeritate aut modus esse potest aut ratio."
25. Sturm: Scholae Lavinganae, 22.
26. Cicero: In Partitiones Oratorias: with notes by Sturm.
"Diligenter judicandum est ei qui docere volet, quid quoque loco et quomodo doceat."
27. Sturm: Scholae Lavinganae, 88.
28. Sturm: Academicae Epistolae l. ii. "Si horam quisque suam magister postulet et tamen in eodem loco, in quo etiam reliqui docent, qui publicis scholis praefecti sunt, docere velit; neque multi docere poterunt, neque multa poterunt explicari anno uno."
29. Sturm: De Exercitationibus Rhetoricis, p.380.
30. Sturm: De Educatione Principis, 7..... "Commoderatio, propria magistri virtus, idque eruditi: haec efficit, ut quae puer discet, ea discat cum voluptate: haec difficilibus adfert facilitatem: haec docet omnia: haec tollit fastidium."
31. Epistola Aschami ad Joannem Sturmium, (4th April, 1550).
32. Sturm: Classicae Epistolae, l. 2. "Vitium magistrorum maximum/

maximum est, ad aures illius qui rogatur, stare."

33. Sturm: De Exercitationibus Rhetoricis.
34. Sturm: De Periodis: Preface by F.A. Hallbauer (1727).
 "Sturmio auctore, non superioribus solum curiis sed inferioribus etiam doctrina ac virtute praestantes atque exercitati in dicendo praeficerentur magistri, sic prorsus ut usu saepenumero veniret ut qui decimae et infimae curiae ab initio praeceptor fuisset, primae deinceps fieret moderator et tandem in academicorum doctorum deligeretur ordinem."
35. Sturm: Classicae Epistolae, l. 2. in addressing the Master of the Ninth Class who asked for higher work.
 "Ne te pigeat neque pudeat hujus officii quod non aestimabis tua doctrina, sed utilitate publica, cujus viros bonos decet esse studiosos." He promised him a transfer soon to a higher class, for which he agreed that he was capable.
36. Sturm: Scholae Lavinganae, 35. "Est etiam diligentiae in sua ephemeride adnotata habere, quae verba quibus dederit et quo die decuriis."
37. Sturm: Classicae Epistolae, lll. 1.
38. Sturm: Scholae Lavinganae, 37. 42.
39. Sturm: De Litterarum Ludis Recte Aperendis, 4. 3
40. Sturm: Classicae Epistolae lll. Leges Curiales: 1.
41. Sturm: De Litterarum Ludis Recte Aperendis 2.
 Sturm: Classicae Epistolae lll. 2. "In monendis et castigandis adolescentulis, negligentia et remissio abesse, severitas absque crudelitate, vituperatio absque maledicto debet adhiberi."
42. Elyot: "The Book of the Governour" (1531) deplored the decay of Schoolmasters in England owing to small pay and humble social position. He attributed this weakness in education to the avarice and negligence of parents. "Good Lord!" he exclaimed, "how many good and clear wits of children now-a-days are perished by ignorant schoolmasters." Luther declared, "a devoted school teacher can never receive an adequate reward."
43. Sturm: De Amissa Dicendi Ratione, 1.
44. Sturm: Luctus ad Joachimum Camerarium.

45. Sturm: *Classicae Epistolae*, Preface. "Si praeceptores officium suum facient; dum facient, egere non patiamini; etiam liberis eorum providete, ne parentum fides atque diligentia, quam in hoc munere praestant, liberos relinquat in egestate."
 46. Sturm: *Classicae Epistolae*, l. 3.
 47. Sturm: *De Amissa Dicendi Ratione*, p. 418. "Nisi enim civitates praemia constituent, cessant non solum doctores, sed etiam parentes, quibus maxime curae sunt liberorum commoditates. Per Germaniam nimium destitutae sunt literarum scholae."
c.f. Vives, "De Tradendis Disciplinis", ll. 3.
 48. Schmidt: *La Vie et les Travaux de Jean Sturm*, p. 154.
 49. Abraham Faes was the Master of the Tenth Class, to whom one of Sturm's letters was addressed - *Classicae Epistolae* l. i.
 50. "Thomas Platter and The Educational Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century." - Paul Monrae.
Platter's Autobiography was written 1572.
 51. Schmidt: *La Vie et les Travaux de Jean Sturm*, p. 148.
 52. Sturm: *Nobilitas Litterata*, ll.
 53. Sturm: *De Exercitationibus Rhetoricis*, p.388.
 54. Hannah More: "Female Education."
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CHAPTER V.METHODS AND SUBJECTS OF THE CURRICULUM.

General methods - class sections for teaching purposes -
oral work - class records - private study - subjects of
the curriculum - Latin (as a universal language -
corruption of the language, reading and writing, grammar,
study of Classical Authors, plays, conversation,
composition, declamation and discussion, Rhetoric) -
Greek - Hebrew - Religious Instruction - Music -
Physical Exercises - Mathematics - History - Geography.

Sturm complained that methods of teaching had become complicated, that rules were taught before pupils had learned the words to which they applied, that rhetoric was separated from dialectic, (i.e. word from thought) and that impure Latin was everywhere prevalent. He held that in teaching there must be order, deliberation and revision, and that it must suit the pupils in the number of studies, system and method. These methods must be brief and conform to the time-table, for arrangement and continuity can make any lesson easy to average intelligence. Teaching must be clear, simple and varied. "I prefer," Sturm wrote, "to be despised than to make a subject difficult," for the memory is assisted by brevity, understanding and the usefulness of the subjects. He was entirely opposed to "complexity, long-windedness and subtlety" in teaching, and urged that every effort should be made to dispel the idea that learning is disagreeable to children. "But, you may say, learning is really hateful, laborious and unpleasant. I have now been learning for 36 years and teaching during 23 of these; and I cannot see what trouble learning involves. Trouble, do I say? I should rather say what pleasure, if it is taught by such a teacher as I advise." A French critic has said of Sturm that he improved taste, in his teaching put things in place of words devoid of meaning, joined synthesis and analysis, refused to allow anything to be learned by heart that was not understood, and introduced frequent exercises/

exercises and repetition.

Sturm was eminently practical in his methods. He advocated the division of each class into sections consisting normally of 10 pupils with a section-leader (decurio). This was done, probably in the first instance, owing to scarcity of teachers, but, as in the Scottish Parish Schools, it promoted independence, research work through lack of dictionaries, and mutual assistance among the pupils. The sections came with their lessons prepared, repeated them to their teacher and then questioned their fellow pupils, so that the whole class could hear and understand. Each section, and sometimes each pupil within the section, learned different books or portions of a text book, and so made a special contribution to the common store. The whole of the work was carefully divided into separate readings, graded according to difficulty for the sections, which were arranged in order of merit. The same standard was not asked from all; some repeated their lesson "memoriter", others "ex libro." This plan Sturm found to be most beneficial, especially in learning plays, which thus involved little weariness and toil. The pupils not only learned one play thoroughly, but heard other plays of the same writer repeated by other sections. With such large classes it was, of course, impossible for the teacher to supervise all the work done. The section leaders, therefore, questioned their fellow pupils and revised the lessons already/

already taken, while much use was made of games and rivalry in questioning. In this way, the clever pupils who needed little help could advance very quickly. Sturm wrote, "By learning in sections a great part of the plays can be introduced into the schools in a few months, without explanation by the teachers or labour to the pupils..... It is marvellous how much a pupil can overtake with very little help from a clever and industrious teacher." Sturm definitely urged that pupils should be encouraged to help one another in their studies. These methods seem very like an anticipation of the Individual and Group plans of today.

Mediaeval methods of teaching were, of course, entirely oral owing to lack of books. This drawback caused much waste of time, as the pupils had to write down the text "verbatim" to the teacher's dictation, while few books and few teachers led to much learning "by heart." The change to written methods, brought about by the invention of printing, is very critical in the history of education. Sturm's work lay just within this period. Though he himself published many text books for schools, he objected strongly to the teacher becoming the slave of a text-book in class work. He believed that Oral teaching, promoting as it did Latin speaking, was better than books on Dialectic and Rhetoric. Especially in the lower stages, oral/

oral work, questions and the black-board should be employed before the boy could write. "It is not enough," he wrote, "that the teacher should indicate the words and forms of sentences by the voice; he should also write them on a board or on the wall and test by questions ^{the} what a boy can do, before he allow him to take the pen into his hand." The Socratic method of questioning entered largely into his teaching and the notes of several of his text-books take this form. These "viva-voce" methods were employed not only in teaching but also in examinations. It was only composition which was taken in writing and, even in that subject, the student was afterwards questioned. All other subjects were examined orally. The practice of copying the text of the lessons survived the invention of printing and formed part of the method of teaching. It was said that each scholar had the text of his author in his book, in his copy and in his head. Though Sturm did not believe in the excessive use of text-books, he opposed frequent change of school books. Sturm does not anywhere mention in what way the correction of the pupils' written work was carried out, but at Guyenne "four or five exercises were corrected before the class, so that the pupils by careful attention should note the mistakes. The others should be corrected either in school after the pupils have been dismissed or at home."

Sturm's motto in teaching was "Longe plus possunt exempla/

exempla quam praecepta," or as Ramus, who admired his methods, put it, "Peu de précepte, beaucoup d'usage." He always gave copious examples in illustration of any principle and expected these, as well as the teacher's explanation of the book read, to be entered by the pupils in their diaries, which had to be most carefully preserved, studied and shown at any time as a record of the work done in the class. Constant revision of all essential points in these diaries was always insisted on.

In any discussion of the methods of Renaissance education, it must be remembered how important a part "home lessons" played in school work. The school hours were usually short - not more than four hours daily in Sturm's school -, but they were always supplemented by private study. Humanist educators believed that only such work should be undertaken in school, as clearly required the assistance of the teacher. For example, Sturm stated that most of Ovid's works are easy and can be studied at home, that in the Bible only the Evangelists, the Apostles, the story of Moses and the Prophets, need be explained, and that commentaries on authors are more usefully the subject of private study, which should always assist and complete the efforts of the teachers. The pupils should read more at home than in school, and should revise all the school work. Certain subjects, now held in high esteem, such as Modern Languages and Arithmetic/

Arithmetic, were then relegated to home study. This work was carefully regulated in amount by Sturm, but he does not state how it was supervised or tested. At Guyenne, pupils who lived in the college worked in their bedrooms in groups of 4 or 6 under supervision of a master.

(a) LATIN.

"We never ought to forget that the refinement and the science, secular and sacred, with which Modern Europe is enriched must be traced to the revival of ancient literature and that the hid treasures could not have been laid open and rendered available but for that enthusiasm with which the languages of Greece and Rome were cultivated in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries." Instruction in all subjects was available solely through Classical books, which formed the only organised secular knowledge, for nothing had been added since the classical period. Not only for scholastic and literary purposes were Latin and Greek the only possible school subjects, but for practical purposes Latin was required in every profession and walk in life. "The diplomatist, the lawyer, the civil servant, the physician, the naturalist, the philosopher wrote, read, and to a large extent spoke and perhaps thought in Latin. Nor was Latin only the language of the higher professions. A merchant or the bailiff of a manor wanted it for his accounts; every town clerk or guild clerk wanted it for his minute book. Columbus had to study in Latin for his voyages: the general had to study tactics in it. The architect, the musician, every/

every one, who was neither a mere soldier nor a mere handicraftsman, wanted not a smattering of grammar, but a living acquaintance with the tongue as a spoken as well as a written language." From 1460 to 1660 a definite effort was made to establish Latin as a universal language. Every scholar of the period advocated this. Even Vives, who was so proud of his native Castilian, admitted that Latin was the best language for the purpose through its richness and variety, and Comenius later declared for Latin, as having complete nomenclature, explicit laws, no ambiguity or redundancy and as being easy to pronounce. It was "totius Christianissimi quasi commune vinculum." The supporters of universal Latin, amongst whom Sturm ardently took his place, held that it was a highly cultivated tongue, while the vernaculars were rude and unformed, that it promoted an accurate study of language and ultimately improved the vernaculars, that it brought refinement and science, was universally understood and threw much light on the study of the Bible. On the other hand, it was asserted that it caused neglect of the national languages, and servile imitation and uniformity, that learned men did not reach the masses of the people and free circulation of literature was stopped. There can be no doubt that the employment of Latin as a universal language today, at least for scientific, educational or other works of international interest would be an immense boon/

boon, and this was advocated at a recent meeting of the Classical Association of Scotland. Sturm was a most enthusiastic advocate of such a use of Latin. To him it was the only possible language, "So flexible, harmonious and sounding," "Universal", "God wished it to be everywhere and to be everlasting." He somewhat mournfully complained that boys of his time suffered the great disadvantage compared with Roman and Greek boys that the Classics were not their native tongues, "imbibed with their mother's milk." At the Renaissance period, however, scholars objected not so much that Latin was not used as that it was so corrupt that it had lost all classical purity. As an example of this, the "Manuale Scholarium" which first appeared in 1481, may be taken. "The Latin betrays not the slightest influence of the works of Cicero; indeed it is often so incorrect that it can hardly be excused even for the fifteenth century. Not only does the writer unhesitatingly use "ut" and the indirect interrogative with the indicative, and often "quia" and "quod" instead of the accusative and infinitive, etc., but he also interchanges the indicative and the subjunctive, using particularly the present subjunctive and the future indicative in parallel constructions (e.g. 43. 18 Ibimus ad ecclesiam atque audiamus sermonem)". The "Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum" published in 1515 "gives in its canine Latin no very extravagant caricature of the pseudo-vernacular of the day/

day." In the Middle Ages Latin was the living language of school and church and so departed further and further from classical standards. While Erasmus, Vives, Sturm and other scholars constantly bewailed and strove to counteract the "barbarous" Latin, everywhere prevalent in speech and writing, they recognised that many new words must be introduced for technical terms and for things unknown to the ancients. It was this struggle, however, between colloquial and classical Latin, which finally prevented Latin from becoming the Universal language and by 1660 it had ceased to be used as the language of diplomacy. In the 16th century there was a wide-spread demand for this language. Ascham gave as the title of his book "The Scholemaster, or plaine and perfite way of teachyng children to understand, write and speake the Latin tong," and said "All men covet to have their children speake Latin and so do I earnestlie too." Luther thought that children should learn Latin, not Greek, German nor Hebrew. In Germany, Latin was the language of the educated and professional life, of administration, of law, of medicine, of the teaching profession, of the Church, Seventy per cent of the books published in the year 1550 were in Latin. In England, Colet, Wolsey, Ascham, Brinsley, as well as the Public Schools of Winchester and Eton took Latin as almost the only subject of study.

The means of instruction were reading and writing,
grammar/

grammar, the study of Classical authors, conversation, composition and imitation, plays, declamation, discussion and rhetoric.

It is not easy to obtain much information as to the methods adopted in Renaissance times for teaching Reading and Writing to young children entering school for the first time. Humanist educators did realise the great importance of the early stages, but they were inclined to be impatient of the toil involved in what they regarded as merely mechanical work. Like the Jesuits, they would have preferred that children should not be admitted until they had learned these rudiments from their mothers or nurses. Erasmus suggested that Reading should be taught by biscuit letters, wax tablets, pictures or games, and that books should be made attractive. Doubtless the same practice was followed in Sturm's school. In his instructions to the teacher of the lowest class he said, "The children should learn the forms of the letters without any cunning or obscure division and definition, but by the indications of the eyes and senses, by the use of voice and training of the tongue..... To the observation of the single letters, reading itself and the pronunciation of written speech is added almost at once." Children found great difficulty in the Italian pronunciation of Latin to which as yet the phonetic rules of the mother tongue were not applied. The School Regulations of Wurtemberg expressly stated that children must not be dragged/

dragged about by the hair, if their tongues could not at first successfully pronounce Latin sounds. Writing was taught as a form of drawing and, in the absence of cheap text-books, was a matter of importance. As Sturm wrote, "An elegant style of writing is most useful in learning, in public offices and in business houses." Sturm wished that from the earliest stages a vocabulary of every-day words should be built up which should be divided amongst the pupils and, while each was expected to know his own, he would probably pick up others also by hearing his fellow pupils. In most schools, the earliest reading books were the "Pueriles Confabiatunculae" and the "Sententiae Pueriles," where a commencement was made with sentences of two words, followed by Colloquies, such as those of Cordier or Vives. Sturm, however, did not approve of these books, and, even in the lowest class, advised that Cicero's letters should be used not only for reading but for the teaching of writing. The inflections of nouns and verbs were learned orally and also committed to writing. In both Reading and Writing, he held the example of the teacher as all important. After the mechanics of writing was overcome, it was not taught in the grammar schools, but good writing was expected in the exercise books.

The Grammar books of the Middle Ages, such as Alexander's Doctrinale, which were described as the "slaughter-houses of talent" (carnificinae ingeniorum), had
by/

by their dialectic methods actually caused stagnation of Latin learning. Laurentius Valla (1415 - 1465) was the first to oppose these methods and to regard Grammar as a study of the laws of language. Other humanists, regarding him as the restorer of Latinity and following out his ideas, produced grammar books of which Erasmus recommended the "Rudimenta" of Perotti. The most popular school books were those of Donatus and of Despautere (1510), of which the latter was pre-eminent on the Continent for two centuries. Written in Latin verse, it was often obscure and even unintelligible, incomplete and disconnected. Sturm was not satisfied with these books, and in his desire to bring in simplicity of teaching and lay down rational rules, he published a text book for the lower classes of the Gymnasium with a few rules. The first part contained the declension of nouns and pronouns, and the conjugation of verbs; the second dealt with the principles of etymology under genders, degrees of comparison, formation of cases, moods, tenses; the third gave elementary rules of syntax. This book was, like all other text books of the period, written in Latin and though complaint was frequently made that this was learning "ignotum per ignotius," it may well be advanced that the Latin used was of the simplest kind and that as in the "Direct method" of teaching modern languages now employed, it gave good practice to the pupils in the use of the language as a living medium.

Sturm/

Sturm fully realised the importance of Grammar and said that it held the key to knowledge. Erasmus declared that boys acquire expression by conversation and reading, and not by learning grammar; Ascham advised grammar only as a book of reference, not to be read alone. He wrote, "The common way used in common schools, to read the Grammar alone by itself, is tedious for the master, hard for the scholar, cold and uncomfortable for them both." Sturm, like Vives, occupied an intermediate position between this view and that of the extreme champions of grammar. He declared that it was not enough to study the grammar book of Donatus only before reading classical texts, but that too many books in grammar were equally wrong, though he was strongly of opinion that every language must come through grammar with reading of authors, and demanded that the grammar lesson should precede the explanation of authors and Rhetoric. Pupils found the inflections and pronunciation of Latin difficult, so that it had to be taken very gradually and exceptions to rules were only noticed in the early stages. Sturm advocated not the abolition but the simplification of Grammar teaching through a copious use of examples and the "Direct" method of instruction.

The pupil could now read and write, and had made some progress in the study of Latin Grammar. He had also amassed a store of Latin words. This vocabulary was formed/

formed directly from objects without the use of books. Sturm laid great stress on this, believing that richness of vocabulary would lead to eloquence. In his instructions to the teacher of the Ninth Class he wrote, "Increase and build up the vocabulary of your pupils in everything that occurs in every-day use and that meets their senses. Nothing should be seen in the body of man, nothing among cattle, in the kitchen, in the wine cellar, in the larder, nothing should be brought into a meal, nothing should be seen in gardens either of plants, shrubs or trees, nothing should be used in schools, in library or in church, which your boys, as far as possible, should not be able to name in Latin."

At this point Sturm's pupils passed direct to the Reading of Classical Authors. In the later years of his Rectorship, he yielded to the demand for the use of elementary, interesting Latin readers and himself published one entitled "Neanisci" in 1570. There was considerable difference of opinion as to the first author to be studied. The Romans themselves and many teachers of this period, in their anxiety to promote spoken Latin, advocated the study of Terence for his colloquial expressions and every-day Latin speech. Sturm opposed this, owing to the danger of impure Latin, and insisted on the use of Cicero's Letters, which would serve the same purpose as the plays of Terence and introduce the pupil at once to the most Classical Latin/

Latin. As has been noted above, he himself brought out an edition of the Letters, which won great popularity. The prose authors studied throughout the course included all those read at the present day, with the exception that little attention was paid to Tacitus owing to the scarcity of manuscripts. Erasmus advised "copious reading of the best authors", and in the schools these included many whose works are not now studied. Colet's scheme for St. Paul's School contained neither Cicero nor Vergil on the ground that they were heathen writers and their style was studied through the writings of Lactantius and Prudentius. This was not the case with Sturm who, as in Geneva, "rejected no good author." He wrote, "Besides Cicero, others should be read and explained, The style of Lactantius approaches most closely to the purity of Cicero and the books of Augustine are useful for increasing the richness of the Latin language," while his Selection of Latin Poems included the writings of Claudian, Ausonius, Statius, Manilius, Boetius, Silius Italicus, and others of the Silver Age. The Jesuits rejected Terence and Plautus on moral grounds and set before their pupils only carefully expurgated editions of other writers. Sturm did not go so far as this, but he declared that the plays of both these authors should be carefully selected and required an "interpreter." Modern writers of Latin were not usually admitted, though Sturm's own Latin had a high reputation for/

for its clearness, purity and eloquence, and was recommended by Ascham for use in schools. His educational treatises, his academic discourses and his letters were models of good Latin, worthy of being put amongst the best of the Renaissance period. Many humanists carried their worship of Cicero so far as to deserve Erasmus' biting satire in his "Ciceronianus". Dolet used his "ipsissima verba"; Bembo described him as "unus scribendi magister" and declared that other writers should be studied only to see what to avoid, while Petrarch said, "The eloquence of this heavenly being is absolutely inimitable." Sturm strongly disapproved of this ultra-Ciceronianism, for he believed that every writer of service should be studied. At the same time, he held that Cicero's works embodied the highest type of Roman eloquence and that neglect of him would cause decadence in Latin writing and speech. "Take Cicero as model", he wrote, "but others too - the best in each class." He was far from being the blind Ciceronian, with which he has been charged by recent writers. Sturm always insisted on his pupils reading the actual works of Classical authors. "More than any one," he wrote, "I hate Epitomes, especially those which differ from the words and order of the authors. Authorities and precepts should be taught in the words of the authors and contain the complete meaning." In view of the humanist claim for the use of Latin as a universal language it will be understood/

be understood that Reading was subordinate to Writing and Speaking and that classical works were read for practical language purposes, in much the same way as Modern Languages are studied today. In fact, Sturm's was the "Direct" method carried out most thoroughly and fully, for he regarded the student as reading Latin not for literature but for the actual language and subject matter, and to cultivate style and elocution. He made the interesting suggestion that Latin should be read aloud to the pupils. "A Reader is of great use in revising what we have heard from others and what we have ourselves read privately; often before we read, it is useful that something should be read aloud by a Reader, and if any point is obscure, that it should be explained by him in a few words." Sturm advocated two methods of reading an author, discursively or carefully in detail. Particularly in the earlier years, the latter method was more appropriate to Cicero, while other authors were read quickly, so as not to injure Cicero's influence. Points of erudition were not taken up, because the text was read not with a view to passive knowledge, as is now the case, but to promote conversation and give subjects for composition or declamation. While translations were rendered into the vernacular, no attempt was made, at first, to do this in elegant style, the only object being to use the version for practice in re-translation into Latin. Sturm, however, was/

was not content with a word-for-word translation but wished to preserve the spirit of the original. Ascham advised a free use of Re-translation or double translation, but Sturm was at first opposed to this as injuring the style of composition and preferred that his pupils should use translations already made by their teachers or well-known scholars. Many books, of course, would be read in Latin without translating and it was only when Latin ceased to be a living language that close attention was given to this exercise. Eventually it was translations of Classical works, which did much to mould the vernacular into real national languages. Sturm advocated a close analysis of every book read in class. The whole book should be run through quickly and then single points should be taken up in detail. The Jesuit Ratio of 1599, probably following Sturm's plan, described their method of explaining Cicero or any other author. First, the meaning of the author was sketched; secondly, a version of the passage was made literally, noting order and arrangement of words; thirdly, an analysis of the structural elements was made and attention drawn to points of good Latinity; fourthly, each word, phrase and figure of speech was examined and imitated (unless the use of words was understood, the true knowledge of the tongue was obstructed); fifthly, a second, third and even fourth translation of the passage were taken. A consideration of Sturm's notes on Horace, "Ars Poetica" will/

will show his method. The poem was studied quite definitely for its subject matter with a view to imitation and to help the students in writing verse. The following points were taken up - the art of the poet in his arrangement of words and ideas, figures of speech, variant readings, obscure names, grammar and metre, and, to a slight extent, customs and literature. Many points of erudition, which any commentator would now naturally discuss, but which in Sturm's opinion would obscure the language teaching, were left quite unnoticed. The aim of teachers was mainly that "pupils should acquire the power of classifying the contents of books read, of analysing paragraphs, sentences, phrases and words, so as to compare them with other authors." Though Sturm approved of Pliny's saying, "Non oportet multa legere, sed multum," his pupils covered an immense amount of reading, as shown in his plan of studies. This was largely done, as explained, by distributing the letters or speeches of Cicero and the comedies of Plautus and Terence over different sections or even individual pupils. He calculated that a class could in this way, read the whole of Cicero in one year. Much is to be said for this arrangement, by which each pupil studied one book intensively and took part in the reading of all other sections, thus gaining a much more extensive range than if the whole class had been confined to the same book. The amount of reading overtaken need occasion no surprise, when it is remembered/

remembered that Queen Elizabeth read almost the whole of Cicero's works and most of Livy's in two years and that Erasmus, at the age of 13 years, could repeat all the writings of Horace and Terence by heart. Renaissance educators had a firm belief in the efficiency of committing to memory large portions of Latin. This, like the practice of writing out the text, was originally due to scarcity of books. Sturm himself believed that in this way many points, which might otherwise be overlooked, would be more clearly seen. He hesitated to say whether all of Cicero or Vergil read or only the most striking passages should be so learned; in any case, his pupils had to be able to repeat at least one speech of Cicero each year. Poems selected for class use had to be useful for memorising and for observing poetic art, for pupils always committed to memory the poems they read. Like other humanists, Sturm viewed the great authors as "masters of language, exponents of knowledge and fountains of moral wisdom." He studied Homer for the "elegantia" and "suavitas" of his diction, for the "doctrina" and "eruditio" of his narrative and for his didactic worth in morality. Aristotle was preferred to Plato, Euripides to Sophocles, Hesiod to Aeschylus. There was no true appreciation of Vergil, and Cicero was regarded mainly as a philosopher. There was, in fact, no proper idea of classical works as real literature.

Sturm attached much importance to the practice of
acting/

acting Latin plays, and believed that with proper arrangements and encouragement the pupils would actually teach themselves, so that in the Third Class all the plays of Terence and Plautus should be acted by the twelve sections into which he divided this class. "I do not wish", he said, "many comedies and tragedies to be explained by the teachers, lest other matters which are necessary may be neglected; many however, should be acted and repeated by heart by the youths." At the close of the century, these plays of the Academy, which John Sturm established, had become a permanent institution supported partly by public funds and attended by country people from the neighbouring district. Often the whole populace would flock into the school court to witness a Latin play, to which, for the sake of the unlearned, a German argument was often provided. It was here that the first Greek plays were acted, among them the Troades, Medea, Hecuba, Prometheus, Alcestis and the works of Aristophanes. This was the best dramatic work done in Germany but it disappeared during the Thirty Years' War. In the same way, Sturm encouraged the public recitation of Cicero's speeches and the singing of Latin hymns and chants.

As Latin was taught in Renaissance schools by the Direct method for practical purposes in every-day life, Conversation in Latin formed an important part of the curriculum. Elaborate rules were drawn up to ensure that all school work and all conversation in Universities and schools should be carried/

carried on in Latin and to prevent the use of the vernacular. Sturm and his contemporaries put their idea of Latin as a Universal language to its logical conclusion; yet, though every educator, even Vives, advocated this and the public demanded it, great difficulty was found in enforcing it on the pupils and corporal punishment was the frequent result of compulsion. It was Sturm's desire that Latin should be studied exactly as at Rome, that the teachers should always use the language in class work and that pupils should do the same in their conversation, at games and at meals. The child must be gradually prepared for this and be trained to use rich and graceful diction. His pupils, he declared, "learned to speak and how and why." He believed that the neglect of Latin speech was at the root of the decadence of the time. Like Ascham, however, he did not insist on the use of Latin conversation in the lowest classes, except in imitation of the master. It was this premature speaking of Latin which caused the use of a ridiculous jargon and finally, with the advance of the Vernaculars, brought about its disuse as a living language. In Sturm's school this free use of extempore and prepared conversation gave much life and spirit to the study of the Classics.

True Classical Composition was the great formative element and the main study in the 16th century and up to the time of the French Revolution. Authors were read for writing purposes, for mastery of the Latin language,

and/

and not for critical questions; reading, as has been pointed out above, was subordinate to speaking and writing. This composition work was quite practical and was the highest means of self-expression on the part of the pupil. Sturm described it as of three kinds - written composition (stilus), prepared speech (commentatio) and "ex-tempore" delivery (declamatio). He complained that in schools these were constantly neglected and exercises in them not even corrected. "We write anything in any way", he wrote, "one part Hebrew, another Greek, another Latin - all mixed up." Skill in composition was to be gained by constant practice through all the classes from the lowest to the highest, by observation and imitation of the best models, especially Cicero, rather than by any art, and by wide reading before attempting to write. The "Making of Latins", translation of detached sentences or passages into Latin, was used only for the beginners. This free composition required natural ability (natura), skill (ars), knowledge (cognitio rerum), training (exercitatio). The subjects were widely drawn, ranging in the higher classes through moral, political and historical themes. Many modern studies, history in particular, were first taken up as subjects for composition. Sturm gave a description of this exercise in detail through the classes. In the 10th class, a store of pure Latin words should be amassed; in the 9th, sentences from Cicero's Letters should be used for imitation and words/

words entered into the diaries from the Grammar Book, from Cicero and from the teacher, all of which is better shown in actual practice than through demonstration; in the 8th, short subjects in the vernacular should be given to be rendered in Latin, with the help of the words mentioned before; in the 7th, short, simple sentences should be written by oral methods and the use of the blackboard; the 6th should take up slightly longer and more difficult subjects; in the 5th, verse composition with the same words should be attempted; in the 4th, versification should be continued by means of nonsense verses; a description of some action should be made in pure language and with clear meaning, the subjects being easy and, if given in German, suitable for expression in Latin; the pupils of the 3rd and 2nd classes should have more time for composition, because grammar was now finished and the study of dialectic and rhetoric had not yet been commenced; in the higher classes, written composition should lead to discussion and declamation. Translation from Greek into Latin and vice-versa and the rendering of some complete speech of Cicero into German and back into Latin were regarded as useful exercises. Sturm mentioned a student as composing an "Antimilonian" speech and advised that cases in the public courts should be used for this purpose. Almost all the speeches of Cicero were distributed to the students in the public courses at Strassburg, to be repeated when required. Sturm fully realised/

realised that the attainment of such skill in composition as he demanded was no easy matter and required considerable help from the teacher, by the use of dialogues, letters and narrations of progressive difficulty, in exercises taken daily, not fortnightly nor monthly as in some schools. His method of teaching in the earlier stages was to read a letter of Cicero several times, put it into German and then rewrite it in Latin. This was suited to young pupils because it involved no toil of invention, gave by practice Cicero's words and sentences, and prevented the use of impure Latin. In the middle classes, the master was advised to write a letter or dialogue in Latin, using the words in the boys' diaries, or in the vernacular, and to follow the same method. With the more advanced pupils the principal exercises were paraphrase of poetry, duplicate treatment of a theme after different methods, arguments on divergent lines, imitation of Cicero, Caesar or Vergil, versions from Greek into Latin. Set orations were decomposed and their words, subjects and figures of speech classified to give appropriate expressions. Well-known subjects of daily occurrence were advised for "ex tempore" composition, and through all a graceful style was required.

Sturm has been criticised for his use of Imitation for composition purposes, and it has been alleged that his pupils were confined to servile copying. Again and again he protested against any such method. Quintilian had advised/

advised the use of Imitation but not confined to Cicero's works or to words only, and most humanists followed him in this. Sturm, while admitting that many qualities in Classical authors could not be imitated, held that by this method pupils obtained good subjects and arrangement for composition, and were led to a more careful observation of words and sentences. As eloquence was to him the goal of study, Cicero was the best model in Latin, but the Imitation must be free, not servile, and concealed by Art, must often go beyond its pattern and should be employed prudently with any suitable author. Ascham warmly commended Sturm's methods of Imitation. While Sturm wished his pupils to turn verse into prose, he realised the difficulty of versification and was unwilling that they should have to invent subjects. It was enough that they should attend to the choice and practice of words. Hertelius, one of the teachers in the Gymnasium, wrote a memoir to Sturm regarding composition. He complained that it was the most unpopular and wearisome lesson in the curriculum on account of the nature of the subjects set, which required much thought and were often useless for practical purposes, that it entailed storing up great masses of words and much ornamentation. He advised synthetic methods of instruction and the selection of subjects from Hermogenes, Homer, Euripides and from history. Sturm, in reply, admitted that few students showed/

showed diligence in writing, commenting and declamation. He thought that this disgust was due to the fault of the teachers and to the use of the vernacular, and could be cured by Imitation; he hoped that by constant practice in short and careful composition this weariness would be dispelled. This view of composition as self-expression, not the reproduction of the views of others, in a foreign language, anticipated again the "Direct methods" of language teaching.

Discussion and Declamation formed an important part of Greek and Roman education, to the study of which only selected students were admitted. Disputation was the principal method of instruction during the Middle Ages and Vives stated that in his time disputations were continuously carried on amongst the pupils. Sturm, however, lamented that these exercises were languishing owing to their difficulty and to the lack of grading of the pupils. In his later re-organisation he asked that more time should be given to them. He desired that they should be practical and life-like, using actual cases if possible. As examples of subjects in classical style, he gave the following - the contest of Ajax and Ulysses for the arms of Achilles, the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles, extension of speeches in Homer, opposing speeches in the manner of orators, an oration to persuade Sulla to give up his dictatorship/

dictatorship or Augustus to resign his power, the speech of Cato by Livy and its opposite. He believed that pupils could pass from vocabularies to declamation and oratory. The principal methods of teaching were through the use of diaries for lists of words, translations from Cicero and composition-subjects invented by the teachers, whose duty it was to give frequent practice, exclude unfit students and prescribe home work suitable to this exercise. It was expected that all lessons should be followed by a half-hour discussion. In fact, discussion was in some cases the accepted method of teaching, as at Harrow, where grammar was taught in this way. With the decline of spoken Latin and the dependence on written tests of work, the Essay has now taken the place of the Disputation.

To Sturm Oratory was the final accomplishment of education. Though some Rhetoric had been taught in the Middle Ages, it was generally postponed or neglected by teachers in the 16th century. Sturm used all his powers to combat this indifference and constantly asserted that the study of eloquence encouraged higher studies, and was practically useful to the theologian, the lawyer, the politician and the philosopher, involving, as it did, complete instruction in language. The origin of eloquence depended on the choice of words, the art of speech and the knowledge of things; as with Quintilian, he held that the perfect/

perfect Orator must be a good man. Sturm's method of instruction depended on observance of rules, collection of examples, and imitative exercises. He did not claim that his rhetorical teaching as explained in his treatise "De Periodis" was original, but admitted that it was based on the theories of Aristotle, Hermogenes and Cicero. He did claim the credit of introducing the analytical method of teaching. For this purpose, he was particularly anxious to compile a lexicon in subject order, dividing the whole of the Latin language into seventy six headings for vocabulary purposes and following the natural order. He did not live to carry out his project, which was completed by two of his students on the lines he suggested. In his "Academicæ Epistolæ" he gave in detail an explanation of his methods of Rhetorical teaching, using as an example Cicero's "Pro Milone", while in his notes to Cicero's "Tusculana Prima" he dealt with the Rhetorical art, the consistency of speech, the connection of arguments and choice of words. Of course Cicero as "enriching speech and increasing knowledge" was his principal text book. He insisted that all teaching must be clear and easily understood and that the author's work should be learned by heart and imitated after observance of usage, for the student of Oratory should not only know Oratorical works but be capable of constructing such a speech himself. Rhetoric was cultivated in his school by notes, memory work/

work, imitation, composition and declamation. Sturm's methods in this subject were highly praised in his own time and carefully followed by all other educators, especially the Jesuits. The insistence on the study of Rhetoric drew attention to literary form and set up a standard, which did much to raise national languages. Sturm was known to his contemporaries not only as an educational organiser but as an inspiring and successful Professor of Rhetoric.

"Sturmius in brevibus complectitur omne libellis
Quidquid Aristotelis pagina lata tenet;
Sturmius antiquis non postponendus in arte,
Flumine et eloquii non Cicerone minor." 104

(b) GREEK.

Some Greek had always been taught in Italian and French Mediaeval schools, but its introduction into Germany by Agricola, Reuchlin and Erasmus took place only a few years before Sturm went to Strassburg. In Renaissance schools it was held to be merely accessory to Latin, and it was only the power of understanding the language which was sought. Freigius gave very plainly the reason for this primacy of Latin, "In our times we are in the habit of making Latin the foundation. In all departments of public life, the expedite use of Latin, both for speaking and writing is necessary: it is called for in matters of religion, of civil and of canon law, and in all branches of social and international intercourse. The text books on various branches of knowledge, the codes of law/

law themselves are taught and learned in Latin in the schools. It is by sharing in common the Latin language that peoples and kingdoms are kept in union. In Greek it is not the ability to speak or to write it, but only the power to understand it, that is commonly judged to be needful." Greek was not a living language and all writing and speaking of it was subordinate to reading. Sturm tried to keep the reading of Greek on a level with that of Latin, but in other ways regarded it as a less important school subject. He realised however, with Erasmus, that Latin learning was entirely based on Greek, which contained the fullest knowledge in all departments of education, and he gave it a more prominent position in his school plan than most of his contemporaries. Many of these did not include Greek amongst school studies and ~~in~~ others made very meagre provision for it. In the College of Guyenne, so advanced in other ways, Greek was started every year again from the beginning, at Winchester only a little Greek grammar was taken in the highest class, at St. Andrew's University in 1559 the Professors did not know Greek and used Latin translations of Greek text books and in 1570 "Our Regent begoud and teacheth us the a b c of Greek and the simple declinations, but went no farder", at Cambridge University in 1586 Greek was almost forgotten; on the other hand, Sir Thomas Elyot preferred Greek as the first language because it is "hardest to come by", Calvin gave Greek/

Greek an equal place with Latin and emphasised thorough preparatory linguistic study, and Budé in France considered Greek to be the more important language. Melanchthon believed that Germany's coarseness could best be removed by Greek and that it was indispensable for grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, natural science, history and theology. Sturm urged the study of Greek authors for the light they throw on Latin and as text books of various subjects - Demosthenes for Oratory, Aristotle for Philosophy, Plato for Dialectic. Sturm's notes in Greek and Latin translations of many of Aristotle's treatises were praised as bringing more pleasure and benefit to their study.¹⁰⁸ In his explanation of the speeches of Demosthenes, Sturm dealt mainly with the technique and advised that Greek authors should be read to boys in Latin translation. The study of Greek laboured under the handicap that texts were scarce and elementary readers and grammars hardly existed. It was 1495 before Aldus printed the "editio princeps" of Aristotle's Rhetoric and Poetic. Between 1494 and 1515 he brought out first editions of all the principal Greek authors. The first Greek Grammar of wide circulation was that of Clenardus printed in 1530 at Louvain by Rescius, with whom Sturm was associated, though his name does not appear on the title page in this case. The Greek Grammar used at Strassburg was the "Grammatica Graeca sive Educatio Puerilis Linguae Graecae" of Theophilus Golius. Sturm frequently praised/

praised it and an examination of its contents shows that it was clear and concise, on similar lines to those at present in use, though of course, written in Latin. Sturm advised the study of Greek metre, the translation of Greek into Latin and vice-versa, ex-tempore answering on Greek grammar and authors, and the acting of Greek plays. It is disappointing, however, to find him devoting so much attention to Hermogenes, a second rate author whom he claimed to have introduced to Europe, and praising Homer mainly for the purity and dignity of his language. There was considerable prejudice against the study of Greek and, even in 1551, a monk declared that both Greek and Hebrew were inventions of the devil. It was only when Latin ceased to be treated as a spoken language that Greek was considered on a level with it as a school subject.

(c) HEBREW.

While the Reformation quickened an interest in Hebrew on the part of scholars and many like Sturm taught themselves the language even at an advanced age, it did not commonly become a school subject. James Melville in his Diary, in describing his own study at school, wrote "And last entering to the Hebrew I gat the reiding declynations and pronons and sum also of the conjugations out of Martinus grammar qlk he haid wt. him and schew me the use of the Dictionair also qlk he haid of Reuchlin's wt. him." Hebrew was officially taught in Dusseldorf, and by Trotzendorf in Goldberg, Fagius in Isny and Neander at Ilfeld/

Ilfield. Reuchlin's Hebrew Grammar in 1506 was the first in Germany. Sturm wished to add the study of Hebrew to that of Latin and Greek and, like other educators, was anxious that the Scriptures should be read in the original, but he did not wish this to be done in the school classes where he held the other subjects to be sufficient. Sturm's strong objection to over-pressure in school work and to dissipation of energy over many subjects prevented him from introducing this language as a regular school subject.

(d) RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION.

One effect of the Renaissance was to draw attention away from the Bible to classics. Many educators of the period never mentioned it in their schemes or regarded it merely as literature. Religious instruction, therefore, came to be given mainly through prayers, catechisms such as those of Luther (1526) and Calvin (1538) and such collections as the Psalms of George Buchanan, which were very popular then and for two hundred years later. Up to 1558, the return of the Marian Exiles, the Bible was not used as an instrument of education in England, though the stimulus of the schools was distinctly religious. By 1660 the Calvinistic influence in English schools had worn off and Religious Instruction gradually dropped out until in 1809 there was no teaching of religion in Eton and the other Public Schools. In Germany, however, the greatest stress has always been put on this training. Luther's advice/

advice was, "See to it that your children above all things are instructed in divine things, that you first dedicate them to God and then to worldly matters," and since his time Religious Instruction has been assigned to the schools and worked out by laymen. Sturm was fully representative of his country. In all his schemes, Religion and Morality are stated as the first aim of education, though he did not go so far as Luther who advocated the study of languages merely to understand the Scriptures. Sturm declared that Religion should be taken first and last every day, that the Catechism should be learned in German, Latin, Greek or Hebrew by students at different stages and that the reading of the Bible was most necessary, though only the story of Christ, Moses, the Prophets and the Apostles should be taken in school. He vigorously denied the charge of irreligion brought against himself and his school and insisted on the importance of teaching morality through religious observances and study. While Luther, Calvin and Knox wished to foster the linguistic type of education for religious purposes, Sturm was willing to ^{study} religious writings for linguistic purposes. He advocated that St. Paul's Epistles should be committed to memory and studied more from the point of view of Roman life than of theology, that Cicero's philosophical style should be used in religious exercises and that sacred dramas should be acted in school. "Grace of language", he wrote, "is more fitting to the teaching of Christ than huge temples." Music was cultivated/

cultivated mainly for religious purposes. On holy days special instruction was given and the pupils took part with the citizens in public worship. Brinsley expressed clearly the view of the Grammar School at this period when he described the aim as "To be acquainted with the grounds of Religion and the chiefe histories of the Bible..... and to set them downe afterwards in a good Latine stile or to reade them ex-tempore in Latine out of the English." Sturm fully appreciated the important effect of such teaching on young minds and wished his organisation to be conducted in a religious spirit and atmosphere, but he did not allow the school on that account, to become subservient to the Church, as happened in Geneva and in Scotland.

(e) MUSIC.

Quintilian highly approved of Music as a subject in the curriculum and, all through the Middle Ages, it kept its place in the schools. Ever since Luther, who said, "Unless a schoolmaster know how to sing I think him of no account", Music has been zealously cultivated in German schools. Sturm also required it as a school subject and was very definite in his instructions. The Music Master must teach his pupils to control the mouth properly, to sing and not to shout, and to keep good time and phrasing. Careful attention must be given to the singing of psalms for religious purposes, to proper enunciation and to the avoidance of a slow, drawling style of singing. The theory of/

of Music was taught from the books of Boethius, which were recommended by Sturm for plays and brightening school work. Vives also advocated that "young men should have theoretical instruction in Music and some practical ability", while Calvin carried out the singing of Psalms in his school and recognised the value of Music. In other countries there was not the same enthusiasm. The College of Guyenne took singing at any odd moment, and in England most educators followed Ascham's opinion in quoting Galen, "Much musick marreth man's manners." Westminster (1560) had Music twice a week but Brinsley and Kemp (1588) did not mention it in their curriculum. It is interesting to note the varying views as to the practical value of Music. Sturm regarded it as a part of Mathematics, Lily as a help to pronunciation, Mulcaster as a physical exercise and Bird, the musical composer (1608), as an aid to good health. The Reformation laid stress on singing by the whole community. In Germany, therefore, music teaching had to be popularised and simplified, and singing masters were appointed in all the schools.

(f) PHYSICAL EXERCISES.

At the Renaissance period, several educators laid great stress on games and physical education, notably Vives who in his Dialogues referred frequently to games, such as tennis, and to Nature Study excursions, but Erasmus considered physical excellence subordinate and regarded the absorption in sports, so common in higher Teutonic society as a hindrance/

hindrance to learning. Sturm is stated to have done much to promote such training in German schools. He advocated manly sports in his "Education of a Prince," and he held that for all pupils physical exercises, taken with moderation and decency and judiciously blended with study, relax the mind and assist mental efforts. They must not, however, be so strenuous as to dull the intellect and for their proper supervision a teacher should always be present. He believed that physical exercises give vigour and suppleness to the body, develop courage and character, by running, leaping, swimming, fencing, and the use of arms. But, besides these, he recommended other recreations which were as healthy and more useful, "to go out of the city, visit meadows and gardens, dig up plants, ask their names, taste and dissect, it is doubtful whether this kind of play brings more pleasure or benefit."

(g) MATHEMATICS.

During the Sixteenth Century inductive Sciences were just commencing to develop, especially in the case of physics and medicine; modern astronomy may be said to have begun with Copernicus in 1543; it was the age of the great discoveries. But as yet these had little effect on the schools. While some attention was given to Mathematics, there were no text books except those of Classical writers so that these subjects could not be treated by modern methods and there was no fixed body of information available for school use. Though Luther advised a little Mathematics and/

and Aberdeen Grammar School (1522) had the regulation "Let pupils acquire a moderate knowledge of Arithmetic." most of the schools neglected both Mathematics and Science entirely and even the Jesuits and the Colleges of Port Royal, later, gave little attention to them. Ascham wrote "Some wittes, moderate enough by nature, be many tymes marde by ouer moch studie and use of some sciences, namelie, musicke, arithmetick and geometrie. Mark all Mathematicall ~~heades~~ which be onely and wholly bent to those sciences, how solitaire they be theselves, how unfit to live with others and how unapte to serue in this world." Even in 1770 and 1809 Euclid, Algebra and Arithmetic were optional subjects at Eton. It was the Private Academies in England which introduced Science and Mathematics when these were not taught in school or University. Sturm was not greatly in advance of his times in this matter. Arithmetic, Geometry and Astronomy were not much in evidence in his school except on paper and neither Mathematics nor Science generally was held of importance, as shown by the report of Dasypodius in 1556. When the subjects were taught, they were based on the works of Proclus, Aratus, Euclid and Aristotle, and no mention is ever made of the recent discoveries. After the reorganisation of the school, Sturm gave more attention to Mathematics by the appointment of a competent Professor, Conrad Dasypodius. This was done largely on the advice of Ramus, whose enlightened methods exerted/

exerted much influence. Sturm gave Dasypodius every encouragement and assisted him to bring out an edition of the elements of Euclid in 1571. But Mathematics was taught from a theoretical rather than a practical point of view and Sturm himself had confused ideas on Arithmetic and Geometry, as shown by his letters of instruction to his staff. In Astronomy Sacrobosco of the 13th century and Purbach of the 15th were the authorities, for Copernicus had not yet got into the schools. Even the scheme, which Ramus approved, confined Mathematics to the highest class in the school (that is, to pupils 16 years of age) and to the two first years of the public courses. In contrast to this seeming indifference, Sturm published an edition of Cuthbert Tonstall's Arithmetic in 1544. He praised the book for its "learned, clear and pure Latin style" and for its continuity. He evidently regarded it as a great advance on the Arithmetic text books in use up to that time and declared that anyone who knew Latin could learn Arithmetic from this book "without a teacher." He insisted that Arithmetic "which explains the art of counting, is a necessary art to human life." This book, like others of the time, was very largely empirical in its methods and contained many problems of a kind which were useful then and which still survive in the text books of the present day. According to Sturm, therefore, Arithmetic, while most necessary, could be learned at home or incidentally/

incidentally and need not form part of the school curriculum. The same view prevailed at the College of Guyenne, where private study of Arithmetic was advised, and at Geneva, where it was stated that the pupils who were boarders had the benefit of closer touch with the Masters and could thus pick up the rules of this subject. In the later years of his Rectorship, Sturm advocated Nature Excursions, for the school pupils, tried to improve the teaching of Botany and other medical sciences, and to establish a Botanic Garden in Strassburg. Like other modern school subjects, Mathematics and Science first actually entered the schools to illustrate declamation and composition. Limited knowledge and a limited view of the universe prevented the human mind from throwing off its shackles at once. The belief in witchcraft still persisted and more "witches" were burned in the 16th than in the 15th century and in the 17th than in the 16th century. Such an age of cruelty and superstition was yet unprepared for wider views, but the beginning of scientific enquiry was being made by Copernicus, Brahe, Kepler and Galileo.

(h) HISTORY.

History was not taught as a school subject during the Middle Ages and in the sixteenth century little attention was given to it. Calvin did not include it in his school plan and though Luther and Melanchthon recognised the need of teaching history, no serious attempt was made to introduce/

introduce it into schools before Comenius, Rabelais particularly urged its study and Vives advocated the teaching of Universal History, but even the Jesuits regarded it as purely subsidiary, to be used in the explanation of authors. There were no text books except those dealing with Roman or Greek history and in England, where English history took a low place, the first school book was Ockland's "Anglorum Praelia" (1582) in verse. The view of History was purely literary. It was a recital of noble deeds, and was studied for rhetoric, facts and moral examples, mainly to supply subjects for composition. Until 1800 there was merely implicit teaching of history. In Sturm's school the prevailing view of the subject was generally taken, and its study was not commenced by any pupil until the age of 16 years, but Sturm did lay stress on the benefit of history and civil law in the education of princes. The Professor of History in the higher courses was expected to lecture on "chronology, battles and topography, policy, events and causes, and to apportion praise or blame." He was also to explain carefully the style of historians, meaning, of course, Classical historians, Thucydides, Livy, Sallust, for it was only Classical history that was studied. Modern History as a school subject was never thought of. Sturm was not, in this respect, in advance of his times, except that he realised and advocated the practical value to be gained/

gained by rulers from a philosophical consideration of the actions of their predecessors. The importance of History in the school curriculum was not yet understood.

(1) GEOGRAPHY.

What has been said regarding Mathematics and History applies also to Geography. In the 16th century it was very little taught and a pupil would leave school with incoherent ideas of the Ancient world, regarding which alone there were text books and these in use for many centuries, and with none whatever regarding his own. As in History, the subject came in merely to illustrate declamations and composition. Sturm did advocate the teaching of Geography by the Professor of Mathematics in the last year of the school course and for the first two years of the higher courses. "Let us do something which men now living may approve and posterity praise. It is your duty to explain in this year the elements of geography, the sphere of Proclus, the phenomena of Aratus, Euclid, Arithmetic and Aristotle on the Universe." He evidently regarded such teaching as a novelty. It was purely empirical and no interest whatever was taken in recent over-seas discoveries or in the researches of Copernicus. The subject lacked fixity, definiteness and suitable text books.

NOTES.

1. Sturm: Linguae Latinae, Resolvendae Ratio: 516.
 "Sed oportet nos hanc rationem ita instituere, ut sit ad cognoscendum facilis..... ut facile disci possit etiam a mediocri ingenio, ut hic labor inserviat tam oculis i.e. legentibus, quam menti i.e. cogitantibus et meditantibus."
2. Sturm: Classicae Epistolae l. 7. as to subjects and methods, "Plurima autem ea statuo, quae juventutis viribus aequiparata sint, non quae vires superent. Quae moderatio adhibetur non solum numero et pondere, verum etiam ratione bona et modo erudito."
 Sturm: Scholae Lavinganae. 36.
3. Sturm: Scholae Lavinganae. 40.
4. Sturm: Linguae Latinae Resolvendae Ratio. 51.
5. Sturm: Commentarii in Artem Poeticam Horatii (1576).
 In his preface Lobartus says of Sturm, "He explained the meaning of Horace so shortly and clearly, that any one of average intelligence can understand it without difficulty."
6. Sturm: De Amissa Dicendi Ratione, 33. "Nos multitudine, prolixitate, subtilitate nostra debilitamus ingenia."
7. Sturm: De Educatione Principis: 7.
8. Fritz: Système d' Instruction 111.
9. "Schola Aquitanica" - Programme d'Etudes du Collège de Guyenne au XVI Siècle (par Louis Massebieau (1886) gives a very full account of the system as it prevailed in that school.
10. Sturm: Classicae Epistolae l. 5. In the sixth class the first section learned a hymn of Ambrose, the second an epigram of Martial, the third an ode of Horace and so on with the different sections.
 Sturm: Classicae Epistolae l, 10. "Sed tuum est suum cuique pensum mandare atque praescribere, ut omnes non unas sed diversas veluti merces ad mercatum tuum adferant."
11. Sturm: Scholae Lavinganae 38. "Sed non solum ludimagister interrogare debet; verum etiam decurio, et cum coram praesens est magister, et antequam in scholas magister ingrediatur, et posteaquam scholis egressus est/

est. Componendi etiam inter se ipsi sunt decuriones et alter in alterius conabitur septa transilire et probare milites in alieno contubernio."

12. - Sturm: Classicae Epistolae 111. 5. 111
13. Sturm: De Exercitationibus Rhetoricis, p.48
14. In the Middle Ages school books were not available for the pupils of a class: in 1660 the English schoolmaster Hoole noted over 300 such books.
15. Sturm: De Educatione Principis, 7. "Ipsae dialecticorum atque rhetoricorum praeceptiones facilius doctoris voce atque iudicio tradi possunt, quam libris sint explicatae."
16. Sturm: Scholae Lavinganae, 57.
17. Sturm: De Imitatione Rhetorica, "Est ter discere libros commutare."
18. Schola Aquitana - Massebieau.
19. Sturm: De Amissa Dicendi Ratione, p.73.
20. Sturm: De Exercitationibus Rhetoricis: 390.
21. Sturm: De Ludis Litterarum Recte Aperendis, 36.
22. Sturm in his Preface to M.T. Ciceronis Epistolarum Volumen Primum, says that there are many points which "aut paucis verbis proponenda sunt, aut si sunt explicanda singula, ea ad bibliothecas et domesticas lectiones referantur et excludantur e scholis atque gymnasiis." -
23. Sturm: Scholae Lavinganae, 41. "Nihil hic longum esse debet, praeter quietem nocturnam qua haec aetas fraudanda non est."
24. McCrie: Life of Melville. 11. 445.
25. Leach: English Schools at the Reformation, p. 105.
26. Wm. Douglas: "Academiarum Vindiciae". (1659)
27. Glasgow Herald 3rd. April, 1924.
 "I wonder if those who seek a Universal language realise that there exists a Review written entirely in Latin. It is called "Janus" and costs 26 fr. per annum/

annum, being published every two months by the Société des Belles Lettres at Paris. Naturally it is not particularly topical nor controversial, but the last number I saw had an encomium of Pierre Latî, written in delightful Latin, by M. André Thérive, which completely justified the claim of the oldest Universal language to express with concision the ideas of the 20th century."

28. Zarncke: The German Universities in the Middle Ages, p. 226.
30. Sturm: De Amissa Dicendi Ratione p. 412.
Vives gave many examples of the "barbarity" of diction and incorrectness of mediaeval Latin, while Erasmus asserted that, even in schools, such words as "bubsequa, bovinator, manticulator" etc., were freely used.
31. Sturm: Linguae Latinae Resolvendae Ratio, 10.
32. Sturm: Epistolae Classicae l. 1.
33. Schola Aquitana (Massebieau) gives many interesting details as to school work. In the scheme of the lowest class there appears the following description of the earliest reading lessons.
"Ut verbi gratia, si lectio sit ex principio quarti illorum psalmorum, praeceptor dicit primum vocabulum "M i s e r e r e", quem pueri subsequentes, "M i s e r e r e". Deinde praeceptor appellat literas, syllabas conjungit ejusdem vocabuli "M, i", "Mi". Ille "s,e,se, Mise". Discipuli, "s,e,se, Mise." Ille, "r,e, re, Misere". Discipuli "r,e, re, Misere". Praeceptor denique, "r,e, re, M i s e r e r e." et discipuli, "r,e, re, M i s e r e r e."

In the same class as to writing - "Pueri autem quum primum ex cognitis viginti tribus elementis syllabas et dictiones conficere posse coeperint, scriptoris, ut vulgo appellatur, illis opus est..... Litteram unam, syllabam, dictionem, sententiam aliquam non otiosam praeceptor illis praescribit quam imitentur..... quod ipse inspicit et monet siquis error est, siqua scribendo incuria. Sicut autem eorum in mentem venit, ut fere fit, hominis figuram, canis, equi, arboris aut aliqua alia, sua in charta pingit."

34. Sturm: De Exercitationibus Rhetoricis:
Sturm: Epistolae Classicae lll. 6.
35. Sturm: Scholae Lavinganæ, 57: "Eadem enim ratio est exercitationis/

exercitationis scribendo quae in cantando.....Qui cantoris discipulus queat cantare, antequam didicerit, nisi praeceptoris adjuvetur praecantatione?"

36. The grammar of Alexander de Villa Dei was written in 1200. It consisted of 2645 hexameter lines and was very cumbrous in form. The first lines were as follows:-

"Recte -as, -es, -a dat declinatio prima,
Atque per -am propria quaedam ponuntur Hebraea,
Dans -ae diphthongon genetivis et dativis."

37. Donatus, a grammarian of the 4th century A.D. His Latin grammar was the regular school book of the Middle Ages. Despautère lived 1460 - 1520. His was a more advanced grammar.

38. The following is a sample from Despautère's Grammar.
"Ns et rs, s demens, -tis dabis apte;
Dis vult glans, nefrens; capitis lens et folium frons,
Libraque cum pendo, et quod cor faciet tibi nomen;
Untis habento quiens et iens, legem ambio spernit."
The survival of this sort of thing may be seen in the appendices to Kennedy's Latin Primer still in use in our schools.

39. Sturm: De Latinae Linguae Resolvendae Ratione, 34,35.
"Cur me pueret in hac aetate et senecta mea grammaticam agere et res tractare grammaticorum?"

40. As example the following: "Hic quidem notandum est, quod in plurali numero omnium vocativus est similis nominativo et ablativus dativo", or "Nomen est pars orationis quae casibus inflexa significat aliquid sine ulla temporis significatione. Nomen proprium est quod significat rem non communem, sed propriam uni individuo." Doubtless the use of Latin as a medium of teaching made progress slow at first.

41. Sturm: Scholae Ravinganae. 18.

42. Sturm: De Amissa Dicendi Ratione, "Nam et paucitas et multitudo obstare atque officere discentibus solet.....

43. Albert Oelinger: Unterricht der Hoch Teutschen Sprach (1574). Preface by Sturm.

44. Sturm: Scholae Ravinganae, 19.

45. Sturm: Classicae Epistolae: 1.4

46. Sturm: Classicae Epistolae 1. 2
Also Sturm/

Also Sturm; Preface to Cicero Oratt. Vol. III.
 "Primus exercitationis labor in conquisitione verborum
 suscipiendus est. Origo enim eloquentiae est
 verborum ornatus."

47. Sturm: De Exercitationibus Rhetoricis: "Our dialogues
 which we have commenced to write to suit our classes."
 No copy of this book survives.
48. Sturm: De Amissa Dicendi Ratione p.430. "Scio Romanis
 et Graecis aliam consuetudinem fuisse et ad poetas
 statim pueros deduxisse. Sed quia ad Grammaticos
 illi quotidianum sermonem adferebant, quem antea domi
 didicerant, minus periculi erat, cum lingua pura esset,
 in hac ratione instituendi."
49. Sturm: Preface to M. T. Ciceronis alterum Epistolarum
 Volumen. "Duas enim ego causas esse existimo quare
 legendae sint Ciceronis epistolae: una linguae latinae,
 altera rerum et cognitionis.
50. Sturm: Linguae Latinae Resolvendae Ratio, p. 26.
51. Poeticum, libri sex, cum lemmatibus J. Sturmii.
 (Strassburg, 1575).
52. Sturm: Preface to M. T. Ciceronis De Officiis - "Itaque
 non sine magno incommodo iudicii periculo, Terentius
 Plautusque ab adolescentibus legitur, nisi idoneus
 accesserit interpres."
 On the other hand, Sturm doubted whether the plays were
 any worse morally than what the pupils heard in their
 own homes. c.f. Johannis Sturmii ad Bartholomaeum
 Sufferum Epistola (1565).
53. R.A. Cantabrigiensis D. Joanni Sturmio (undated) in
 Rogeri Aschami AngliFamiliarium Epistolarum Libri
 III, "Principes illi in omni doctrina viri, Aristoteles,
 Demetrius, Halicarnasseus, Hermogenes, Cicero, Quintilianus,
 Sturmiius tanto studio perpoliverunt, ut in nulla alia
 re accuratius elaborasse videantur."
54. Sturm: Preface to M. T. Ciceronis Orationum Volumina
 Tria. As to other writers he writes "Annon hi quoque
 cognoscendi? Aut suntne apud Ciceronem omnia?"
55. Sturm in his Preface to M. T. Ciceronis Volumen
 Secundum expressed surprise at the general ignorance
 of Cicero's works, "Praesertim per Germaniam, quae
 multa gymnasia habet, vel nunquam vel raro Ciceronis
 scripta explicantur.

56. Sturm: Nobilitas Litterata 30.
57. Sturm: Academicae Epistolae, 7.
58. Sturm: Scholae Lavinganae; 79. "Adhuc (i.e. up to the highest school class) enim linguae magis quam mentis magistri atque doctores esse volumus." In his commentaries on Classical Texts, Sturm always wrote with a view to instruction in a living speech.
59. Sturm: Nobilitas Litterata 10.
60. Jesuit Ratio 1586. "The erudition conveyed should be slight and only to stimulate and recreate the mind, not to impede progress in learning the tongue."
61. Sturm: Scholae Lavinganae 72.
62. Sturm: De Amissa Dicendi Ratione p.449. "Non converti, ut interpres, sed ut orator."
and Sturm: In Partitiones Oratorias Ciceronis Dialogi quatuor, "Tria sunt ergo praecipue spectanda in translatis, sonus, significatio, sensus: ut vult Aristoteles."
63. Sturm: De Exercitationibus Rhetoricis, p.388 later advocated this plan for pupils in the Third Class, advising that "tota oratio Ciceronis aliqua exuenda Germanice est et rursus induenda Latine."
64. Sturm: De Exercitationibus Rhetoricis p. 391.
"Alterum genus earum orationum est quae in scholis interpretatae et explanatae non sunt, sed translatae a literatis hominibus, quorum opera permittimus utantur, sed ita ut contendant cum illis perspicuitate et puritate."
65. Sturm: Nobilitas Litterata, 18.
Also Sturm: In Partitiones Oratorias Ciceronis l. 22.
66. "Commentarii in Artem Poeticam Horatii confecti ex scholis Jo. Sturmii." (Strassburg. 1576).
67. Sturm: De Exercitationibus Rhetoricis, p.61
68. Horace: Ars Poetica, note by Sturm to l 345. "Quoties repetes Homerum, Vergilium, Horatium, Pindarum, Sophoclem, Aeschylum et similes, toties aliquid animadvertes quod antea non observasti, vel in ipso argumento, vel in ipsis vocabulis vel in sententiis."
69. Sturm: De Exercitationibus Rhetoricis: p.396. "Ex hac consuetudine haec consequentur commoda, quorum primum/

primum est, quod omnes orationes Ciceronis uno anno recitari in scholis poterunt; idque aut nullo aut non magno labore. Quid enim laboris est unum aliquem unam orationem uno anno mandare memoriae?

70. Montaigne objected strongly, "savoir par coeur n'est pas savoir."
71. Sturm: *Classicae Epistolae* l. 8.9.
"Autodidactos enim nostros tragaedos et comoedos esse volumus."
72. Sturm: *Classicae Epistolae* lll. 5.ii.
73. A. Jundt. "Die dramatischen Aufführungen in Gymnasium zu Strassburg."
74. Sturm: *De Exercitationibus Rhetoricis*, 49.
75. Sturm: *Epistola ad Siffertum* 65,66.
76. Compare; Manchester Grammar School (1524). "Item that the schoolmaster and usher shall cause all scholars to use and speak the Latin tongue within the school and other places convenient.) ii. Aberdeen Grammar School (1549). Masters "non loquantur palam aut publice nisi lingua latina."
77. Sturm: *Classicae Epistolae* lll. 5.8.
78. Sturm: *Classicae Epistolae* lll. 2.16. "In coenis, in prandiis, in jentaculis et merendis.....sermo esto de rebus bonis, honestis, utilibus, idemque latinus."
In Geneva it was noted that the boarders (convictores) had the benefit of Latin conversation with the masters during meals and each boy had to prepare a subject for the purpose.
79. Sturm: *Scholae Lavinganæ* 46.
80. Bechner in his "Vividarium" (1636) lamented that Latin was learned as a dead not as a living language; he wished to set up a community where only Latin was to be spoken.
81. Sturm: *De Imitatione Oratoria* l.
82. Sturm: *ibid*: "Haec est causa quoniam vetus consuetudo exercendi intercidit, declamandi consuetudo omnino sublata est, puerilia sunt quae in scholis et academiis facimus, adolescentes scribunt, quae scribuntur a praeceptoribus non emendantur, praeceptores adolescentibus/

adolescentibus ita scribunt ut videantur voluisse pueriliter scribere."

83. Sturm: Commentarii in Artem Poeticam Horatii.
84. Sturm: M. T. Ciceronis Orationum, Vol. lll. - Preface. "Atque hoc tibi argumento sit Ciceronem ad imitandum non solum utilem sed etiam pernecessarium esse, quod absque caeteris scriptoribus dicendi rationem perfectam assequi possumus; absque hoc vero non possumus.
85. Sturm: De Exercitationibus Rhetoricis.
86. Sturm: Commentarii in Artem Poeticam Horatii, l. 46. "Ego aliquot annos docui, nullum feci oratorem. Quare? quia non distinguimus bene, destituimur vocabulis, centesimam partem non possumus nominare latine."
87. Sturm: M. T. Ciceronis Orationum, Vol. lll. Preface. "Verum etiam in hac re et monitore et magistro est opus. Est enim plena fastidio scribendi exercitatio praesertim incipienti."
88. Sturm: Scholae Lavinganae, 55.
89. Brinsley "The Grammar Schoole" expressed it "To write Theames full of good matter, in pure latine and with judgement."
90. Sturm: Scholae to De Imitatione Oratoria: "Nolo enim oratorem astringere et alligare vestigiis Ciceronis et Demosthenis solius; sed quod his deest, aliunde quaerere et adjungere debet."
91. Hermogenes: De Inventione l. Sturm in a note wrote, "Sed imitator non est servum pecus, nam quod in his deest, ab aliis scriptoribus debet petere."
92. Sturm: De Imitatione Oratoria l. "Latet imitatio, non extat; occultat se, non detegit; neque intelligi vult nisi ab erudito."
93. Ascham: Letters to Sturm (undated). "Sed qua ratione Sturmius Ciceronem imitandum esse et praeceptis in "Litterata Nobilitate" perfecte docet, et exemplis in Quintiana Explicatione insigniter ostendit." also in "The Scholemaster" ll. 277, Ascham says that a book filled with examples of "Imitatio" out of all the best authors is very much needed, "but onely Sturmius is he, out of who, the trew suruey and whole workmanship is speciallie to be learned."
94. Hartelius' /

94. Hertelius' statement along with Sturm's reply make up the "De Exercitationibus Rhetoricis."
95. Sturm: *Academicæ Epistolæ* l. 13.
96. Sturm: *Classicæ Epistolæ* ll. 2.
97. Hauenreuter: *Schola Argentinensis*: (a synopsis of Sturm's plan by one of the Professors of the Strassburg Academy.)
98. Massebieau: *Schola Aquitanica*.
99. Harrow School Rules. (1580).
100. Sturm: *Classicæ Epistolæ* l. 10.
101. Sturm: Preface to *M.T. Ciceronis Epistolarum*, Vol. 1.
102. Sturm: Letter to Erythraeus (1547) who published a "Tabulæ" of his Oratorical Treatises." *Aristotelis, Ciceronis et Hermogenis doctrina est, quæ explicari quidem clarius potest..... cui ego nihil aliud attuli quam novam explicandi rationem.*"
103. Sturm: *De Amissa Dicendi Ratione* p. 456.
104. Lines written by Georgius Fabricius and published by Erythraeus in the "Tabulæ" of Sturm's Dialectical Treatises in 1551.
105. Freigius: *De Exercitiis Linguae Latinae* (1595), p. 57.
106. Sturm: *Scholæ Lavinganæ*, 76. "Cavendum est ut ne Graeci sermonis facultas Latinae orationis copiam superet et antevertat. Nam tametsi utraque necessaria est, tamen Latinae linguae usus latius, quam Graecae patet, in rebus actionibusque hominum, nostro saeculo et in hac Europa nostra."
107. James Melville's Diary.
108. Coccinus published many of Sturm's Commentaries for the use of scholars in Poland. In his edition of Aristotle's *Rhetoricorum libri iii*, he wrote, "Haec sunt, optime lector, praecepta de arte dicendi, quae Sturmius, ab Aristotele Graece accepta, nobis Latine tradidit et in interpretando perspicuis verbis expolivit: in explicando exemplis apposis illustravit."
109. Sturm: Preface to Cicero, *De Officiis*.

110. In 1551 a monk declared, "They have recently discovered a language called Greek, against which we must be on our guard. It is the parent of all heresies. I observe in the hands of many persons a work written in that language called the New Testament. ~~It is a work~~ teeming with brambles and vipers. As for Hebrew, all who learn it immediately become Jews."
c.f. also Herminjard l. 31.38.
111. Letter from Humanus Caesareus to Castellion, 4th June, 1563.
112. Sturm: Classicae Epistolae ll. 9. Eliae Kybero interpreti hebraeo.
113. The Catechism which Sturm used was, "Catechismus Ecclesiae et Scholae Argentinensis. (Strassburg 1554). In spite of Sturm's protests, the Lutheran party afterwards had it removed from the school. (Sturm: Epistola Apologetica ll.).
114. Sturm: Quarti Antipappi Tres Partes, 65. "Ubi unquam postulavi ut doceatur in nostra schola: Deum non esse omnipotentem, ligandum Christum esse in coelo, Deum simpliciter esse autorem mali et alia id genus?"
115. Sturm: Classicae Epistolae, l. 7.
116. Sturm: Preface to M.T. Ciceronis Philosophicorum Vol. ll.
117. Brinsley: The Grammar Schoole p. XV. 30.
118. Quintilian Instit. Orat. "Neque citra musicen Grammaticae potest esse perfecta cum ei de metris Rhythmis dicendum sit."
119. Sturm: Classicae Epistolae ll. 10. and ll. 5,2. also Schola Argentinensis "Musicus."
120. Sturm: Academicae Epistolae 12.
121. Boethius (470 - 524): 'the last of the Romans whom Cato or Tully could have acknowledged for their countryman.' Many of his works on Arithmetic, Geometry, Logic and Music still exist. His five books on Music were generally used as school text books at this period.
122. Vives: De Tradendis Disciplinis, lV.5
- 123/

123. Sturm: De Educatione Principis, 7.
 124. Sturm: Classicae Epistolae 111, 5. 12.
 125. Ascham: The Scholemaster, 1. p.190.
 126. Sturm: Classicae Epistolae 11. 5 and Academicae Epistolae, 1. 5.
 127. Ramus: Prooemium Scholarum Mathem. 11 (1567).
 "Hic etiam te, Sturmi, parentem Argentinensis Academiae, quam e privata schola publicam academiam imperatoriisque praemiis et honoribus universitatem fecisti, cohortabor ut ad praeclaros tuarum laudum titulos hic unus accedat atque modo praedicetur, Sturmius Argentinae latina graecaeque studia, rhetorica et philosophica instituit, sic item praedicetur: Sturmius etiam mathemata altero professore amplificavit."
 128. "De Arte Supputandi libri quatuor, Cuthberti Tonstalli, hactenus in Germania nunquam impressi." Sturm in his preface wrote "Arithmetica Cuthbertus Tonstallus prae ceteris dilucide et pure tradidit; atque ita tradidit ut ars ipsa, dum hic author extat, contenta scriptore doctorem non maximopere aliquem requirat." The book was an advance on the practical side especially. An example of its Latin and methods can be well seen in Problem XXXVIII where there is the old favourite "De expedito et signiore cursore altero alteri. Obviam prodeunte et tempore occursus."
 129. Sturm: Scholae Lavinganæ 12. "Necessaria ars in humana societate."
 130. Sturm: Nobilitas Litterata 5. "Omnium autem maxime historia adjuvat, in quibus et ortus rerum publicarum varii videntur et conservationes earum et conversiones atque interitus et hominibus in vita dubitantibus consilia multa et exempla varia suppeditat."
 131. Sturm: Preface to M.T. Ciceronis Epistolarum, Vol. 1
 132. Sturm: Classicae Epistolae, 11. 5.
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CHAPTER VISTURM AND THE VERNACULAR.

The position of the vernacular during the 16th Century in Europe - German, French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, English, Scots - Sturm's attitude defined by his writings - the development of the native tongues due to study of classics.

Sturm has been strongly criticised for his attitude towards the vernacular. It has been alleged, even by his biographers, that he did nothing for his native language, that his speech became more and more alien and insufficient to modern needs and that he is largely responsible for the fact that for three hundred years the study of Roman and Greek culture was the central aim of the grammar schools of Europe. To argue thus is to be guilty of an anachronism. Training in the vernacular during the 16th century would have been more than a hundred years in advance of the times. Every school and University in Europe enforced, by the most stringent regulations and penalties, the use of Latin on every occasion. The public demanded it and complained bitterly when schoolmasters were slack enough to tolerate the use of the vernacular. Like other educators of his time Sturm held that native languages lacked fixity and universality, could be acquired without effort and were of such recent birth as not to be adaptable to the uses of literature. German, French and English were just beginning to develop as national tongues and were unsuited to schools; schoolmasters were often so ignorant of these, that they were unable to do full justice to the teaching even of Latin. The study of the vernaculars was the direct outcome of the invention of printing and of the Reformation, when/

when religion began to appeal through the native languages, especially in Protestant countries. In 1607 these were approaching the literary stage, but it was 1700 before there arose a demand for school books written in the language of the country. Bacon wrote his "Advancement of Learning" in 1605 in English, but in 1623 he requested Dr. Playfair to translate the work into Latin for two reasons, as he said, "the privateness of the language wherein it is written excluding so many readers," and "the obscurity of the argument, in many parts of it, excluding many others."

In Germany, though Charlemagne had tried to develop the use of the vernacular, and ~~town~~ schools had laid special stress on teaching it, the native language was in a very backward state. Rudolph Agricola, an ardent Classical scholar, esteemed German, but Erasmus despised racial languages, creeds, churches and nationality, though he admitted that preaching might be given through the vernacular. It was Luther's translations of the Bible and of the catechisms, which marked the effective beginning of modern German literature and fixed New High German as the standard language of the country. The earliest German Grammar appeared in 1512 and German plays were produced, especially in Strassburg, but all through the century there was nothing else in German which/

which the schools might have used and no scholarly literature as in Italy. The Saxony Scheme of 1528 and Luther's own programme for schools made no mention of German, which actually declined owing to the zeal for classics. There was not a single writer of repute between Luther and Lessing who wrote in German. In Strassburg itself the position was the same 100 years after Sturm's death. Ratke's school at Krethen was the first German school in which children were taught to make a study of their own language. He wrote, "Now the right practice and course of nature is that the dear youth should first learn to read, write and speak correctly and readily their inherited mother tongue (which in our case is German), and thereby they can the better understand and comprehend what they learn in other tongues. For this purpose, the German Bible may be used with special profit." In 1700 it was considered boorish to use German, the Nobles spoke French, the scholars Latin. It was only late in the 18th century that German literature appeared and 100 years later before the language was seriously studied in the schools. German is the most modern of all school subjects.

The case was different with France and Italy. Here the vernacular was the survival of the ancient tongue, unlike German and English. In French schools Cordier, Calvin/

Calvin, Budé and Ramus always cultivated the purity of the native language and made ample provision for its study. Cordier insisted that good French was requisite and declared that "our boys always chatter French with their companions or, if they try to talk Latin, cannot keep it up for three consecutive sentences." While regarding Latin as a more elaborate language and necessary for exact thought, Calvin had his pupils trained not only in Latin, Greek and Hebrew but also in French, "judicio doctorum non omnino contemnenda," and himself used the language even on official occasions. His New Testament set the standard of Modern French. Ramus gave a great impulse to the use of French by writing his "Dialectic" in the vernacular in 1555. But Henry IV. in 1600 renewed the statutes of Francis I. compelling students to speak Latin not only in class but at recreation and in 1612 the University of Paris threatened to expel any professor who lectured in French instead of Latin. The Colleges of Port Royal and Richlieu's Academy definitely took up the study of French and used it as the medium of teaching, so that it developed into a real national language about a century before German. In Italy, Oratory had from the first been cultivated in Italian as well as in Latin. In the 14th century Dante and Boccaccio had helped to make Italian a literary language and the language of Macchiavelli and Ariosto/

Ariosto was soon to eclipse the Classics. Sturm was inclined to regret that it had gone so far, "O would that the enthusiasm of this age would revive, for it has grown cold. Italy prefers to boast in its native tongue ("Etrusce") than to be wise in Latin and Greek, so that Paulus Manutius alone seems to be inspired with the desire for classical eloquence." It was the fashion for distinguished scholars, like Princess Elizabeth to learn Italian as part of their education.

No humanist went so far as Vives in advocating the use of the Vernacular, which he held every teacher must know to ensure progress in Latin and Greek. He wrote, "The pupils should at first speak in their homes their mother tongue (i.e. Castilian), which is born with them, and the teacher should correct their mistakes. Then they should little by little learn Latin. Next let them intermingle with the vernacular what they have heard in Latin from their teacher or what they themselves have learned." His "Dialogues" circulated with vernacular vocabulary in 100 editions through Spain, France, Germany and Italy. Though pupils were punished at Deventer for speaking Dutch in preference to Latin, the Brethren of the Common Life were amongst the first to give systematic instruction through the vernacular.

The English language of the 20th century is identical with that of the opening of the 16th in accidence and inflections/

inflections, though not in syntax. In mediaeval schools, "there was no systematic instruction in English, but an attempt was made to teach bilingually, English being picked up with the more serious business of learning to read Latin," but bitter complaint was often made even against this, as at Southwell Grammar school in 1484, where it was alleged, "They do talk not Latin in school, but English." The native language was vetoed in the schools and Universities, where scholars, as at Eton and elsewhere, followed the lead especially of Germany, and Ascham apologised to Sturm for using English, declaring that all vernaculars are "patched cloutes and ragges in comparison of faire wouen broade clothes, and trewlie, if there be any good in them, it is lerned, borrowed or stolen from some one of these worthie wittes of Athens." Yet there are many evidences that the English were proud of their own tongue and regarded it as a worthy vehicle for literature. Even in the same letter to Sturm, Ascham proudly said, "I write English for Englishmen", and Mulcaster wittily put it thus, "I love Rome but London better, I favour Italy but England more, I honour the Latin but I worship the English." Elyot wrote, "If physicians be angry that I have written physicke in Englishe, let them remember that the Grekes wrote in Greke, the Romans in Latin, Avicenna and the other in Arabike, whiche were their own proper and maternall tongues."/

tongues." Cheke, Bacon and other scholars came to regard English as the principal language, while Henry VIII. in 1536 and 1545 enjoined that "the clergy take care that children be taught the crede, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments in the mother tongue." The English Press was confined to printing works in English; which was far more widely used than the ^{were} vernaculars_A on the continent.

Scotland had pre-Reformation schools where the vernacular was taught, but its use in the schools and Universities during the 15th and 16th centuries was forbidden by frequent enactments. In 1494 a priest in Glasgow, who ventured to instruct some children in the Vernacular, was sharply censured. In 1522 Aberdeen Grammar School permitted the use of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Gaelic, but not of Scots; and bursars were deprived of their bursaries if detected speaking the vernacular. In 1586, James VI. forbade its use at the New College, Edinburgh in the following terms, "that ye contean yourselves within the bounds of your own vocation and calling, and in such languages as ye profess for the instruction of youth, and that in no wise ye attempt Doctrine in English to ye people of the parish, whereby great inconvenience may ensue." Still in 1531 John Vaus published/

published a Latin Grammar written in Scots, in which there are such quaint expressions as "the imperative mode, it biddes or exhortes as "ama, lwf thow," and "But yit of ~~ane~~ -- thing vill ye be aduertit, that rewlis of oratre ar changeable eftyr the jugment of weill imbutit eiris, for nay thing is mair delectable in eloquens than variete," and the Optative mood is referred to as "yarnand mode." It was a knowledge of the Vernacular which helped to hasten the Reformation and in 1543 an Act of Parliament was passed granting to the people the privilege of having "baith the New Testament and the Auld, in the vulgar tounge in Inglis or Scottis," while in 1559 William Nudrye was given by the King, a monopoly of publishing school books, many of them in Scots, as for example, "Ane instruction for bairnis to be lernit in Scotis and Latin." John Knox used a combination of Scots and English in his "History of the Reformation." Scottish scholars, however, wrote and thought more easily in Latin than in Scots and George Buchanan deliberately chose Latin in his works so as to appeal to Europe. "As far as I am concerned," he wrote, "I would prefer to be ignorant of that ancient and feeble jargon than to unlearn what I know of the Latin language." His vernacular pamphlets look like translations from Latin, and books in the native language would have been ridiculed by scholars. It is even doubtful whether his vernacular was Gaelic or Scots. Only after the Reformation did living languages/

languages come into Scottish schools, when Scots became more influenced by literary English.

Such being the state of the vernacular in the countries most strongly influenced by Sturm's educational ideas and organisation, what actually was Sturm's own attitude, as shown by his writings? It must always be remembered that he set out definitely to establish Latin in schools as the universal tongue of learned Europe and that this ideal necessitated the employment of Latin in school work. He constantly referred to this in his treatises, but he was far from despising or rejecting the vernacular, though it is true that his own German lacks the gravity and grace of his Latin writings. He strongly advised the use of the vernacular for teaching purposes with the younger children, especially in the Catechism, with regard to which he wrote, "One's own tongue is generally pleasing to God; he addresses God well, who does it well in his mother tongue." For translations and subjects in composition he was willing that the vernacular should be employed in teaching. "It is easier," he wrote, "to set forth short subjects, which is usually done in the native tongue and in every-day speech, and I do not disapprove. For a youth has no faculty of inventing but only of translating." Again he declared, "I do not commend the advice offered by those who hold that rules of composition/

of composition should have place only in Latin and Greek, and not in other languages, those of our own times, both that we speak ourselves and those of other peoples..... Therefore I state my opinion that these languages should be learned and used for training not only by way of careful study but as a systematic art." He believed that the use of the vernacular in school-work made speech easier in other languages and that it should be employed for plays and songs, for "there are many German songs from which a selection can be made, and there are some native comedies, which resemble sacred stories..... This pleasure will be increased when they perform Latin plays in German and their native tongue, and their eloquence is not confined within Roman orchards but can be transferred to the vernacular." He asserted that, "It would be a great hindrance if eloquence were confined to Latin, and Italians, Spaniards, French and Germans could not be eloquent."²⁰ Sturm highly praised Luther's Bible and Catechism, in which he declared that he stood forth as a master. "If the Reformation," he wrote, "had never taken place, if none of Luther's sermons survived, if he had written nothing else than his translation of the Old and New Testament into German, he would have earned undying distinction in this work." He expressed admiration for the language of the Italian poets Boccaccio and Petrarch and of the French historian Comines. But the/

But the most significant fact is that when Oelinger compiled his German Grammar in 1574, it was Sturm who wrote its preface. Oelinger in his dedicatory letter described how he had young nobles, especially French, living in his house, and how, for the sake of teaching them German, he had visited all the booksellers' shops to get a German Grammar, but without success. Most of them replied that they were doubtful whether the German language, owing to its difficulty, could be brought within fixed laws and that although grammars had been produced, they had not been in the High German idiom. Oelinger was dissatisfied, because he believed that the foundation of every language must be based on a study of grammar as Latin through Donatus, Greek through Gaza and similarly with Italian, French and Hebrew, and for that reason he compiled his Grammar, the earliest in the Upper Rhine. "I have no doubt," he wrote, "that neighbouring peoples, such as Poles, Bohemians, Hungarians, Italians, French, English, Scots, Danes and others desire a knowledge of German both for commercial and diplomatic purposes..... and they deservedly taunt us with neglect in the study of our own language." Sturm in the preface declared,, "I do not praise the policy of those who think that language training should be confined to Latin and Greek and not employed in our own and other vernaculars... I think that German and other languages should be studied and/

and used with the greatest care." He urged the importance of the native languages for the needs of life, for diplomacy, eloquence and poetry. Of course, he properly believed that the constant use of the vernacular in school would spoil the writing and speaking of Latin and he regretted that children had to use it first and met so many people, even priests and councillors, who did not know Latin. While Sturm devoted himself wholeheartedly to the teaching of Latin and Greek, believing with all scholars of his time that a Universal language was needed and that it must be Latin, he by no means depressed the Vernacular and in fact, by the use he made of it in teaching he helped to develop it into a true language. Had not Sturm and other educators stressed the importance of the Classics, modern languages would have taken longer, not shorter, time to reach literary form. Translations of ancient writers had a tremendous effect on vernacular literature. Sturm's insistence on purity of language did much to help the development of literary German in the country where the native language was most backward.

NOTES.

1. Sturm: Linguae Latinae Resolvendae Ratio 1. 2.
"Et quoniam hae linguae, utpote Germanica, Gallica, Italica, Hispanica et ceterae nativae sunt, ideoque simul cum ~~Aetate~~ comparantur usuque confirmantur...."
2. Ratke (1571 - 1635). "Memorial to the Imperial Diet."
3. Cordier: Preface to "Commentarius puerorum de quotidiano sermone." (1530)
4. Corpus Reformatorum X a. At the opening of the reorganised Geneva Academy in 1559, Calvin spoke "gallica oratione ut ab omnibus intelligi posset."
5. Sturm: De ~~Exercitationibus~~ Rhetoricis, p. 363.
6. Vives: De Tradendis Disciplinis, lll. 3
7. Foster Watson: "The English Grammar Schools." Chap. IX.
8. Eton Statutes. 1560.
9. Ascham: Letter to John Sturm, "Et quid meus hic praeceptor non e Graecia, non ex Italia accersitus est, sed in hac barbara insula natus et domi inter parietes meos altus est, propterea barbare, hoc est Anglice, loquitur..... Nostris, non alienis, Anglis, non exteris, scribo."
10. Ascham: The Scholemaster 1. 213.
11. Sir Thomas Elyot: The Castell of Health.
12. "Rudimenta puerorum in artem Grammaticam, per Joannem Vaus, Scotum." (1531);
13. G. Buchanan, "History", p.4
14. Sturm, Classicae Epistolae, 1. 1.
also Sturm, Scholae Lavinganae 28. "Non opus est Latino aut Graeco catechismo puerilem onerare industriam, quae levanda est et liberanda omni molesto pondere. Sat precatur pie, qui patria sua lingua precatur: aequè cujusque sua patria lingua deo grata est."
15. Sturm: Scholae Lavinganae, 56.
16. Sturm: Preface to Oelinger's German Grammar.

17. Sturm: Commentary on Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 1.46.
 18. Sturm: *Epistola ad Siffertum*.
 19. Sturm: *De Exercitationibus Rhetoricis*, p. 397¹/₂.
 20. Sturm, *ibid*, p.367.
 21. Sturm, *ibid*, p. 368.
 22. Unterricht der Hoch Teutzen Sprach - Grammatica seu Institutio verae Germanicae linguae..... cum D. Joanni Sturmii sententia de cognitione et exercitatione linguarum nostri saeculi," by Albert Oelinger, Strassburg, 1574.
The Grammar is written in simple Latin. It is not an elementary book for beginners, but, as it declares, for more advanced, especially foreign, students. Much attention is paid to proper pronunciation and wherever possible comparisons are made with Latin and Greek grammar.
 23. Sturm: *Epistola de Emendanda Ecclesia*, "Sermo Latinus est, qui saepenumero non solum a circumstanti turba sed ne ab ipsis quidem sacerdotibus, hominibus barbaris, intelligitur."
 24. Sturm: *Classicae Epistolae* 1. 2. "Non parentes, non domestici, non familiares, non cives, non magistratus sunt, qui Latine loquantur."
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CHAPTER VII.STURM'S INFLUENCE.

In Europe generally - Germany - France and
Switzerland - England - Scotland - with the
Jesuits.

For nearly 300 years the curriculum of Grammar Schools remained the same as the 16th century educators made it. The spirit and form of the Revival of Learning survives even to this day, especially in the English Public Schools. The Renaissance had its greatest influence in the production of good text-books, and in a change of educational theory. It assimilated Christianity, brought in modern ideas, and spread culture and learning, which later reached a high development. Luther, Melancthon and Sturm fixed the ideal for Teutonic Protestant Europe, and of these Sturm gave the greatest impulse and the most definite aim to Education. The position and enlightened spirit of Strassburg and the religious disturbances which sent so many students and scholars to the town gave him a unique opportunity, both for the cultivation of higher education in his school and for the spread of his ideas through other countries. He was the model for most Post-Reformation schools over Europe; he was the greatest of the founders of Secondary Education and his practice has largely governed modern Secondary Schools; he was esteemed as, "the restorer of eloquence and literature in Germany"; and is admitted to have been "the prototype of the German Classical school of today." Sturm claimed that his school "for 28 years now and more has brought great benefits to our churches, schools and councils, in states/

states, courts, embassies and assemblies, and in those places in which skilful and experienced men live, trained in our school." He declared that "our school is praised especially for the dignity of its learning and the study of eloquence" and was glad to hear of "others following our plan of studies." He had quite definitely the idea of leading a reform. "There is no doubt," he wrote, "about the training of our Academy, from which so many splendid talents have gone forth, scattered through many parts of Europe..... so that many schools of learning, widely separate, will be united in spirit, training and method of teaching." His lectures were eagerly taken down by his students and friends, published and studied everywhere. It was Sturm's zeal for reform, his good taste, his absolute devotion to his work, his rhetorical power and his theory that Education should promote amelioration of life which gained him so high a reputation in his own time. In several of the editions of his works, published by distinguished scholars, there appear epigrams in his honour. As late as 1730 Hallbauer, who brought out a selection of his educational treatises, declared, "He must surely have been a great man whom Melanchthon, Erasmus, Camerarius, Budaeus, Bombus, Sadoletus and Ascham praised so highly."

In his own and neighbouring countries Sturm was almost/

almost the public director of Education. The schools of Protestant Germany were based on his plan, his pupils became schoolmasters in other towns, his text books were in great favour, professors made schemes of his works and lectured on them, selected pupils from all over Germany were sent to Strassburg to study under his direction. Melancthon called Sturm "the light of his country" and praised his eloquence, as famous even on the shores of the Baltic, and for at least 150 years after his death scholars such as Camerarius, Neander, Vornel Morhof, Caselius, Acker, Gryneus, Hallbauer, Schreiber and Joch emphasised his influence and reputation in his own country. Editions of his works were published and highly appreciated at Cracow in Poland, at Prague in Bohemia and at Thorn in Prussia. Johannes Coccius in prefaces to several of his works laid stress on his great repute in Poland, while at Thorn a complete edition of his educational works was brought out for use in schools and colleges. Many Poles visited Strassburg for the express purpose of studying in the Gymnasium, and one of these, Count John of Ostrog, delivered a most striking panegyric of Sturm on his departure from the town, "I came to Strassburg two years ago; I came known to few, quite unknown to Sturm. But whenever I entered his presence, the famous old man received me with as much kindness/

kindness as if I had been his own son. Now when my period of study is over, I think I can never repay the debt I owe him. I say nothing of his lectures, of the great progress I have made in Oratory and Dialectic; but I count this of the greatest importance that I have enjoyed the friendship and the advice of the greatest man Germany ever produced." Toxites and Crusius felt that they were performing a public service by collecting and publishing all Sturm's educational treatises, lectures and notes. In 1602 Verheiden spoke of him as "the glory of his own city, indeed of the whole of Germany", while G. Fabricius who often visited Strassburg, described him in one of his letters as "the Cicero, Plato, Aristotle of Germany." The school codes of Wurtemberg in 1559 and of Saxony in 1580 embodied his views, and many single schools were quite admittedly based on his plan - Pforta (1548); Augsburg and Memmingen in Saxony; Laningen (1565) Altdorf (1575) and Neubourg in Bavaria; Heidelberg (1546) in Baden, Tübingen in Wurtemberg, Hornbach (1575) in the Palatinate; Leipzig, Albi and Jüterbogk (1579) in Brandenburg, Görlitz (1584) in Silesia. A full description of the curriculum of Görlitz has been preserved and shows very clearly Sturm's influence in methods, text-books and subjects. In all the instructions the phrase "ex prescripto Dn. Sturmii" constantly recurs. Leignitz in Silesia approved the reading of Latin plays "des hochberühmten

Herrn/

Herrn Sturmii iudicio." For 250 years his school organisation and his educational ideals were all powerful until in 1800 the effects of the Renaissance began to wear off and Classical education became as arid as in the Middle Ages. The organisation remained but the spirit had left it.

In France and Switzerland, Sturm's influence in educational matters was, for a time, very great. This was mainly due to the fact that Calvin, in his efforts to advance the Reformed doctrines, laid great stress on Education and took Sturm as his model. In 1538, before Sturm's scheme was put into operation, Calvin drew up a plan of studies, which was pedagogically ill-adapted to its purpose. On leaving Geneva shortly afterwards, he went to Strassburg where he taught under Sturm and, on the outbreak of plague, accompanied him to the Black Forest. Even the form of Church polity, which he afterwards established, was initiated during this period. Calvin's later educational schemes of 1541 and 1549 were directly based on that of Sturm and his ideal was to realise Sturm's programme in its entirety. Sturm and Calvin, as their correspondence shows, were on terms of great friendship and Calvin visited Strassburg in 1556 to make a further study of the educational organisation before inaugurating his scheme in 1559. All the features of the Strassburg plan/

plan appeared there. The differences are typical of Calvin in the greater stress laid on strict discipline and church worship. Castellion and Beza, who carried on Calvin's educational work in Geneva after his death, as eagerly maintained Sturm's organisation, and the latter in 1599 wrote as an epitaph, "I do not mourn for you, Sturm, but that we have so few Sturms left."

The schools of Lausanne and Bâle also were based on that of Strassburg. In the latter Thomas Platter highly praised Sturm and reorganised the school on his plan in 1541. In France, Calvin was very influential and many schools adopted Sturm's plan of organisation and studies through his example. Such were Saumur, Montauban, Montpellier, Orange, Sedan, Orthrez, and 30 others in less complete form. But Sturm also exerted a direct influence on his own account. His lectures at Paris University, where he re-introduced the methods of Rudolph Agricola in Logic and combined literature and philosophy, attracted the attention of Rabelais and Ramus, of whom the latter in his frequent correspondence praised Sturm for introducing Ramism into Germany. Du Bellay urged the use of imitation on Sturm's lines and the ill-fated Dolet obtained a lectureship at Lisieux by the help and advice of Sturm. The school plan of Guyenne, which was written in 1583 and wrongly claimed by Vinet to be/

be that of Gouvea in 1534, was probably the most advanced scheme in France. Like so many others, it perpetuated all the features introduced by Sturm without serious modification. Claud Baduel was a boarder with Sturm at Paris in 1534, and under his instruction became a Protestant. He was resident in Strassburg from 1537 to 1539 and saw the inauguration of the Gymnasium. In 1540 he was appointed to the charge of the school at Nîmes. Here he put into operation a programme closely based on Sturm's in organisation and studies. He adopted the same motto "Pietas Litterata" and in his school rules often used the very words of Sturm. For rhetoric and dialectic he advised the reading of Aristotle, then Cicero and Hermogenes in their own texts. He disallowed Quintilian and all modern writers except John Sturm, "who is almost equal to the Ancients." In his "Epistolae Familiares" he fully admitted his debt to Sturm's "De Litteris." In Lyons also, Aneau and Raymer attempted to introduce the plan which, in spite of Sturm's Protestantism, had proved so successful in other French schools. In fact so widespread was his repute throughout France that Sturm, who suffered uncomplainingly from constant plagiarism, was annoyed that so much use was made of his schemes even by the sanction of the King, without acknowledgment. In later times, many French writers have admitted his great influence/

influence on the educational organisation and methods of their country.

In other European countries, also, Sturm was well known. His fame attracted to Strassburg Portuguese, Spaniards, Danes and Italians. Paul Manutius in Italy carried on a correspondence with Sturm and highly praised his educational works and classical commentaries. The Italians paid him the compliment of declaring that no one approached him for elegant Latin. Sturm always had some Spanish students in Strassburg and reference has already been made to the assistance he gave to Reinius, Cassiodorus and Dryander in their translations of the Bible into Spanish.

Until the beginning of the 16th century England had remained somewhat apart from the continent in regard to Education. It was through Italy first that new ideas were introduced. Both Erasmus and Vives had influenced the spread of the New Learning but the first connection with German scholarship took place when Bucer and Fagius came to Oxford and Martyr to Cambridge from Strassburg, in Edward VI's reign. Doubtless they informed scholars of Sturm's methods. It was the religious disturbances of Mary's reign which sent English scholars to Strassburg and these Marian exiles, Nowell and Pilkington, Fox and Bale, on their return in 1558, established Protestant culture in England/

in England. They must have been greatly impressed by Sturm's reputation and efficiency, and learned much which was of great service to education in their own country. Sturm himself wrote to Ascham, "I like to please England and I pray that the Protestant religion may be sustained in it." During the Reformation, elementary schools and 200 grammar schools disappeared:- these were restored in the reign of Elizabeth. The influence of Calvinistic men and books in the 16th and 17th centuries was enormous, (134 of Calvin's and 110 of Beza's writings were published in England) and Calvinism was the most direct factor in English education from 1559 to 1660. The study of Greek was taken up in earnest, biblical instruction and the teaching of morals in the spirit of Calvin were given a definite place in the curriculum, and in 1584 Emmanuel College, Cambridge, was founded and staffed by the most strict Calvinists in England. In all this Sturm was the real influence in organisation and method.

The most distinguished writer on education during the century was Roger Ascham, whose "Scholemaster" marked a new epoch. He openly and frankly claimed Sturm as his ideal. "If there is any good in my book" he wrote, "I owe it all to you, Sturm. In all my writings I have striven to take your works as my pattern." "Learning should be taught rather by love than feare. He that wold see/
see/

see a perfite discourse of it, let him read that learned treatise, which my friend, Joan Sturmius wrote "De Institutione Principis..... For our time the odde man to perform all these perfitlie, whatsoever he doth, and to know the way to do them skilfullie, when so ever he list, is in my poore opinion Joannes Sturmius."

Ascham praised Sturm's educational works, his commentaries on Aristotle and on Plato, his "divine judgment" and his great talent. He followed Sturm in the adaptation of his methods to the needs of the pupils, gentleness in teaching, the use of games, the teaching of morality and the reduction of grammar. He hoped to make use of Sturm's researches in illustrating Sir John Cheke's work in Pronunciation and regarded him as writing Latin worthy to be ranked with the Classics. Morhof in 1688 declared that, of all the scholars in England during the 16th century, Ascham alone had a classical style and that this was due to his friendship with Sturm. It was not only Ascham, however, who held Sturm in high estimation. King Edward accepted the dedication of his Aristotelian Dialogues and Queen Elizabeth of his "De Periodis." Lady Jane Grey, to whom Ascham wished him to dedicate his edition of Aeschines and Demosthenes, and Sir Thomas More's daughters, famous for their learning, greatly admired him. Hales went especially to Strassburg to see him and Hoby was greatly interested in his lectures in 1547. Haddon wrote to Sturm/

to Sturm asking for his friendship. and Sturm himself tells us of his intimacy with such scholars as Cheke, Smith, Paget, Mason, Knolles, Cardinal Pole and the Bishop of Winchester. Toxites dedicated editions of Sturm's books to Sir John Cheke and to Richard Morrison, because he knew that they and others in England appreciated his worth. Gabriel Harvey made a close study of his treatises before writing his "Ciceronianus" in 1577. It will be realised therefore, that Sturm's influence, not only through Calvin but directly, was very strong on scholars and educational theory. This influence also reached the schools. Eton, Winchester and Westminster definitely based their organisation on Sturm's in general character, curriculum and in the books read, though they devoted more time to the reading of Classical authors and less to Rhetoric,^{Winchester} and probably the other two schools, in the middle of the 16th century, had seven classes. The boys were aroused at 5 a.m. and, while dressing, chanted Latin hymns. Prayers were taken at 6 a.m. and study went on until 9 o'clock, and later from 12 to 3 and from 4 to 5 o'clock. Examinations were held on Fridays and Saturdays, and punishments for the week were given on Fridays. Latin was almost the only subject. The lower boys had to decline and conjugate, while the upper boys learned the rules of grammar. Some Latin composition was taken every day, which consisted/

consisted of themes in the lower and might include verses in the two upper forms. The reading was as follows:-

1st class, Cato and Vives; 2nd, Terence, Aesop and Lucian in Latin; 3rd, Terence, Aesop, Sturm's selections from Cicero's Letters; 4th, Terence, Ovid's Tristia, the epigrams of Martial, Catullus and Sir Thomas More; 5th, Ovid's Metamorphoses, Horace, Cicero, Valerius Maximus, Florus, Justin; 6th and 7th, Caesar, Cicero, Vergil, Lucan and at last the Greek Grammar. The education was entirely of the humanistic type as conceived by Sturm. Eton's scheme of 1770 was still humanistic but some changes had been introduced owing to the influence of the Jesuits and in the principles of Locke. A clever boy would commence Latin at 6 years and Greek at 8. For three hours per week the younger boys were taught writing and arithmetic; some of the fifth form took geography or algebra and those who stayed long enough went through parts of Euclid, but neither history nor science was even mentioned. After a lapse of 200 years the plan was still Sturm's. In 1809 no substantial change was visible and the Commissioners of 1865 reported that the education in the Public Schools was of the same form and spirit as at the Renaissance. On their intellectual side the English Public Schools were the creations of Sturm, and his text books, especially his edition of Cicero's Letters, appeared in every school programme of the period.

Though Bacon wrote slightly of Sturm, "Then
did/

did Sturmius spend such infinite and curious pains upon Cicero, the Orator, and Hermogenes, the Rhetorician, besides his own book of the Periods and Imitation and the like.....", his influence in England was not by any means confined to his own life-time. W. Kempe (1588) recommended his books, Brinsley and Hoole based their educational plans largely on his practice, Milton evidently knew his "De Bello Turcico" and used it in his "Tractate on Education." Hallam said of him, "Scarce anyone more contributed to the cause of Letters in Germany. We could, as I conceive, trace no such education in France, certainly not in England." Sturm's influence with scholars and schools continued for 250 years and indirectly until the present day.

Scotland was the last of all the countries of Europe to be affected by the Renaissance; only here did the Reformation come first, but the Reformers believed all the more strongly in education to maintain Protestant doctrines. The Scottish Universities were based more on Continental than on English methods and it was to the continent that Scottish scholars went to continue their studies and often to teach. Vinet in a letter ^{to} George Buchanan wrote, "Our school (Bordeaux) is rarely without a Scotsman. At present we have two; one a professor of philosophy, the other of Greek and Mathematics." So many of them returned to their own country as teachers that/

that, at the close of the 16th century, only for Law and Medicine did students go abroad, and the names of Danes, French, Germans, Belgians and Poles frequently appeared in the Scottish University records. The three leading educationists of the century were George Buchanan, John Knox and Andrew Melville. In the work of each the influence of Sturm can be clearly traced. Through them Scotland shared in the educational revolution of which Sturm was the principal organiser.

Buchanan was Procurator of the German nation in Paris University during the years Sturm was teaching there and in all probability knew him well. He afterwards taught in Bordeaux and other schools, where Sturm's educational ideas were sure to be appreciated. Though Buchanan was not fitted by genius or temper for the work which Sturm did in the organisation of education, he performed a great service to Scottish learning by the enlightened spirit which he spread. If the classics had been studied in the way which he desired, Scotland would have been spared that return to scholasticism which was to come later. Buchanan's schemes for the reorganisation of St. Andrew's University in 1579 proved abortive owing to civil and religious dissension, but they powerfully affected educational thought and the practice of the schools. Though he did not mention Sturm, he closely followed his organisation, arrangement of classes and text books/

text books, and must have taken his plan from him directly or through Calvin. The curriculum was purely literary and humanistic. Six classes were divided into sections ("decuriae") each under a leader ("nomenclator"). In the lowest class the boys began to read and write through a study of Terence. "In thys classe thay salbe constrainit to speik Latin and dayly to compone sum smal thyng eftyr their capacite." In the 5th and 4th were read Terence, Cicero and Ovid; the 3rd commenced Greek grammar and prosody, studied Linacre's grammar, Cicero's Letters and easier speeches, Ovid, rhetoric; in the 2nd and 1st, Cicero's rhetoric and speeches, Vergil, Horace, Ovid and some of Homer or Hesiod were read, composition in verse and oratory, declamations each month and disputations every Saturday were prescribed. In August an examination took place in theme-writing and disputations and the classes resumed on the 1st of October, "At the quhilk day naine salbe promovit to na classe without he be examinat be the principal and regentis committit thairto."

Buchanan was closely in touch with continental thinkers: forty-one letters have been published between him and Beza, Gouvea, Scaliger, Sturm, Ascham and others. His admiration for Sturm was expressed in three epigrams which he composed for his portrait. In one he wrote, "It matters not whether you call these the features of Phoebus or of Sturm; with these lips both Phoebus and Sturm spoke."

Buchanan/

Buchanan was on friendly terms with Ascham and was anxious to read any of Sturm's letters to English scholars. On the other hand, Sturm equally admired Buchanan, expressed great interest in his treatise, "De Jure Regni" and used an edition of his Psalms in his school.

John Knox was a theologian, who strongly advocated education of the people as a means of supporting and continuing the Reformed Faith, but he had little practical knowledge of the organisation of schools and school work. Where then did he get the ideas which ^{were} embodied in the First Book of Discipline in 1561? This scheme was humanistic in its subjects and in accord with recent continental thought. Religious teaching and knowledge of the catechism were regarded as of first importance. It was proposed that two years should be spent in the country school for the study of reading, catechism and elementary Latin grammar; then followed three or four years in the town grammar school to study grammar and Latin; the student afterwards was to pass to the high school to learn Latin, Greek, Logic, and Rhetoric, and finally to the University for Philosophy, during three years and for Divinity, Medicine, or Law. This exactly reproduced Sturm's plan of ten school classes to study Latin and Greek with an introduction to Rhetoric and Logic followed by a University course. It has been suggested/

suggested that Knox may have had in mind Melanchthon's "Liber Visitatorius" (1538). On the other hand, the connection between Geneva and Scotland was especially close. At least forty Scottish teachers came from Geneva and many Scotsmen who went abroad studied there. Knox was in Geneva almost continuously from 1554 to 1559 and came direct to Scotland in 1559. He was in close touch with Calvin and declared that his school was "the most perfect school of Christ." The Book of Discipline had all the Genevan features, but in separate schools for each stage, as it was designed for a nation and not for one city. Knox, the theologian, borrowed from Calvin the theologian, who admittedly had based his revised scheme in that same year (1559), on Sturm's organisation. It is not too much, therefore, to claim that Sturm directly inspired the educational theories of the Book of Discipline which proved the charter of Scottish education and did so much to give it the high reputation it has so long enjoyed.

Andrew Melville, who studied and taught at Paris, Poitiers and Geneva, where he acted as Professor of Humanity from 1568 to 1574, was a keen student of Sturm's works. On his return to Scotland, he was appointed Principal of Glasgow University, where he drew up a scheme of study on humanist lines and created a taste for Greek in Scotland. He carried out in practice the educational ideas of Buchanan and fixed the curriculum of the schools for many years to come. The records of Edinburgh/

Edinburgh High School and of Aberdeen Grammar School, during the 17th and 18th centuries, show that the schemes which Buchanan and Melville inaugurated were still the model. An interesting side-light is thrown on the eagerness with which Sturm's treatises were read by Melville and other scholars. In 1587 an edition of Sturm's educational works entitled "Institutiones Literatae" was published at Thorn in Prussia. A copy was presented to Melville at St. Andrews by a Danish student in 1591. It may be seen in the library of Edinburgh University.

The Jesuits in 1551 had not one college in Germany; by 1566 they had founded their organisation in every part of the country. They did for a world-wide system what Sturm did for one school. So efficient were they that "it was found that young people gained more with them in six months than with other teachers in two years. Even Protestants removed their children from distant gymnasias to confide them to the care of the Jesuits." Bacon, who did not praise Sturm, admired the Jesuit schools. "Partly in themselves and partly by the emulation and provocation of their example, they have much quickened and strengthened the state of learning Consult the schools of the Jesuits, which are better than any I know of." It has been said that Sturm's reorganisation of 1565 was partly due to this rivalry. He expressed surprise at the similarity of the Jesuit schools to his own and admiration for /

for their efficiency.. "I am pleased at this institution for two reasons; because they help us and cultivate learning in which we ourselves are most zealous. I know the authors and exercises they employ and their methods in teaching, which are so like our organisation that they seem to have taken their inspiration from it..... Another reason is that they compel us to show greater energy and care lest they seem more diligent and produce more scholarly men than we do." Again he wrote, "The Papacy has many learned men..... no class is more to be feared by us than the Jesuits, for this sect is new and cunning in concealing its faults and designs..... Already a wonderful spirit has inspired the Jesuits, who are zealous for education and so devoted to the study of dialectic and Aristotelian logic, that they appear to be logicians rather than theologians." Jesuit writers never admit their debt to Sturm or to any other educator. Later authorities, indeed, have traced their system to the University of Paris; which, however, was notoriously reactionary in its view of education and never showed the enlightened spirit of the Jesuits. Possovino declared, "we too have been taught by others"; the statements of Sturm and his undoubted influence in countries where the Jesuit colleges flourished point to him as their principal inspiration. While the constitution of Loyola brought the Society into being, it/

it was the Ratio of Aquaviva in 1592, published at a time when schools on Sturm's model were in existence all over Europe, which gave the educational system its real unity. This plan, which was revised in 1599 and afterwards remained unchanged until 1832, organised the school work into five classes and, with some exceptions, followed the lines laid down by the Renaissance. In the following respects the Jesuits closely followed Sturm; they pressed the study of Latin for style and for linguistic rather than for literary purposes: they made full use of composition personal to the learner for the purpose of self-expression: they regarded intelligent thought and proper expression of it as the highest aim of an intellectual education: they attached the same importance to the study of Cicero: they devoted much time to the writing and acting of plays: they used constant repetition and variety of method with a wide use of disputations for teaching purposes: they aimed at cultivation of memory, judgment, reflection and elegant style, diction first, matter afterwards: and they owed their success, like Sturm, to their single-minded devotion, their insight into the needs of the time and their complete system for the whole course. The organisation of their classes and subjects closely resembled that of Sturm, though it was less elaborate, and they made full use of declamations, contests in oratory, original poems, frequent promotion and prizes. On the other/

other hand, they made no provision for the younger children under 10 years of age, demanding the power of fluent reading and writing from all candidates for admission to their schools. They rejected Terence and Plautus entirely as immoral and used only expurgated editions of other writers; they gave little or no attention to Science and Mathematics; they preferred extracts to the complete work of any author; they kept Greek in a very subordinate position; and they went further than Sturm could in the provision of education gratuitously¹/₂. In their attitude to the vernacular in the various countries, where their schools were established, they followed closely Sturm's earlier position in using it for teaching purposes in the junior classes, while sternly suppressing its use by the more advanced students. They regarded German as a Protestant language and later attacked the Little Port Royal colleges for the use of French. The Roman Catholic school founded by the Bishop of Saverne was admittedly based on Sturm's principles, and he wrote a preface to its constitution. His friendship with Catholics was one of the charges brought against him by his enemies in Strassburg. Though the Jesuit system was eventually suppressed for educational as well as political reasons, it had, during two centuries, immense influence on the practice of schools in both Protestant/

Protestant and Catholic countries. On their intellectual side at least, the English Public Schools owed much to Sturm and the Jesuits, whose systems they regarded as their pattern.

NOTES.

1. A. Erichson, "L'Eglise Française de Strassbourg au XVI Siècle" (Paris, 1886) refers to the Gymnasium as "pendant un demi-siècle le modèle incontesté des collèges," and to Sturm as "ce grand organisateur!"
2. A. Tessier, "Les Eloges des Hommes Savants" p.10.
3. J.W. Adamson: A Short History of Education. lx.
4. Sturm: *Classicae Epistolae*: Preface.
5. Sturm: *Epistolae Urbanae*.8.
6. Sturm: *De Exercitationibus Rhetoricis*.
7. Sturm: *De Exercitationibus Rhetoricis*. 19.
8. Sturm: *Quarti Antipappi*, p.152. "Si alia quaeris, habes meorum dictatorum scholas, quas discipuli mei et amici ediderunt, a me neque recognitas neque commendatas et vix mediocriter meditatatas."
9. Hallbauer: "Dissertatio de Meritis Johannis Sturmi."
10. Melanchthon: *Corpus Reformatorum* lv. 903. and v. 474.
11. Morhof: "De Ratione conscribendarum Epistolarum Libellus" and "De Pura Dictione Latina Liber." Acker: "Methodus Scribendarum Epistolarum" (1710). Joeh (in 1704) edited Sturm's "Linguae Latinae Resolvendae Ratio."
12. For example "Hermogenes De Ratione Inveniendi Oratoria."
In his preface Cocconius referred to Sturm as "inter literatos nostro saeculo summi viri, quem ego veneror ut superiorem, colo tanquam praeceptorem, observo non aliter quam alterum parentem." He described how much he had benefited by a visit to Strassburg.
13. Thretius in his preface to "Institutionis Literatae Liber Sturmianus." (1586).
14. "Oratio Illustris et Generosi Domini Joannis Comiti ab Ostrorog", 9th March 1581 already quoted in 1.
15. Verheiden: *Praestantium Theologorum Effigies* (1602).

16. J.D. Schreber: Vita Georgii Fabricii (1717).
17. "Curriculum Hibernum Studiorum scholae Gorlicensis etc." (1584), in Aberdeen University Library.
18. Herminjard: "Correspondances des Reformateurs," Vol.IV. 455, gives the Programme du Collège de Genève, 12 Janvier 1538.
19. Doumergue: "Jean Calvin, les hommes et les choses de son temps," vol. II. 293 - 649.
Borgeaud: "Histoire de l'Université de Genève," I. 1 - 83.
Corpus Reformationum: John Calvin X.a. gives the Leges Academiae Genevensis, 5th June 1559.
20. F. Buisson: Sebastien Castellion - Sa Vie et Son Oeuvre, (1515 - 1563).
21. Paul Monroe: Thomas Platter's Autobiography, p.211, "After this I went away to Strassburg, where I wished to investigate their order of studies and to confer with my brother Lithonius, who was preceptor of the third class, and to arrange as much as was appropriate for my school." He arranged for 4 classes (the first in three parts) with the same text books and subjects as Sturm.
22. R.C. Christie - Etienne Dolet.
23. Massebieau: Schola Aquitanica.
24. Claud Baduel: "De Officio et Munere eorum qui juventutem erudiendam suscipiunt."
25. "Schola Argentinensis, hoc est Epistolarum Joannis Sturmi classicarum et Academicarum confecti a J.L. Hauenreutero." Preface by Sturm, in which he says that his plan was being used in Paris and "Rex etiam atque Regina stipendia perpetua contribuerint."
26. P. Manutii Epist. libri IIII, 56. "Vir inter maximos ~~summus~~.... si quis est qui de tuo ingenio, de doctrina imprimisque de eloquentia bene et sentiat et loquatur, is ego sum."
27. Epistola Dedicatoria ad clarissimum virum Joannem Sturmium/

Sturmium, Argentinensis Academiae Rectorem, praefixa Reinii libro, cui titulus "Evangelium Joannis." Francofurti M.D. LXXIII.

Also several letters published in 1872 under title "Epistolae quaedam Joannis Sturmi et Hispanorum qui Argentorati degerunt", of which there is a copy in the Christie Collection, Manchester University.

28. In a letter (undated) to Sturm, Ascham wrote.....
"Nostros Episcopos qui duris suis temporibus,
passim in Germania sed Argentorati potissimum
perhumaniter sunt accepti."
29. Sturm to Ascham 5th September, 1550.
30. Sturm ^{from} ~~to~~ Ascham (undated).
31. Ascham; The Scholemaster, ll. 202 - 250.
32. Ascham to Cheke, 2nd November, 1550.
33. Ascham to Sturm, 21st August, 1551. - "Opto enim
te aliquid dedicare lectissimae Virgini tui
semper (quod ego novi) et tuorum studiosissimae."
34. "G. Haddoni ... lucubrationes passim collectae et
editae" (1567) contains a letter to Sturm dated
6th December, 1566.
35. Sturm to Ascham 5th September, 1550.
36. Cicero, Phillippics VII, with notes by Sturm (1552)
(to Cheke). Cicero, Pro Plancio, with notes by Sturm
(1551) (to Morrison).
37. Bishop Wordsworth: "The College of St. Mary. Winton."
38. Maxwell Lyte; "Eton College."
39. Bacon: Advancement of Learning.
40. William Kempe: "Education of Children."
41. John Brinsley: The Grammar School.
42. Charles Hoole: Orbis Pictus.
43. Hallam: History of Europe, l. 133.
44. Hill Burton: "The Scot Abroad", ll. 96.
- 45/

45. Mr. George Buchanan's Opinion anent the Reformation of the Universitie of St. Andros - in the Vernacular writings of George Buchanan (Hume Brown).

46. Buchanan, Epigrammatum Book 11, Icones.

XXI. - Joannes Sturmius.

Ora vides Sturmi, sed et haec Germania sumit,
Haec pietas, Latio cum lubet ore loqui;
Haec Hermes, alio citius nec se putat ore
Flectere posse homines, flectere posse Deos.

XXII. - idem.

Ora haec sunt Sturmi: picturae verba darentur
Si sua, de Phoebi pectore missa putes.
Nec falso: expulsus jamdudum Phocidos antro
In Sturmi sedem pectore Phoebus habet.

XXIII. - idem.

Nil refert, Sturmi haec an Phoebi dixeris ora:
Hoc Phoebus solet, hoc Sturmius ore loqui.

47. Letter from Daniel Roger to George Buchanan,
August 30th, 1576.

48. Letter from Roger to Buchanan, November 7th, 1579.

49. Ordo Scholae Grammaticae Edinensis - 1644.
Statutes of Aberdeen Grammar School - 1700.

50. The inscription on the first page reads, "Eximio
Theologo, servus Christi fidelissimo, M. Andrea
Melvino, de se praeclare merito, gratitudinis et
memoriae ergo hunc librum donat Magnus Bartolimus,
Danus, Andreaepoli 25 Martii, anno salutis
humanae 1591."

51. Ranke: History of the Popes, l. 415.

52. Bacon: Advancement of Learning l. 176.

53. Sturm: Classicae Epistolae lll. Preface.

54. Sturm: Linguae Latinae Resolvendae Ratio, 180.

55. Ratio Studiorum (1592). "Nec multum ex orationis
intelligentia capias utilitatis, nisi oratoris
eloquentiam/

eloquentiam et notando observare possis et
exprimere imitando, in quo egregii eloquentiae
doctoris vel maxime elucet industria."

CHAPTER VIII.

Sturm's Limitations and Permanent Influence.

The Narrowness of Sturm's curriculum - concentration on Latin - no attempt at universal education - contemporary criticism - Sturm's limitations as a practical teacher - the weakness of Renaissance education - its later deterioration.

Sturm's permanent influence on school education of the present day through his teaching methods, his organisation and his insistence on the study of literature.

Sturm's scheme of Secondary Education undoubtedly has its limitations, due mainly to the limitations of the age in which he lived and to his own position as an educator.

His curriculum seems to modern ideas too artificial, too narrow and incomplete - much Latin, somewhat less Greek, religious instruction and music, physical exercises, mathematics on classical lines only in the highest class, no Science, no direct study of the mother tongue, no modern languages, no history nor geography as we know them, no art, no educational handwork. Such a scheme does not appear to us to recognise the diversity of the faculties or the complexity of human life. The Sixteenth Century marked the beginning of an intellectual revolution. Men were groping towards a system which would meet the new needs of the time. For the future development of those very subjects, which were not then taught and which are now regarded as so important, the intense concentration on ~~this~~ curriculum was necessary and entirely in accord with intellectual needs and aspirations. Science, for example, did not deserve more importance than it received and was not yet ready to become a school subject. The great advance in ~~Mathematics~~, Science and Medicine, which was made during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not reach the schools for many years. Sturm never referred/

referred to this progress nor considered it as affecting his choice of subjects, and this was the attitude of all the schools and the Universities. The Humanist scheme of studies, represented in its most efficient form in Sturm's school, satisfied educational requirements for nearly three centuries. It is only within recent years, when another revolution has taken place, that something different, something broader has become inevitable.

If such a plan were introduced into the schools today, the main objection would be directed against its almost exclusive devotion to Latin from the earliest stages. Such an objection was never raised in Sturm's time. Language had become so corrupted by the Schoolmen, that rational thought and speech were impossible and it was only by the study of the Classics and insistence on ~~th~~ their purity that these could be attained. Latin was the key to all human knowledge and, during the earlier part of the sixteenth century at least, scholars united in believing that it was to be the universal language. The only criticism by Sturm's contemporaries, in regard to this matter, was that his absolute devotion to the study of Latin and his insistence on its use as a vehicle of instruction made progress in other subjects slow; but this was never seriously pressed, even by his enemies.

It may be urged against Sturm's organisation that

that his school could appeal only to the few, that it made provision for one type of pupil and that he did not attempt to reach the masses of the poor or even of the middle classes. The idea of universal education is far in advance of Sturm's time. The feudal system and religious conditions had made it unnecessary and even undesirable in the view of the rulers. Humanists were working towards individual freedom, but its time had not yet come and the French Revolution was required to bring it. Besides Sturm was organising one type of school, and, even today, the Secondary School does not pretend to provide education for all.

The points on which there was difference of opinion and criticism in Sturm's own time concerned not curriculum, but organisation and methods of instruction. There was considerable uncertainty as to the teaching of grammar, the age at which pupils should begin their studies, the number of classes, the time over which the work should be spread and the methods to be employed in teaching little children. In all these, Sturm's views were generally accepted as representative of the most advanced theories in education. It must be remembered that Sturm was actually engaged from day to day in his own teaching-duties and the organisation of his school. He was a teacher, faced with the problems and the difficulties of school-room work, in which he was so deeply/

deeply immersed that it was impossible for him to see far ahead or to realise very clearly the actual result of his own scheme in the mental and moral development of his pupils. Practical teachers have not often brought forward new educational theories or advanced the philosophy of education. They can only endeavour to organise as efficiently as possible the course which lies to their hand and which has won public approval. Sturm found himself restrained by the Committee of Education which controlled the schools in Strassburg. He, therefore, devoted his efforts to the organisation of the actual work of the school. He was occupied more with the practice than with the theory of education. The more narrow and concentrated his curriculum was, the more successful it seemed to be.

Keeping in view what has been said about the needs and the demands of the sixteenth century and remembering that the public school can never be in advance of public opinion, we may notice some differences between the ideas of Sturm and other Renaissance educators and those of present-day education. An impossible task was attempted in the effort to give real life to Latin and to arrest the growth of the national languages. It must be admitted that in the main, humanist education was imitative, not creative, and that poor results were obtained even in spoken and written Latin, for all the great efforts expended/

expended on it. As Locke said, "The system of keeping boys at Latin and Greek for eight or ten years at a school, from which they return as ignorant as they went of all other matters, and in most cases soon forget even that which they have learnt, is not patiently to be endured." The study of classical works from the aesthetic and philosophical point of view had not yet developed. Much attention was given to form and style, little to content or substance. Dr. Johnson said of Ascham's schemes, "It contained perhaps the best advice that was ever given for the study of languages," and that was true when the object of language study, as conceived by Sturm and Ascham, is kept in view. Humanists had little real appreciation of poetry, with the result that excessive attention was given to Cicero. The supremacy of the Renaissance educators tended, after a time, to bring about the victory of rhetoric over real humanism, of language over literature, and of form over content, so that there was involved an incessant compiling of words, purely literal explanation of authors, and, whenever the idea of Latin as a universal language had been abandoned, mechanical passive instruction. It then became learning rather than training, degenerated into verbal formalism and had no direct relation with the life of the time. It seemed as if the humanist wished to regenerate the world by means of books or classical books/

books; general knowledge apart from the classics was ignored; education in most cases was based not so much on action as on a knowledge, which was not adequate to life. The child was regarded as a miniature man, and there was no place for "realien" in his programme of studies. Continuous drill in Latin grammar, an excessive devotion to memory work and analytical methods of teaching caused much drudgery. Instruction took the form of the pupils learning by heart and the teachers hearing them afterwards - a method by no means uncommon even at the present day; it was too mechanical to develop intelligence. As a rule, the child had to suit the instruction and harsh methods of discipline were employed to bring this about. Outside Italy, little or no attention was given to the education of women, for which indeed there was no demand.

Renaissance education at first aroused great interest and approval but it was soon felt that the course was too long and expensive. It ceased to meet the requirements of the time and tended to become as barren as the scholasticism which it had displaced. The curriculum was not regarded as useful even for men of affairs for whom it was devised by Sturm, and alienated the nobility, who showed a desire for a courtly education including Mathematics, physics, history, jurisprudence, geography and heraldry. Protestant education in the seventeenth/

seventeenth century has been described as "forcing uninteresting matter upon the child's mind by clumsy methods and through the medium of an almost unknown tongue."

As long as there existed the expectation that Latin would become the language of the civilized world, Sturm's curriculum and methods inspired enthusiasm and ensured efficiency, and so strong was the influence of the Renaissance that long after the real spirit of its educators and the real need of that period had disappeared, the form was retained.

Such were the limitations of the scheme of education as conceived by Renaissance educators and as developed by their successors, attempting to follow out their theory and practice. Sturm was, in no way, responsible for the barrenness and dullness of later scholastic methods. He, certainly, was obsessed with the idea of a universal language and devoted all his energy to the development of Latin teaching, but this was necessary, as has been shown, for the cultivation of modern languages. When this necessity ceased to exist and all hope of a universal language had been abandoned in the 17th. and 18th. centuries, the subject-matter of his curriculum was out of date, but the spirit of his teaching methods and his organisation could well have been employed in such a way as to meet new needs. This was not done, with the result/

result that, when the subject matter ceased to have any reality, the spirit died and the organisation was of little value. Within recent years they have again been revived and unconsciously, perhaps, much that was best in Sturm's ideas ~~is~~ now being put into practice. The real aim of education in Sturm's view, apart from his devotion to Latin, which he could not know as a passing phase, was high moral character and power of thought and of action, - not so much mere amassing of knowledge as the ability to put that knowledge to practical use for the betterment of mankind mentally and morally, as well as materially. Sturm's great achievement was that he not only advocated such an ideal as others did, but he put it into practice in his school and showed that it could be carried out. That view of the purpose of education prevails today.

Again it was a great advance in the 16th. century that a practical teacher should come forward to advocate a spirit of gentleness and insight into child nature in dealing with children of different character. This principle greatly impressed Ascham and, through him and other admirers of Sturm, it found its way into the schools to displace the cruelties bred of the ascetism of the monastery. Now it is a mere truism not only in theory but in school practice. Sturm's insistence on variety and interest in school work, though a novelty in his/

his own time, has now resulted in the belief that all lessons should be interesting to children and, if not interesting, cannot be instructive. The group system, which Sturm employed, is now being fully recognised, not only as a means of dealing with large classes, but also as in itself developing independence of thought, self-reliance and cooperative effort. The direct method of teaching languages, through conversation and the conduct of the lesson in the language to be learned, on which Sturm laid so much stress, has, for some time, been accepted as the most rational and successful way of acquiring proficiency in modern languages, and, in some cases, has been successfully applied to the teaching of Latin and Greek. Free composition is increasingly employed. Educational theories were developed very largely by non-educators, such as Erasmus, Rabelais, Montaigne and Locke and were often looked upon in schools as counsels of perfection to be set aside in ordinary school room work. But when Sturm himself, amidst his school duties, advocated such theories, the result was immediately seen in the enthusiasm with which they were taken up in his own time, and, though divorced from their proper function in later times, have again been adopted to meet our modern needs. The subjects have changed with changing times and circumstances, but the same spirit/

spirit, with which Sturm devoted himself to education, is abroad today and is due very largely to this forerunner of modern Education.

Not only the spirit of Sturm's methods but his educational organisation has had a lasting influence. Educationists have generally confined themselves to a discussion of the subjects which should be included in a liberal education and to the advocacy of certain methods of teaching. Sturm, however, showed by his own example that a mere enumeration of subjects to be taught or even of ideal methods will never carry education very far. Pupils and teachers must be given the opportunity of doing their work under the best possible conditions. Sturm was the first educator, if not to realise or even to give expression to this truth, at any rate, to put it into practice in school work. His scheme of work was carefully thought out with a view to the aim of education as then conceived, and spread over a definite number of well graded classes; text books were chosen with discrimination or written by Sturm and his staff for the immediate needs of the school; pupils were classified and promotion was made as rapid as the interest of the pupils allowed; friendly rivalry was stimulated and responsibility for good work and conduct placed on the pupils themselves; home study was regulated with,

with a view to the health of the students, a definite time-table was drawn up and rigidly adhered to; the interest of the magistrates and parents was aroused by the publicity which Sturm gave to his work and by reports on individual progress; efficient teachers of good conduct and public spirit he regarded as essential to success, and he advocated adequate salaries to free them from financial worry and to raise them in public esteem; by careful supervision and the provision of school hostels he endeavoured to improve the rough manners and coarse morality of German school boys. More and more now is the importance of such points being realised. They are not in themselves education, but they are the necessary means of education. There surely can be no doubt that Sturm's clear-cut organisation, which proved so successful at Strassburg and in many other schools, has had a lasting effect on school practice.

One other aspect of Sturm's permanent influence remains to be noted. His curriculum, consisting almost exclusively of the study of Latin and Greek, seemed to have for the individual pupils of his school a narrowing, cramping effect, but the consequences of such intensive concentration were of great importance. It has already been shown that this contributed largely to the development of language study and ultimately to the formation of the vernaculars/

vernaculars, for Sturm's ideas of language teaching gradually embraced a full recognition of the importance of native languages. But what more concerns our own times, it brought with it a realisation of the necessity of the study of literature. Sturm's insistence on literary study in school education has left a lasting impress on educational theory and practice, and has very largely helped to mould the curriculum of the modern Secondary School, until it has become an educational commonplace that literature in some form constitutes an essential part of any liberal education. Further, out of this recognition, there came that close study of the life of the Greeks and the Romans, which has so greatly influenced modern civilization and held so strong a position in our schools. Sturm did not himself demand much attention to these aspects of classical study owing to his devotion to the idea of a universal language, but he definitely opened the way to this more complete acknowledgment of the real value of the classics and of vernacular literature. It was the study of literature on the lines first laid down by Sturm, which eventually distinguished Secondary from Primary education.

Sturm's outstanding position as a man of affairs, as confidential agent of most of the European Courts, as a distinguished classical scholar and writer, as Professor of Rhetoric, as a practical schoolmaster for over forty years/

years gave an importance to his educational theories and practice, which ensured their recognition throughout Europe and their adoption in all the leading schools of his time. It must always stand to his credit as an educator that in these three respects, at least, - the enlightened spirit of his teaching methods, his clear and orderly organisation, and his insistence on the study of literature as an essential part of education - he has been one of the great pioneers of Secondary education. In these, his permanent influence can be definitely traced even at the present day, though it has generally passed unacknowledged. It can with confidence be claimed that this great schoolmaster left his mark on Education for all time.

APPENDIX I

LIST OF STURM'S WORKS.

1.

Treatises on Educational Subjects.

(1)

1538

De Amissa Dicendi Ratione Libri II.

(British Museum; National Library, Edinburgh;
Edinburgh University)

In this book Sturm examined the causes of the decline of Oratory, and endeavoured to show the method of its recovery.

(2)

1538

De Litterarum Ludis Recte Aperiendis Liber.

(British Museum; National Library, Edinburgh;
Glasgow University)

The Organisation of Strassburg gymnasium.

(3)

1539

In Partitiones Oratorias Ciceronis Dialogi IV.

(British Museum; Christie Collection; Manchester
University; National Library, Edinburgh; Glasgow
University)

Sturm's lectures on Cicero's Oratorical works in the form of dialogues with his students.

(4)

1539

Partitionum Dialecticarum Libri IV.

(Glasgow University, Edinburgh University.)

Sturm's Lectures on Aristotelian Logic.

(5)

1549

Nobilitas Literata - Liber I

(National Library, Edinburgh; Glasgow University)

In his preface to the brothers Werter, Sturm wrote, "I shall show what course you ought to follow and what subjects you should undertake so that, wherever you are, your speech may be prudent, pure, graceful and rich. This I consider to be one aim of your thoughts, - a literary life, about which you ask my advice."

(6)

De Periodis - Liber I.

(British Museum; Christie Collection, Manchester University; Trinity College, Dublin.)

A discourse on Rhetoric, based on the teaching of
Hermogenes, the Greek Rhetorician.

(7)

1551

De Educatione Principis Libellus.

(British Museum; Glasgow University; Aberdeen
University.)

"I have resolved to write this treatise so as to show
what is particularly to be provided in the training of
children, especially of princes."

(8)

1565

Scholae Lavinganae.

(British Museum; National Library, Edinburgh;
Glasgow University.)

A programme of studies and school regulations drawn
up for the school at Laningen in Bavaria.

(9)

1565

Classicarum Epistolarum Libri III

sive

Scholae Argentinenses Restitutae.

(British/

(British Museum; National Library, Edinburgh;
Glasgow University.)

Letters to the members of the Staff of Strassburg
Gymnasium prescribing in detail for each class and
subject the methods required in the reorganisation of the
school.

(10)

1567

Academicae Epistolae Urbanae.

(British Museum; National Library, Edinburgh;
Glasgow University.)

Letters to the Senate, ~~Ex~~aminers and Professors
of the Academy, dealing with its programme of studies.

(11)

1574

De Imitatione Oratoria Libri III

(British Museum; Christie Collection, Manchester
University.)

Sturn's class lectures on Rhetoric published for
use in other schools and colleges.

1575

De Exercitationibus Rhetoricis Liber Academicus.

(British Museum; National Library, Edinburgh,
Glasgow University.)

A treatise on the teaching of Latin Composition,
written in answer to the objections of Hertelius, one
of his staff.

(13)

1576

De Universa Ratione Elocutionis Rhetoricae Libri IV

(British Museum; National Library, Edinburgh;
Edinburgh University.)

Another series of Sturm's class lectures on Rhetoric
published by Thretius, a Polish scholar.

(14)

1581

Linguae Latinae Resolvendae Ratio.

(British Museum; Edinburgh University; Aberdeen University)
Sturm/

Sturm here laid down the principles on which the Latin language could be classified by means of a *lexicon* in subject, not alphabetical, order.

(15)

1584.

De Bello Adversus Turcas ~~perpetuo~~ administrando
Commentarii sive Sermones Tres.

(British Museum)

A Treatise written by Sturm during his retirement. He advocated the establishment of a Military Academy for the training of youth to meet the Turkish menace.

The "Institutionis Literatae sive de Discendi et Docendi Ratione Tomus Primus Sturmius", published at Thorn (Prussia) in 1586, contains nos. 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14 of the above. Andrew Melville's copy of this handsome volume is in the Library of Edinburgh University.

The "Johannis ~~Sturmi~~ De Institutione Scholastica Opuscula Omnia", published by F. A. Hallbauer in 1730 contains nos 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, of the above.

Sir/

Sir William Hamilton's copy is in the Library of Glasgow University.

2.

Short Pamphlets and Letters,
on Educational, Religious, and Controversial
Subjects.

- 1538. Epistola de Emendanda Ecclesia.
- 1539. Epistolae de Dissidiis Religionis, J. Sadoleti et Jo. Sturmii.
- 1541. Epistolae duae duorum Amicorum, Bartholomaei Latomi et Joannis Sturmii, de dissidio periculoque Germaniae.
- 1542. J. Sturmii et Gymnasii Argentinensis Luctus ad Joach. Camerarium.
- 1551. Epistolae duae R. Aschami et J. Sturmii de Nobilitate Anglicana.
- 1553. Consolatio ad Senatum Argentinensem de Morte clarissimi et nobilissimi viri D. Jacobi Sturmii.
- 1565. Epistola de Refutatione Tridentini Concilii et Dissidiis Religionis.
- 1569. De Morte Reverendissimi Principis, Domini Erasmi Argentinensis Episcopi, aliquot epistolae.
- 1571. Epistola Consolatoria ad Fabricios Fratres.
- 1577/

1577. Consolatoria Epistola ad virum clarrissimum
D. Bernh. Botzheymium ... de morte filii.
1578. De Conradi Heresbachii vita et doctrina et de
oecumenico concilio.
1579. Consolatoria Epistola ad virum nobilissimum
Petrum Bilde, regis in Dania conciliarium primum,
de morte nepotis.
1579. Ad Reverendissimum et Illustrissimum Principem
D. Joannem Argentin. Episcopum gratulatio.
1579. Antipappi Tres.
1580. Quarti Antipappi Tres Partes Priores.
1581. Quarti Antipappi Pars quarta.
1581. Confessio Augustana Argentinensis.
1581. Epistolarum Eucharisticarum libri secundi
epistola secunda.
1581. Palinodia ad Lucam Hosiandrum.
1581. Epistola Apologetica contra Jacobum Andream.
1581. Vortrab J. Sturmi; Wahrhafftiger und bestendiger
Gegenbericht an einen ersamen Rath und burgerschaft
wider Jacob Andree Schmidleins ungrundtlichen
Lesterbericht.
1581. Epistolae duae de Obitu Egregii et Nobilis
adolescentis Hermannii & Kotza.

In addition to the above, Sturm carried on a
voluminous/

voluminous correspondence with scholars and diplomats in most European countries. Many of these letters are still preserved.

3.

Editions of the Works of Latin and Greek writers published by Sturm with commentaries.

- 1531. Galeni Opera.
- 1538. M. T. Ciceronis Orationes Tres 1. Antequam iret in exilium. 2. Post Reditum ab exilio in Senatu 3. Item altera ad Quirites.
- 1539. M. T. Ciceronis Epistolarum Libri IV.
- 1540. M. T. Ciceronis Orationum Volumina Tria.
- 1540. M. T. Ciceronis De Senectute.
- 1540. Platonis Apologia Socratis graece.
- 1540. M. T. Ciceronis; Rhetoricorum ad Herennium; de Inventionem; de Oratore; de Claris Oratoribus; Orator; Topica; Oratoriae Partitiones.
- 1540. Aristotelis Ethica.
- 1541. M. T. Ciceronis Epistolarum Volumina Duo, 1. Epp. Familiares. 2. Epp ad Atticum.
- 1541/

1541. M. T. Ciceronis libri de Officiis, de Senectute,
de Amicitia, ~~Somnium~~ Scipionis, Paradoxa.
1541. M. T. Ciceronis Librorum Philosophicorum
Volumina Duo.
1541. Platonis Georgias aut de Rhetorica, Socratis
Apologia, Crito.
- * 1544. M. T. Ciceronis in M. Antonium Philippicae
Orationes XLV. (British Museum)
1550. Aeschinis et Demosthenis Orationes Duae
Contrariae.
1551. M. T. Ciceronis Oratio pro Plancio.
- * 1552. M. T. Ciceronis Philippica Prima.
1553. Aristotelis Physica.
1553. Euclides.
1555. Hermogenes, De Formis Orationum.
1556. M. T. Ciceronis, Rhetoricorum ad Herennium.
1557. M. T. Ciceronis Opera Omnia.
1564. Pindari Oda Prima.
1565. Catonis Disticha Ethica.
1565. Poetica Volumina Sex.
1566. Plauti Comoediae Sex.
1570. Aristotelis Rhetoricorum libri III
1570. Hermogenes, De Ratione Inveniendi Oratoriae.
1570. Hermogenes, De Statibus.

- 1570. Hermogenes, De Dicendi Generibus.
- 1570. Neanisci, - (A selection for beginners).
- 1570. Hermogenes, - Partitiones Rhetoricae.
- 1570. Hermogenes, - De Formis Orationum.
- 1571. Hermogenes, - De Ratione Tractandae Gravitatis
Occultae.
- 1571. Onomasticon Puerile Argentinense.
- 1570. Hermogenes, De Inventione.
- 1575. M. T. Ciceronis Tusculana Prima.
- 1576. Horatii Ars Poetica.

List of Works for which Sturm wrote prefaces.

- 1538. Phil. Melanchthonis Opera.
- 1539. Homeri Interpres by Jac. Bedrot.
- 1540. Jod. Willichii Srotematum Dialectices libri IV.
- 1544. Cuthbert Tonstall, De Arte Supputandi.
(Edinburgh University Library).
- 1547. Tabulae Partitionum Oratoriarum Ciceronis by
V. Erythraeus.
- 1551. Beatus Rhenanus - Rerum Germanicarum libri III
(with a life of Rhenanus by Sturm).
- 1551. Antony Schor - Apparatus Verborum Linguae
Latinae Ciceronianus.
- 1551. Ulr. Xasius - Catalogus legum antiquarum.
- 1551. Tabulae duorum librorum Partitionum Dialecticarum
Joh. Sturmii by V. Erythraeus.
- 1561. Nova Vetera Quatuor Eucharistica Scripta
M. Bucerii.
- 1572. Henr. Schor, Specimen et Forma legitime tradendi
sermonis et rationis.
- 1573. Jo. Lud. Hauenreuter, Adagia Classica.
- 1574/

1574. Albert Oelinger, Unterricht der hochteutschen Sprach, Grammatica seu Institutio verae germanicae linguae.
1576. V. Erythraeus, De Ratione Legendi, Explicandi et Scribendi Epistolas, libri III
1576. Diallacticon de Veritate, Natura et Substantia Corporis et Sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia by John Poynt, Bishop of Winchester.
1576. Step. Doletus - Phrases et Formulae Linguae Latinae Elegantiores.
1577. Scripta Anglicana. M. Bucer.
1579. Onomasticon Latino - Germanicum a Theophile Golio.
1581. Oratio de Comparanda Vera Gloria recitata a D. Carolo, Barone a Zerotin.
1586. Lexicon Trilingue ex Thesauris Rob. Stephani.

Note. These prefaces were regarded as so valuable that Toxites published thirty of them in 1556 under the title "Prolegomena."

(Books marked with an asterisk are not mentioned in the list of Sturm's works by C. Schmidt "La Vie et Les Travaux de Jean Sturm 1855.)

APPENDIX 11

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The Era of the Protestant Revolution (F. Seebohm)

English Schools at the Reformation (A. F. Leach)

Schola Aquitania - Programme d'Etudes du Collège
du Guyenne au XVI^e Siècle (L. Massebieau)

Vives on Education (Foster Watson)

Tudor School Boy Life - The Dialogues of Vives (Foster
Watson)

Erasmus concerning Education (W. H. Woodward)

Liber de Corrupti Sermonis Emendatione (M. Corderius)

Philip Melanchthon (J. W. Richards)

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Etienne Dolet (R. C. Christie)

Peter Ramus (F. P. Graves)

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Rami.

Grammatica Graeca Theophili Golii.

La Vie et Les Travaux de Jean Sturm (C. Schmidt)

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- Icones/ (T. Hughes)

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Poemata Varia (Th. Beza)

De Officio et Munere eorum qui juventutem erudiendam
suscipiunt. (Claud Baduel)

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Brown)

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John Knox. (P. Hume Brown)

Andrew Melville. (Thomas McCrie)

(b)

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